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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the language used by workers in a china factory in order to present the characteristics and underlying features of occupational jargon. The paper shows: (1) jargon is affected by regional-local pronunciation, grammatical expressions and lexical items, and by individual speech styles which result from general linguistic phenomena such as phonological change and folk etymology; (2) terms which are traditionally a part of the industry represent several levels of technical expertise; (3) terms which are acquired through socialization in the factory often undergo a change in form or function; and (4) terms which are innovated on the job result from haste and from incidents which occur in the factory. (Author)

A Case Study of Occupational Jargon[1]

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Abstract

This paper examines the language used by workers in a china factory in order to present the characteristics and underlying features of occupational jargon. The paper shows: (1) jargon is affected by regional-local pronunciation, grammatical expressions and lexical items, and by individual speech styles which result from general linguistic phenomena such a as phonological change and folk etymology: (2) terms which are traditionally a part of the industry represent several levels of technical expertise: (3) terms which are acquired through socialization in the factory often undergo a change in form or function; and (4) terms which are innovated on the job result from haste and from incidents which occur in the factory.

Introduction

This paper is part of a larger study undertaken to explore the characteristics and underlying features of occupational jargon and to examine the part jargon plays in reflecting the workers' knowledge of their jobs and their attitudes toward them (Beynon, Blackburn 1972). Shenango china factory of New Castle, Pennsylvania was examined as a speech community using a case method of research (Mouzelis 1967). Personal and participant observations and interviews were utilized (Shuy et. al. 1968) and the background of the community, the factory and the workers was explored (Arensberg 1947). A sample of 151 informants was selected by plant seniority and departmental affiliation.[2] The sample represented all age groups,[3] occupational levels and work areas of the factory.

The project incorporated two basic assumptions: (1) occupational jargon is a combination of regional-local speech forms, individual speech styles and technical terminology associated with the industry; and (2) linguistic processes and social forces which have been shown to operate and account for behavior in more general settings also operate in a factory setting (Gumperz, Hymes 1972; Etzioni 1969).

The regional-local dialect was examined with the aid of a specially structured reading.[4] Individual speech

styles[5] and technical terminology were examined with the aid of a free narrative type questionnaire[6] and with photographs which helped focus attention on work-related materials and processes. Observations of workers outside the interview (Labov 1966) were used to explore the ways in which linguistic processes such as phonological change and folk etymology (Lehmann 1962, Sturtevant 1968) and social forces such as tradition, socialization and innovation account for the acquisition of technical and non-technical terms (Tyler 1969).

The techniques provided an opportunity to study the interrelationship of linguistic and social behavior in a work setting (Fishman 1970). A partial result is the following analysis of the factory jargon which includes technical and non-technical terms and expressions used by workers. The lexicon was compiled from information file sheets taken from interviews, word lists which accumulated during the research and departmental instruction books. Words and expressions were listed under major headings of factory operations such as forming, firing, decorating and warehousing, and the selection was made from them. The lexicon does not include all of the terms associated with china making - only those which exemplify certain characteristics of the factory jargon as a speech phenomenon. Some non-technical linguistic items that

reflect the regional and general speech habits of workers are included in the general discussion but do not appear in the lexicon chart at the end of the article.

Effects of the Regional-Local Dialect

Many of the linguistic formswhich workers use are a result of the local dialect. The technical term wheel-o-brator pronounced as [wIləbreɾər] shows the effects of local speech habits. Initial [w] as in wheel does not have the [hw] aspiration and follows the boundary set by Kurath (Kurath 1939; Kurath and McDavid 1961).

Turning pronounced as [tərnin] illustrates the tendency of speakrs, especiallv younger ones, to use an alveolar nasal rather than a velar nasal for the ing sound. Preference for alveolar nasal before [q] is also apparent in the word length as [lEnθ]. Other technical terms such as bisque and mask pronounced as [bIst] and [mæst] illustrate the local tendency to pronounce final [k] as [t] in such combinations. In rapid speech the [t] is assimilated to [s] so that the words are pronounced as [bIs] and [mæs].

The term polish pronounced as [pʊʊIš] illustrates the tendency of New Castle speakers to use a retracted [ɬ] wih lip rounding for dark [ɬ]. This may reflect the ethnic background of some workers as Russian and Polish, since

these language have phonemic systems that include velarized [ɫ] and sulcal [l], the latter as a positional replacement of [w].

A common feature of the local area is the reduction or loss of some vowel sounds when occurring before /l/ and /r/. The -meal of oatmeal and the -mill of pugmill are pronounced as [mIl]. Pool/pull become [pUl]; collar/color become [kɫlər]; tile/towel become [taəl] and very/vary become [vEri]. The counter tendency to show contrasts of vowels, in careful speech, results in pronunciations such as [kElər] for color to contrast with collar and [vari] for vary to contrast with very. The tendency to centralize vowels is also apparent in the pronunciation of bid and man as [bIəd] and [mæən].

The local origins of workers is also evident in their preference for some forms in both careful and casual speech. Linguistic markers of the region such as library and wash pronounced as [laibEri] and [wɒrs] are used as prestigious forms by workers from all age groups and occupational levels.

Some management men use forms associated with their backgrounds west of the region. Words such as just and because are pronounced as [jɛst] and [bIkɛz]. Those from eastern and northern regions reflect their backgrounds by using [dɔg] for dog and [rUt] for root. The local

pronunciations are generally [dʊg] and [rut].

Although common words may not undergo a change of pronunciation when workers move to a new region, if there is no social pressure to change them, other forms associated with their jobs may undergo a change of pronunciation. This phenomenon is illustrated by the non-regional workers who adopt the factory pronunciation of [wɪləbreʃər] for wheel-o-brator even though the initial [w] may be contrary to their own native speech habits.

