AMONG THE NEW WORDS

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In this installment, we resume our coverage of outcomes in the American Dialect Society's Word of the Year vote for 2023, treating terms in the alphabetic range from *hallucination* to *tush push*. A full list of WOTY nominees and winners is available in the August 2024 installment of ATNW (*AS* 99, no. 3 [Aug.]: 364–82, https://doi.org/10.1215/00031283-11417490). Also included in the August installment (and this one, and every installment for the past four years) are supplemental materials providing lexicographic treatment with multimedia citational evidence of the headwords covered in our discursive paragraphs. These treatments, painstakingly edited by Charles Carson, preserves ATNW's long-standing tradition of concordancing occurrences of new terms, evidence which is collected nowhere else. As is our custom, we focus below on terms that have received little to no treatment in the leading English-language dictionaries, elaborating each term's history and current usage profile with discursive paragraphs. We revel in our singular opportunity to provide illustrative documentation to our changing language in these pages, an opportunity leading dictionaries (with their space requirements and for-profit stakeholders) often can't provide.

Each year, wildcard categories emerge during a live nomination session that precedes the ADS Word of the Year vote. This session is often rather lively—as described by *New York Times* reporter Sam Corbin (2024), who embedded with ADS during the 2023 vote—and can solidify connections between seemingly miscellaneous nominated terms. COVID-related terms dominated the wildcard categories of 2020 and 2021, an artifact of understandable saturation. The phrasal template, or snowclone (Whitman 2004), rose to prominence in 2022, offering no less than eight candidates for WOTY in a wildcard category, including *they're a 10, but X* and *X hits different* (see *AS* 98, nos. 3 [Aug.] and 4 [Nov.], respectively, for their full coverage). In 2023, our wildcard category was A.I. related terms, which emerged once again due to saturation as mainstream media and professions far and wide encountered ChatGPT (see *AS* 99, no. 3 [Aug.]) and related generative technologies run by

large language models (LLMs, see entry below). This category was headed by *stochastic parrot*, which dominated through several rounds of voting (available to watch on the American Dialect Society's YouTube channel at https://www .youtube.com/watch?v=GbgnwDMj84w). Emily Bender and colleagues, in "On the Dangers of Stochastic Parrots" (2021), ask whether exponentially inflating language models are actually getting smarter or are they merely parroting the associations (and biases) they see. Prompt engineer Ralph Losey created several A.I videos and illustrations around the *stochastic parrot* concept for online tech news outlet *JD Supra* in March 2024. Losey echoes the warning of Bender and other computing machinery analysts, stating, "Talk to the AI parrot on your shoulder, for sure, but keep your other ear alert. It is dangerous to only listen to a stochastic parrot, no matter how smart it may seem."

For this installment, we continue our tradition of inviting guest contributors based on their expertise and expressed interest. (Yes, even you could contribute! Just email us at atnw@americandialect.org.) Here we present contributions from Nicole Holliday for the highly productive, if short-lived, *Kenaissance* and Mark Peters for Euphemism of the Year, *structurally restrictive housing*.

THE WORDS

HALLUCINATION. *Hallucination* was nominated in the new ad-hoc category of "AI-Related Word of the Year" in the 2023 WOTY proceedings, and there is no doubt that both the noun *hallucination* and the verb *hallucinate* have taken on disturbing new meanings with the rise of LARGE LANGUAGE MODELS (LLMs) like those powering OpenAI's ChatGPT and Google's Gemini (formerly Bard). Even before those LLMs were released, Meta attempted to beat them to the punch with its Galactica model. When Meta launched a demo version of Galactica in November 2022, their mission statement included a remarkable caveat: "**Language Models can Hallucinate.** There are no guarantees for truthful or reliable output from language models, even large ones trained on high-quality data like Galactica. NEVER FOLLOW ADVICE FROM A LANGUAGE MODEL WITHOUT VERIFICATION" (Meta 2022; emphasis in original).

