15.1 Introduction

Moravcsik and Wirth 1980 comprises the proceedings of the Great Milwaukee Syntax Bake-Off of 1979, an event pitting various grammatical theories against one another in a kind of intersyntactic precursor of the CBS Survivor show. The table of contents to that volume includes—among standard entries like Robin Cooper’s “Montague’s Syntax,” Susumu Kuno’s “Functional Syntax,” and David Perlmutter’s “Relational Grammar”—an entry for “An Un-syntactician” submitted by (who else?) Jim McCawley.1 As it happens, I was the designated discussant for this presentation; my contribution was later published as “Giving Un to Others” (Horn 1980). In this memorial volume, I propose to honor the immortal unsyntactician with a somewhat more comprehensive un- paper.

More specifically, I shall seek to account for the increasingly productive word formation process resulting in a brood of un-nouns, the semilegimate offspring of Humpty Dumpty’s un-birthday present (1872) and 7-Up’s commercial incarnation as the Uncola (1966). Drawing on a large corpus of novel un-nouns I have been assembling jointly with Beth Levin (see the appendices in Horn 2002a), I will seek to motivate a set of constraints on the formation of these lexical items by invoking Rosch’s prototype semantics and Aristotle’s theory of opposition, in which privation is defined in terms of a marked exception to a general class property; to explain why 7-Up is a better candidate for an uncola than tea or chocolate milk, and more generally why a given un-noun refers either to an element just outside a given category

1 I am grateful to Yasuhiko Kato for the invitation that led to my first oral presentation on un-nouns (Tokyo, May 1999) and to SOLIFIC, the publishers of Sophia Linguistica, in which an earlier published version of some of this material previously appeared as Horn 2002a. Thanks also to those attending later oral presentations at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, the University of Chicago, and Stanford University, to Barbara Abbott for her comments on an earlier written version of this chapter, and to the anonymous reviewers. None of these individuals are any more responsible than Aristotle for the outcome.
with whose members it shares a salient function (e.g., uncola) or to a peripheral member of a given category (an unhotel is a hotel but not a good exemplar of the category—not a “HOTEL hotel”). I conclude with some remarks in defense of the conceptual necessity for a lexical pragmatics, a field whose ancestry traces back to McCawley 1978.

15.2 Varieties of Opposition

The genus of opposition, as developed in Aristotle’s Categories (11b17), is divided into four apparently disjoint species:

1. Contrariety (between two contraries): for example, good versus bad
2. Contradiction (affirmative to negative): for example, He sits versus He does not sit
3. Correlation (between two relatives): for example, double versus half
4. Privation (privative to positive): for example, blind versus sighted

Aristotle proceeds to offer detailed diagnostics for distinguishing “the various senses in which the term ‘opposite’ is used” (11b16–14a25).

Contradictory opposites are mutually exclusive as well as mutually exclusive, while contrary opposites do not mutually exhaust their domain (for details, see Horn 1989, chap. 1). This distinction is originally drawn for statement types, as depicted in the system later schematized by Apuleius and Boethius in the square of opposition in figure 15.1.

![Figure 15.1: Traditional square of opposition](image)

Corresponding A and E statements are contraries in that they cannot be simultaneously true (though they may be simultaneously false). Corresponding A and O (and I and E) statements are contradictories; members of each pair cannot be true or false simultaneously. In Aristotle’s terms, contradictories “divide the true and the false between them.” Contradictory terms (black|nonblack, odd|even, male|female) exclude any middle term, an entity satisfying the range of the two opposed terms but falling under neither of them: a shirt that is neither black nor not-black, an integer that is neither odd nor even. Contraries, by definition, admit a middle: my shirt may be neither black nor white, my friend neither happy nor sad.

Correlation is essentially converseness: A is the double of B if and only if B is the half of A. Other pairs include parent versus child, above versus below, own versus belong to, and eat versus be eaten by; I shall have nothing further to say here about correlates. But privation, the fourth mode of opposition, will be our capstone.

For Aristotle, privatives and positives always apply to the same subject and are defined in terms of the presence or absence of a default property for that subject:

We say that that which is capable of some particular faculty or possession has suffered privation when the faculty or possession in question is in no way present in that in which, and at the time in which, it should be naturally present. We do not call that toothless which has not teeth, or that blind which has not sight, but rather that which has not teeth or sight at the time when by nature it should. (Categories, 12a28–33)

On this understanding, a newborn kitten is no more blind than is a chair, and a baby is not toothless.

Privation as the absence of what would be expected by nature to be present is revisited in the Metaphysics (1022b23–1023a8), where Aristotle—noting that privation can range over predictable absence, accidental removal, or deliberate “taking away by force” of the relevant property—distinguishes privation “with respect to genus,” as in the blindness of moles, from privation “with respect to self,” as in the blindness or toothlessness of an old man. In the end, Aristotle concedes, there may be as many senses of privation as there are α-prefixed terms in Greek (1022b33). Indeed, privation may be reanalyzed as a marked contrary bearing an α-prefix: “the primary contrariety is that of possession and privation” (1055a34).

15.3 Contrariety, E-negativity, and the Un-adjective

The prefix un- attaches to English adjectives, verbs, and nouns, in each case yielding a lexical item of the same category as the original base. The standard characterization of the semantics associated with this prefix (or family of prefixes) is in terms of either negation or antonymy, but it is not clear what sense of negation is involved or whether there is a single sense (however generally defined), even within a single
category. What is clear is that few un-words of any category correspond to the contradictory opposition of the sentential negative.

It has long been recognized (see, e.g., Sigwart 1895, 138, for citation of unhappy, unwise, unfeeling, and speechless, and more recently Kruisinga 1931, sec. 1620; Zimmer 1964; Funk 1971; Horn 1989, sec. 5.1) that negative affixation, especially when it involves the English prefixes un- and in- and their crosslinguistic analogues, tends to develop a contrary rather than merely contradictory interpretation when such a strengthened reading is possible. Here is Jespersen’s take on the semantics of un-prefixed adjectives:

The modification in sense brought about by the addition of the prefix is generally that of a simple negation: unworthy = ‘not worthy’, etc. . . . The two terms [X, unX] are thus contradictory terms. But very often the prefix produces a “contrary” term or at any rate what approaches one: unjust generally implies the opposite of just; unwise means more than not wise and approaches foolish, unhappy is not far from miserable, etc. (Jespersen 1917, 144; cf. 1942, 466–67)

As Jespersen observes, this strengthened, contrary reading correlates with the often observed fact that the same prefixes tend to yield derived forms that are associated with a pejorative or evaluatively negative content: “The same general rule obtains in English as in other languages, that most adjectives with un- or in- have a depreciatory sense: we have unworthy, undue, imperfect, etc., but it is not possible to form similar adjectives from wicked, foolish, or terrible” (1917, 144).

Jespersen (1917) and Zimmer (1964, 10f.) review a number of early discussions of negative affixation that demonstrate what Wundt (1886) labels the Unlustaffekte of negatively affixed forms in particular and negation in general. In German, Swedish, French, and English, as these lexical studies demonstrate, disproportionately many negatively affixed adjectives are depreciatory, derogatory, or evaluatively negative in denotation or connotation. Following Cruse (1980), I adopt e-pos and e-neg as shorthand for evaulation/emotively positive and negative, respectively. The formula expressing the relevant generalization can be given as in (2).

(2) negative affix + e-pos base → e-neg derived output
[un] [happy] [unhappy]

Thus, in English we have unhappy but not unsad, unwise but not unfoolish, and the parallel examples in (3).

(3) uncivilized
unclean
unclear
unfriendly
unhealthy, unwell

*unboorish, *unbarbarian
*undirty
*unfuzzy, ?unconfused
*unhostile, *unantagonistic
*unsick, *unill

In these examples, only an e-pos or neutral stem can serve as a natural base for a negatively affixed adjective, and only e-neg derived adjectives are therefore possible.