Grammatical expressions and lexical items which the workers use can also be traced to their regional background. Whenever used for 'when', leave and left used for 'let' and needs plus past participle such as needs polished for 'needs to be polished' or 'needs polishing' are common.

Whenever I was a little boy I used to sell papers.
Union Male III

Leave me feel it.
Union FEmale I

I left it set awhile.
Union FEmale I

It needs polished.
Management Male II

The method of forming or adapting words also reflects the workers' regional-local background. The effect of the Ulster Scots dialect may be seen in the use of nouns and adverbs to form other nouns in words such as footer-up

and setter-up, which refer to job titles in the factory. A reversal of the combination, that is adverb plus noun of agency plus plural s produces the term insiders, which refers to older workers with high seniority.

General Speech Habits and Folk Etymology

General speech habits include creating new pottery terms by analogy. Workers will combine adjectival root smooth with verbal suffix -en to produce the verb smoothen by analogy with soften and deepen. They also exhibit a tendency to use hisn and theirn by analogy with mine and to use regional younz as a plural pronoun.

The ability to form new names and adapt old ones also illustrate general speech phenomena. The worker title mold runner is derived from the operation which the worker performs. 'He runs molds to the drying room' is shortened to 'He runs molds' which results in the label mold runner. Words may be created from independent elements such as stove and room which produce the label stoveroom. Initials often replace words as in T.C. and A.D. for 'tea cup' and 'afterdinner'. Blending words also results in new words. Fluffing is a combination of sloughing and floating and is used to define an imperfection in the glaze. Some factory expressions are a result of functional shift which provides an opportunity to use old words in a new way.

Bogie which means 'goal' is used as both a noun and a verb. Some workers say, 'I made my bogie' while others ask 'Did you bogie yet?"

Some terms and expressions show the effects of folk etymology. Practical definitions are provided for many plant-wide terms which ordinarily would not make sense to workers. One or several factors may account for the phenomenon, indistinct, or incorrect, pronunciation by the speakers' linguistic model, background interference which distorts the communication, or incorrect interpretation by the listener. Workers who do not hear new terms distinctly during their initial period at the plant relate them to sounds that are familiar to them or to sounds that remind them of familiar experiences. If the association they make between the sound and past experiences 'makes sense' the new form is adopted. If others also use the same pronunciation, or adopt the worker's idiosyncratic form, the usage spreads. Once the form has been established as 'correct' the user seldom notices any difference between his form and that of coworkers who use a different form.

The factory setting is an unusually good environment for folk etymology. The level of background interference is high and continuous, the new terms are strange and related to uncommon concepts or experiences associated

with the job and there is pressure to conform quickly because of the need to interact with coworkers and supervisors.

Workers provide lengthy explanations for some terms and have no explanation for others. The eighthead automatic jigger machine which orginally produced eight plates simultaneously is called egghead because 'it was made by eggheads .' A blunger is called plunger because 'it's a machine that has a big plunger that mixes the clays in the water.' The pugmill is a plug machine because 'the clay looks like plugs when it comes out', and water engobe is called water on go because 'the color goes on in water.'

Workers also create reasons for the use of terms. The production quota or goal for departments is called bogie. A few workers believe that the term derives from 'the bogie man; that used to scare us when we were kids and now we're still scared of our bogie, that we won't make it.'

Studying technical terms in combination with social characteristics provides an opportunity to study the manner in which terminology may spread within a factory. Several deviant forms were traced to workers who shared a common work environment and carried the terms with them when transferred to other departments. Workers retain a number of terms from previous work areas but in time lose many of them.

Technical Terms and Usage Levels

There are several usage levels of technical terminoloby associated with an industry. At the most complex level, or focal level, the terms have a scientific orientation. Precise labels based on standards which a professionally trained group recognizes serve as basic references for the industry. Most technical terms are a permanent part of the industry's vocabulary, although a few may be used for only a short period. The restrictions imposed by educational requirements and special training limit the number of speakers who share the scientific terms to a very few. At Shenango china factory only the chemists and ceramic engineers shared the scientific terms.

At the next level terms are less precise and relate to materials and operations in the industry. Although some complex forms are retained others are altered for clarification. The speakers who share the terms from this level must have some training and indoctrination in order to communicate adequately. These speakers represent the majority of skilled personnel in the industry.

The next level of technical terminology includes words which have been simplified. The lack of complex terms permits a larger number of people to share them.

Workers who are intermittently imployed in the industry and persons interested in the products associated with the industry share in this terminology. These speakers are knowledgable about certain basic concepts related to the industry and they are familiar with many simplified terms. Distributors, hobbyists and collectors all share terms from this level.

The last level may be associated with the layman. A few terms relating to an occupation filter to the public through the distribution of the product, through its ownership and through personal contact with workers actively engaged in the industry. The communications media also provide opportunities for laymen to hear terms associated with an occupation. Gradually, some currency arises through the association.

For these reasons the last level of technical terminology represents the narrowest usage range, with the most number of speakers sharing terms. Conversely, the focal level represents the widest usage range, with the least number of speakrers. Levels one and two best exemplify occupational jargon commonly associated with factories. Chart 1 shows the terms which are shared by the various usage levels.

Within the factory a similar kind of discrimination is made by workers based upon their technical expertise

in different operations. Workers who are closely associated with particular operations or materials make precise distinctions between conceptual units. Chart 2 illustrates the relationship between organization of linguistic symbols and proximity to the focal area. The levels represent classifications which were made by workers in various departments and may be correlated with the levels of technical expertise associated with the objects.[7]

Level 3 represents departments which are separated geographically and operationally from the focal area. Level 2 identifies departments that are operationally close but geographically separated from the focal area. Level 1 represents departments that are geographically and operationally close to the focal area. Geographical proximity can account for the exchange of terms between departments but it is not as important a determiner of shared terminology as operational links.

