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Учебник посвящен слову как основной единице языка, его семантической и морфологической структуре, особенностям английского словообразования и фразеологии. Английская лексика рассматривается как непрерывно развивающаяся система.

В 3-м издании (2-е—1973 г.) обновлен теоретический и иллюстративный материал, расширены главы, посвященные теории слова и семасиологии.

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PREFACE

This book is meant as a textbook in lexicology forming part of the curricula of the Foreign Language faculties in Teachers' Training Colleges and Universities. It is intended for students, teachers of English, postgraduates and all those who are interested in the English language and its vocabulary.

The main tool throughout the book is the principle of lexical opposition, i.e. the application of N.S. Trubetzkoy's theory of oppositions to the description of lexical phenomena.

The existence of lexicology as an independent discipline forming part of the curriculum in our Colleges and Universities implies that the majority of Soviet linguists consider words and not morphemes to be the fundamental units of language. Another implication is that I think it possible to show that the vocabulary of every particular language is not a chaos of diversified phenomena but a homogeneous whole, a system constituted by interdependent elements related in certain specific ways.

I have attempted as far as possible to present at least some parts of the material in terms of the theory of sets which in my opinion is a very convenient interpretation for the theory of oppositions. This very modest and elementary introduction of mathematical concepts seems justified for two main reasons: first, because it permits a more general treatment of and a more rigorous approach to mass phenomena, and it is with large masses of data that lexicology has to cope; secondly, there is a pressing need to bridge the gap between the method of presentation in special linguistic magazines and what is offered the student in lectures and textbooks. A traditionally trained linguist is sometimes unable to understand, let alone verify, the relevance of the complicated apparatus introduced into some modern linguistic publications.

On the other hand, it is the linguistic science developed before structuralism and mathematical linguistics, and parallel to them, that forms the basis of our knowledge of lexical phenomena. Much attention is therefore given to the history of linguistic science as it deals with vocabulary.

With the restrictions stated above, I have endeavoured to use standard definitions and accepted terminology, though it was not always easy, there being various different conventions adopted in the existing literature.

The 3rd edition follows the theoretical concepts of the previous books, the main innovation being the stress laid on the features of the vocabulary as an adaptive system ever changing to meet the demands of thought and communication. This adaptive system consists of fuzzy sets, i.e. sets that do not possess sharply defined boundaries. English is growing and changing rapidly: new words, new meanings, new types of lexical units appear incessantly. Bookshelves are bursting with new publications on lexical matters. The size of the manual, however, must not change. To cope with this difficulty I have slightly changed the bias in favour of actual description and reduced the bibliography to naming the authors writing on this or that topic. The student has to become more active and look up these names in catalogues and magazines. The debt of the author of a manual to numerous works of scholarship is heavy whether all the copious notes and references are given or not, so I used footnotes chiefly when quotations seemed appropriate or when it seemed specially important for a student to know about the existence of a book. In this way more space was available for describing the ever changing English vocabulary.

Another departure from the previous patterns lies in a certain additional attention to how the material is perceived by the student: the book is intended to be as clear and memorable as possible.

Lexicology is a science in the making. Its intense growth makes the task of a textbook writer extremely difficult, as many problems are still unsettled and a synthesis of many achievements is a thing of the future. I shall be greatly indebted for all criticism and correction.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	words belonging in Ch. Fries's classification to Class III, i. e. adjectives and words that can occupy the position of adjectives
a	adjective
adv	adverb
AmE	American English
COD	The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English
Engl	English
Germ	German
Goth	Gothic
Gr	Greek
Fr	French
IC's	immediate constituents
It	Italian
Lat	Latin
ME	Middle English
ModE	Modern English
N	words belonging in Ch. Fries's classification to Class I, i. e. nouns and words that can stand in the same position
n	noun
NED	New English Dictionary (Oxford)
OE	Old English
OED	The Oxford English Dictionary
OFr	Old French
ON	Old North
pl	plural
prp	preposition
Russ	Russian
Scand	Scandinavian
sing	singular
V	words belonging in Ch. Fries's classification to Class II, i. e. verbs, except the auxiliaries v verb

LIST OF SYMBOLS

<	'changed from' or 'derived from'
>	'changed to' or 'becomes'
: :	between forms denotes opposition
/	between forms denotes alternation or allophones
*	indicates a reconstructed or hypothetical form
→	denotes transformation
<-	denotes that transformation is impossible
II	cognate to

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1
FUNDAMENTALS

§1.1 THE OBJECT OF LEXICOLOGY

Lexicology (from Gr *lexis* 'word' and *logos* 'learning') is the part of linguistics dealing with the vocabulary of the language and the properties of words as the main units of language. The term v o c a b u l a-r y is used to denote the system formed by the sum total of all the words and word e q u i v a l e n t s that the language possesses. The term word denotes the basic unit of a given language resulting from the association of a particular meaning with a particular group of sounds capable of a particular grammatical employment. A word therefore is simultaneously a semantic, grammatical and phonological unit.

Thus, in the word *boy* the group of sounds [*bɔɪ*] is associated with the meaning 'a male child up to the age of 17 or 18' (also with some other meanings, but this is the most frequent) and with a definite grammatical employment, i.e. it is a noun and thus has a plural form — *boys,* it is a personal noun and has the Genitive form *boy's* (e. g. *the boy's mother),* it may be used in certain syntactic functions.

The term word will be discussed at length in chapter 2.

The general study of words and vocabulary, irrespective of the specific features of any particular language, is known as g e n e r a l   l e x i c o l -o g y . Linguistic phenomena and properties common to all languages are generally referred to as l a n g u a g e   u n i v e r s a l s . S p e c i a l l e x i c o l o g y devotes its attention to the description of the characteristic peculiarities in the vocabulary of a given language. This book constitutes an introduction into the study of the present-day English word and vocabulary. It is therefore a book on special lexicology.

It goes without saying that every special lexicology is based on the principles of general lexicology, and the latter forms a part of general linguistics. Much material that holds good for any language is therefore also included, especially with reference to principles, concepts and terms. The illustrative examples are everywhere drawn from the English language as spoken in Great Britain.

A great deal has been written in recent years to provide a theoretical basis on which the vocabularies of different languages can be compared and described. This relatively new branch of study is called c o n t r a s t i v e l e x i c o l o g y . Most obviously, we shall be particularly concerned with comparing English and Russian words.

The evolution of any vocabulary, as well as of its single elements,

forms the object of h i s t o r i c a l   l e x i c o l o g y or etymology. This branch of linguistics discusses the origin of various words, their change and development, and investigates the linguistic and extra-linguistic forces modifying their structure, meaning and usage. In the past historical treatment was always combined with the comparative method. Historical lexicology has been criticised for its atomistic approach, i.e. for treating every word as an individual and isolated unit. This drawback is, however, not intrinsic to the science itself. Historical study of words is not necessarily atomistic. In the light of recent investigations it becomes clear that there is no reason why historical lexicology cannot survey the evolution of a vocabulary as an adaptive system, showing its change and development in the course of time.

D e s c r i p t i v e   l e x i c o l o g y deals with the vocabulary of a given language at a given stage of its development. It studies the functions of words and their specific structure as a characteristic inherent in the system. The descriptive lexicology of the English language deals with the English word in its morphological and semantical structures, investigating the interdependence between these two aspects. These structures are identified and distinguished by contrasting the nature and arrangement of their elements.

It will, for instance, contrast the word *boy* with its derivatives: *boyhood, boyish, boyishly,* etc. It will describe its semantic structure comprising alongside with its most frequent meaning, such variants as 'a son of any age', 'a male servant', and observe its syntactic functioning and combining possibilities. This word, for instance, can be also used vocatively in such combinations as *old boy, my dear boy,* and attributively, meaning 'male', as in *boy-friend.*

Lexicology also studies all kinds of semantic grouping and semantic relations: synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy, semantic fields, etc.

Meaning relations as a whole are dealt with in s e m a n t i c s — the study of meaning which is relevant both for lexicology and grammar.

The distinction between the two basically different ways in which language may be viewed, the h i s t o r i c a l or d i a c h r o n i c (Gr *dia* 'through' and *chronos* 'time') and the d e s c r i p t i v e or s y n - c h r o n i c (Gr *syn* 'together', 'with'), is a methodological distinction, a difference of approach, artificially separating for the purpose of study what in real language is inseparable, because actually every linguistic structure and system exists in a state of constant development. The distinction between a synchronic and a diachronic approach is due to the Swiss philologist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913).[1] Indebted as we are to him for this important dichotomy, we cannot accept either his axiom that synchronic linguistics is concerned with systems and diachronic linguistics with single units or the rigorous separation between the two. Subsequent investigations have shown the possibility and the necessity of introducing the historical point of view into systematic studies of languages.

Language is the reality of thought, and thought develops together

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[1] *Saussure F. de.* Cours de linguistique générale. Paris, 1949.

with the development of society, therefore language and its vocabulary must be studied in the light of social history. Every new phenomenon in human society and in human activity in general, which is of any importance for communication, finds a reflection in vocabulary. A word, through its meaning rendering some notion, is a generalised reflection of reality; it is therefore impossible to understand its development if one is ignorant of the changes in social, political or everyday life, production or science, manners or culture it serves to reflect. These extra-linguistic forces influencing the development of words are considered in historical lexicology. The point may be illustrated by the following example:

Post comes into English through French and Italian from Latin. Low Latin *posta — posita* fern. p.p. of Latin *ponere, posit,* v. 'place'. In the beginning of the 16th century it meant 'one of a number of men stationed with horses along roads at intervals, their duty being to ride forward with the King's "packet" or other letters, from stage to stage'. This meaning is now obsolete, because this type of communication is obsolete. The word, however, has become international and denotes the present-day system of carrying and delivering letters and parcels. Its synonym *mail,* mostly used in America, is an ellipsis from *a mail of letters,* i.e. 'a bag of letters'. It comes from Old French *male* (modern *malle)* 'bag', a word of Germanic origin. Thus, the etymological meaning of *mail* is 'a bag or a packet of letters or dispatches for conveyance by post'. Another synonym of *bag* is *sack* which shows a different meaning development. Sack is a large bag of coarse cloth, the verb *to sack* 'dismiss from service' comes from the expression *to get the sack,* which probably rose from the habit of craftsmen of old times, who on getting a job took their own tools to the works; when they left or were dismissed they were given a sack to carry away the tools.

In this connection it should be emphasised that the social nature of language and its vocabulary is not limited to the social essence of extra-linguistic factors influencing their development from without. Language being a means of c o m m u n i c a t i o n the social essence is intrinsic to the language itself. Whole groups of speakers, for example, must coincide in a deviation, if it is to result in linguistic change.