On social media, Meta was widely ridiculed for the flawed rollout of Galactica, and it was quickly taken down. But warnings about "hallucinations" would only increase with the coming of ChatGPT and its AI rivals, as LLMs continue to create synthetic text unmoored from reality. "Hallucinations" have historically referred to the apparent perception of an object when no such object is actually present, including those produced by hallucinogens like LSD. Its early application in AI apparently derived from researchers who transferred the term from the fields of computer vision and pattern recognition (see 2000 Mar. 28–30 and 2004 Sept. 28–Oct. 2 quots.). Andrej Karpathy, a founding member of OpenAI,

wrote about LLMs "hallucinating" text responses in a 2015 blog post (Karpathy 2015). AI "hallucinations" received wider exposure in a 2018 conference paper by researchers working with Google, "Hallucinations in Neural Machine Translation," analyzing how automatic translations can produce wildly off-the-mark results (Lee et al. 2018). While the term received some attention at the time (see 2018 Mar. 9 quot.; Liberman 2018), it was the release of ChatGPT in late 2022 that began raising serious alarm bells about how LLMs can fabricate their responses to prompts in ways that befuddle researchers and end-users alike (see 2023 Mar. 13 quot.; Zimmer 2023a). [Ben Zimmer]

HOT LABOR SUMMER; HOT UNION SUMMER. A runner up for 2023 Political Word of the Year (losing in a tight runoff to 🍉 [see *AS* 99, no. 1 (Feb. 2024)]), *hot labor summer* references the over 300,000 workers who went on strike during the summer of 2023 (Dean 2023). The strikes that received the most coverage were certainly those of the Writers Guild of America and Screen Actors Guild, whose actions created noticeable dearths in new entertainment content and stalled anticipated programming across platforms and genres. But this surge in union activity extended far beyond the entertainment industry, resulting in work stoppages and collective bargaining among hospitality, sanitation, and healthcare workers, lifeguards, traffic cops, and UPS drivers; as Li (2023) noted in the *LA Times*, "Cross-union solidarity is in." The phrase is modeled on *hot girl summer*, popularized in 2019 when singer Megan Thee Stallion released a song so titled. *Hot girl summer* is often linked to a carefree attitude that celebrates authenticity and individualism. While such a way of being may feel rather distant from edging ever closer to a general strike, self-determination is the quality that unites these movements. As the summer of 2024 comes to a close, 198 strikes have been authorized by the AFL-CIO, ranging from machinists to university workers to Boeing employees (Helhoski 2024). It would seem that solidarity is indeed in, and until equity is manifest across sectors, we can expect this phrase and what it signifies to have a lasting place among the new words. [Kelly Wright]

I/P. The preexisting initialism *I/P* used in reference to the ongoing Israel-Palestine conflict was brought to mainstream attention in the wake of the October 7, 2023, Hamas-led attacks on Israel (e.g., see 2023 Oct. 8 quot.). As conversations surrounding the attacks and Israel's military response grew more contentious so did suppression of the topic, especially expressions of support for Palestine. Reporters for *Al Jazeera* note in late October that "[a]uthors, activists, journalists, filmmakers and regular users [of social media] around the world have said posts containing hashtags like 'FreePalestine' and 'IStandWithPalestine' as well as messages expressing support for civilian Palestinians killed by Israeli forces are being hidden by the platforms" (Shankar, Dixit, and Siddiqui 2023). To combat this, some users have vaguely disguised their posts and bios, using less obvious forms like *I/P* to still talk about the Israel-Palestine situation without social media platforms' algorithms suppressing the content. Even when not

having to avoid censorship, some people use *I/P* to refer to the broader issue of Israeli-Palestinian relations, attempting to avoid hostile responses, especially given the current Israeli-Hamas war, that the phrase *Israel-Palestine* might evoke at first glance on public forums like *Daily Kos* or *Quora* (see 2023 Dec. 10 and 2024 Mar. 29 quots.). The important usage of *I/P* across platforms earned it a spot as ADS's 2023 Political Word of the Year. [Jaidan McLean]