Social Forces and Acquisition of Terms

Terms which are generally shared in the industry are those which have been traditionally handed down from earlier generations through socialization. Although a number of terms are lost or altered, a great many have survived from the earliest days of pottery making. Terms

such as kiln, fire and body, which pertain to the basic operations and materials, are most likely to survive. New terms may take the place of old ones or re-interpretation may result in retaining the term but narrowing or widening its semantic field. In this way occupational terms are self-enforcing and self-perpetutating. Books, manuals and references provide the basic vocabulary for individual organizations engaged in the industry. Professional groups set standards and workers innovate terms that are incorporated in manuals which are adapted to existing norms. In time the materials serve as traditional references for other manuals and other workers socialized in the industry.

Technical terms which suppliers contribute to the factory are those which they have received, adapted or innovated. Names for machines and materials are based on the inventor's name, a combination of names, blending, or they are based on the number of the item in some chronological order, such as the year of its invention, its acquisition, or installation. Materials, tools and machines are often consecutively numbered and a form of relative dating is possible even though the factory may not own all of a particular series. The number of a machine indicates its relative age and level of sophistication which is important for factory personnel who

are responsible for the maintenance and replacement of materials and machines. Numbered machines also help to establish the historical relationship between traditional terms, innovative terms and departmental affiliation.

Socialization plays an important part in determining the particular technical vocabulary of a given factory. The terms which are borrowed from technical service manuals, catalogues and professional personnel are adapted to the particular needs of the factory. Basic speech habits determine the manner in which labels are interpreted so that in this way each factory and each work group has its own peculiar dialect, yet many basic terms are shared and the manner in which terms are acquired is shared by other such factories and work groups.

Interaction, daily contact and the tendency to imitate speech patterns are important factors in the acquisition of technical terms. Workers who join a department quickly adopt the forms used by their coworkers, even though the forms may conflict with those of their former work area. Workers, due to their mobility within the plant, are aware of the usage differences, but they use the forms which are accepted in their present work area. Thus, lexical variations occur between the front and the back of the plant and between a number of departmental zones.[8]

Speakers learn from those around them and if the linguistic models are imperfect the distortion will result in slightly changed forms. Workers are forced to rely on coworkers for their occupational speech patterns and they quickly adopt terms which play a central part in their own operations. If misinterpretation of terms occurs they will rationalize their usage pattern.

If adaptive changes are made by a supervisor in a department, workers will reflect the changes and perpetuate them. A foreman who uses a non-standard form will establish the norm in his department. When he is transferred, he will bring the form with him and workers who are in contact with him will acquire it. Former subordinates who used the term will eventually lose it if the new foreman uses another and if pressure is exerted on workers to alter their usage. This phenomenon partly accounts for the lexical variations in the factory.

The importance of foremen as linguistic models is illustrated by one foreman who used the pronunciation [InsFnrəɪv] for incentive in one department and upon being transferred to another department brought the deviant form with him. Workers in both departments and workers who were in close daily contact with those workers, adopted the form.

I have found the folloiwng statement by Sturtevant validated a number of times '...if I admire the speech of my employer or senior officer...I am likely to imitate and extend any phonetic innovation that occurs in his speech and those who imitate my speech are lifely to carry the process still further...' (Sturtevant 1967:81). I would add that workers need not admire the speech of their supervisor. I believe that imitative behavior is, for the most part, unconscious behavior that occurs because of daily contact and communication with others. During the research period many workers admitted:

> I know we say things different here but it's easier.
> Union Female I
>
> I know it's wrong but it's habit, I guess.
> Union Male II
>
> I used to make fun of them that said [rɪfæktrɪ], but now I say it.
> Union Male I

A particularly illuminating example is that of the pronunciation of refractory. Although many workers, especially in management, were aware of the non-standard form 'rifa kri' which they commonly used, they continued to use the form. I found that I could alter the speech of some top management personnel by using the standard pronunciation [rɪfræktrɪ]. If, on the following day, I used the non-standard form [rɪfæktrɪ] with the same speakers they would use that form. I found the same phenomenon

occurred with the pronunciation of decal as non-standard [dikæ l] and standard [dikæ l]. The degree to which daily contact can influence speech is also illustrated by my own tendency to pronounce refractory and decal in the same manner as the workers after having spent an extended period of time with them.[9]

Management workers regardless of their occupational level, quickly adapt to the speech habits of the workers with whom they are involved during their work day. Their ability to adopt the speech forms of workers in different departments reflect their tendency to imitate speech patterns and their attitude as worker oriented. Most management personnel were promoted from union jobs and pride themselves on their knowledge of different departmental operations and their 'knack of fitting in.'

Focused attention, need to succeed and interest in the job are also important factors in the acquisition of factory terms. Workers who do not like their job or the area in which they work are least likely to know and use the terminology associated with their work group. During the research, only one worker used a deviant form for a term associated with his work area. He disliked his job and bid out before the end of the month. Conversely workers who were most interested in their jobs were also most

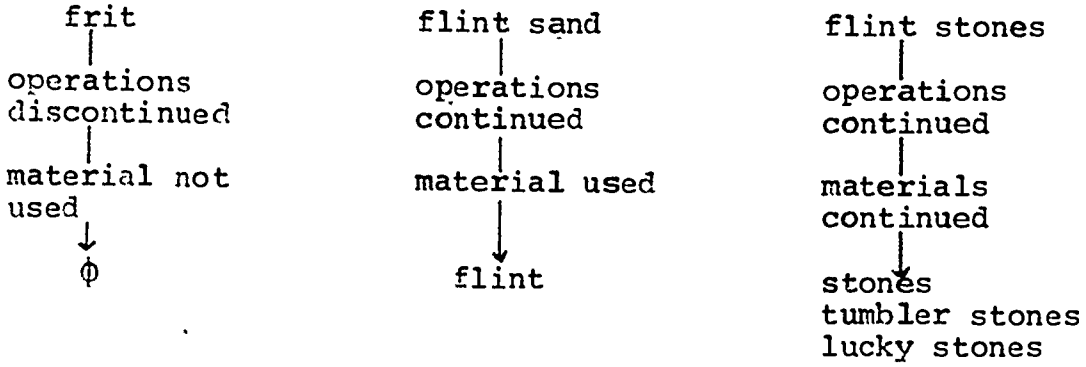
knowledgable about terms and concepts pertaining to their jobs.