The branch of linguistics, dealing with causal relations between the way the language works and develops, on the one hand, and the facts of social life, on the other, is termed s o c i o l i n g u i s t i c s . Some scholars use this term in a narrower sense, and maintain that it is the analysis of speech behaviour in small social groups that is the focal point of sociolinguistic analysis. A. D. Schweitzer has proved that such microsociological approach alone cannot give a complete picture of the sociology of language. It should be combined with the study of such macrosociological factors as the effect of mass media, the system of education, language planning, etc. An analysis of the social stratification of languages takes into account the stratification of society as a whole.

Although the important distinction between a diachronic and a synchronic, a linguistic and an extralinguistic approach must always

be borne in mind, yet it is of paramount importance for the student to take into consideration that in language reality all the aspects are interdependent and cannot be understood one without the other. Every linguistic investigation must strike a reasonable balance between them.

The lexicology of present-day English, therefore, although having aims of its own, different from those of its historical counterpart, cannot be divorced from the latter. In what follows not only the present status of the English vocabulary is discussed: the description would have been sadly incomplete if we did not pay attention to the historical aspect of the problem — the ways and tendencies of vocabulary development.

Being aware of the difference between the synchronic approach involving also social and place variations, and diachronic approach we shall not tear them asunder, and, although concentrating mainly on the present state of the English vocabulary, we shall also have to consider its development. Much yet remains to be done in elucidating the complex problems and principles of this process before we can present a complete and accurate picture of the English vocabulary as a system, with specific peculiarities of its own, constantly developing and conditioned by the history of the English people and the structure of the language.

§ 1.2 THE THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL VALUE OF ENGLISH LEXICOLOGY

The importance of English lexicology is based not on the size of its vocabulary, however big it is, but on the fact that at present it is the world's most widely used language. One of the most fundamental works on the English language of the present — "A Grammar of Contemporary English" by R. Quirk, S. Greenbaum, G. Leech and J. Svartvik (1978) — gives the following data: it is spoken as a native language by nearly three hundred million people in Britain, the United States, Ireland, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and some other countries. The knowledge of English is widely spread geographically — it is in fact used in all continents. It is also spoken in many countries as a second language and used in official and business activities there. This is the case in India, Pakistan and many other former British colonies. English is also one of the working languages of the United Nations and the universal language of international aviation. More than a half world's scientific literature is published in English and 60% of the world's radio broadcasts are in English. For all these reasons it is widely studied all over the world as a foreign language.

The theoretical value of lexicology becomes obvious if we realise that it forms the study of one of the three main aspects of language, i.e. its vocabulary, the other two being its grammar and sound system. The theory of meaning was originally developed within the limits of philosophical science. The relationship between the name and the thing named has in the course of history constituted one of the key questions in gnostic theories and therefore in the struggle of materialistic and idealistic trends. The idealistic point of view assumes that the earlier

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forms of words disclose their real correct meaning, and that originally language was created by some superior reason so that later changes of any kind are looked upon as distortions and corruption.

The materialistic approach considers the origin, development and current use of words as depending upon the needs of social communication. The dialectics of its growth is determined by its interaction with the development of human practice and mind. In the light of V. I. Lenin's theory of reflection we know that the meanings of words reflect objective reality. Words serve as names for things, actions, qualities, etc. and by their modification become better adapted to the needs of the speakers. This proves the fallacy of one of the characteristic trends in modern idealistic linguistics, the so-called Sapir-Whorf thesis according to which the linguistic system of one's native language not only expresses one's thoughts but also determines them. This view is incorrect, because our mind reflects the surrounding world not only through language but also directly.

Lexicology came into being to meet the demands of many different branches of applied linguistics, namely of lexicography, standardisation of terminology, information retrieval, literary criticism and especially of foreign language teaching.

Its importance in training a would-be teacher of languages is of a quite special character and cannot be overestimated as it helps to stimulate a systematic approach to the facts of vocabulary and an organised comparison of the foreign and native language. It is particularly useful in building up the learner's vocabulary by an effective selection, grouping and analysis of new words. New words are better remembered if they are given not at random but organised in thematic groups, word-families, synonymic series, etc.

A good knowledge of the system of word-formation furnishes a tool helping the student to guess and retain in his memory the meaning of new words on the basis of their motivation and by comparing and contrasting them with the previously learned elements and patterns.

The knowledge, for instance, of the meaning of negative, reversative and pejorative prefixes and patterns of derivation may be helpful in understanding new words. For example such words as *immovable* a, *deforestation* n and *miscalculate* v will be readily understood as 'that cannot be moved', 'clearing land from forests' and 'to calculate wrongly'.

By drawing his pupils' attention to the combining characteristics of words the teacher will prevent many mistakes.[1] It will be word-groups falling into patterns, instead of lists of unrelated items, that will be presented in the classroom.

A working knowledge and understanding of functional styles and stylistic synonyms is indispensable when literary texts are used as a basis for acquiring oral skills, for analytical reading, discussing fiction and translation. Lexicology not only gives a systematic description of the present make-up of the vocabulary, but also helps students to master

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[1] Combining characteristics or distribution — structural patterns in which the words occur and their lexical collocations.

the literary standards of word usage. The correct use of words is an important counterpart of expressive and effective speech.

An exact knowledge of the vocabulary system is also necessary in connection with technical teaching means.

Lexicology plays a prominent part in the general linguistic training of every philologist by summing up the knowledge acquired during all his years at the foreign language faculty. It also imparts the necessary skills of using different kinds of dictionaries and reference books, and prepares for future independent work on increasing and improving one's vocabulary.

§ 1.3 THE CONNECTION OF LEXICOLOGY WITH PHONETICS, STYLISTICS, GRAMMAR AND OTHER BRANCHES OF LINGUISTICS

The treatment of words in lexicology cannot be divorced from the study of all the other elements in the language system to which words belong. It should be always borne in mind that in reality, in the actual process of communication, all these elements are interdependent and stand in definite relations to one another. We separate them for convenience of study, and yet to separate them for analysis is pointless, unless we are afterwards able to put them back together to achieve a synthesis and see their interdependence and development in the language system as a whole.

The word, as it has already been stated, is studied in several branches of linguistics and not in lexicology only, and the latter, in its turn, is closely connected with general linguistics, the history of the language, phonetics, stylistics, grammar and such new branches of our science as sociolinguistics, paralinguistics, pragmalinguistics and some others.[1]

The importance of the connection between lexicology and phon e t - i c s stands explained if we remember that a word is an association of a given group of sounds with a given meaning, so that *top* is one word, and *tip* is another. Phonemes have no meaning of their own but they serve to distinguish between meanings. Their function is building up morphemes, and it is on the level of morphemes that the form-meaning unity is introduced into language. We may say therefore that phonemes participate in signification.

Word-unity is conditioned by a number of phonological features. Phonemes follow each other in a fixed sequence so that [pit] is different from [tip]. The importance of the phonemic make-up may be revealed by the s u b s t i t u t i o n t e s t which isolates the central phoneme of *hope* by setting it against *hop, hoop, heap* or *hip.*

An accidental or jocular transposition of the initial sounds of two or more words, the so-called s p o o n e r i s m s illustrate the same

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P a r a l i n g u i s t i c s — the study of non-verbal means of communication (gestures, facial expressions, eye-contact, etc.).

P r a g m a l i n g u i s t i c s — the branch of linguistics concerned with the relation of speech and its users and the influence of speech upon listeners. See: *Leech G.* Principles of Pragmatics. London, 1985.

point. Cf. *our queer old dean* for *our dear old queen, sin twister* for *twin sister, May I sew you to a sheet?* for *May I show you to a seat?, a half-warmed fish* for *a half-formed wish,* etc.[1]

Discrimination between the words may be based upon stress: the word '*import* is recognised as a noun and distinguished from the verb *im'port* due to the position of stress. Stress also distinguishes compounds from otherwise homonymous word-groups: '*blackbird : : 'black 'bird.* Each language also possesses certain phonological features marking word-limits.

Historical phonetics and historical phonology can be of great use in the diachronic study of synonyms, homonyms and polysemy. When sound changes loosen the ties between members of the same word-family, this is an important factor in facilitating semantic changes.

The words *whole, heal, hail,* for instance, are etymologically related.[2] The word *whole* originally meant 'unharmed', 'unwounded'. The early verb *whole* meant 'to make whole', hence 'heal'. Its sense of 'healthy' led to its use as a salutation, as in *hail!* Having in the course of historical development lost their phonetic similarity, these words cannot now exercise any restrictive influence upon one another's semantic development. Thus, *hail* occurs now in the meaning of 'call', even with the purpose to stop and arrest (used by sentinels).

Meaning in its turn is indispensable to phonemic analysis because to establish the phonemic difference between [ou] and [o] it is sufficient to know that [houp] means something different from [hop].

All these considerations are not meant to be in any way exhaustive, they can only give a general idea of the possible interdependence of the two branches of linguistics.

S t y l i s t i c s, although from a different angle, studies many problems treated in lexicology. These are the problems of meaning, connotations, synonymy, functional differentiation of vocabulary according to the sphere of communication and some other issues. For a reader without some awareness of the connotations and history of words, the images hidden in their root and their stylistic properties, a substantial part of the meaning of a literary text, whether prosaic or poetic, may be lost.

Thus, for instance, the mood of despair in O. Wilde's poem "Taedium Vitae" (Weariness of Life) is felt due to an accumulation of epithets expressed by words with negative, derogatory connotations, such as: *desperate, paltry, gaudy, base, lackeyed, slanderous, lowliest, meanest.*

An awareness of all the characteristic features of words is not only rewarded because one can feel the effect of hidden connotations and imagery, but because without it one cannot grasp the whole essence of the message the poem has to convey.

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[1] Spoonerism — from the name of W.A. Spooner, warden of a college at Oxford, who was known for such slips.
[2] Etymology that branch of linguistics which deals with the origin and history of words, tracing them to their earliest determinable base.

The difference and interconnection between g r a m m a r and lexicology is one of the important controversial issues in linguistics and as it is basic to the problems under discussion in this book, it is necessary to dwell upon it a little more than has been done for phonetics and stylistics.

A close connection between lexicology and grammar is conditioned by the manifold and inseverable ties between the objects of their study. Even isolated words as presented in a dictionary bear a definite relation to the grammatical system of the language because they belong to some part of speech and conform to some lexico-grammatical characteristics of the word class to which they belong. Words seldom occur in isolation. They are arranged in certain patterns conveying the relations between the things for which they stand, therefore alongside with their lexical meaning they possess some grammatical meaning. Cf. *head of the committee* and *to head a committee.*

The two kinds of meaning are often interdependent. That is to say, certain grammatical functions and meanings are possible only for the words whose lexical meaning makes them fit for these functions, and, on the other hand, some lexical meanings in some words occur only in definite grammatical functions and forms and in definite grammatical patterns.