ICE CREAM SO GOOD. A finalist for Digital Word of the Year, *ice cream so good* refers to a 2023 trend where online content streamers were being paid via TikTok's sticker function, which allows viewers to tip content creators live. Streamers, like Pinkydoll, performed certain phrases and gestures in rapid succession aligned with the types and levels of tips they are receiving (see example video in the online lexicographical treatment). One of the stickers is an ice cream cone, and *ice cream so good* was her response when that level tip is contributed. This trend was the latest example of the NPC aesthetic, derived from "nonplayer character" behavior in video games. Nonplayer characters are characterized by their stock responses, stilted movements, and reaction noises. This trend helped establish TikTok Live, which had experienced tepid uptake previously. NPC reaction streaming "very quickly developed its own insular culture, incomprehensible to outsiders and that's especially true for this specific subgenre of TikTok streaming" (Dewberry and Hayberg 2023). Pinkydoll may not have been the first streamer to adopt the trend, but she became the quintessential example, popping single kernels of popcorn with a hair straightener as a reaction to the popcorn sticker. Most of the creators jumping on this trend were women, prompting many to comment that the "the videos are just about dehumanizing women like objects you are paid to control. This trend is like the ASMR final boss. It's an incarnation of all the dissociative, attention-grabbing, engagement-boosting practices that TikTok users have created over the years" (*The News Movement* 2023). In the grand scheme of lexicalization, *ice cream so good* is likely a blip but one that exemplifies the new ways in which online trends can mobilize usage across diverse networks that otherwise may never have connected. [Kelly Wright]

IYKYK. One of the nominations for Acronyms/Initialisms of the Year, *iykyk* stands for *if you know, you know*. This abbreviation has been used on social media since at least 2009 (*Dictionary.com*, entry created Nov. 7, 2022), with its definition first appearing on *Urban Dictionary* several years later (see 2016 Dec. 4 quot.). Its popularity continues to rise in the 2020s, primarily as a hashtag on TikTok but also across other platforms. The term denotes an insider perspective within a particular community, as only those familiar with the context can understand the reference. *Iykyk* is used not only in online contexts but also in offline writing to show solidarity and camaraderie (see 2023 Aug. quot.) and to indicate shared knowledge and experiences (see 2023 Jan. 30 quot.). It has also become a theme in music and other forms of fine art (see 2020 Sept. 3 and 2023 June 1 quots.). Interestingly, *dddd*, the abbreviated form of a similar phrase in Chinese, 懂得都懂

(dǒng de dōu dǒng), has been equally popular among Mandarin-speaking neti-zens since 2020 and conveys the exact same meaning (*Urban Dictionary*, entry created Nov. 21, 2021). In the digital age, language users worldwide employ this linguistic marker to create connections and foster a sense of community: whether hinting at inside jokes, niche interests, or common experiences, terms like *iykyk* and *dddd* embody the essential spirit of slang: signaling one's identity and seeking a sense of belonging. [Lynn Zhang]

KENAISSANCE. Summer 2023 blessed us with a slew of Barbie-related neologisms, but among the most creative are the abundance of combining terms derived from Barbie's sidekick/boyfriend, Ken. Examples of these in English are *Kennaisance*, *Kenergy*, and *kenough*. Ken's name already contains ⅔ of a common English word beginning, so English speakers (and the Mattel corporation itself) had no trouble simply affixing a cheeky *K*. While *Barbie* was a massive hit (see Mendez 2023), it's not just the popularity of the film that gave us these terms; it was also the vibe! The Kennasiance wasn't just a flash in the pan, it was a movement (see 2023 Nov. 4 quot.)! Across the nation, people of all genders sported t-shirts and other merch proudly displaying that they were "Kenough," echoing the realization the Ken character, played by Ryan Gosling, had in the film (Anderson 2024). And because Barbie's reach was truly global, versions of the *Ken-* combining form appeared cross-linguistically. Unsurprisingly, German gave us a wonderful example, with Ken proudly proclaiming that he was "Kenug" (*genug* 'enough') (see 2023 Redbubble quot.). And in Spanish, Ken-style T-shirts were not simply *suficiente* 'sufficient'; they were "suficienKen" (see 2023 Teepublic quot.). While *Barbie* fever seems to have broken for now, we have fond memories of the time we were all just Ken, forgetting our exisKENtial crises (Abad-Santos 2023) and simply existing as kenough across the world (DiBenedetto and Cavender 2023). [Nicole Holliday]