Elsewhere, as in (4), we find an (e-neg) un- or in- prefix/ed adjective based on an e-pos stem where there is no corresponding e-neg stem to serve as a source for an e-pos derived form.

(4) impossible inconsequential unfit
improper inconsistent unfortunate/unlucky
inappropriate irrelevant unfree
incoherent unapt/inept unsuitable

There are also a number of ‘orphaned’ un-adjectives with no extant positive counterpart whatsoever: unabashed, unassuming, unbending, uncouth, unflagging, unheard of, unempt, unparalleled, unprecedented, unruly, unsheathed, untouched, untoward, and so on.3 Significantly, most such orphans (many of which are evaluatively positive) represent the productive un+V+participle pattern; those that fail to reflect this pattern do seem to share the e-neg quality of the adjectives in (3) and (4).

As Cruse (1980) notes, e-pos adjectives are semantically heterogeneous. A given pair of e-pos/e-neg adjectives will constitute antonyms (gradable contraries) if there is a midinterval between the unmarked and marked qualities. In such cases, the unmarked term (happy, wise, interesting) denotes a positive attribute or property that can be present in varying degrees, and there are no literal endpoints of the relevant scales (absolutely {happy|sad|wise|foolish|interesting|dull}). With gradable complementaries (contradictories), there is by definition no midinterval, and the unmarked term denotes the absence of some negative or undesirable property (clean vs. dirty, safe vs. dangerous) and allows a scalar endpoint (absolutely {clean)#dirty, safe)#dangerous}). With antonyms, the e-pos term is also q-pos (quantitatively positive, denoting a salient property such as wisdom or interest), and it is this term that forms the basis for un-adjectives (unhappy, unwise, uninteresting); with gradable complementaries, it is the e-neg term that is q-pos: “All gradable complementaries denote degrees of some undesirable property, like dirtiness, or danger; antonyms always indicate degrees of either a neutral property, like length, or weight, or a desirable one, like beauty, merit, or intelligence” (Cruse 1980, 21). But, as shown by pairs like
unclean, *undity, unsafe, *undangerous, and by the existence of unpaired neg-preixed
adjectives from q-neg but e-pos bases (e.g., unfaithful, dishonest, imperfect, impure), it
is e-polarity rather than q-polarity that determines the availability of an adjective for
negative prefixation. (For further discussion of antonymy, markedness, and gradable
adjectives, see Saipir 1944; Givón 1976; Lehrer 1974, 1985; Ljung 1974; Lyons 1977;
Lehrer and Lehrer 1982; Horn 1989.)

The asymmetry illustrated in (3)—and indirectly in (4)—does not extend to all
negaively prefixed adjectives. The key correlation is formulated by Zimmer (1964):
the less productive the affixation process, the more likely its output is to be inter-
preted as a contrary (rather than contradictory) of its base, and the stronger the
restriction to e-pos bases (and, correspondingly, to e-neg resultant meanings for the
derived negative adjective). This correlation emerges especially clearly when we turn
to evidence of association for un-. At least since the Oxford English Dictionary
(OED), it has been noticed that un- attaches freely to stems with three verbal
suffixes, -able and participial -ed and -ing. Indeed, un- prefixation is virtually
unrestricted in these cases, constrained only by the existence of lexicalized in-
forms occupying the same slot. But in just these contexts, the affixation rule produces
derived forms that are strictly contradictory and emotively either neutral, as in (5a),
or positive, as in (5b).

(5) a. imperceptible             b. unbeaten
    irredicible                     unblemished
    unexpeted                       unblemished
    unalike                        unblemished
    unremarked                     unblemished
    un-xed                             unblemished
    un-cross-examined               unblemished
    un-mouse-eaten

Thus, “the negative content of simple words differs from the negative content of
forms derived according to some synchronically productive and frequently encoun-
tered pattern” (Zimmer 1964, 38). It is for this reason that Jespersen, in discussing
the tendency for un- negatives to be read as contrary, explicitly exempts “words in
-able and participles”; his examples (1917, 144) include unabsorbable, unadaptable,
unabbreviated, unadapted, unavailing, and unbefitting.

Additional confirmation of the semantic asymmetry of un- formations is provided
by the history of English. A number of potentially occurring unX adjectives are ruled
out, presumably blocked or preempted by a previously existing and more lexicalized
simple contrary with the same meaning; but this was not always the case. Here again
is the OED (un-1, 7):

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There is no considerable restriction in the use of un- with short simple adjectives of native
origin, the negative of these being naturally supplied by another simple word of an opposite
signification. There is thus little or no tendency now to employ such forms as unrapid, unhelvet,
unwise, unbold, unlud, ungod, unstrong, unwhole, on... [etc.] which freely occur in the older
language.

These cited examples, like those of (3) and (4), are e-neg forms with e-pos bases; no
unshallow, unarrow, unsad, unbad, or unweak seems to have occurred even “in the older
language” (cf. Zimmer 1964, 41).

The Avoid Synonymy principle (“The output of a lexical rule may not be synonym-
ous with an existing lexical item”: Kiparsky 1983) or its generalization as the
Division of Pragmatic Labor (see Horn 1984) predicts that the meaning of derived
adjectives such as unhappy and unintelligent must be different from (characteristi-
cally, weaker than) those of the corresponding underived sad and stupid (see Zimmer
1964; Lehrer 1985). But despite this difference in strength between derived and simple
E-neg adjectives, unhappy and unintelligent still constitute contrary rather than con-
tadictory opposites of their bases happy and intelligent: someone who is neither
happy nor sad may be, but need not be, unhappy.

As noted by Jespersen and Marchand, un- and in- derivatives tend to negate the
emotion-sense of the stems to which they attach, while non- negates objective or de-
scriptive content. Among the minimal pairs that have been cited to illustrate this con-
trast are those in (6).

(6) immoral : nonmoral         unprofessional : nonprofessional
    irrational : nonrational     unprofitable : nonprofit
    un-American : non-American  unremunerative : nonremunerative
    un-Christian : non-Christian unrhythmical : nonrhythmical
    unnatural : nonnatural      unsound : nonsound

In each case, the in- or un- form is understood pejoratively and is in contrary
opposition with the corresponding positive stem, while the non- derivative is a simple,
evaluatively neutral contradictory.5 As Algeo (1971, 90–91) describes the
cost:

A Moslem is a non-Christian, but only a Christian can be un-Christian in behavior. A nonreal-
stic novel is one whose goal is other than a realistic view of the world, but an unrealistic novel
is likely to be one that aims at, and fails to achieve, realism.

In each case, the emergence of the contrary reading also implies that the adjectival
stem can be regarded as a gradable or scalar value (see Saipir 1944; Horn 1989, chap.
4). Applying the standard tests for gradability, we get the correct prediction that
in- and (usually) un-adjectives but not the non- forms can be inserted into the appro-
priate scalar frames.
(7) downright (un/ non)-American very (un/ non)-Christian
extremely (un/ non)-natural awfully (immoral/ nonmoral)
somewhat (irrational/ nonrational) rather (un/ non)-scientific

Hence also the impossibility of un- prefixation for binary ungradable (*unnale, *unfemale, *unnoded) and the semantic restriction of other derived forms to scalar senses or contexts: the surface of my table can be uneven, but the number 7 cannot; your decision may be unfair, but not your complexion. Uneven (for integers) is, of course, blocked by odd, and the same blocking effect explains why uncool could mean 'not hip' but not 'warm', while unyoung (attested but not yet lexicalized) will imply '...but not yet old', as when the New York Times uses it in an article entitled "Where Age 40 Doesn't Mean the End of Everything" to describe a film about the comeback of an aging ballerina.