For example, the functions of a link verb with a predicative expressed by an adjective cannot be fulfilled by every intransitive verb but are often taken up by verbs of motion: *come true, fall ill, go wrong, turn red, run dry* and other similar combinations all render the meaning of 'become sth'. The function is of long standing in English and can be illustrated by a line from A. Pope who, protesting against blank verse, wrote: *It is not poetry, but prose run mad.*[1]

On the other hand the grammatical form and function of the word affect its lexical meaning. A well-known example is the same verb *go* when in the continuous tenses, followed by *to* and an infinitive (except *go* and *come),* it serves to express an action in the near and immediate future, or an intention of future action: *You're not going to sit there saying nothing all the evening, both of you, are you?* (Simpson)

Participle II of the same verb following the link verb *be* denotes absence: *The house is gone.*

In subordinate clauses after *as* the verb *go* implies comparison with the average: *... how a novel that has now had a fairly long life, as novels go, has come to be written* (Maugham). The subject of the verb *go* in this construction is as a rule an inanimate noun.

The adjective *hard* followed by the infinitive of any verb means 'difficult': *One of the hardest things to remember is that a man's merit in one sphere is no guarantee of his merit in another.*

Lexical meanings in the above cases are said to be grammatically

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[1] A modern 'invasion' of grammar into lexicological 'territory' is a new and promising trend referred to as semantic syntax, in which a lexico-semantic approach is introduced into syntactic description. See, for example, the works by T.B. Alisova, V.V. Bogdanov, V.G. Gak, I.P. Sousov. Compare also communicative syntax as studied by L.P. Chakhoyan and G.G. Pocheptsov.

conditioned, and their indicating context is called syntactic or mixed. The point has attracted the attention of many authors.[1]

The number of words in each language being very great, any lexical meaning has a much lower probability of occurrence than grammatical meanings and therefore carries the greatest amount of information in any discourse determining what the sentence is about.

W. Chafe, whose influence in the present-day semantic syntax is quite considerable, points out the many constraints which limit the co-occurrence of words. He considers the verb as of paramount importance in sentence semantic structure, and argues that it is the verb that dictates the presence and character of the noun as its subject or object. Thus, the verbs *frighten, amuse* and *awaken* can have only animate nouns as their objects.

The constraint is even narrower if we take the verbs *say, talk* or *think* for which only animate human subjects are possible. It is obvious that not all animate nouns are human.

This view is, however, if not mistaken, at least one-sided, because the opposite is also true: it may happen that the same verb changes its meaning, when used with personal (human) names and with names of objects. Compare: *The new girl gave him a strange smile* (she smiled at him) and *The new teeth gave him a strange smile.*

These are by no means the only relations of vocabulary and grammar. We shall not attempt to enumerate all the possible problems. Let us turn now to another point of interest, namely the survival of two grammatically equivalent forms of the same word when they help to distinguish between its lexical meanings. Some nouns, for instance, have two separate plurals, one keeping the etymological plural form, and the other with the usual English ending -*s*. For example, the form *brothers* is used to express the family relationship, whereas the old form *brethren* survives in ecclesiastical usage or serves to indicate the members of some club or society; the scientific plural of *index,* is usually *indices,* in more general senses the plural is *indexes.* The plural of *genius* meaning a person of exceptional intellect is *geniuses, genius* in the sense of evil or good spirit has the plural form *genii.*

It may also happen that a form that originally expressed grammatical meaning, for example, the plural of nouns, becomes a basis for a new grammatically conditioned lexical meaning. In this new meaning it is isolated from the paradigm, so that a new word comes into being. *Arms,* the plural of the noun *arm,* for instance, has come to mean 'weapon'. E.g. *to take arms against a sea of troubles* (Shakespeare). The grammatical form is lexicalised; the new word shows itself capable of further development, a new grammatically conditioned meaning appears, namely, with the verb in the singular *arms* metonymically denotes the military profession. The abstract noun *authority* becomes a collective in the term *authorities* and denotes 'a group of persons having the right to control and govern'. Compare also *colours, customs, looks, manners, pictures, works* which are the best known examples of this isolation, or, as it

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[1] See the works by V.V.Vinogradov, N.N. Amosova, E. Nida and many others.

is also called, l e x i c a l i s a t i o n of a grammatical form. In all these words the suffix *-s* signals a new word with a new meaning.

It is also worthy of note that grammar and vocabulary make use of the same t e c h n i q u e , i.e. the formal distinctive features of some derivational o p p o s i t i o n s between different words are the same as those of oppositions contrasting different grammatical forms (in affixation, juxtaposition of stems and sound interchange). Compare, for example, the oppositions occurring in the lexical system, such as *work* :: *worker, power* :: *will-power, food* :: *feed* with grammatical oppositions: *work* (Inf.) :: *worked* (Past Ind.), *pour* (Inf.) :: *will pour* (Put. Ind.), *feed* (Inf.) :: *fed* (Past Ind.). Not only are the methods and patterns similar, but the very morphemes are often homonymous. For example, alongside the derivational suffixes *-en,* one of which occurs in adjectives *(wooden),* and the other in verbs *(strengthen),* there are two functional suffixes, one for Participle II *(written),* the other for the archaic plural form *(oxen).*

Furthermore, one and the same word may in some of its meanings function as a notional word, while in others it may be a form word, i.e. it may serve to indicate the relationships and functions of other words. Compare, for instance, the notional and the auxiliary *do* in the following: *What you do's nothing to do with me, it doesn't interest me.*

Last but not least all grammatical meanings have a lexical counterpart that expresses the same concept. The concept of futurity may be lexically expressed in the words *future, tomorrow, by and by, time to come, hereafter* or grammatically in the verbal forms *shall come* and *will come.* Also plurality may be described by plural forms of various words: *houses, boys, books or* lexically by the words: *crowd, party, company, group, set,* etc.

The ties between lexicology and grammar are particularly strong in the sphere of word-formation which before lexicology became a separate branch of linguistics had even been considered as part of grammar. The characteristic features of English word-building, the morphological structure of the English word are dependent upon the peculiarity of the English grammatical system. The analytical character of the language is largely responsible for the wide spread of conversion[1] and for the remarkable flexibility of the vocabulary manifest in the ease with which many nonce-words[2] are formed on the spur of the moment.

This brief account of the interdependence between the two important parts of linguistics must suffice for the present. In future we shall have to return to the problem and treat some parts of it more extensively.

§ 1.4 TYPES OF LEXICAL UNITS

The term u n i t means one of the elements into which a whole may be divided or analysed and which possesses the basic properties of this

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[1] See Chapter 8.
[2] A nonce-word is a word coined for one occasion, a situational neologism: *(for the) nones* — by misdivision from ME *(for then) ones.*

whole. The units of a vocabulary or lexical units are two-facet elements possessing form and meaning. The basic unit forming the bulk of the vocabulary is the word. Other units are morphemes that is parts of words, into which words may be analysed, and s e t   e x p r e s s i o n s or groups of words into which words may be combined.

Words are the central elements of language system, they face both ways: they are the biggest units of morphology and the smallest of syntax", and what is more, they embody the main structural properties and functions of the language. Words can be separated in an utterance by other such units and can be used in isolation. Unlike words, morphemes cannot be divided into smaller meaningful units and are functioning in speech only as constituent parts of words. Words are thought of as representing integer concept, feeling or action or as having a single referent. The meaning of morphemes is more abstract and more general than that of words and at the same time they are less autonomous.

S e t   e x p r e s s i o n s are word groups consisting of two or more words whose combination is integrated so that they are introduced in speech, so to say, ready-made as units with a specialised meaning of the whole that is not understood as a mere sum total of the meanings of the elements.

In the spelling system of the language words are the smallest units of written discourse: they are marked off by solid spelling. The ability of an average speaker to segment any utterance into words is sustained by literacy. Yet it is a capacity only reinforced by education: it is well known that every speaker of any language is always able to break any utterance into words. The famous American linguist E. Sapir testified that even illiterate American Indians were perfectly capable of dictating to him — when asked to do so — texts in their own language "word by word". The segmentation of a word into morphemes, on the other hand, presents sometimes difficulties even for trained linguists.

Many authors devoted a good deal of space to discussing which of the two: the word or the morpheme is to be regarded as the basic unit. Many American linguists (Ch. Hockett or Z. Harris, for instance) segmented an utterance into morphemes ignoring words. Soviet lexicologists proceed from the assumption that it is the word that is the basic unit, especially as all branches of linguistic knowledge and all levels of language have the word as their focal point. A convincing argumentation and an exhaustive review of literature is offered by A. A. Ufimtseva (1980).

If, however, we look now a little more closely into this problem, we shall see that the boundaries separating these three sets of units are sometimes fluid. Every living vocabulary is constantly changing adapting itself to the functions of communication in the changing world of those who use it. In this process the vocabulary changes not only quantitatively by creating new words from the already available corpus of morphemes and according to existing patterns but also qualitatively. In these qualitative changes new morphemic material and new word-building patterns come into being, and new names sometimes adapt features characteristic of other sets, those of groups of words, for instance.

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O r t h o g r a p h i c   w o r d s are written as a sequence of letters bounded by spaces on a page. Yet, there exist in the English vocabulary lexical units that are not identical with orthographic words but e q u i v a l e n t to them. Almost any part of speech contains units indivisible either syntactically or in terms of meaning, or both, but graphically divided. A good example is furnished by complex prepositions: *along with, as far as, in spite of, except for, due to, by means of, for the sake of,* etc.

The same point may be illustrated by phrasal verbs, so numerous in English: *bring up* 'to educate', *call on* 'to visit', *make up* 'to apply cosmetics', 'to reconcile after a disagreement' and some other meanings, *put off* "to postpone'. The semantic unity of these verbs is manifest in the possibility to substitute them by orthographically single-word verbs. Though formally broken up, they function like words and they are integrated semantically so that their meaning cannot be inferred from their constituent elements. The same is true about phrasal verbs consisting of the verbs *give, make, take* and some others used with a noun instead of its homonymous verb alone: *give a smile, make a promise, take a walk (*cf. *to smile, to promise, to walk)*.

Some further examples are furnished by compound nouns. Sometimes they are not joined by solid spelling or hyphenation but written separately, although in all other respects they do not differ from similar one-word nominations. By way of example let us take some terms for military ranks. The terms *lieutenant-commander* and *lieutenant-colonel* are hyphenated, whereas *wing commander* and *flight lieutenant* are written separately. Compare also such inconsistencies as *all right* and *altogether, never mind* and *nevertheless.*

All these are, if not words, then at least word equivalents because they are indivisible and fulfil the nominative, significative, communicative and pragmatic functions just as words do.