LET (SOMEONE) COOK. Great musicians have been cooking for a long time, serv-ing up tasty licks and buttery grooves since the 1950s (*OED*, s.v. COOK *v.*[1], sense II.10, revised Sept. 2010), but it wasn't until Lil B the BasedGod that someone finally asked for patience from those about to eat, because good things take time. In 2010, the rapper released the song "I Cook" on MySpace (see 2010 Oct. 5 quot.) after releasing a cooking dance tutorial video on YouTube (see 2010 July 6 quot.), where the verb was used to describe how he creates quality 10-star meals every day (with his rhymes). In the tutorial video, he used the phrase *let that boy cook* for the first time, which has since been widely adopted in Black communities, then online groups and young people to describe everything, not just music. And now anyone can cook! The phrase found utility in Twitch and other live streaming communities where an artist creates something in real time while an audience waits for the results. It takes time to produce a beat, to paint a portrait, to survive a level in a video game. Chat gets impatient, but it's worth the wait. Let 'em cook! [Brianne Hughes]

LFG. One of the nominations for Acronyms/Initialisms of the Year, *LFG* is the common abbreviation for *let's fucking go* and is usually used in situations to express motivation, excitement, or exhilaration. Predating this usage, *LFG* is also used within the online gaming community, standing for *looking for group* or *guild*, particularly among players of multiplayer role-playing games seeking guilds or other players for group quests (see 2002 Dec. 5 quot.). However, the *let's fucking go* usage of *LFG* has gained broader popularity, especially in sports, where it serves as a rallying cry to boost team spirit and encourage others. The widespread adoption of *LFG* as *let's fucking go* began with the viral spread of the Let's Fucking Go Ball meme, a reaction image of a screaming yellow tennis ball that started gaining traction on Twitter in late April 2020 (Kachalin and Sweat 2020). Since then, *LFG* has become a powerful expression of enthusiasm and readiness, used not only in sports and gaming, but also as a call to action in various campaigns and projects. Despite its informal usage as a hashtag on social media or caption of memes, *LFG* has also been adopted commercially by brands and businesses as part of their names (see 2023 May 26 and 2024 June 1 quots.) and as titles of songs and movies (see 2022 Oct. 28 and 2021 June 17 quots.) to convey the same impetus to action. Now, here's some trivia: What does the acronym *LFG* featured in the new Marvel movie *Deadpool and Wolverine* stand for? (Hint: You should be shouting the answer with the enthusiasm of that screaming tennis ball!) [Lynn Zhang]

LLM. Another entry in the new ad-hoc category of "AI-Related Word of the Year" for WOTY 2023 was the initialism *LLM* for *large language model*. Like other terms in the category, it demonstrates how a previously highly technical term can cross over into wider use when technological advances hit the mainstream. Before OpenAI's ChatGPT became so ubiquitous in late 2022, with other competitors like Google racing to keep up, a term like *LLM* would have been restricted to specialists in machine learning and natural language processing. In these fields of study, *language model* (often abbreviated as *LM*) had long been used for probabilistic models of natural languages used for such tasks as speech recognition, machine translation, and natural language generation. By the time OpenAI released Generative Pre-trained Transformer 1 (aka GPT-1) in 2018, the size of the training datasets for state-of-the-art models had grown substantially, necessitating the modifier *large* before *language model*. As the full phrase became lexicalized, it was a natural progression for computational scientists and their business associates to move from talking about LMs to LLMs.

   When OpenAI rolled out GPT-2 in February 2019, it released a whitepaper on "Better Language Models and Their Implications," though the initialism *LLM* did not appear in it (Radford et al. 2019). However, later that year, NVIDIA, the graphics chip maker that would become the dominant supplier of AI hardware and software, used the abbreviation in a press release: "NVIDIA today opened the door for enterprises worldwide to develop and deploy large language models

(LLM)" (NVIDIA 2021). Interestingly, the press release used both *LLM* and *LLMs* to abbreviate the plural form *large language models*, but as the term became more fixed in common usage, *LLMs* became the standard plural, frequently appearing in reporting on AI advances (see 2022 Apr. 15 quot.). [Ben Zimmer]

MILLENNIAL PAUSE. *Millennial pause* refers to the short pause that some people, specifically millennials and older, take before they start speaking after they start recording a video. The term was first coined by Gen Z TikToker @nisipisa in 2021 when she pointed out in a video clip the brief pause Taylor Swift takes before speaking after starting to record and claims it's something millennials do, including the caption "millennial pause (taylor's version)" (see 2021 Nov. 26 quot.). Over the next two years, the term spread among Gen Zers across TikTok as well as other social media platforms, with short-form videos on YouTube Shorts, Instagram Reels, and Snapchat Spotlights (Hamilton and Sweat 2023). Gen Z have practically grown up filming themselves on smart phones with instantaneous recording, while millennials often needed to take a moment or wait for the camera person's cue before speaking given the delayed recording start with film and digital cameras in the 1990s and early 2000s. As more and more people began pointing out millennials' recording pauses, content creators and social media influencers began advising their peers to avoid the hesitation at the beginning of videos. Social media consultant Lyn Mutch (@noodlehorse_media) made a graphic on "3 ways to annoy your audience" to advise folks on what NOT to do, with the first being the millennial pause (see 2023 Aug. 21 quot.). [Jaidan McLean]