The evaluative versus descriptive parameter yields some striking lexical gaps. Alongside unnatal, nonnatal, and unnorthy, we have no adjective *nonmorially: while the stem maternal may be construed as either a descriptive or an evaluative adjective, motherly can only be evaluative (Zimmer 1964, 33). Similarly, we have normale but unnormally, while their counterparts *unnale and *unnormally do not occur. The same consideration rules out *nondecent and *nonrespectable.

The other side of the coin, as pointed out by Funk (1971), is that adjectives formed with in- and un-, even when they originate as evaluatively neutral and semantically contradictory senses, tend to develop a contrary, affective, and typically deprecatory meaning or connotation. Funk's examples of this process include inadequate, inappropriate, inconvenient, incorrigible, infertile, irrelevant, unwintering, and unsatisfactory. Thus, color terms do not ordinarily sponsor un- contraries ('unred, *unyellow'), but we do get ungreen with the specific meaning 'environmentally incorrect', as in ungreen politicians or ungreen power sources. And, as with Algeo's observations on "unrealistic" novels, only a failed comedy may be unfunny, not a successful tragedy. The New Haven Advocate "Film Clips" section in 1993 that excoriated Sister Act 2 as "Wretched, unfunny, soporific; quite likely the year's worst movie" while hailing Schindler's List just above it in the alphabetical listings as "Stunning, superb, sad and away the year's best movie, and a deeply emotional experience," could not have used the descriptor unfunny for the latter film, although whatever might be said about Schindler's List, funny it surely wasn't.

Apparent nonscalar categories can be coerced into scalarity via un- attachment. The scientific adjective nuclear ('of, relating to, or forming a nucleus') is binary—either a particle or reaction is nuclear or it's not; there are no two ways (more strictly, no third way) about it. But its metaphorically extended sense, in which we speak of nuclear families, is more admissible of scalar gradations, and thus while we have no unnuclear bomb, physics, power, and the like, and while this adjective is not

listed in conventional dictionaries, we are not too surprised to find a grouping that consists of the protagonist of a novel (Mapping the Edge, by Sarah Dunant) along with her 6-year-old daughter, her confidante, and her best friend and her boyfriend, described as "a strange unnuclear family" (New York Times Book Review, 18 February 2001, 34).

Similarly, one of the conventional examples of contradictory adjectives is alive/ dead; nothing can be both and nothing capable of being either can be "in between." But is this really true? In fact, undead has been around since Bram Stoker's Dracula (1897) as both an adjective and a zero-derived occupational noun to describe zombies, vampires, and other creatures that are, as the OED puts it, 'not quite dead but not fully alive, dead-and-alive'. Note that the someone or something that is undead, such as a vampire, fails to conform to one's expectation that it should be dead. But if something appears to be alive but does not quite fulfill that expectation, it must be not undead but unalive: "I wait for them [artificial flowers] to droop as in a natural cycle. But they are stubbornly unalive and therefore unwilling" (Baxter 2000, 106). Both the undead (but not quite alive) vampire and the unalive (but not dead) artificial flowers conform to Aristotle's notion of a privative opposite, in lacking a property associated by default rules with the respective subject.

The poet E. E. Cummings (1972), notorious for his willingness to cajole and twist the English language to create new morphological, syntactic, and orthographic fault lines, found the un- adjective, not to mention the un- verb and un- noun, an unending source of inspiration. Cureton (1996) points out that Cummings's innovative unverbs include reversatives like unteach and ungrow that undo what are not normally taken to be undoable actions along with statives like unbe, unexist, and unis. Cumming's novel un- adjectives—unalive, unbig, unsledder—strive, by overriding the normal blocking constraints, to induce a finer partition of the physical world. More generally, the poet envisions an entire unworld inhabited by unthings, a domain of unmen going through the motions, not quite living but "unexisting" in an unlife filled with unlove ("unlove's the heavenless hell and homeless home/of knowledgeable shadows"). Noting that "Cummings uses un- with nominal bases as a major thematic device," Cureton observes that "the advertising industry has resorted to this use of un- as well," notably in 7-Up's self-promotion as the Unclea. "Has industry resorted to poetry?" wonders Cureton.

15.4 Privation, Prototype, and the Un-noun

Before either poets or advertising copywriters resorted to them, un-nouns were amply attested in English word formation. Most of the earlier examples, however, can be rationalized as deadjectival formations: untruth as a nominalization of untrue (rather than a negation of truth), unhappiness from unhappy, and so on. A number of cases
appear to involve a blend of an irregular nominalization and an *un*-adjective (as in the *OED* citations *Unintelligentsia* (G. B. Shaw 1930) or *unmotherhood* (Bushnell 1947)) or the more recent *unprivacy*. Nouns like *unrest*, *undismay*, and *unconcern* can be seen as back-formed from the corresponding adjective or participle (see Horn 1989, sec. 5.1, for complications). In still other cases, the nominalization works off an implicit reversionative *un*-verb, even when that verb (*uncircumcise*, *uncopy*, *unverify*) is not otherwise attested.\(^7\)

(8) a. **uncircumcision**

Many men who have been circumcised as infants feel mutilated and robbed of their birthright, hence the growing "uncircumcision" movement. ("Ask Isadora" sex advice column, *New Haven Advocate*, 5 June 1997, 55)

b. **uncopier**

Headline: Un-copier Technology Draws a Blank on Used Paper

Heard of the Un-Cola? Now there's the Un-Copier, a kind of reverse photocopier that produces blank pieces of paper from documents published on a photocopier or a laser printer.

(Article by David Akin, *Ottawa Citizen*, 27 June 1998, Business, H3; the machine, manufactured by ImageX Technologies, is officially the "Decopier," although the write-up refers to it as an Un-copyer for expository purposes.)

c. **unverification**

I was recently involved in an appeals case in which the question arose as to whether voice recognition had ever been used to show (prove) that two different recorded voices were made by two different individuals. One might call this voice unverification.

(R. Rodman, posting to Language & Law e-mail list, 11 April 2001)

Suffixless cases of *un*-noun formation are not so easy to explain away, including those cited by the *OED*:

(9) a. **unbook**

Another un-book.

(1965 Probl. Communism July/Aug. 56 (heading))

b. **uncountry**

In this un-country there was blue sky and light, consent and so on.

(1964 W. Golding Spire ix. 178)

c. **uncrime**

All that the State can aim at is un-crime, whereas the work of the Church is to inculcate virtue.

(1882 Ch. Times XX. 938)

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d. **undearth**

The sum of the first and second sign Shall be undearth of the moon.

(1933 L. Riding Poet v. 125)

There is, every now and then, a film that escapes this sort of un-death.

(1974 Globe & Mail (Toronto) 24 July 13/4)

e. **unlight**

A cloak of darkness she wove about them ... an Unlight, in which things seemed to be no more, and which eyes could not pierce, for it was void.


f. **unphilosophy**

Every single fall or rise of nature's work ... led her into various veins of inductive unphilosophy.

(1877 Blackmore *Cripps II*. ii. 23)

—and the most historically significant member of the class:

g. **unperson** [introduced by George Orwell]

A person who, usu. for political misdemeanour, is deemed not to have existed and whose name is removed from all public records. In extended use, a person whose existence or achievement is officially denied or disregarded; a person of no political or social importance.

Syme was not only dead, he was abolished, an unperson.

(1949 G. Orwell *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, 159)

Beria is already an "unperson," the record of his career "unfacts."

(1954 Economist 18 Sept. 883/2)

In each case, we are dealing with a simplex base where there is no plausible source for the nominal in an *un*-adjective or *un*-verb and the meaning involves antonymy or, more specifically, *priviation* in Aristotle's sense: the absence of something that might have been expected to inhere in the referent.

Some attested *un*-nouns seem to have been facilitated by a priming effect.

(10) a. **unpublicity**

The publicity or unpublicity of the process.

(1802–12 Bentham *Ration. Judic. Evid. (1827)* II. 140)

b. **unshapes**

The English noses in their shapes and unshapes.