It is worth while dwelling for a moment on formulaic sentences which tend to be ready-made and are characterised by semantic unity and indivisibility: *All right, Allow me, Nothing doing, Never mind, How do you do, Quite the contrary.* They are learned as unanalysable wholes and can also be regarded as word equivalents.

To sum up: the vocabulary of a language is not homogeneous. If we view it as a kind of field, we shall see that its bulk, its central part is formed by lexical units possessing all the distinctive features of words, i.e. semantic, orthographic and morphological integrity as well as the capacity of being used in speech in isolation. The marginal elements of this field reveal only some of these features, and yet belong to this set too. Thus, phrasal verbs, complex prepositions, some compounds, phraseological units, formulaic expressions, etc. are divided in spelling but are in all other respects equivalent to words. Morphemes, on the other hand, a much smaller subset of the vocabulary, cannot be used as separate utterances and are less autonomous in other respects but otherwise also function as lexical items. The new term recently introduced in mathematics to describe sets with blurred   boundaries   seems   expressive   and   worthy   of

use in characterising a vocabulary — such sets are called fuzzy sets.[1]

It has been claimed by different authors that, in contrast to grammar, the vocabulary of a language is not systematic but chaotic. In the light of recent investigations in linguistic theory, however, we are now in a position to bring some order into this "chaos".

Lexicology studies the recurrent patterns of semantic relationships, and of any formal phonological, morphological or contextual means by which they may be rendered. It aims at systematisation.

There has been much discussion of late, both in this country and abroad, concerning different problems of the systematic nature of the language vocabulary. The Soviet scholars are now approaching a satisfactory solution based on Marxist dialectics and its teaching of the general interrelation and interdependence of phenomena in nature and society.

There are several important points to be made here.

The term s y s t e m as used in present-day lexicology denotes not merely the sum total of English words, it denotes a set of elements associated and functioning together according to certain laws. It is a coherent homogeneous whole, constituted by interdependent elements of the same order related in certain specific ways. The vocabulary of a language is moreover an a d a p t i v e s y s t e m constantly adjusting itself to the changing requirements and conditions of human communications and cultural surroundings. It is continually developing by overcoming contradictions between its state and the new tasks and demands it has to meet.

A set is described in the abstract set theory as a collection of definite distinct objects to be conceived as a whole. A set is said to be a collection of distinct elements, because a certain object may be distinguished from the other elements in a set, but there is no possibility of its repeated appearance. A set is called structured when the number of its elements is greater than the number of rules according to which these elements may be constructed. A set is given either by indicating, i.e. listing, all its elements, or by stating the characteristic property of its elements. For example the closed set of English articles may be defined as comprising the elements: *the, a/an* and *zero.* The set of English compounds on the other hand is an infinite (open) set containing all the words consisting of at least two stems which occur in the language as free forms.

In a classical set theory the elements are said to be definite because with respect to any of them it should be definite whether it belongs to a given set or not. The new development in the set theory, that of fuzzy sets, has proved to be more relevant to the study of vocabulary. We have already mentioned that the boundaries of linguistic sets are not sharply delineated and the sets themselves overlapping.

[1] Another term often used nowadays and offered by V.G. Admoni is f i e l d - s t r u c t u r e .

The lexical system of every epoch contains productive elements typical of this particular period, others that are obsolete and dropping out of usage, and, finally, some new phenomena, significant marks of new trends for the epochs to come. The present status of a system is an abstraction, a sort of scientific fiction which in some points can facilitate linguistic study, but the actual system of the language is in a state of constant change.

Lexicology studies this whole by determining the properties of its elements and the different relationships of contrast and similarity existing between them within a language, as well as the ways in which they are influenced by extra-linguistic reality.

The extra-linguistic relationships refer to the connections of words with the elements of objective reality they serve to denote, and their dependence on the social, mental and cultural development of the language community.

The theory of reflection as developed by V.I. Lenin is our methodological basis, it teaches that objective reality is approximately but correctly reflected in the human mind. The notions rendered in the meanings of the words are generalised reflections of real objects and phenomena. In this light it is easy to understand how things that are connected in reality come to be connected in language too. As we have seen above, the original meaning of the word *post* was 'a man stationed in a number of others along a road as a courier', hence it came to mean the vehicle used, the packets and letters carried, a relay of horses, the station where horses could be obtained (shortened for *post-office),* a single dispatch of letters. E. g.: *It is a place with only one post a day* (Sidney Smith). It is also used as a title for newspapers. There is a verb *post* 'to put letters into a letter-box.'

The reflection of objective reality is selective. That is, human thought and language select, reflect and nominate what is relevant to human activity.

Even though its elements are concrete and can be observed as such, a system is always abstract, and so is the vocabulary system or, as Academician V.V. Vinogradov has called it, the lexico-semantic system. The interdependence in this system results from a complex interaction of words in their lexical meanings and the grammatical features of the language. V.V. Vinogradov includes in this term both the sum total of words and expressions and the derivational and functional patterns of word forms and word-groups, semantic groupings and relationships between words. The interaction of various levels in the language system may be illustrated in English by the following: the widespread development of homonymy and polysemy, the loss of motivation, the great number of generic words and the very limited autonomy of English words as compared with Russian words are all closely connected with the mono-morphemic analytical character of the English language and the scarcity of morphological means. All these in their turn result, partly at least, from levelling and loss of endings, processes undoubtedly connected with the reduction of vowels in unstressed syllables. In this book the relations between these elements and the regularity of these relations are shown

In terms of oppositions, differences, equivalencies and positional values. Equivalence should be clearly distinguished from equality or identity. E q u i v a l e n c e is the relation between two elements based on the common feature due to which they belong to the same set.

The term s y s t e m as applied to vocabulary should not be understood to mean a well-defined or rigid system. As it has been stated above it is an adaptive system and cannot be completely and exactly characterised by deterministic functions; that is for the present state of science it *is* not possible to specify the system's entire future by its status at some one instant of its operation. In other words, the vocabulary is not simply a probabilistic system but a set of interrelated adaptive subsystems.

An approximation is always made possible by leaving some things out of account. But we have to remember that the rules of language are mostly analogies.

The following simple example offered by J. Lyons illustrates this point: the regular, that is statistically predominant, pattern for adjective stems is to form abstract nouns by means of the suffix -*ness: shortness, narrowness, shallowness.* All the antonyms of the above-mentioned words, however, follow a different pattern: they have a dental suffix: *length, width, depth.* This second analogy becomes a constraint on the working of the first. Moreover, the relationship of the adjective *big* with the rest of the system is even more unpredictable, as it is mostly correlated with the noun *size.* The semantic correlation then is as follows:

short = narrow = <u>shallow</u> = long = wide = deep = big shortness narrowness shallowness length width depth size

At this point it will be helpful to remember that it is precisely the most frequent words that show irregular or suppletive derivation and inflection.

Last but not least, one final point may be made about the lexical system, namely that its elements are characterised by their combinatorial and contrastive properties determining their s y n t a g m a t i c and p a r a d i g m a t i c relationships. A word enters into syntagmatic (linear) combinatorial relationships with other lexical units that can form its context, serving to identify and distinguish its meaning. Lexical units are known to be context-dependent. E. g. in *the hat on her head* the noun *head* means 'part of the body', whereas in *the head of the department Head* means 'chief. A word enters into contrastive paradigmatic relations with all other words, e. g. *head, chief, director,* etc. that can occur in the same context and be contrasted to it.[1] This principle of contrast or o p p o s i - t i o n is fundamental in modern linguistics and we shall deal with it at length in § 1.6. concerned with the theory of oppositions.

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[1] *paradigm* < Lat *paradigtna* < Gr *paradeigma* 'model' < *paradeiknynai* 'to compare'

Paradigmatic and syntagmatic studies of meaning are f u n c t i o n al because the meaning of the lexical unit is studied first not through its relation to referent but through its functions in relation to other units.

Functional approach is contrasted to r e f e r e n t i a l or onoma - s i o l o g i c a l approach, otherwise called t h e o r y of nomi n a - t i o n , in which meaning is studied as the interdependence between words and their referents, that is things or concepts they name, i.e. various names given to the same sense. The onomasiological study of lexical units became especially prominent in the last two decades. The revival of interest in onomasiological matters is reflected in a large volume of publications on the subject. An outline of the main trends of current research will be found in the monographs on the Theory of Nomination issued by the Institute of Linguistics of the Academy of Sciences.

The study of the lexical system must also include the study of the words' combinatorial possibilities •— their capacity to combine with one another in groups of certain patterns, which serve to identify meanings. Most modern research in linguistics attaches great importance to what is variously called valency, distributional characteristics, colligation and collocation, combining power or otherwise. This research shows that combinatorial possibilities of words play an important part in almost every lexicological issue.

Syntagmatic relationships being based on the linear character of speech are studied by means of contextual, valency, distributional, transformational and some other types of analysis.

Paradigmatic linguistic relationships determining the vocabulary system are based on the interdependence of words within the vocabulary (synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy, etc.).

Diachronically the interdependence of words within the lexical subsystem may be seen by observing shifts in the meaning of existing words that occur when a new word is introduced into their semantic sphere. This interdependence is one of the reasons why historical linguistics can never achieve any valuable results if it observes only the development of isolated words. Almost any change in one word will cause changes in one or several other words. Characteristic examples are to be found in the influence of borrowings upon native words. The native OE *haerfest* (ModE *harvest* ‖ Germ *Herbst)* originally meant not only the gathering of grain' but also 'the season for reaping'. Beginning with the end of the 14th century, that is after the Romance word *autumne > autumn* was borrowed, the second meaning in the native word was lost and transferred to the word *autumn.*

When speaking about the influence of other aspects on the development of the vocabulary, we mean the phonetical, morphological and syntactical systems of the English language as they condition the sound form, morphological structure, motivation and meaning of words. This influence is manifold, and we shall have to limit our illustration to the most elementary examples. The monosyllabic phonological type of the English word, for instance, enhances homonymy. Cf. *miss* v 'not hit', 'not catch' and *miss* n — a title for a girl or unmarried woman.

The influence of morphology is manifest, for instance, in the development of non-affixed word-formation. Cf. *harvest* n and *harvest* v.

The above considerations are not meant to be exhaustive; they are there to give some general idea of the relationships in question.