The manner in which workers interpret terms is the result of socialization. Thus, some forms which are identical in sound refer to totally different operations or materials in different departments within a factory as illustrated by Chart 3.

I have also found that homophonous forms that compete in similar or overlapping work environments may result in the loss of one form, especially if ideas relating to one form are lost to the group, and may also result in a change in the psychological grouping of another form.[10] At one time the factory used frit in glaze making operations located near firing departments, flint sand in preparatory operations for firing, and flint stones in finishing operations after firing. Frit and flint were often confused and mispronounced by workers in the early days of the pottery; however, today few pottery workers are acquainted with the term frit while many workers use the term flint to refer to the preparatory operations for firing which require flint sand. The term flint stones has been largely replaced by tumbler stones and lucky stones 'because the stones are used in the tumbler and that's what we called the stones as kids.'

The historical development appears to have included

the loss of frit with the loss of operations pertaining to it and the psychological regrouping of flint stones to stones as the following illustration shows.



There are also instances when opposite labels are given to identical items or processes. The terms low cup and high cup are labels used to identify the same object. Workers who use the label low cup work in firing departments which place the cups in low saggers for firing. Workers who use the label high cup work in the warehouse department, located at the opposite end of the plant, and pack the cups in cartons for shipping. The warehousemen found that the cups could be packed three dozen to a box if they were stacked in high cartons. Although the cups arrived from the back of the plant bearing the term low cups, the workers in the warehouse department at the front of the plant referred to them as high cups. The linguistic behavior of workers in the firing and warehousing departments suggests elipsis on the syntactical level and

the following historical development:

The low sagger cups--the low cups.
The high carton for the low cups--the high carton low cups
The high carton cups--the high cups.

Both departments exhibit similar cognitive processes. The container in which the object fits is the determining factor for labeling the object and not the attributes of the object itself. The operations, kiln placing for firing and packing for shipping, and the materials used in the operations, a low sagger and a high carton are the salient features of the cognitive processes. Thus, the label which an individual uses will either bear a direct relationship to the object itself or to another object or process with which the labeled object is involved.[11]

Chart 4 which illustrates the production flow, shows the major operations involved in china making and indicates the main routes that the ware follows through the plant. Forming departments have terms which label raw ingredients, processes for making clay bodies, and processes for forming and smoothing pieces of ware. Firing departments have vocabulary items referring to firing and polishing fired ware, and decorating departments have terms associated with painting and decorating ware. Warehousing

departments have fewer terms that are used throughout the plant because workers there are rarely transferred, due to high seniority, and because the warehouse represents the final stage of operations. Chart 5 is based on the production flow chart and shows the vocabulary items associated with major departmental zones.

Innovation accounts for new terms which arise in an industry or work group. All job-related terms in the factory derive from the materials and the operations involved in the manufacture of the product. The materials include (1) raw materials which are used as basic components or in some way contribute to the finished product such as clays, paper, paint and sand; (2) machines which may be hand operated, semi-automatic or fully automatic technological innovations that are in some way responsible for the product, such as jigger wheels, conveyors and kilns; and (3) tools which serve as aids to the other materials, such as brushes, scrapers and squeegies.

The operations include all the activities that are involved in the creation of the product. Operations may be (1) pre-operative and center around preparations such as soaking decals, mixing clays and batting out clay; (2) operative in which the central performance is carried

out, such as applying the decal, casting the piece and jiggering the object; and (3) post-operative in which the operation is completed, such as drying the decal, scraping and sponging the cast object, and finishing the jiggered object.

Several factors contribute to the innovation of new terms: (1) new concepts, activities, materials or inventions; (2) the need for secrecy in some industries; and (3) spontaneous incidents within a work group. One area at Shenango that has been designated 'the nut house' was originally set aside for an experimental process. Workers who volunteered to work in the area were confused by the daily changes that were made and began speaking of the department as 'the nut house'. Although the experimental process was a success and the department is officially designated 'direct application' the other term is still used by employees who worked there, or are currently working there.

Shared expreiences of workers also results in new terms. At Shenango, Big Mo is a term used to identify the largest machine in a series. Older workers stated that although they could not remember when the expression originated in the pottery they did remember 'working on Miller 34 when company first put it in and it was so big

it reminded us of our ship, the Big Mo (Missouri).' The workers had borrowed the term from their World War II naval ship and extended it to include the largest machines in the factory. The socialization of new workers includes learning the term Big Mo.

Incidents involving certain objects also prompt new terms. The label coffin was given to a vehicle which had the appearance of a coffin. When one worker drew a body on the side of the vehicle, and another worker 'laid down in it like he was dead' the term was adopted for the object. The object's general appearance and its mobility in the plant contributed to the spread of the term to other departments.

Certain objects are recognized for their utility or for some other inherent quality or chracteristics, and labels which are the most descriptive, or can most easily be associated with the object will be used to identify the object. In this sense synecdoche may account for a term such as flat for 'skid.'

Adaptations from figures of speech also account for many terms in the factory such as 'the foot of a cup', or 'the shoulder of a plate' or 'the well of a platter'. Waste prompts workers to shorten expressions by using the significant words of a group to express ideas, such

as using an adjective clear or verb count for nouns, and using nouns such as bung and pyramid for verbs, and shortening terms such as direct application to D.A.