(C. 1843 Carlyle Hist. Sk. Jas. I & Chas; I (1898) 269)

Other cited forms allude to a tacit version of the priming effect, where the reader is invited to recall "the land of promise" or "promised land" in the former case and the hackneyed rhetorical query "What kind of society ...?" in the latter.
(11) a. unpromise
   Gaze down into the future upon the hateful Land of Unpromise.
   (1866 Pull Mall G. 12 May 12)

b. unsociety
   What kind of unsociety we suffer when we have about us only persons very unequal.
   (1872 H. Bushnell Serm. Living Subj. 335)

It will be noticed that the *OED* un-nouns sampled here and especially the members of the Cummings collection have a palpable e-neg flavor to them. Given this, it may seem surprising that the 7-Up team should have sponsored an ad campaign identifying its product as the *un*-anything. Unlight, unpromise ... and Unclea? Crucially, though, it is the privative function of the *un*-noun that the advertisement exploited: if the “expected” beverage has undesirable qualities—caffeine, heaviness, or just plain old-hattitude—then the privation of this e-neg “positive” term can only be (e-)positive.

Kicking off in 1968, the Unclea campaign appealed to the nonconformist urges (or pretenses) of the intended audience in those heady days of the counterculture, and even decades later was still spreading to other businesses. In 1991, the *New York Daily News* introduced what its editor called a new supplement, of which its editor claimed, “It’s not quite like anything else we do. It’s an un-magazine, like an un-Cola” (quoted in Crain’s *New York Business*, 2 September 1991). John Hull, developing his SanFax Systems in Angels Camp, California, also alluded to 7-Up’s ad campaign and proclaimed, “We’re the ‘Un-dot-com’” (Modesto Bee, 10 October 2000). The cola companies can even dispense uncolas of their own: “Coke is diversifying, with plans to introduce a line of fashion and sports clothing and a rollout this summer of the ultimate un-cola—a bottled water called Dasani” (*Boston Globe*, 28 March 1999).

### 15.5 Class A and Class B Un-nouns

To gain a perspective on the sudden increase in productivity of these forms, which have exploded into the lexicon since the inauguration of the Unclea campaign, consider these forms: \(^8\)

(12) **Class A un-nouns**

a. unhit
   Un-hit of the week: Cardinals pitcher Garrett Stephenson came into last Saturday’s game with Atlanta 1 for 36 at the plate. Then he lined what looked like a single to right. But Brian Jordan charged, fielded it and threw him out at first.
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The point, says Jaffe, was that Atlanta had two main players: King & Spalding and Alston & Bird. The next four or five firms down the line blended together, and Kilpatrick was looking for a way to distinguish itself. ... The marketing costs of making Kilpatrick another King & Spalding—if that was what the firm wanted—would have been too high, he says. "We can't make you the Coca-Cola of Atlanta, but we can make you the Un-Cola of Atlanta," he says. (American Lawyer Media, Fulton County Daily Report, 12 July 1999)

The key is to exploit the target's tacit knowledge:

A television commercial for the United Jersey Banks shows a loan officer from "Lethargic National Bank" on the telephone assuring a customer in an unhurried manner that approval for his loan should be in "any day now—any day." After a narrator explains how large organizations often are "slow moving" when it comes to processing transactions such as loans, the commercial shows how United Jersey, the "fast moving bank," processes loans for its customers swiftly.

The ad clearly illustrates how one bank holding company has used positioning to gain market share, said Al Ries, who is the coauthor of Positioning: The Battle for Your Mind and the chairman of Trout & Ries Advertising Inc., a New York ad agency. ... "The battle doesn't take place in the banking retail establishment," he said. "The battle takes place in the minds of consumers." ...

In planning marketing strategies, Mr. Ries suggested, bankers should "cherchez le creneau" (look for the opening) in consumers' heads. The best way, he added, is by "relating what you say to what's already in their mind. The mind accepts whatever information it already agrees with," he said. "Even 7-Up ["the Uncola"] got into people's minds by relating to colas," he said. (The American Banker, 29 April 1986, 14)

But while relating to colas, the Uncola is not one. Most instances of novel un-nouns fall into class B of figure 15.2, in which an unY is a bona fide—but (in the sense of Rosch 1978) not prototypic or stereotypic—member of category Y; the unY is a bad example of the category, lacking a functionally significant property. For instance:

(14) Class B un-nouns

a. unbank

Banking on the Unbanks: Tellerless Wonders Are Reinventing Small-Business Lending

(Headline, NY7, 4 February 1999)

b. uncollege

Even though many Mids [= Midshipmen, students at the U.S. Naval Academy] refer to their school with bemused affection as "the uncollege," it remains one of the great bastions of "old college spirit" in its pristine form. (Washington Post, 22 November 1977, D1, "Navy Revives College Spirit for the Game; Mids Rally 'Round for the Game")
c. unelection
Numerous Google hits after the irregular Gore-Bush election of November 2000. For example: Twelve days after the unelection, no one knows how to keep a rendezvous with destiny—not the politicians, not the lobbyists, not the chattering in the press, not the hangers-on, not the sycophants, not even the White House interns.
(NYT, 19 November 2000, Week in Review, 1)
Our unelection is superior to our election in every way. The campaign was never about anything. Lockbox, prescription drugs, blah, blah. Now we are fighting over bedrock principles of freedom. The sanctity of the vote, the idea that every vote counts.
(Maureen Dowd column, NYT, 10 December 2000, 15)

d. unplace
[Referring to E. B. White’s essay “Here Is New York”]
And what he made just as clear was that any place else was just, well, any place else. Or perhaps an un-place. The closest of these is New Jersey.
(Charles Strum, “Garden State? The Image Is Closer to Crab Grass,” NYT, 27 October 1996, Arts, 33)

e. unplan
Of course, a plan is a plan, even if it calls itself an “unplan.”
(Herbert Muschamp, “42nd Street Plan: Be Bold or Begone!” NYT, 19 September 1993, Arts, 33)

f. unpolitician
Reference to Victor Morales, schoolteacher and surprise Democratic nominee for U.S. Senate seat opposite Phil Gramm
(NYT, 30 April 1996; many other examples since)

g. unsheets
Now that the big names in bedding—Cannon, Fieldcrest and J. P. Stevens—are bringing out their own versions of unsheets, suggestible types can go see natural [unbleached, untreated cotton sheets] displayed . . . in department stores around town.

h. unsuperstar
Meet Tom Cruise, the unsuperstar of superstardom.
(TV ad for Access Hollywood, 8 January 2000)

i. unvegetarian
The Unvegetarian
(Headline of article in the Los Angeles Times, 5 July 1990, by Charles Perry profiling Deborah Madison, whose restaurant and gourmet cookbooks “have made meatless cooking chic” but who “hates being called a vegetarian”)
The Ventana at Big Sur, California, is variously called the Ventana Hotel, the Ventana Inn and the Ventana Retreat. Lacking the quasi-mystic aura of the nearby Tassajara Zen guest facility, lacking the countercultural improvementalistm of nearby Esalen, the Ventana seems to be merely a tasteful, luxurious, expensive, hot-tubbed, advanced-Sybaritic, getaway, redwood and cedar lodge on its magnificent site up a slope of the Santa Lucia mountains just above the bravely foaming Pacific Ocean. At one point, in the way of such matters, bankruptcy loomed. Professionals took over—but professionals who seemed to understand the nature of an unhotel—and now the place, like its cedar grayed by salt winds, has worn comfortably, perhaps even profitably, into the special world of Big Sur. (Herbert Gold, NYT, 29 January 1984, Travel, 16)

d. unprizes
Presenting the IgNobels, UnPrizes Satirizing Weak Science
(Headline of story on awards ceremony of the Annals of Improbable Research, NYT, 5 October 2000, 8)

e. unseason
It was a typical California unseason, but it felt like fall.
(Sue Grafton, D Is for Deadbeat, 1987, 1)

f. unwomen
(Label for women in Margaret Atwood’s The Handmaid’s Tale (1985) who, because they are not fertile, are shipped to the colonies as slave labor)