In this connection it is necessary to point out that various interpretations of the same linguistic phenomena have repeatedly been offered and have even proved valuable for their respective purposes, just as in other sciences various interpretations may be given for the same facts of reality in conformity with this or that practical task. To be scientific, however, these interpretations cannot be arbitrary: they must explain facts and permit explanation and prediction of other facts. Therefore they must fit without bringing contradictions into the whole system of the theory created for the subject.

§ 1.6 THE THEORY OF OPPOSITIONS

This course of English lexicology falls into two main parts: the treatment of the English word as a structure and the treatment of English vocabulary as a system. The aim of the present book is to show this system of interdependent elements with specific peculiarities of its own, different from other lexical systems; to show the morphological and semantic patterns according to which the elements of this system are built, to point out the d i s t i n c t i v e f e a t u r e s with which the main o p p o s i t i o n s , i.e. semantically and functionally relevant partial differences between partially similar elements of the vocabulary, *can* be systematised, and to try and explain how these vocabulary patterns are conditioned by the structure of the language.

The theory of oppositions is the task to which we address ourselves in this paragraph.

Lexical opposition is the basis of lexical research and description. Lexicological theory and lexicological description cannot progress independently. They are brought together in the same general technique of analysis, one of the cornerstones of which is N.S. Trubetzkoy's theory of o p p o s i - t i o n s . First used in phonology, the theory proved fruitful for other branches of linguistics as well.

Modern linguistics views the language system as consisting of several sub-systems all based on oppositions, differences, samenesses and positional values.

A l e x i c a l o p p o s i t i o n is defined as a semantically relevant relationship of partial difference between two partially similar words.

Each of the tens of thousands of lexical units constituting the vocabulary possesses a certain number of characteristic features variously combined and making each separate word into a special sign different from all other words. We use the term l e x i c a l d i s t i n c t i v e f e a t u r e for features capable of distinguishing a word in morphological form or meaning from an otherwise similar word or variant. Distinctive features and oppositions take different specific manifestations on

different linguistic levels: in phonology, morphology, lexicology. We deal with lexical distinctive features and lexical oppositions.

Thus, in the opposition *doubt* : : *doubtful* the distinctive features are morphological: *doubt* is a root word and a noun, *doubtful* is a derived adjective.

The features that the two contrasted words possess in common form t h e   b a s i s of a lexical opposition. The basis in the opposition *doubt* :: *doubtful* is the common root *-doubt-*. The basis of the opposition may also form the basis of equivalence due to which these words, as it has been stated above, may be referred to the same subset. The features must be chosen so as to show whether any element we may come across belongs to the given set or not.[1] They must also be important, so that the presence of a distinctive feature must allow the prediction of secondary features connected with it. The feature may be constant or variable, or the basis may be formed by a combination of constant and variable features, as in the case of the following group: *pool, pond, lake, sea, ocean* with its variation for size. Without a basis of similarity no comparison and no opposition are possible.

When the basis is not limited to the members of one opposition but comprises other elements of the system, we call the opposition p o l y - d i m e n s i o n a l . The presence of the same basis or combination of features in several words permits their grouping into a subset of the vocabulary system. We shall therefore use the term l e x i c a l   g r o u p   to denote a subset of the vocabulary, all the elements of which possess a particular feature forming the basis of the opposition. Every element of a subset of the vocabulary is also an element of the vocabulary as a whole.

It has become customary to denote oppositions by the signs: -------- , ÷ or ::, e. g.

$$skilled \div unskilled, \frac{skilled}{unskilled}, skilled :: unskilled.$$

The common feature of the members of this particular opposition forming its basis is the adjective stem *-skilled-*. The distinctive feature is the presence or absence of the prefix *un-*. This distinctive feature may in other cases also serve as the basis of equivalence so that all adjectives beginning with *un-* form a subset of English vocabulary *(unable, unaccountable, unaffected, unarmed,* etc.), forming a c o r r e l a t i o n :

$$\frac{able}{unable} = \frac{accountable}{unaccountable} = \frac{affected}{unaffected} = \frac{armed}{unarmed}$$

In the opposition *man* :: *boy* the distinctive feature is the semantic component of age. In the opposition *boy :: lad* the distinctive feature is that of stylistic colouring of the second member.

The methods and procedures of lexical research such as contextual analysis, componential analysis, distributional analysis, etc. will be briefly outlined in other chapters of the book.

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[1] One must be careful, nevertheless, not to make linguistic categories more rigid and absolute than they really are. There is certainly a degree of "fuzziness" about many types of linguistic sets.

Part One
THE ENGLISH WORD AS A STRUCTURE

Chapter 2

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WORD
AS THE BASIC UNIT OF LANGUAGE

§ 2.1 THE DEFINITION OF THE WORD

Although the borderline between various linguistic units is not always sharp and clear, we shall try to define every new term on its first appearance at once simply and unambiguously, if not always very rigorously. The approximate definition of the term w o r d has already been given in the opening page of the book.

The important point to remember about d e f i n i t i o n s is that they should indicate the most essential characteristic features of the notion expressed by the term under discussion, the features by which this notion is distinguished from other similar notions. For instance, in defining the word one must distinguish it from other linguistic units, such as the phoneme, the morpheme, or the word-group. In contrast with a definition, a d e - s c r i p t i o n aims at enumerating all the essential features of a notion.

To make things easier we shall begin by a preliminary description, illustrating it with some examples.

The w o r d may be described as the basic unit of language. Uniting meaning and form, it is composed of one or more morphemes, each consisting of one or more spoken sounds or their written representation. Morphemes as we have already said are also meaningful units but they cannot be used independently, they are always parts of words whereas words can be used as a complete utterance (e. g. *Listen!)*. The combinations of morphemes within words are subject to certain linking conditions. When a derivational affix is added a new word is formed, thus, *listen* and *listener* are different words. In fulfilling different grammatical functions words may take functional affixes: *listen* and *listened* are different forms of the same word. Different forms of the same word can be also built analytically with the help of auxiliaries. E.g.: *The world should listen then as I am listening now* (Shelley).

When used in sentences together with other words they are syntactically organised. Their freedom of entering into syntactic constructions is limited by many factors, rules and constraints (e. g.: *They told me this story* but not **They spoke me this story)*.

The definition of every basic notion is a very hard task: the definition of a word is one of the most difficult in linguistics because the

simplest word has many different aspects. It has a sound form because it is a certain arrangement of phonemes; it has its morphological structure, being also a certain arrangement of morphemes; when used in actual speech, it may occur in different word forms, different syntactic functions and signal various meanings. Being the central element of any language system, the word is a sort of focus for the problems of phonology, lexicology, syntax, morphology and also for some other sciences that have to deal with language and speech, such as philosophy and psychology, and probably quite a few other branches of knowledge. All attempts to characterise the word are necessarily specific for each domain of science and are therefore considered one-sided by the representatives of all the other domains and criticised for incompleteness. The variants of definitions were so numerous that some authors (A. Rossetti, D.N. Shmelev) collecting them produced works of impressive scope and bulk.

A few examples will suffice to show that any definition is conditioned by the aims and interests of its author.

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), one of the great English philosophers, revealed a materialistic approach to the problem of nomination when he wrote that words are not mere sounds but names of matter. Three centuries later the great Russian physiologist I.P. Pavlov (1849-1936) examined the word in connection with his studies of the second signal system, and defined it as a universal signal that can substitute any other signal from the environment in evoking a response in a human organism. One of the latest developments of science and engineering is machine translation. It also deals with words and requires a rigorous definition for them. It runs as follows: a word is a sequence of graphemes which can occur between spaces, or the representation of such a sequence on morphemic level.

Within the scope of linguistics the word has been defined syntactically, semantically, phonologically and by combining various approaches.

It has been syntactically defined for instance as "the minimum sentence" by H. Sweet and much later by L. Bloomfield as "a minimum free form". This last definition, although structural in orientation, may be said to be, to a certain degree, equivalent to Sweet's, as practically it amounts to the same thing: free forms are later defined as "forms which occur as sentences".

E. Sapir takes into consideration the syntactic and semantic aspects when he calls the word "one of the smallest completely satisfying bits of isolated 'meaning', into which the sentence resolves itself". Sapir also points out one more, very important characteristic of the word, its ind i - v i s i b i l i t y : "It cannot be cut into without a disturbance of meaning, one or two other or both of the several parts remaining as a helpless waif on our hands". The essence of indivisibility will be clear from a comparison of the article *a* and the prefix *a-* in *a lion* and *alive. A lion* is a word-group because we can separate its elements and insert other words between them: *a living lion, a dead lion. Alive* is a word: it is indivisible, i.e. structurally impermeable: nothing can be inserted between its elements. The morpheme *a-* is not free, is not a word. The

situation becomes more complicated if we cannot be guided by solid spelling.' "The Oxford English Dictionary", for instance, does not include the reciprocal pronouns *each other* and *one another* under separate headings, although they should certainly be analysed as word-units, not as word-groups since they have become indivisible: we now say *with each other* and *with one another* instead of the older forms *one with another* or *each with the other.*[1]

Altogether is one word according to its spelling, but how is one to treat *all right,* which is rather a similar combination?

When discussing the internal cohesion of the word the English linguist John Lyons points out that it should be discussed in terms of two criteria "p o s i t i o n a l   m o b i l i t y " and "u n i n t e r r u p t a b i l i -t y ". To illustrate the first he segments into morphemes the following sentence:

> *the - boy - s - walk - ed - slow - ly - up - the - hill*

The sentence may be regarded as a sequence of ten morphemes, which occur in a particular order relative to one another. There are several possible changes in this order which yield an acceptable English sentence:

> *slow - ly - the - boy - s - walk - ed - up - the - hill up -*
> *the - hill - slow - ly - walk - ed - the - boy - s*

Yet under all the permutations certain groups of morphemes behave as 'blocks' — they occur always together, and in the same order relative to one another. There is no possibility of the sequence *s - the - boy, ly - slow, ed - walk.* "One of the characteristics of the word is that it tends to be internally stable (in terms of the order of the component morphemes), but positionally mobile (permutable with other words in the same sentence)".[2]

A purely semantic treatment will be found in Stephen Ullmann's explanation: with him connected discourse, if analysed from the semantic point of view, "will fall into a certain number of meaningful segments which are ultimately composed of meaningful units. These meaningful units are called words."[3]

The semantic-phonological approach may be illustrated by A.H.Gardiner's definition: "A word is an articulate sound-symbol in its aspect of denoting something which is spoken about."[4]

The eminent French linguist A. Meillet (1866-1936) combines the semantic, phonological and grammatical criteria and advances a formula which underlies many subsequent definitions, both abroad and in our country, including the one given in the beginning of this book: "A word is defined by the association of a particular meaning with a

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[1] *Sapir E.* Language. An Introduction to the Study of Speech. London, 1921, P. 35.