Is the clear on the decal?
Union Male III

We made our count.
Union FEmale I

We bung ware..
Union Male II

Did you pyramid the ware yet?
Foreman III

We work in D.A.
Union Male III

Chart 6 shows terms which are traditionally shared in the industry, those which have undergone a change due to local adaptations, and those which were innovated at Shenango factory.

Notes

[1]This paper is a partial result of my research done as a Maxwell Fellow for the Department of Anthropology at Syracuse University.

[2]The plant seniority of individuals refers to their seniority category: Category I represents 0-8 years; Category II represents 9-19 years; and Category III 20-60 years. Departmental affiliation refers to particular work areas within the factory.

[3]A detailed discussion of age group differences appears in 'Speech Differences of Factory Worker Age Groups' by P. Tway in Studies in Linguistics, Vol. 25, 1975.

[4]The reading was a short paragraph which contained words that help to identify a western Pennsylvania speaker.

[5]A complete analysis of speech styles is presented in, 'The Careful and Casual Speech of Factory Workers' by P. Tway in Studia Linguistica, 1976.

[6]The questionnaire was presented in a conversational manner and focused on work at the factory level, the departmental level and the personal level.

[7]A complete discussion of taxanomic classification of factory terms is included in a paper titled, 'Cognitive Processes and Linguistic Forms of Factory Workers' by P. Tway and presented at the summer meeting of the LSA, 1975.

[8]For a discussion of usage variations of factory terms based on departmental affiliation see 'Workplace Isoglosses: Lexical Variation and Change in a Factory Setting' by P. Tway in Language in Society, Vol. 4, 1975.

[9]This phenomenon supports the observations of Werner Leopold in Readings in the Sociology of Language, J. Fishman, ed. (The Hague: Mouton, 1970), p. 346. Immigrant workers of different ethnic backgrounds attempt to adopt the speech habits of the work unit rather than retain their own and for this reason those workers will acquire the local dialect faster than other immigrants who are not actively engaged in an occupation. I have found that if there is competition competition between forms for job-related linguistic items, those which are compatible with the work-group norm will be adopted, so that in this sense factory jargon superseds other speech forms.

[10]Winfred Lehmann 1962 discusses, '...the likehood of substitutes for one of the homonyms...' if they are '...used in similar environments...'

[11]This phenomenon is also illustrated by the typesetter's terms upper case and lower case and their locations in the upper and lower portions of the typesetter's work area.

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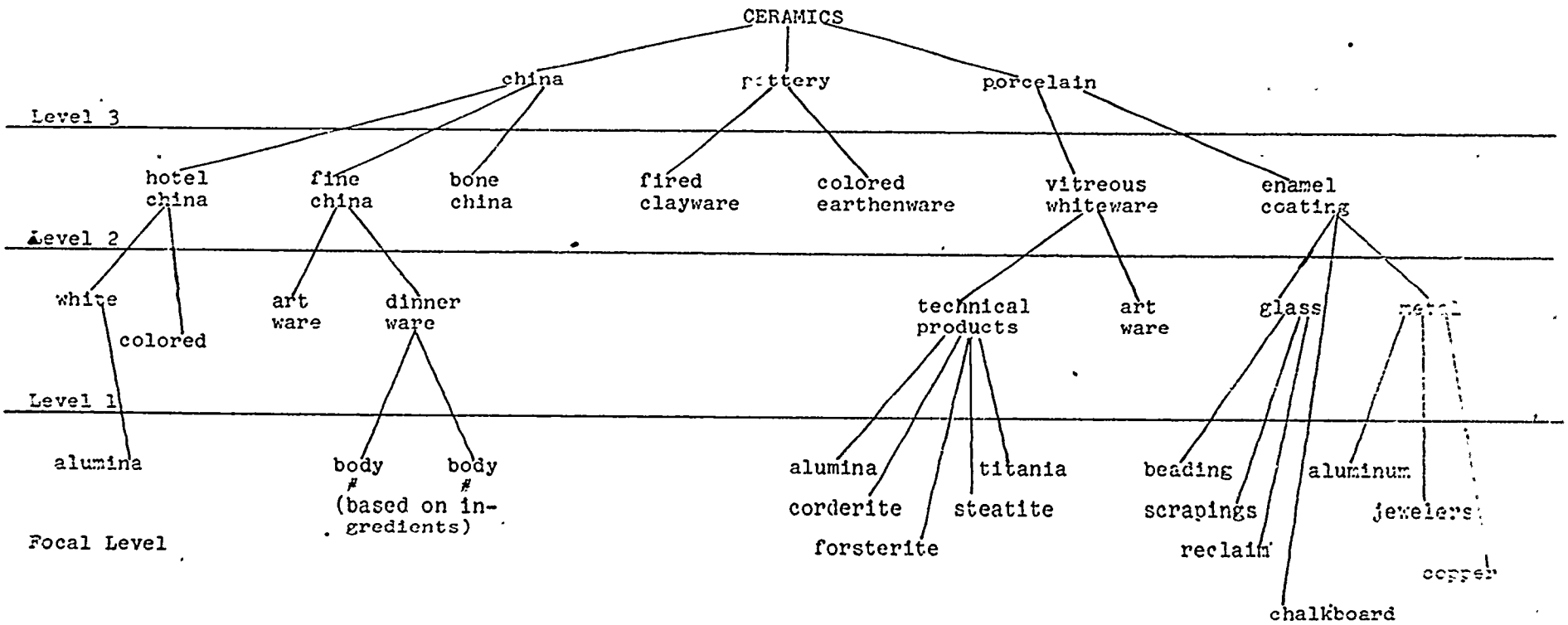
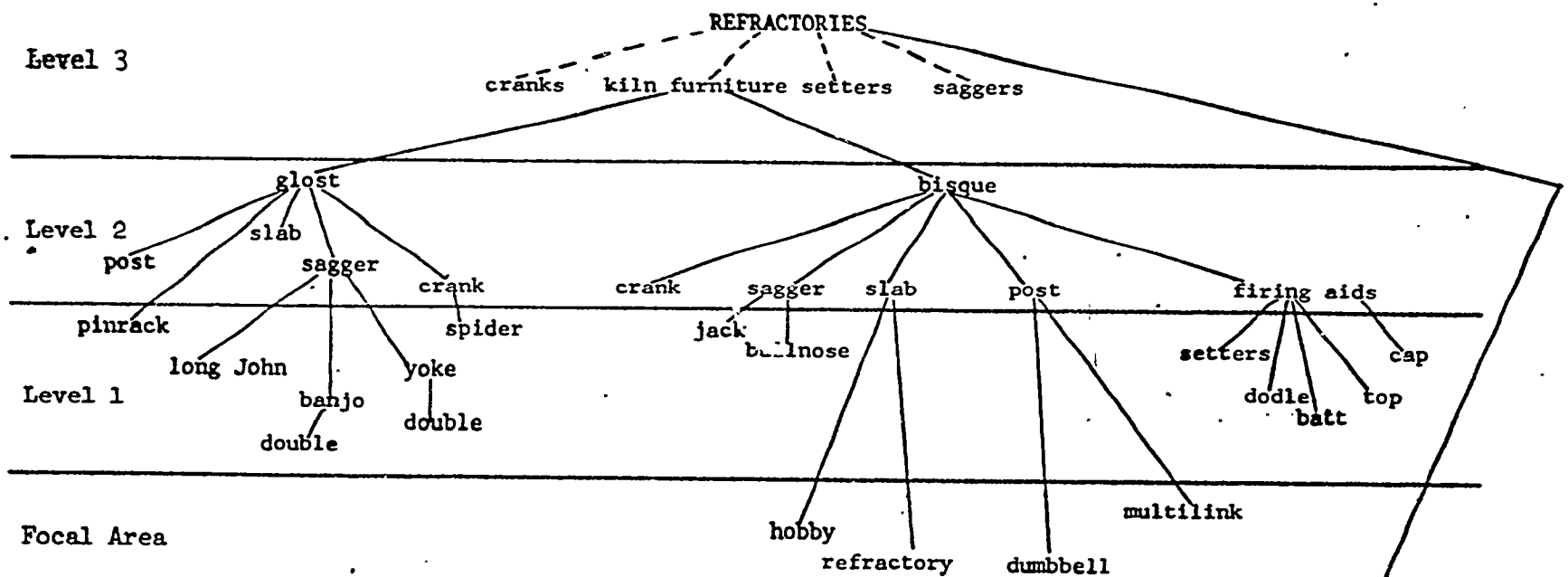
Chart 1