Is a ham sandwich eaten in the morning a breakfast (as well as an unbreakfast)? Is an unhotel—whether corporate apartments for un-suit-wearing business types or the redwood-and-cedar lodge at Big Sur for well-off eco-boomers—a hotel? The unwomen of Margaret Atwood’s dystopian future are technically women, albeit peripheral members of the category (i.e., class B unwomen)—but that is by our definition: within the world of The Handmaid’s Tale, to be infertile is arguably to be not quite a woman at all. And what of Jim McCawley’s unsyntax—a syntax or not a syntax? It depends on your syntactic theory. And indeed, the outcome of the 2000 (un)election hinged on whether those dimpled, chad-hung unvotes were technically votes or (as it turns out) not.11

Having distinguished class A and class B un-nouns, I should note that these labels are not mere alphabet-initial placeholders. An un-noun unX of class A is ALMOST an X, while an un-noun unY of class B is BARELY a Y. As argued in Horn 2002b, almost and barely both entail their polar and proximal components; yet in each case only the proximal component is asserted.

(16) a. Gore almost won.
   Proximal component: Gore did not win.
   Polar component: Gore approximated winning.

b. Bush barely won.
   Proximal component: Bush won.
   Polar component: Bush approximated not-winning.

This explains why barely but not almost is a trigger for negative polarity items.

(17) a. #She almost (bumped/slept a wink/touched a drop/spoke to anyone).
   b. She barely (bumped/slept a wink/touched a drop/spoke to anyone).

Assertorically inert material (like the positive component of barely VP or only NP) is irrelevant to NPI (negative polarity item) licensing. While almost doing something is akin to not quite doing it, so that almost and not quite are equivalent at the level of what is entailed, they differ at the level of what is asserted: it is the negative polar (and not the positive proximal) component of meaning that the not quite version asserts, whence the rhetorical opposition in (18a–b) and the contrast in NPI licensing in (18c).

(18) a. It’s too bad you almost died in there. [now you’ll need therapy]
   b. It’s too bad you didn’t quite die in there. [now I’ll have to finish you off, heh heh]
   c. I (didn’t quite) make it/*almost made it) to any of your papers.

In a number of approximative constructions crosslinguistically, the proximal component is retained but the polar component effectively flip-flops, depending on the context of utterance and interpretation. Thus, consider the Mandarin particle variously transliterated as cha-yidiar/chadian and literally glossed as ‘miss-a-little’ (Li 1976; Big 1989). While its ordinary interpretation is ‘almost’, when it has scope over a negative predicate it can be rendered either as ‘almost not’ (= ‘barely’) or as ‘almost’, with the negation essentially parenthetic.

(19) Wo chadian mei chi.
    I almost not eat
   a. ‘I almost didn’t eat’. ‘I barely ate.’
   b. ‘I almost ate.’ [= Wo chadian chi le.]

When the verb shifts from ‘eat’ to ‘bump into’ or ‘die’, the ‘almost’ reading predominates. Similarly, as Li (1976) notes (citing Bolinger), for Spanish por poco no.

(20) a. Por poco me ahogo.
    by a little I-drown
   ‘I almost drowned.’
b. Por poco no me ahogo.
   by a little not I-drown
   ‘I almost?barely drowned.’

Even more dramatic is the evidence Schwenter (2002) presents on “inverted” casi in Spanish. Normally casi has the same analysis as English almost, as illustrated in (21).

(21) María casi terminó la cena.
Maria almost finished the dinner
‘Maria almost finished dinner.’
Proximal component [entailed and asserted]: She approximated finishing it.
Polar component [entailed, not asserted]: She did not finish it.

In this respect, the relation between casi and apenas is essentially akin to that between almost and barely. But consider the emergence of an “inverted” use of casi in the Valencian dialect. A man impatiently awaiting his friend at the auditorium door sees her arrive a minute before the session starts and exclaims, ‘Casi llegast! You just barely made it!’ (lit., ‘You almost arrive!’). In such a context, restricted to simple present tense and utterance-initial occurrence, casi p clearly does not entail ~p, since the truth of p is obvious in the context. Instead, casi p = canonical casi + no (p) or apenas (p).

Other crosslinguistic analogues can be found in Swiss German fasch (normally similar to standard German fast ‘almost’ but allowing an inverted ‘barely’ sense), or English near miss, which for airplanes implies a bare miss but elsewhere suggests an almost miss.

(22) near miss
   Martin’s Near Miss
A stomach problem nearly ruled Martin out. . . . Great Britain curling skip
Rhona Martin almost missed the Winter Olympics because of a stomach
problem. The gold medallist, who delivered the stone of destiny, spent time in
hospital a week before the Salt Lake City Games began.

It is thus not too surprising that affixal morphology also allows the crossing of the same boundary, in which proximity is held constant but the polar component (being almost an X vs. barely an X) can be relaxed, leading to the permeability of the circumferential membrane in figure 15.2.

One feature that does distinguish the class A un-noun is the fact that against all expectation, an unX of this stripe is for better or worse simply not an X. This exclu-
b. **un-Clinton**
Mr. Dole provides such a contrast to the talkatively gifted President that Republicans insist their man will finally prevail as "the un-Clinton," the reassuring politician of oak-solid yeps and noes. They are hoping for a voters' verdict first prescribed by Cicero: "I prefer tongue-tied knowledge to ignorant loquacity."
(Francis X. Clines, "It's a War of Words (Say What?)," *NYT*, 30 June 1996, Week in Review, 16; later candidates for the un-Clinton role include John McCain, Bill Bradley, Al Gore, and George W. Bush)

c. **un-Hamptons**
We had bought a second home on this picturesque island two hours from the city because it was a "real place"—the avowed "UnHamptons"—where the Catholic Church hosts a Blessing of the Pets parade and year-rounders keep livestock pens with children's-book farm critters.
(Diane McWhorter, "Raising a Stink," *NYT Magazine*, 19 August 2001, 68)

d. **un-Hong Kong**
The Un-Hong Kong: This Colony Can't Wait for the Chinese
(Headline of article on how Macao, with its triads and turf battles, looked forward to takeover by China, *NYT*, 7 August 1998, Week in Review, 14)

e. **un-Oscars**
Once, the Golden Globes were the un-Oscars. Now they're becoming respectable.
(*NYT*, 16 January 1994, Arts, 11)

f. **un-Provence**
Friends are envious when they hear that my wife, Rynn, and I have built a family retreat in the Ecuadorian Andes, with two mature orange trees in the yard and flocks of parrots flying by. The house is located in an "un-Provence" called Zona de Intag, a rural county that tends more toward fried yucca than white truffle omelets.
(Stephen P. Williams, "Family Retreat in the Andes," *NYT*, 10 August 2000, Home, 1)

g. **un-Titanic**
*Hideous Kinsey* is the un-Titanic.
(Gael Greene in *New York*, 26 April 1999, 74, reviewing Kate Winslet's post-Titanic release, in which she portrays an English mother who flees London with her two young daughters to wander through the zonked-out "all-spice exotica" of 1972 Marrakech)

h. **un-Zermatt**
The Un-Zermatt: Saa-Fee Lacks the Flash of Grander Resorts, and Its Village Air Is Real
(Headline and subhead from *NYT*, 20 January 2002, Travel)
Since there can be only one (relevant) person or place named Bill Clinton or Hong Kong, *un-Clinton* or *un-Hong Kong* will naturally enough be taken as a class A *un-*noun, referring to an *unX* that shares features with *X* but not its identity, and in each case inducing a supercategory that encompasses both of them. Both Hong Kong and Macao (the *un-Hong Kong*) are former European colonies that were or are to be absorbed into China, Clinton and the various *un-Clintons* are (un)candidates, the Oscars and un-Oscars (the Golden Globes) are annual film awards. The lone class B coinage in this group is *un-Agassi*, representing not a rival player but an incarnation of Andre himself that lacked the prototypical features of the normally resolute and focused tennis star—the man simply wasn't himself that day. The *un-* names exemplified in this group appear to be gradually encroaching on the territory of the previously well established *anti-* in this frame:

(25) **un-Clinton** and **un-Yeltsin**
George W. Bush and Vladimir Putin have this in common: They got where they are by promising to be unlike their larger-than-life predecessors. Both say Russian-American relations will also be different, based on hard-boiled scrutiny of national interests, not on personal ties dressed up as grand strategy. So when the un-Clinton meets the un-Yeltsin tomorrow, post-cold-war diplomacy officially enters its post-heroic phase.