MOOP 'matter out of place'. The estimated 74,000 people who came to the pop-up Black Rock City in northwestern Nevada for the 35th annual Burning Man festival, held between August 27 and September 4, 2023, were prepared for many things: alkaline surfaces that could blister unshod feet; no food or water other than what they carried in; massive art projects; random nudity. What they hadn't counted on was 0.5–0.8 inches of rain on the morning of September 1: about 14% of the area's average total annual rainfall (DA 2024). The downpour turned the dry lakebed, or playa, into an extremely wet lake in which tents, barbecue grills, vehicles, and miscellaneous debris became enmired. The jetsam as well as organic matter nonnative to the playa like gray water, food scraps, and human waste was all classified as MOOP—Matter Out Of Place, according to the Burning Man glossary—and according to the festival's Leave No Trace guidelines, it all had to be pried out of the muck somehow, leaving the playa pristine until the following year (Burning Man Project, n.d.).

The *MOOP* acronym is specific to Burning Man, but unlike some Burner jargon—such as *pickleback* 'shot of whiskey with a pickle-juice chaser' and *reality bends* 'cramps felt in the mind and spirit after returning to the "real" world after spending a week in Black Rock City'—its source phrase predates the festival by several decades. "Matter out of place" was popularized in *Purity and Danger* (see 1966 quot.), the best-known work by the British anthropologist Mary Douglas,

citing William James (see 1901–2 quot.). Her exact wording, "dirt as matter out of place," is not entirely original; a variant, *dirt* defined as "a thing in a wrong place" (describing horse manure in the street), has been been traced to an 1852 speech by Henry John Temple (see 1852 July 13–16 quot.), who would twice become the prime minister of the United Kingdom. Both Douglas and Temple refer to it as an old definition of *dirt*, the origin of which is unknown.

There was a happy ending to MOOP-ocalypse 2023: volunteer teams of "Resto" (restoration) crews worked for six weeks on what the *New York Times* called an "epic cleanup" (Jones and Healy 2023), and the festival passed the stringent Bureau of Land Management postevent inspection in October (Lehman 2023). [Nancy Friedman]

MOTHER. Though not a new word, *mother* recently has become a popular term of admiration. Traditionally referring to a one's biological maternal parent, *mother* can refer to any nurturing and respected feminine figure. In the mid-twentieth century, with some tracing it back to the 1720s, LGBTQ+ communities have used *mother* to refer to any prominent, strong, feminine leader (Levine 2023). Trans woman and drag queen Crystal LaBeija cofounded the House of LaBeija in 1968, where she became known as the first Mother and led a safe space for many LGBTQ+ youth (Iovannone 2018). The late Mother Willi Ninja of the House of Ninja explained, "To be the mother of the house, you have to have the most power, take a real family. It's the mother that's the hardest worker, and mother gets the most respect" (*Paris Is Burning* 1990). Coinciding with the linguistic changes of the term *cunty* (treated in ATNW, *AS* 99, no. 3 [Aug. 2024]: 371–72), to be *mother* means being powerful and serving cunt, as described by *Urban Dictionary* user servingcunt2345 in 2022.