Some terms such as china, pottery and porcelain are shared by the General Public illustrated by Level 3. Labels for types of china, pottery and porcelain are shared by Parttime Workers, Distributors and Hobbyists as shown by Level 2. Finer distinctions are made by Skilled Personnel from Level 1 who are more closely associated with the use of the objects. The most precise distinctions are made by the Professional Technicians who represent the Focal Level of technical expertise. Each level makes more precise distinctions than the level preceding it and each level encompasses the terms from the preceding level so that the focal level includes all of the terms from the three preceding levels.

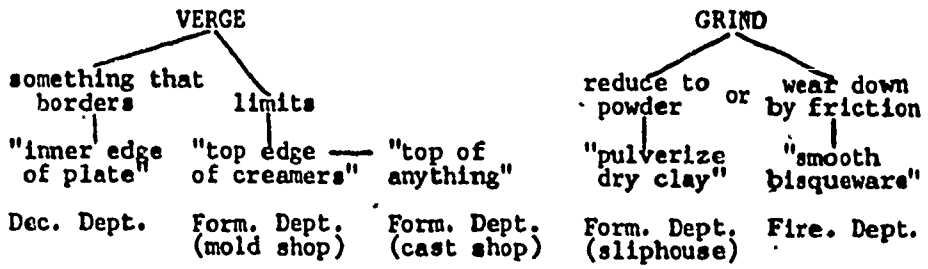
CHART 2

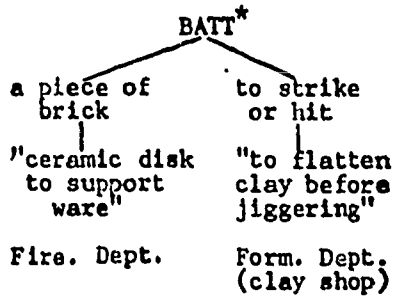


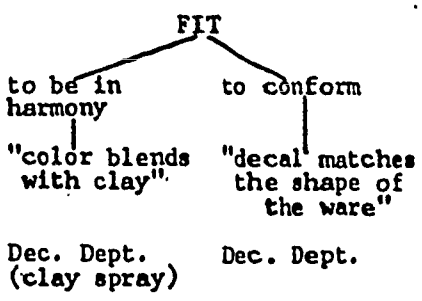
Some terms such as "cranks", "kiln furniture", "setters", and "saggers" are generally shared by pottery workers--exemplified by Level 3. Finer distinctions of types of "cranks" and "saggers" together with "posts" and "slabs" as "glost" or "bisque" "kiln furniture" and "firing aids" as "bisque" kiln furniture: are made by workers who are more closely associated geographically with departments that use the objects--exemplified by Level 2. Note that this level of cognition makes no allowances for similar distinctions of "setters". Workers who are associated with the operations which call for certain types of objects make even finer distinctions between types of "glost" and "bisque" "cranks" and "saggers". The most precise usage of terms in relation to objects is in the Focal Area which also recognizes kinds of "tile furniture" and types of "slabs" and "posts". Each level makes finer distinctions than the level above it and each level encompasses the level above it.