Similarly, we have the *un-Arafat* (for Salam Fayyad, the Palestinian finance minister, a "starched-shirt economist" with a Ph.D. from the University of Texas, *Newsweek*, 12 August 2002, 38) and the *un-Samaranch* (for Dr. Jacques Rogge, the successor to the ethically suspect Samaranch as the head of the International Olympic Committee, *NYT*, 1 August 2002, D1). We anxiously await the first coming of the *un-Christ*.

As with proposition denial for the common nouns, epitomization reigns for the proper noun examples.

(26) a. Macao: the colony that can't wait for the Chinese—*Hong Kong* it's not
b. those funky Golden Globes—the Oscars they're not
c. the down-to-earth Zona de Intag—*Provence* it's not

As with proposition denial per se, the target of epitomization may constitute either a positive or a negative exemplar, depending on the context. And again, the expectation established by the common ground is crucial. Given our shared knowledge
about Provence or Zermatt, it is possible to situate the Zona de Intag or Saas-Fee as their respective Aristotelian private, but not vice versa.

(27) a. #Provence: the un-Zona de Intag!
b. #Zermatt: Saas-Fee it's not!

If proposition denial and epitomization mark class A un-nouns, is there a comparable diagnostic for the class B un-noun? At the center of the circle in figure 15.2 is a small circle containing an iterated x. This represents not only the core membership of category X (perhaps Bill Clinton for political candidates, a clear-punched machine-readable ballot for votes, Coke for colas) but also what appears literally as XX—that is, the construction variously labeled the double (Dray 1987; Horn 1993), contrastive focus reduplication (Ghomeshi et al. 2004), or (as I shall refer to it here) the lexical clone. In a neutral context, clones pick out the prototype members of a category: a SALAD salad is (in our culture) a green salad with lettuce and perhaps tomatoes, not a chicken or potato salad; a DOG dog may be a golden retriever or German shepherd but hardly a chihuahua or Peke (much less a hot dog); a DOCTOR doctor has an M.D., not a Ph.D. in linguistics; and so on. With this in view, we can predict that the peripheral members of a category picked out by a class B un-noun will be at the opposite extreme from the core members picked out by the lexical clone: the uncollege as opposed to the COLLEGE college of leafy lawns, fraternities, a high-powered football team, and binge drinking, the unpolitician versus the POLITICIAN politician (Bill Clinton?). Notice in particular that in (28), the trend toward undesert is explicitly contrasted with the aggressive “signature” style of rooms that are, according to (un)designer Nancy Agrest’s lexical clone, “DESIGN designed.”

(28) Undesert: Moving Away from Aggressive Décor
(Headline, NYT, 2 June 1988, C6)
“Nothing is ‘design designed.’ Nothing has a signature.”
(New York architect Diana Agrest)

Similarly, compare the MOVIE movie in (29) (a classic Hollywood production) with the unmovie in (30).

(29) a. It's almost certainly the best movie-movie Hollywood has produced since Saving Private Ryan and maybe since Titanic.
(Stephen Holden’s review of Cast Away, NYT, 5 January 2001, E1)
b. This is what they used to call a real MOVIE-MOVIE.
(Rex Reed’s review of Charlotte Gray, The New York Observer, blurb quoted in January 2002 ads)

(30) unmovie

happens to be full of (1) dumb teenagers, (2) some nightingale egg poachers and (3) a young boy who has seen the crash. Out of the crash hulks a plastic-suit creature with the nose of an anteater. This is the father alien, who goes around killing everyone. Meanwhile, the insufferable kid finds an alien egg and hatches it. Out pops a cute version of the father, who goes “Coo” to tug at your heartstrings. The script by J. Piquer Simon (who also directed) and Jack Gray goes nowhere. THE UN EARTH LING is the unmovie of the decade.

(http://tilt.largo.fl.us/curric/mst3k/ss3303f.html)

The ambivalent cases of (15) are similar in this respect: whatever an unhotel is, it's in a different league from the four-star Sheraton or Hilton HOTEL hotel, and an unbreakfast is explicitly designed to provide a change of pace from the cornflakes or scrambled eggs of the all-American BREAKFAST breakfast.

15.6 Humpty Dumpty and the Unt-attributive

Another class of apparent un-names, sampled in (31), turns out on closer inspection not to involve un-nouns at all, but zero-derived adjectives that have undergone conventional affixal negativization.

(31) The pseudo un-noun: adjectives in nominal clothing
a. undesert
The estate had a lush green lawn in front, flowers blooming in neatly
tended beds, huge weeping willows trailing ferny branches onto the grass, a
pebbled circular drive with an offshoot that led to a three-car garage in
front of which a Mercedes was parked. The house featured white stucco
and ornate grillwork balconies. It was so beautiful. And so undesert.
(Nancy Herndon, Time Bombs, 1997, 202)

b. un-Disney
For a show that is attracting family audiences, this one [The Producers] is
about as un-Disney as you can get. It's multicultural only in the sense that
it makes fun of blacks and the Irish as well as Jews.
(“Springtime for Adolf and Tony,” op-ed by Frank Rich, NYT, 12 May
2001, A15)

c. un-Florida
So what does one wear to a place that looks like home? Your best. No
T-shirts (which may seem un-Florida to some), sneakers, jerseys, shorts or
baseball hats allowed.
(Babita Persaud, “Get Comfortable in the Living Room,” St. Petersburg
Times, 12 October 2000, 38W)
(32) un-Queen Amidala-like
   Novalee (Natalie Portman, looking radiant but very un-Queen Amidala-like)
   (NYT, 23 April 2000, Arts, 11, on actress Portman’s role in Where the Heart Is, after playing female lead in the Star Wars epic The Phantom Menace)

A more significant category of apparent un-nouns traces back to the famous Looking Glass exchange (Carroll 1872, chap. 6).

(33) un-birthday present
   Humpty Dumpty [on his cravat/belt, a gift from the White King and Queen]: “They gave it me—for an un-birthday present” …
   Alice: “What is an un-birthday present?”
   Humpty Dumpty: “A present given when it isn’t your birthday, of course.”

If the seed of today’s un-noun was donated (for a fee) by the copywriter of Uncola fame, the egg was undoubtedly contributed a century earlier by Humpty Dumpty. But Messrs. Carroll and Dumpty did not hatch the un-birthday present a b o v o. The OED files several other examples of this usage under un-1 12b, remarking that “the prefixing of un- to nouns used attributively is rare and usually not intended seriously.” The cited examples are largely nonce forms.