[2] *Lyons, John.* Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1969. P. 203.

[3] *Ullmann St.* The Principles of Semantics. Glasgow, 1957. P. 30.

[4] *Gardiner A.H.* The Definition of the Word and the Sentence // The British Journal of Psychology. 1922. XII. P. 355 (quoted from: *Ullmann St.,* Op. cit., P. 51).

particular group of sounds capable of a particular grammatical employment."[1]

This definition does not permit us to distinguish words from phrases because not only *child,* but *a pretty child* as well are combinations of a particular group of sounds with a particular meaning capable of a particular grammatical employment.

We can, nevertheless, accept this formula with some modifications, adding that a word is the smallest significant unit of a given language capable of functioning alone and characterised by p o s i t i o n a l   m o b i l i t y within a sentence, m o r p h o l o g i c a l u n i n t e r r u p t a b i l i t y and s e m a n t i c   i n t e g r i t y . [2] All these criteria are necessary because they permit us to create a basis for the oppositions between the word and the phrase, the word and the phoneme, and the word and the morpheme: their common feature is that they are all units of the language, their difference lies in the fact that the phoneme is not significant, and a morpheme cannot be used as a complete utterance.

Another reason for this supplement is the widespread scepticism concerning the subject. It has even become a debatable point whether a word is a linguistic unit and not an arbitrary segment of speech. This opinion is put forth by S. Potter, who writes that "unlike a phoneme or a syllable, a word is not a linguistic unit at all."[3] He calls it a conventional and arbitrary segment of utterance, and finally adopts the already mentioned definition of L. Bloomfield. This position is, however, as we have already mentioned, untenable, and in fact S. Potter himself makes ample use of the word as a unit in his linguistic analysis.

The weak point of all the above definitions is that they do not establish the relationship between language and thought, which is formulated if we treat the word as a dialectical unity of form and content, in which the form is the spoken or written expression which calls up a specific meaning, whereas the content is the meaning rendering the emotion or the concept in the mind of the speaker which he intends to convey to his listener.

Summing up our review of different definitions, we come to the conclusion that they are bound to be strongly dependent upon the line of approach, the aim the scholar has in view. For a comprehensive word theory, therefore, a description seems more appropriate than a definition.

The problem of creating a word theory based upon the materialistic understanding of the relationship between word and thought on the one hand, and language and society, on the other, has been one of the most discussed for many years. The efforts of many eminent scholars such as V.V. Vinogradov, A. I. Smirnitsky, O.S. Akhmanova, M.D. Stepanova, A.A. Ufimtseva — to name but a few, resulted in throwing light

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[1] *Meillet A.* Linguistique historique et linguistique generate. Paris, 1926. Vol. I. P. 30.

[2] It might be objected that such words as articles, conjunctions and a few other words never occur as sentences, but they are not numerous and could be collected into a list of exceptions.

[3] See: *Potter S.* Modern Linguistics. London, 1957. P. 78.

on this problem and achieved a clear presentation of the word as a basic unit of the language. The main points may now be summarised.

T h e   w o r d   i s   t h e   f u n d a m e n t a l   u n i t   o f   l a n-
g u a g e . It i s a d i a l e c t i c a l   u n i t y   o f   f o r m   a n d
c o n t e n t . Its content or meaning is not identical to notion, but it may reflect human notions, and in this sense may be considered as the form of their existence. Concepts fixed in the meaning of words are formed as generalised and approximately correct reflections of reality, therefore in signifying them words reflect reality in their content.

The acoustic aspect of the word serves to name objects of reality, not to reflect them. In this sense the word may be regarded as a sign. This sign, however, is not arbitrary but motivated by the whole process of its development. That is to say, when a word first comes into existence it is built out of the elements already available in the language and according to the existing patterns.

§ 2.2 SEMANTIC TRIANGLE

The question that now confronts us is this: what is the relation of words to the world of things, events and relations outside of language to which they refer? How is the word connected with its r e f e r e n t ?

The account of meaning given by Ferdinand de Saussure implies the definition of a word as a linguistic sign. He calls it 'signifiant' (signifier) and what it refers to — 'signifie' (that which is signified). By the latter term he understands not the phenomena of the real world but the 'concept' in the speaker's and listener's mind. The situation may be represented by a triangle (see Fig. 1).
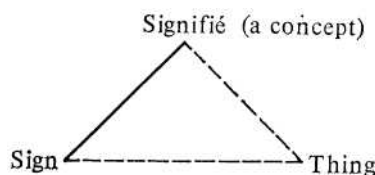
Fig. 1

Here, according to F. de Saussure, only the relationship shown by a solid line concerns linguistics and the sign is not a unity of form and meaning as we understand it now, but only sound form.

Originally this triangular scheme was suggested by the German mathematician and philosopher Gottlieb Frege (1848-1925).

Well-known English scholars C.K. Ogden and I.A. Richards adopted this three-cornered pattern with considerable modifications. With them a sign is a two-facet unit comprising form (phonetical and orthographic), regarded as a linguistic symbol, and reference which is more

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[1] A concept is an idea of some object formed by mentally reflecting and combining its essential characteristics.

linguistic than just a concept. This approach may be called referential because it implies that linguistic meaning is connected with the referent. It is graphically shown by there being only one dotted line. A solid line between reference and referent shows that the relationship between them is linguistically relevant, that the nature of what is named influences the meaning. This connection should not be taken too literally, it does not mean that the sound form has to have any similarity with the meaning or the object itself. The connection is conventional.

Reference

Symbol — — — — — — — Referent
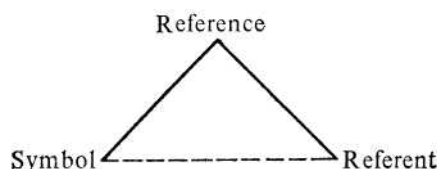
Fig. 2

Several generations of writers, following C.K. Ogden and I.A. Richards, have in their turn taken up and modified this diagram. It is known under several names: the s e m a n t i c   t r i a n g l e , triangle of signification, Frege semiotic triangle, Ogden and Richards basic triangle or simply basic triangle.

We reproduce it for the third time to illustrate how it can show the main features of the referential approach in its present form. All the lines are now solid, implying that it is not only the form of the linguistic sign but also its meaning and what it refers to that are relevant for linguistics. The scheme is given as it is applied to the naming of cats.

Meaning: 'a small domestic animal with soft fur kept as a pet or for catching mice'

is represented by   is reflected in

Name: cat [kæt] is named by   Referent:
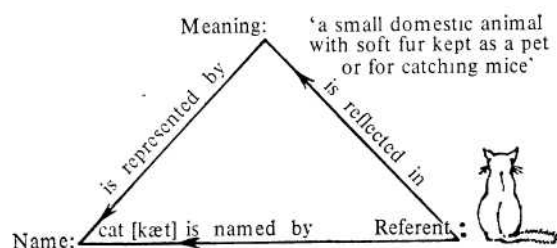
Fig. 3

The scheme is still over-simplified and several things are left out. It is very important, for instance, to remember that the word is represented by the left-hand side of the diagram — it is a sign comprising the name and the meaning, and these invariably evoke one another. So we have to assume that the word takes two apexes of the triangle and the line connecting them. In some versions of the triangle it is not the meaning but the concept that is placed in the apex. This reflects the approach to the problem as formulated by medieval grammarians; it remained traditional for many centuries.

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We shall deal with the difference between concept and meaning in § 3.2. In the modification of the triangle given here we have to understand that the referent belongs to extra-linguistic reality, it is reflected in our mind in several stages (not shown on the diagram): first it is perceived, then many perceptions are generalised into a concept, which in its turn is reflected in the meaning with certain linguistic constraints conditioned by paradigmatic influence within the vocabulary. When it is the concept that is put into the apex, then the meaning cannot be identified with any of the three points of the triangle.[1]

The diagram represents the simplest possible case of reference because the word here is supposed to have only one meaning and one form of fixation. Simplification, is, however, inherent to all models and the popularity of the semantic triangle proves how many authors find it helpful in showing the essence of the referential approach.

§ 2.3 PHONETIC, MORPHOLOGICAL
AND SEMANTIC MOTIVATION OF WORDS

The term m o t i v a t i o n is used to denote the relationship existing between the phonemic or morphemic composition and structural pattern of the word on the one hand, and its meaning on the other. There are three main types of motivation: p h o n e t i c a l m o t i v a t i o n , m o r p h o l o g i c a l m o t i v a t i o n , and s e m a n t i c m o t i - v a t i o n .

When there is a certain similarity between the sounds that make up the word and those referred to by the sense, the motivation is p h o n e t i - c a l . Examples are: *bang, buzz, cuckoo, giggle, gurgle, hiss, purr, whistle,* etc. Here the sounds of a word are imitative of sounds in nature because what is referred to is a sound or at least, produces a characteristic sound *(cuckoo)*. Although there exists a certain arbitrary element in the resulting phonemic shape of the word, one can see that this type of motivation is determined by the phonological system of each language as shown by the difference of echo-words for the same concept in different languages. St. Ullmann[2] stresses that phonetic motivation is not a perfect replica of any acoustic structure but only a rough approximation. This accounts for the variability of echo-words within one language and between different languages. Gf. *cuckoo* (Engl), *Kuckuck* (Germ), *кукушка* (Russ). Within the English vocabulary there are different words, all sound imitative, meaning 'quick, foolish, indistinct talk': *babble, chatter, gabble, prattle.* In this last group echoic creations combine phonological and morphological motivation because they contain verbal suffixes *-le* and *-er* forming frequentative verbs. We see therefore that one word may combine different types of motivation.

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[1] See: *Ginzburg R.S., Khidekel S.S., Knyazeva G.Y., Sankin A.A.* A Course in Modern English Lexicology. M., 1979. P. 16.

[2] *Ullmann St.* The Principles of Semantics. P. 88.

Words denoting noises produced by animals are mostly sound imitative. In English they are motivated only phonetically so that nouns and verbs are exactly the same. In Russian the motivation combines phonetical and morphological motivation. The Russian words *блеять* v and *блеяние* n are equally represented in English by *bleat.* Cf. also: *purr* (of a cat), *moo* (of a cow), *crow* (of a cock), *bark* (of a dog), *neigh* (of a horse) and their Russian equivalents.

The m o r p h o l o g i c a l   m o t i v a t i o n   may be quite regular. Thus, the prefix *ex-* means 'former' when added to human nouns: *ex-filmstar, ex-president, ex-wife.* Alongside with these cases there is a more general use of *ex-:* in borrowed words it is unstressed and motivation is faded *(expect, export,* etc.).