In 2023 *mother* is still used by many LGBTQ+ speakers to refer to powerful queer icons (see 2023 Sept. 21 quot.); however, this kinship term has further evolved in parasocial relationships with fans and their idols to refer to any respected feminine icon, like a personal diva, regardless of the icon's queer affiliation. For example, Ben Kesslen (2023) describes Brandon Walker, a 23-year-old "Black gay boy growing up in the South [who] felt that mothers like Beyoncé, Rihanna, and Nicki Minaj helped him express himself." Of course, like much queer slang, *mother* was picked up by cishets. Meghan Trainor's 2023 song "Mother," which begins with the line "the fact that Meghan Trainor is literally mother right now," taken from a 2022 TikTok video by bruhthaniel (see 2023 Mar. 27 quot.), helped expose the new usage of *mother* to mainstream media, increasing the term's popularity. [Jaidan McLean]

SKIBIDI. The famous shorts of DaFuqBoom, as Alexey Gerasimov is known, feature wild-eyed human heads on alarmingly telescopic necks emerging from toilets, ultimately (74 episodes in) to engage in an ever-evolving war with device-headed men. A catchy tune accompanied early episodes in May of 2023; its lyrics of "ski-bidi dop dop dop yes yes" with some "brrrp" sounds inserted reached millions:

one data point is the Skibidi Toilet (unofficial) Wiki, which currently boasts 931 articles, 14,440 files, and 531 active users (https://skibidi-toilet.fandom.com/wiki/Skibidi_Toilet_Wiki); another is *Variety*'s tally of 17 billion views for DaFuqBoom's YouTube channel (Steiner 2024).

The skibidi toilet song is an accelerated mashup of Timbaland's "Give It To Me" and Bulgarian pop song "Dom Dom Yes Yes" by Biser King (aka Biser Draganov), who actually sings *shtibidi*, which sounds like *skibidi* when sped up (Eisemann 2024). Per DaFuqBoom himself, two TikTokers also influenced the project's sonic and visual development (Smith 2023). (Another possible influence is rarely mentioned: the 2018 hit "Skibidi" by Russian band Little Big, which featured a viral dance challenge likened to a Russian macarena crossed with Psy's "Gangnam Style" [Katzowitz 2018].) As of late 2023, a young voice in a viral TikTok sings, "Sticking out your gyat for the rizzler / You're so Skibidi / You're so Fanum tax / I just wanna be your sigma / Freaking come here / Give me your Ohio," while a Fortnite character dances through a golden field (see 2023 Oct. 2 quot.).

Thus has *skibidi* evolved from meaningless, um, scat to a lexeme with a comfy spot in a syntactician's tree, most commonly glossed as 'bad'. [Emily Brewster]

STENOGRAPHER. In the running for the 2023 Euphemism of the Year, *stenographer* refers in nondysphemistic use to a person who records in writing (especially shorthand) what others say. Most of us are familiar with stenographers from courthouse dramas, in which they are always only a supporting character, dutifully recording what those in the courtroom say. In 2023, *stenographer* was a label pinned on journalists who were seen as performing a similar duty: unquestioningly reporting exactly what those they were reporting on said. The use is not new (see 1988 Aug. 28 and 1991 Aug. 1 quots.). Metaphorically transparent and useful, the dysphemism will clearly be useful as long as there is a media to critique. [Emily Brewster]

STOCHASTIC PARROT. The winner of ADS's ad-hoc 2023 WOTY category, AI-Related Word of the Year, was *stochastic parrot.* Among the assembled scholars at the WOTY proceedings was the coiner of the term, Emily M. Bender, a computational linguist at the University of Washington, who spoke about how her coinage took flight (Zimmer 2024). Bender came up with the expression in late 2020 for a scholarly paper that she coauthored with two researchers then at Google, Timnit Gebru and Margaret Mitchell, as well as University of Washington Ph.D. student Angelina McMillan-Major. The paper, critiquing the claims made in the field of AI about LARGE LANGUAGE MODELS (LLMs), became a cause célèbre before it was even published, as Google ended up firing Gebru and Mitchell after they refused to take their names off the paper. (In protest, Mitchell ended up using a thinly disguised pseudonym, Shmargaret Shmitchell.) Thus, the first public

appearances of the phrase *stochastic parrot* appeared in accounts of the as-yet-unpublished paper in December 2020 (see 2020 Dec. 3 and 2020 Dec. 4 quots.).