(34) a. unquality Ladys
   The reason of the discontent of the unquality Ladys is that they were laugh’d at by the great Ladys.
   (1771 Lady Mary Coke Jnl. 13 Aug.)

b. uncountry gentlemen
   Alas, the country! how shall tongue or pen Bewail her now uncountry gentlemen?
   (1823 Byron Age of Bronze xiv)

c. uncompany costume
   It was a whim of the artist to sketch his subject in that occasional, uncompany costume.
   (1852 S. R. Maitland Eight Ess. 236)

d. unbusiness men
   Single women, widows, and unbusiness men, are those on whom the blow chiefly fell.
   (1880 Spectator 3 Jan. 9/2)

In these cases and others (uncurrency-style (1852), undining-room (1845), unhousehold-name (1894), unsociety-people (1898)), the negation affixes to the first noun of a nominal compound. What is structurally an un-nominal is functionally a prefixed quasi-adjectival modifier; these are un-nouns in name only.
The Age of Uncola is also the age of the un-attributive nominal, as seen in the progeny of Mr. Dumpty on display in (35).

(35) The un-attributives
   a. un-Brooklyn crime
      An Un-Brooklyn Crime; Army Officer Charged in Killings in Land Fraud...
      In Brooklyn, where many killings stem from drug dealing and domestic disputes, investigators said that murders that arise from white-collar crime are uncommon. A suspect who is a decorated Army officer accused of committing the crime during a short furlough from foreign soil is unheard of.
      (Headline of article about unusual murder case for Brooklyn, NY; Kevin Flynn, NYT, 17 May 2000, B1)
   b. un-Christmas turkey
      “Thank you. An un-Christmas turkey is a great treat,” he said.
      (Elizabeth Taylor, In a Summer Season, 1961, 98)
   c. undate movie
      Of things already in town do not miss the blackly comic, spiritually desolate undate movie In the Company of Men.
      (Article on current films in The (Montreal) Gazette, 19 September 1997)
   d. un-dressing room
      It was an un-dressing room, Thérèse thought.
      (Michèle Roberts, Daughters of the House, 1992, 60)
   e. unengagement hand
      “And I don’t think I’m old enough to be engaged to anyone really, so I am going to wear his ring on my unengagement hand.”
      (Angela Thirkell, Miss Bunting, 1996, 322)
   f. unuguy sentiment
      Layne sympathized with Black and the Super Smokers about the whole hog contest. (This sympathy is a very un-guy sentiment. After the disastrous news, Black said he would be razzed unmercifully by some friends. Sure enough, as he took his ribs to the judging area, someone called out: “Hey, Terry, leave those ribs with us. The judges don’t want them—just like they didn’t want that skanky pig of yours.”)
      (Joe Holleman, “Where There’s Smoke ... There’s a Man Firing Up the Grill,” St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 8 October 2000, E1)
   g. unhealth food
      “I’m into un-health food,” Miss Stockbridge said. “I love Ben & Jerry’s vanilla-and-Oreo chunk ice cream. I have it with Diet Coke so I can feel good about myself.”
      (NYT, 3 August 1988, C3)

h. un-Miss Manners stack
   “Done with your dinnah?” asks the waitress. A rhetorical question since she is slapping dishes together in a very un-Miss Manners stack.
   (Mameye Medwed, Host Family, 2000, 44-45)

i. un-Mister Rogers tone of voice
   The more he was called Mister Rogers, the more his face grew red. One day last month, in a very un-Mister Rogers tone of voice, Fassell turned and said, “You know, I hate that.”
   (Bill Pennington on character makeover of New York Giants’ mild-mannered football coach Jim Fassell, NYT, 10 January 2001, D1)

j. unmother mother
   “After I’ve gotten him as prepared as I can for his unmother mother, I’ll try to hammer a few pounds of sense into his head about taking on Henri Forquet.”
   (J. M. Redmann, Lost Daughters, 1999, 258; narrator is a detective who is about to reunite someone with the birth mother who gave him up for adoption and is not a prototypical mother figure)

k. unpetroleum lip jelly
   Un-Petroleum™ Lip Jelly™
   Un-Chap® your lips
   (Label on product manufactured by Autumn Harp, Bristol, VT)

l. unpotato” latkes
   (Heading for recipe at http://www.oz.net/~csrh/new_page_1.htm in which the usual potato latkes are made with pureed cauliflower instead)

m. unreal estate
   Unreal Estate: Internet Stocks May No Longer Be Soaring, but the Market for Web Addresses Is Getting Tighter All the Time
   (Headline and subhead of “The New Economy,” column in NYT Magazine, 22 August 1999)

n. unrealpolitik
   On Russia’s Far East Fringe, Unrealpolitik
   (Headline of article on Vladivostok, NYT, 14 February 1999, 1; several other instances of Unrealpolitik attested)

o. unvalley idea
   (Headline, NYT, 28 May 2000, Business, 9)

p. unwelcome mat
   New York’s Public Areas Roll Out Unwelcome Mat for Homeless
   (Headline, NYT, 18 November 1989, 32)
Closer examination, however, indicates that the un-compounds in this list are structurally heterogeneous, depending on whether the prefixed nominal is a true un-noun or an un-adjective in nominal garb. While an unbirthday present is indeed a gift for one's unbirthday, an undate movie is not a movie that one sees on an undate but a movie that is not a date movie. Similarly, an undressing room is not a room where one does not dress (much less a room where one undresses, that being a hyphenless undressing room) but a room other than a dressing room. In these cases, the innovation of the unA B presupposes the prior establishment of the A B in the common ground. Such un-attributives may well introduce antonymy, but do not simply yield the antonym of the attributive noun itself. Rather, the entire nominal compound is effectively un-ned, in the manner of the class A un-noun. To posit an unguy sentiment is to evoke a superset encompassing two kinds of sentiments: the guy kind and the unguy kind. (The very modification here suggests that unguy is in fact functioning adjectivally here, and that thus we're dealing in this case with a pseudoun.) Notice also the anticon: we have the unmother mother above and elsewhere the undiet diet, which promises untold gustatory delights that don't weigh against one's waistline.

Similarly for the examples in which the attributive noun is a proper name: while an un-Christmas turkey is, Humpty-Dumpty-style, a turkey to be enjoyed on a day other than Christmas, an un-Brooklyn crime is not a crime that takes place out of Brooklyn but an atypical Brooklyn crime, an un-Miss Manners stack of dishes is one of which the eponymous etiquette guide would not approve, and an un-Mister Rogers tone of voice one that the children's television show host would not have been caught dead using. In each of these three cases, a very intensifier would again be eminently plausible.

Like their simplex un-noun cousins, these compounds are novel lexical items, constructed online, which are not destined for the permanent lexicon. In fact, it is this very feature that bears out the robust productivity of the process of un-noun formation in contemporary English (see Clark and Clark 1979 for a similar observation about denominal verbs).

15.7 Lexical Pragmatics and the Un-noun: Toward an Unconclusion

Uniting the un-attributive heirs of Humpty Dumpty's unbirthday present with the class A and class B un-nouns (and un-proper names) and the pseudo-un-nouns reviewed earlier is the Aristotelian semantics of privation and markedness, the same asymmetric conceptual structure invoked in section 15.3 to describe the distribution of semiproductive adjectival un- formation. It is only when the speaker can assume (or pretend to assume) an expected or "natural" property associated with a given referent or with the set to which that referent aspires to belong that she can felicitously invoke the corresponding un- form. Antonymy is generally defined as a symmetric lexical relation; if hot is the antonym of cold, cold is equally the antonym of hot. But the antonymy reflected in the un-word—whether adjective, noun, or even verb (see Horn 2002a)—is a conceptually asymmetric relation, just as is Aristotle's opposition between the positive and the privative.

While pragmatics was defined by its founders Charles Morris, Rudolf Carnap, and C. S. Peirce as "the science of the relation of signs to their interpreters" in opposition to the pure domains of syntaxes and semantics (Morris 1938), the relatively simple trichotomy envisioned in the Encyclopedia of Unified Science has gradually given way to a more complex picture in which syntax, semantics, and pragmatics are applicable to both sentential and lexical domains, as schematized roughly in figure 15.3. The field of lexical pragmatics originated with McCawley 1978, a memorable study of the penetration of Gricean implicature into word formation and word use; it was largely an attempt to extend this work (along with related morphological studies by Aronoff 1976) and Kiparsky 1983 (that bypass pragmatic modes of explanation)
that inspired my own dialectic model of language (Horn 1984) in which an R-based principle of least effort squares off against a Q-based principle of sufficiency of information. The application of this model to the analysis of redundant un-verbs is explored in Horn 1988, 1993. (For a lucid introduction to current trends in lexical pragmatics, see Blutner 1998, 2004; and for some applications to lexical change, see Traugott 2004.)