The derived word *re-think* is motivated inasmuch as its morphological structure suggests the idea of thinking again. *Re-* is one of the most common prefixes of the English language, it means 'again' and 'back' and is added to verbal stems or abstract deverbal noun stems, as in *rebuild, re-claim, resell, resettlement.* Here again these newer formations should be compared with older borrowings from Latin and French where *re-* is now unstressed, and the motivation faded. Compare *re-cover* 'cover again' and *recover* 'get better'. In short: morphological motivation is especially obvious in newly coined words, or at least words created in the present century. Cf. *detainee, manoeuvrable, prefabricated, racialist, self-propelling, vitaminise,* etc. In older words, root words and morphemes motivation is established etymologically, if at all.

From the examples given above it is clear that motivation is the way in which a given meaning is represented in the word. It reflects the type of nomination process chosen by the creator of the new word. Some scholars of the past used to call the phenomenon the i n n e r   w o r d   f o r m .

In deciding whether a word of long standing in the language is morphologically motivated according to present-day patterns or not, one should be very careful. Similarity in sound form does not always correspond to similarity in morphological pattern. Agential suffix *-er* is affixable to any verb, so that *V+-er* means 'one who V-s' or 'something that V-s': *writer, receiver, bomber, rocker, knocker.* Yet, although the verb *numb* exists in English, *number* is not 'one who numbs' but is derived from OFr *nombre* borrowed into English and completely assimilated.

The cases of regular morphological motivation outnumber irregularities, and yet one must remember the principle of "fuzzy sets" in coming across the word *smoker* with its variants: 'one who smokes tobacco' and 'a railway car in which passengers may smoke'.

Many writers nowadays instead of the term m o r p h o l o g i c a l   m o t i v a t i o n ,   or parallel to it, introduce the term w o r d - b u i l d i n g   m e a n i n g .   In what follows the term will be avoided because actually it is not meaning that is dealt with in this concept, but the form of presentation.

The third type of motivation is called s e m a n t i c   m o t i v a - t i o n .   It is based on the co-existence of direct and figurative meanings of the same word within the same synchronous system. *Mouth* continues to denote a part of the human face, and at the same time it can

metaphorically apply to any opening or outlet: *the mouth of a river, of a cave, of a furnace. Jacket* is a short coat and also a protective cover for a book, a phonograph record or an electric wire. *Ermine* is not only the name of a small animal, but also of its fur, and the office and rank of an English judge because in England ermine was worn by judges in court. In their direct meaning neither *mouth* nor *ermine* is motivated.

As to compounds, their motivation is morphological if the meaning of the whole is based on the direct meaning of the components, and semantic if the combination of components is used figuratively. Thus, *eyewash* 'a lotion for the eyes' or *headache* 'pain in the head', or *watchdog* 'a dog kept for watching property' are all morphologically motivated. If, on the other hand, they are used metaphorically as 'something said or done to deceive a person so that he thinks that what he sees is good, though in fact it is not', 'anything or anyone very annoying' and 'a watchful human guardian', respectively, then the motivation is semantic. Compare also *heart-breaking, time-server, lick-spittle, sky-jack* v.

An interesting example of complex morpho-semantic motivation passing through several stages in its history is the word *teenager* 'a person in his or her teens'. The motivation may be historically traced as follows: the inflected form of the numeral *ten* produced the suffix *-teen.* The suffix later produces a stem with a metonymical meaning (semantic motivation), receives the plural ending *-s,* and then produces a new noun *teens* 'the years of a person's life of which the numbers end in *-teen,* namely from 13 to 19'. In combination with *age* or *aged* the adjectives *teen-age* and *teen-aged* are coined, as in *teen-age boy, teen-age fashions.* A morphologically motivated noun *teenager* is then formed with the help of the suffix *-er* which is often added to compounds or noun phrases producing personal names according to the pattern *one connected with...'.

The pattern is frequent enough. One must keep in mind, however, that not all words with a similar morphemic composition will have the same derivational history and denote human beings. E. g. *first-nighter* and *honeymooner* are personal nouns, but *two-seater* is 'a car or an aeroplane seating two persons', *back-hander* is 'a back-hand stroke in tennis' and *three-decker* 'a sandwich made of three pieces of bread with two layers of filling'.

When the connection between the meaning of the word and its form is conventional that is there is no perceptible reason for the word having this particular phonemic and morphemic composition, the word is said to be n o n - m o t i v a t e d for the present stage of language development.

Every vocabulary is in a state of constant development. Words that seem non-motivated at present may have lost their motivation. The verb *earn* does not suggest at present any necessary connection with agriculture. The connection of form and meaning seems purely conventional. Historical analysis shows, however, that it is derived from OE (*ze-)earnian* 'to harvest'. In Modern English this connection no longer exists and *earn* is now a non-motivated word. Complex morphological structures tend to unite and become indivisible units, as St. Ullmann

demonstrates tracing the history of *not* which is a reduced form of *nought* from OE *nowiht*[1] <*no-wiht* 'nothing'.[2]

When some people recognise the motivation, whereas others do not, motivation is said to be f a d e d .

Sometimes in an attempt to find motivation for a borrowed word the speakers change its form so as to give it a connection with some well-known word. These cases of mistaken motivation received the name of f o l k   e t y m o l o g y . The phenomenon is not very frequent. Two examples will suffice: *A nightmare* is not 'a she-horse that appears at night' but 'a terrifying dream personified in folklore as a female monster'. (OE *mara* 'an evil spirit'.) The international radio-telephone signal *may-day* corresponding to the telegraphic SOS used by aeroplanes and ships in distress has nothing to do with the First of May but is a phonetic rendering of French *m'aidez* 'help me'.

Some linguists consider one more type of motivation closely akin to the imitative forms, namely s o u n d   s y m b o l i s m . Some words are supposed to illustrate the meaning more immediately than do ordinary words. As the same combinations of sounds are used in many semantically similar words, they become more closely associated with the meaning. Examples are: *flap, flip, flop, flitter, flimmer, flicker, flutter, flash, flush, flare; glare, glitter, glow, gloat, glimmer; sleet, slime, slush,* where *fl-* is associated with quick movement, *gl-* with light and fire, *sl-* with mud.

This sound symbolism phenomenon is not studied enough so far, so that it is difficult to say to what extent it is valid. There are, for example, many English words, containing the initial *fl-* but not associated with quick or any other movement: *flat, floor, flour, flower.* There is also nothing muddy in the referents of *sleep* or *slender.*

To sum up this discussion of motivation: there are processes in the vocabulary that compel us to modify the Saussurian principle according to which linguistic units are independent of the substance in which they are realised and their associations is a matter of arbitrary convention. It is already not true for phonetic motivation and only partly true for all other types. In the process of vocabulary development, and we witness everyday its intensity, a speaker of a language creates new words and is understood because the vocabulary system possesses established associations of form and meaning.

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[1] All the etymologies have been checked in the "Webster's New World Dictionary". The length of vowels in Old English is not marked in the present book, because it is not the phonetic but the semantic and morphological development of the vocabulary that is our primary concern.

[2] *Ullmann St.* The Principles of Semantics. P. 90.

Chapter 3

LEXICAL MEANING AND SEMANTIC STRUCTURE
OF ENGLISH WORDS

§ 3.1 DEFINITIONS

The branch of linguistics concerned with the meaning of words and word equivalents is called s e m a s i o l o g y . The name comes from the Greek *sēmasiā* 'signification' (from *sēma 'sign' sēmantikos* 'significant' and *logos* 'learning').

In the present book we shall not deal with every kind of linguistic meaning. Attention will be concentrated on lexical meaning and semasiology will be treated as a branch of lexicology.

This does not mean, of course, that no attention will be paid to grammatical meaning; on the contrary, grammatical meaning must be considered because it bears a specific influence upon lexical meaning (see § 1.3). In most present-day methods of lexicological analysis words are studied by placing them, or rather considering them in larger units of context; a word is defined by its functioning within a phrase or a sentence. This means that the problem of autonomy of lexicology versus syntax is now being raised and solved by special study. This functional approach is attempted in contextual analysis, semantic syntax and some other branches of linguistics.[1]

The influence of grammar on lexical meaning is manifold (see §1.3) and will be further discussed at some length later. At this stage it will suffice to point out that a certain basic component of the word meaning is described when one identifies the word morphologically, i.e. states to what grammatical word class it belongs.

If treated diachronically, semasiology studies the change in meaning which words undergo. Descriptive synchronic approach demands a study not of individual words but of semantic structures typical of the language studied, and of its general semantic system.

The main objects of semasiological study treated in this book are as follows: semantic development of words, its causes and classification, relevant distinctive features and types of lexical meaning,

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[1] The problem is not new. M. Bréal, for instance, devoted much attention to a semasiological treatment of grammar. A German philologist H. Hatzfeld held that semasiology should include syntax, and that many of its chapters need historical and cultural comments.

The problem has recently acquired a certain urgency and a revival of interest in semantic syntax is reflected in a large number of publications by Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev scholars.

polysemy and semantic structure of words, semantic grouping and connections in the vocabulary system, i.e. synonyms, antonyms, terminological systems, etc. The present chapter does not offer to cover all of this wide field. Attention will be centred upon semantic word structure and semantic analysis.

An exact definition of any basic term is no easy task altogether (see § 2.1). In the case of lexical meaning it becomes especially difficult due to the complexity of the process by which language and human mind serve to reflect outward reality and to adapt it to human needs.

The definition of lexical meaning has been attempted more than once in accordance with the main principles of different linguistic schools. The disciples of F. de Saussure consider meaning to be the relation between the object or notion named, and the name itself (see § 2.2). Descriptive linguistics of the Bloomfieldian trend defines the meaning as the situation in which the word is uttered. Both ways of approach afford no possibility of a further investigation of semantic problems in strictly linguistic terms, and therefore, if taken as a basis for general linguistic theory, give no insight into the mechanism of meaning. Some of L. Bloomfield's successors went so far as to exclude semasiology from linguistics on the ground that meaning could not be studied "objectively", and was not part of language but "an aspect of the use to which language is put". This point of view was never generally accepted. The more general opinion is well revealed in R. Jakobson's pun. He said: "Linguistics without meaning is meaningless."[1] This crisis of semasiology has been over for some twenty years now, and the problem of meaning has provided material for a great number of books, articles and dissertations.

In our country the definitions of meaning given by various authors, though different in detail, agree in the basic principle: they all point out that l e x i c a l   m e a n i n g   i s t h e   r e a l i s a t i o n   of c o n - c e p t   or e m o t i o n   by m e a n s   of a d e f i n i t e   l a n g u a g e s y s t e m . The definition stresses that semantics studies only such meanings that can be expressed, that is concepts bound by signs.