When the paper was finally published the following March in the *Proceedings of the 2021 ACM Conference on Fairness, Accountability, and Transparency*, it bore a title that ended in a parrot emoji: "On the Dangers of Stochastic Parrots: Can Language Models Be Too Big? 🦜." Bender and her coauthors write that "an LM [language model] is a system for haphazardly stitching together sequences of linguistic forms it has observed in its vast training data, according to probabilistic information about how they combine, but without any reference to meaning: a stochastic parrot" (Bender et al. 2021). The memorable phrase combined *stochastic* 'randomly determined' with *parrot*, the name of a bird that has long been used figuratively for repeating words without understanding. The phrase quickly became entrenched in the AI community, to the extent that when ChatGPT was launched in late 2022, OpenAI CEO Sam Altman preemptively warded off criticism by ironically tweeting, "i am a stochastic parrot, and so r u" (Weil 2022). Bender's coinage spread in ways that she could not have anticipated, including generating new forms like *stochastic parroting*. [Ben Zimmer]

STRUCTURALLY RESTRICTIVE HOUSING. Solitary confinement is, to put it mildly, a horrendous punishment that's mentally and physically devastating—a form of torture. And like most horrendous things, it's spawned euphemisms, such as the fiber-free word salad of *structurally restrictive housing*.

This term popped up during 2023, when it turned up in, among other places, a report from the Center for Justice at Columbia University called "Solitary by Many Other Names: A Report on the Persistent and Pervasive Use of Solitary Confinement in New York City Jails." The report contained the following observations:

DOC is locking people in structurally restrictive housing units in solitary confinement for 23 to 24 hours a day in units labeled as general population or involuntary protective custody. People continue to spend days, weeks, months, and beyond in this form of solitary confinement. Although DOC officials falsely and absurdly claim that people in these cells can move from the part of the cell where their bed is to a slightly extended part of their cell with a desk, being locked alone in a slightly bigger cell is still solitary confinement since the harm of solitary is the social isolation and lack of meaningful human interaction. [Center for Justice 2023, 3]

But this verbiage isn't entirely new. The term *restrictive housing* goes back decades, referring to prisoners housed separately from the general population for protection, discipline, or another reason. However, as the report notes, such restrictiveness always ends up consisting of solitary-like conditions, whatever the purpose. So a non-euphemism ends up, over time, becoming euphemistic, and *structurally restrictive housing*—along with *involuntary protective custody, de-escalation*

confinement, *decontamination units*, and *enhanced supervision housing*—turns into a lengthy name for solitary confinement. [Mark Peters]

TUSH PUSH. Runner-up for Most Creative WOTY 2023, the clever *tush push* ends the pronounced drought that sport-related terms have suffered under the last ten or so nomination cycles. Sporting has always been an engine of lexification, giving us the *full court press,* helping us *run interference,* go for *Hail Marys,* and deifying the almighty *GOAT*s among us, yet we rarely find such terminology coming out swinging onto our debate stage. This year's *tush push* refers to "a controversial play that the Philadelphia Eagles run when their offense needs to pick up an extra yard, especially on fourth down" (Zimmer 2023). Journalist Stefan Fatsis on the *Hang Up and Listen* podcast's Afterball segment described the play's origin thusly: "They first ran the play on October 2, 2022, against the Jaguars when on a fourth and one, tight end Dallas Goddard came in motion and after the snap, pushed [Jalen] Hurts's butt for a two yard gain" (*Slate* 2023). The play went through several monikers—*rugby scrum middle* (Brian Baldinger), the *double cheek push* (Chris Collinsworth), the *two cheek sneak* (Jacob Kamenker), the *brotherly shove* (Michael McGreevy)—before "renowned Philadelphia sports reporter Paul Domovich" started using the "cutesy" (Zimmer 2023b) *tush push* on January 18, 2023, both as a verb and a proper noun (*Slate* 2023). Domovich claims to have based *tush push* on another rhyming pair, the 2005 term *Bush push,* used when "USC running back Reggie Bush pushed quarterback Matt Leinart over the goal line to beat Notre Dame" (*Slate* 2023; citing Zimmer). Despite this clearly stated motivation, the choice of *tush* extends beyond simple analogy, as Dennis Preston noted at the mic during the live WOTY vote on January 5, 2024, where he argued expertly for the inclusion of *tush push* by noting its Hebrew origins. The Hebrew תחת, *taḥath,* or *toch* meaning 'underneath' was prevalent in European and American Yiddish, and it was eventually borrowed back into Hebrew as *tuchus* /tʊxəs/ meaning 'butt', and finally reduced to *tush* in the 1950s. While inclusion of the controversial play may remain debatable, *tush push* has a productive and unquestionable place among the new words. [Kelly Wright]

REFERENCES

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