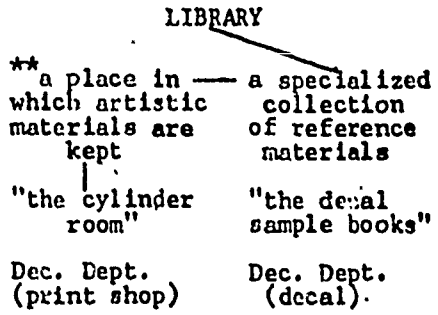
Chart 3

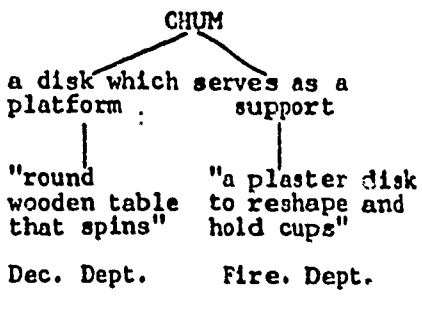
The chart below includes terms, departments which use them, and the manner in which they are used.

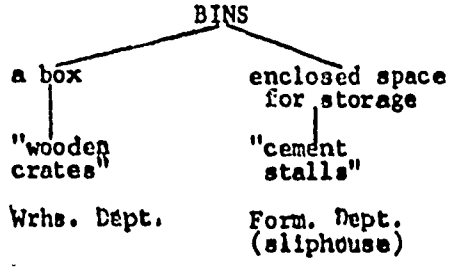


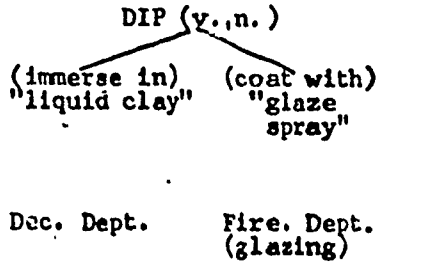












*homophonous forms

**synecdoche

Chart 4

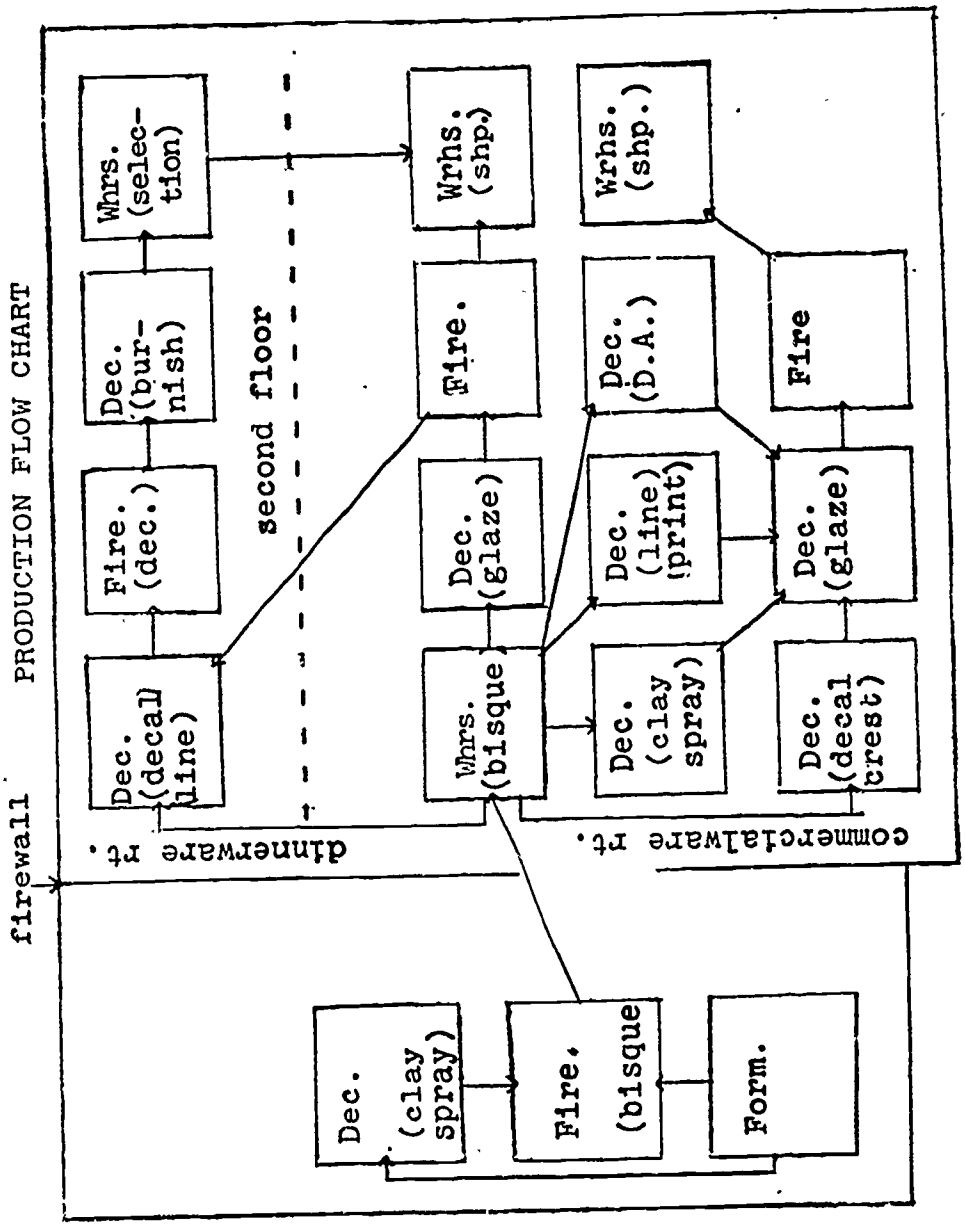
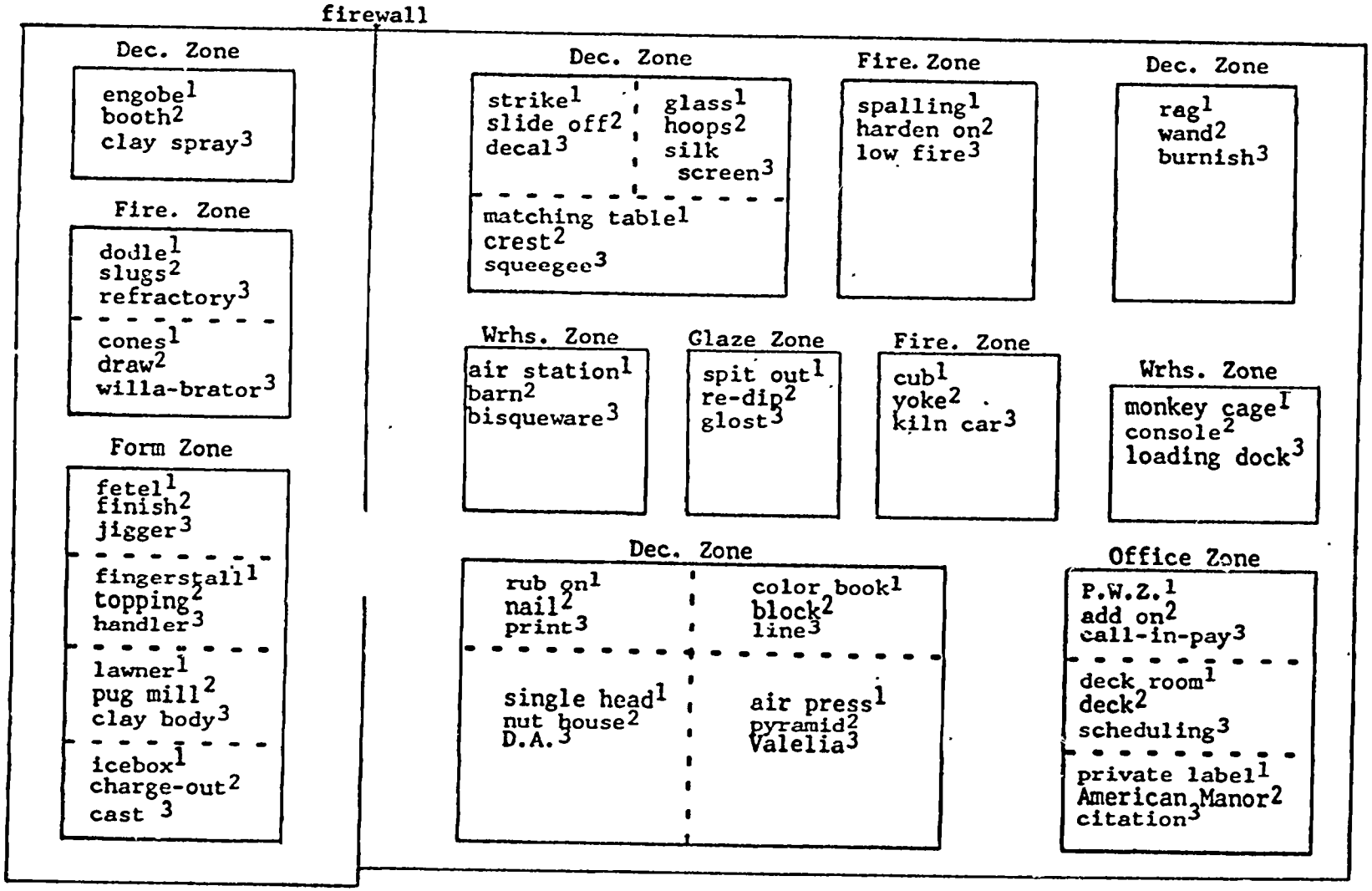

PRODUCTION FLOW CHART
firewall
dinnerware rt.
commercialware rt.
second floor
Dec. (decal line)
Fire. (dec.)
Dec. (burnish)
Whrs. (selection)
Whrs. (bisque
Dec. (glaze)
Fire.
Wrhs. (shp.)
Dec. (clay spray)
Dec. (line) (print)
Dec. (D.A.)
Wrhs. (shp.)
Dec. (decal crest)
Dec. (glaze)
Fire
Dec. (clay spray)
Fire. (bisque
Form.

Chart 5

DEPARTMENTAL ZONES



Vocabulary items are associated with major departmental zones. Terms labeled 1 are shared by workers employed in the department. Terms labeled 2 are shared by at least one other department due to operational links or geographical proximity. Terms labeled 3 are commonly shared by the factory workers.

Chart 6

TRADITION		SOCIALIZATION		INNOVATION
R.K. run of kiln	----------→	best run of kiln	←----------	best run of kiln
bisque	----------→	bisque/biscuit	←----------	biscuit
transport cart	----------→	cart/coffin	←----------	coffin
saggers	----------→	saggers/staggers	←----------	staggers
setters	----------→	setters	←----------	
tea cup	----------→	T.C.	←----------	T.C.
Miller 34/ eighthead	----------→	eighthead/egghead/Big Mo	←-----	egghead/Big Mo
skid	----------→	skid/pallet	←----------	pallet
pallet	----------→	pallet/skid/flat	←----------	skid/flat
tunnel kiln	----------→	German kiln	←----------	German kiln
wheel-O-brator	----------→	[wIləbreʃər]	←----------	[wIləbreʃər]
pryometric testcone	----------→	testcone/cone	←----------	cone
water engobe	----------→	water on go	←----------	water on go
pug mill	----------→	pug mill/plug mill	←----------	plug mill