In this study in lexical pragmatics focusing on the behavior of the partially productive prefix un-. I have drawn from a wide variety of sources, beginning with the notions of opposition developed by Aristotle and schematized in the logical square of Apuleius and Boethius. I reviewed the widespread tendency for contradictory negation to develop (pragmatically and/or conventionally) strengthened contrary interpretations as recognized by Sapir and others (see Horn 1989; chap. 5), and more specifically for affixal negation—as represented canonically in English un-adjuncts on simplex bases—to lexicalize a contrary and evaluatively negative meaning, as detailed by Jespersen and Zimmer. This, in turn, can be linked to the more general phenomenon of R-based strengthening as realized in euphemism and related politeness strategies examined in Brown and Levinson 1987 (see also Shuman and Hutchings 1960 for related historical background and Horn 2000 for additional applications). Finally, the lexical pragmatics of un-adjuncts and especially of un-nouns can only be understood against a general background of the markedness of negation (see Horn 1989, sec. 1.2 and chap. 3, for various formulations by philosophers, psychologists, and linguists from Parmenides and Kant to Wason and Givón) and, in particular, of the recognition of the role played by the Aristotelian concept of priviation.

Descending from these shoulders on which I stand, a methodological hand should be waved in the direction of the technological resources that make it feasible to undertake a study of this kind. Without the services provided by Lexis/Nexis, Google, and the online OED, the observations offered here could not have been carried out with any systematicity, and without the human resources provided by Beth Levin, my co-principal investigator, this study would have been an unalive shadow of its current self.

Notes

1. McCawley explains (1980, 168) that this admittedly “disposable title” was intended to suggest that “much of what has been thought of as syntax is largely a reflection of other things, such as morphology, logic, production strategies, and principles of cooperation.”

2. In the free translation of Apostle (1966, 167), “Privation has as many senses as there are negations of terms which are prefixed by ‘un’ or ‘ir’ . . . or suffixed by ‘less.’”

3. See Winter 1994 for an impressive collection of invented (back-formed) positives of just this sort, in his tale of a maculate and flappable but relatively sipid gentleman with a wisty un-

brelia but peccable manners, who strenuously avoids any toward and head-of behavior to win the heart of a descript and gainly young woman with Kempst hair and a sheveled appearance.

4. The more lexicalized and less productive in-forms always have the potential to “restrict the domain of un-”: hence, we have no *impossible, *unactive, and so on (Zimmer 1964, 30). (See OED, un-, 7; Jespersen 1942, sec. 26.1; Marchand 1969; and—on the general phenomenon of blocking or preemption by synonymy—Bréal 1900, 27; Arnon 1976, 43ff.; McCawley 1978; Clark and Clark 1979, sec. 4.4; Horn 1984, 25ff.)

5. The situation is actually somewhat more complex; see Horn 1989, sec. 5.1, for more on the structural and semantic distinctions among in-, un-, and non-prefixation.

6. For reasons of space, I restrict discussion here to the adjectival- and nominal-deriving un-prefix. The reversible and denominational un- of unzip, unskin, unswath may be assimilable to the general account of Aristotelian privation as well, although its etymological source is different. For discussion, see Horn 1988, 2002a.

7. As a reviewer points out, uncircumcision and unverification may also be back-formed from the corresponding participle.

8. See Horn 2002a, 46–64, for a comprehensive inventory of attested un-nouns culled from newspapers, magazines, and observation of life over the last several years, constructed jointly with Beth Levin (now of Stanford University). In these and subsequent citations, NYT = The New York Times.

9. Class A uncomestibles in the unturkey mold are legion. Thus, we have unbologna (for the suspected filling of a child’s sandwich in The Nanny Diaries), unbutter (for margarine), uncheese (for the nonordinary substitute: 1,930 Google hits, including Uncheese Cookbooks), unBLTs (with faux bacon), and the unsushi (for a Japanese restaurant’s serving of katsu don, pork on a stick with egg and onion over rice), all washed down with either uncoffee (either tea or Postum) or some nonalcoholic unbeer. In each case, the context of presentation of the unX is one in which X would be normal or anticipated.

10. As Aristotle would no doubt have predicted, what counts as the default will vary with context. Thus, in an article “The Un-Beats: Lawrence Ferlinghetti and His pals Aren’t The Only Bay Area Poets, Just the Noisiest” (San Francisco Magazine, July 2002, 91), the Stanford School of Poets is described as follows: “Their work is restrained, elegant, classical, and insistently metrical, everything that Beat poetry is not.” In the context of San Francisco and poetry, beat represents the unmarked or “expected” category.

11. When other polysemies are factored in, the explosion of possible meanings for a given un- prefixed noun can be daunting indeed. As demonstrated by a roundup of Google sites, the lexical item unmarriage—if we do consider it a single lexical item—has been variously evoked as a class A un-noun (= a committed same- or mixed-sex relationship that does not attain legal wedlock), as a class B un-noun (= a marriage in name only, whether one deteriorated into that status or one designed to obtain one partner a green card), as a deverbal reative (= a divorce or annulment), or for the (un)ceremony resulting in any of the above (as in the dream recounted at http://whitier.blogspot.com/2002/08/01_whitier_archive.html).

12. In his discussion of ironic prefixing, Ward (1985, 289–90) notes that the height of a value on the relevant scale—and hence its eligibility as a target of epimutation—is determined by the context, thus yielding the difference in acceptability between (i) and (ii), where Hitler counts as a low and high scalar value, respectively.
(i) A: Do you think Bill is a nice guy?
   B: #Hitler he’s not.
(ii) He’s a powerful demagogue, but Hitler he’s not.

Similarly, consider the role of Patrick Ewing as an epitome of failure in the following text:
(iii) Coach Fassel tried to tell us this, but we were weak and disbelieving and forgot that
when it came to playoff guarantees, Patrick Ewing he isn’t. We should have known better. The next time the deacon of December says that his seemingly mediocre 6-6 team is capable of running the table and making the playoffs, we will fold our hands and say, “Amen!”

(Harvey Araton column, NYT, 24 December 2002, D1)

The key here is the assumption of a common ground for the New York sports fan, who will immediately recognize that unlike Joe Namath, Mark Messier, or Coach Jim Fassel, who were each locally celebrated for fulfilling their guarantees of victory for the 1969 Jets, 1994 Rangers, and 1999 Giants, respectively, Ewing is remembered for his many unfulfilled guarantees as the team leader of the Knicks in the 1990s. “Patrick Ewing he isn’t” thus plays off Ewing’s status as the standard bearer for the disappointed and unrequited.

13. The clones here are of the prototype variety; see the cited references for the role of context in distinguishing among the other possible variants. These additional examples of prototype clones were provided by Yale University undergraduates:

(i) A: Did you hook UP hook up? (value-added clone)
   B: No, we just hooked up hooked up. (prototype clone)

(ii) SEX sex: “refers to regular intercourse, not variations or imitations such as oral or vaginal [sic] sex”

14. This extends to novel un-phrase generation, as in (i).

(i) a. unfooled around with
   Simply Orange—unfooled around with
   (in TV commercials)
b. un-what-I-expected
   She was very un-what-I-expected.
   (A reference to women’s studies scholar Mary Cathryn Cain)
c. un-up your alley
   This is not un-up your alley.
   (Don DeLillo, Underworld, 1997, 202)

In a sense, every novel un-word is very un-what-one-expect.

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