It has also been repeatedly stated that the plane of content in speech reflects the whole of human consciousness, which comprises not only mental activity but emotions, volition, etc. as well. The mentalistic approach to meaning treating it only as a concept expressed by a word oversimplifies the problem because it takes into consideration only the referential function of words. Actually, however, all the pragmatic functions of language — communicative, emotive, evaluative, phatic, esthetic, etc., are also relevant and have to be accounted for in semasiology, because they show the attitude of the speaker to the thing spoken of, to his interlocutor and to the situation in which the act of communication takes place.

The complexity of the word meaning is manifold. The four most important types of semantic complexity may be roughly described as follows:

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[1] Note how this epigram makes use of the polysemy of the word meaning.

Firstly, every word combines lexical and grammatical meanings. E.g.:

Father is a personal noun.

Secondly, many words not only refer to some object but have an aura of associations expressing the attitude of the speaker. They have not only denotative but connotative meaning as well.

E. g.: *Daddy* is a colloquial term of endearment.

Thirdly, the denotational meaning is segmented into semantic components or semes.

E.g.: *Father* is a male parent.

Fourthly, a word may be polysemantic, that is it may have several meanings, all interconnected and forming its semantic structure.

E. g.: *Father* may mean: 'male parent', 'an ancestor', 'a founder or leader', 'a priest'.

It will be useful to remind the reader that the g r a m m a t i c a l m e a n i n g is defined as an expression in speech of relationships between words based on contrastive features of arrangements in which they occur. The grammatical meaning is more abstract and more generalised than the lexical meaning, it unites words into big groups such as parts of speech or lexico-grammatical classes. It is recurrent in identical sets of individual forms of different words. E. g. *parents, books, intentions,* whose common element is the grammatical meaning of plurality. The interrelation of lexics and grammar has already been touched upon in § 1.3. This being a book on lexicology and not on grammar, it is permissible not to go into more details though some words on lexico-grammatical meanings are necessary.

T h e l e x i c o - g r a m m a t i c a l m e a n i n g is the common denominator of all the meanings of words belonging to a lexico-grammatical class of words, it is the feature according to which they are grouped together. Words in which abstraction and generalisation are so great that they can be lexical representatives of lexico-grammatical meanings and substitute any word of their class are called g e n e r i c t e r m s . For example the word *matter* is a generic term for material nouns, the word *group* — for collective nouns, the word *person* — for personal nouns.

Words belonging to one lexico-grammatical class are characterised by a common system of forms in which the grammatical categories inherent in them are expressed. They are also substituted by the same prop-words and possess some characteristic formulas of semantic and morphological structure and a characteristic set of derivational affixes. See tables on word-formation in: R. Quirk et al., "A Grammar of Contemporary English".[1] The common features of semantic structure may be observed in their dictionary definitions:

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[1] *Quirk R., Greenbaum S., Leech G., Svartvik J.* A Grammar of Contemporary English. London, 1974.

management — a group of persons in charge of some enterprise,
chorus — a group of singers,
team — a group of persons acting together in work or in a game.

The degree and character of abstraction and generalisation in lexico-grammatical meanings and the generic terms that represent them are intermediate between those characteristic of grammatical categories and those observed on the lexical level — hence the term l e x i c o - g r a m m a t i c a l .

The conceptual content of a word is expressed in its d e n o t a t i v e m e a n i n g . [1] To denote is to serve as a linguistic expression for a concept or as a name for an individual object. The denotative meaning may be significative, if the referent is a concept, or d e m o f i s t r a t i v e , if it is an individual object. The term r e f e r e n t or den o t a t u m (pl. *denotata)* is used in both cases. Any text will furnish examples of both types of denotative meaning. The demonstrative meaning is especially characteristic of colloquial speech where words so often serve to identify particular elements of reality. E. g.: "Do *you remember what the young lady did with the telegram?"* (Christie) Here the connection with reality is direct.

Especially interesting examples of significative meaning may be found in aphorisms, proverbs and other sayings rendering general ideas. E. g.: *A good laugh is sunshine in the house* (Thackeray) or *The reason why worry kills more people than work is that more people worry than work* (Frost) contain words in their significative meanings.

The information communicated by virtue of what the word refers to is often subject to complex associations originating in habitual contexts, verbal or situational, of which the speaker and the listener are aware, they give the word its c o n n o t a t i v e m e a n i n g . The interaction of denotative meaning and its pragmatic counterpart — connotation — is no less complicated than in the case of lexical and grammatical meaning. The connotative component is optional, and even when it is present its proportion with respect to the logical counterpart may vary within wide limits.

We shall call connotation what the word conveys about the speaker's attitude to the social circumstances and the appropriate functional style *(slay* vs *kill),* about his approval or disapproval of the object spoken of *(clique* vs *group),* about the speaker's emotions *(mummy* vs *mother),* or the degree of intensity *(adore* vs *love).*

The emotional overtone as part of the word's communicative value deserves special attention. Different approaches have been developing in contemporary linguistics.[2]

The emotional and evaluative meaning of the word may be part of the denotational meaning. For example *hireling* 'a person who offers his services for payment and does not care about the type of work'

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[1] There are other synonymous terms but we shall not enumerate them here because terminological richness is more hampering than helpful.

[2] See the works of E.S. Aznaurova, T.G. Vinokur, R.H. Volpert, V.I. Maltzev, V.N. Mikhaylovskaya, I.A. Sternin, V.I. Shakhovsky and many others.

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has a strong derogatory and even scornful connotation, especially when the name is applied to hired soldiers. There is a considerable degree of fuzziness about the boundaries between the denotational and connotative meanings.

The third type of semantic segmentation mentioned on p. 39 was the segmentation of the denotational meaning into s e m a n t i c   c o m p o n e n t s . The c o m p o n e n t i a l   a n a l y s i s is a very important method of linguistic investigation and has attracted a great deal of attention. It is usually illustrated by some simple example such as the words *man, woman, boy, girl,* all belonging to the semantic field "the human race" and differing in the characteristics of age and sex. Using the symbols HUMAN, ADULT, MALE and marking them positively and negatively so that -ADULT means 'young' and -MALE means 'female', we may write the following componential definitions:

man:	+ HUMAN	+ ADULT	+ MALE
woman:	+ HUMAN	+ ADULT	— MALE
boy:	+ HUMAN	— ADULT	+ MALE
girl:	+ HUMAN	— ADULT	— MALE

One further point should be made: HUMAN, ADULT, MALE in this analysis are not words of English or any other language: they are elements of meaning, or s e m e s which can be combined in various ways with other similar elements in the meaning of different words. Nevertheless a linguist, as it has already been mentioned, cannot study any meaning devoid of form, therefore these semes are mostly determined with the help of dictionary definitions.

To conclude this rough model of semantic complexities we come to the fourth point, that of p o l y s e m y .

P o l y s e m y is inherent in the very nature of words and concepts as every object and every notion has many features and a concept reflected in a word always contains a generalisation of several traits of the object. Some of these traits or components of meaning are common with other objects. Hence the possibility of using the same name in secondary nomination for objects possessing common features which are sometimes only implied in the original meaning. A word when acquiring new meaning or meanings may also retain, and most often retains the previous meaning.

E. g. *birth* — 1) the act or time of being born, 2) an origin or beginning, 3) descent, family.

The classification of meanings within the semantic structure of one polysemantic word will be discussed in § 3.4.

If the communicative value of a word contains latent possibilities realised not in this particular variant but able to create new derived meanings or words we call that i m p l i c a t i o n a l . [1] The word *bomb,*

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[1] See on this point M.V. Nikitin's works.

See also the term   e p i d i g m a t i c   offered by D.N. Shmelev for a somewhat similar notion of the elements of meaning that form the basis for semantic and morphological derivation and characterise the similarities and differences of variants within the semantic structure of one word.

for example, implies great power, hence the new colloquial meanings 'great success' and 'great failure', the latter being an American slang expression.

The different variants of a polysemantic word form a semantic whole due to the proximity of the referents they name and the notions they express. The formation of new meanings is often based on the potential or implicational meaning. The transitive verb *drive,* for instance, means 'to force to move before one' and hence, more generally, 'to cause an animal, a person or a thing work or move in some direction', and more specifically 'to direct a course of a vehicle or the animal which draws it, or a railway train, etc.', hence 'to convey in a vehicle' and the intransitive verb: 'to go in a vehicle'. There are also many other variants but we shall mention only one more, namely — the figurative — 'to mean', as in: "*What can he be driving at?"* (Foote)

All these different meanings can be explained one with the help of one of the others.

The typical patterns according to which different meanings are united in one polysemantic word often depend upon grammatical meanings and grammatical categories characteristic of the part of speech to which they belong.

Depending upon the part of speech to which the word belongs all its possible meanings become connected with a definite group of grammatical meanings, and the latter influence the s e m a n t i c s t r u c t u r e of the word so much that every part of speech possesses semantic peculiarities of its own.

§ 3.2 THE LEXICAL MEANING VERSUS NOTION

The term n o t i o n (concept) is introduced into linguistics from logic and psychology. It denotes the reflection in the mind of real objects and phenomena in their essential features and relations. Each notion is characterised by its s c o p e and c o n t e n t . The scope of the notion is determined by all the objects it refers to. The content of the notion is made up of all the features that distinguish it from other notions. The distinction between the scope and the content of a notion lies at the basis of such terms as the i d e n t i f y i n g (d e m o n s t r a t i v e) and s i g n i f i c a -
t i v e f u n c t i o n s of the word that have been discussed above. The identifying function may be interpreted as denoting the objects covered by the scope of the notion expressed in the word, and the significative function is the function of expressing the content of the respective notion. The function of rendering an emotion or an attitude is termed t h e e x p r e s -
s i v e f u n c t i o n .

The relationship between the linguistic lexical meaning and the logical notion deserves special attention not only because they are apt to be confused but also because in comparing and contrasting them it is possible to achieve a better insight into the essence of both. In what follows this opposition will be treated in some detail.

I. The first essential point is that the relationship between notion and meaning varies. A word may have a notion for its referent. In the example *A good laugh is sunshine in the house* (Thackeray) every word

evokes a general idea, a notion, without directly referring to any particular element of reality. The scope of the significative meaning and that of the notion coincide; on different levels they cover the same area. But a word may also have, and quite often has a particular individual object for its referent as in *"Do you remember what the young lady did with the telegram?"* (Christie)

The problem of p r o p e r   n a m e s is particularly complicated. It has been often taken for granted that they do not convey any generalised notion at all, that they only name human beings, countries, cities, animals, rivers, stars, etc. And yet, names like Moscow, the Thames, Italy, Byron evoke notions. Moreover, the notions called forth are particularly rich. The clue, as St. Ullmann convincingly argues, lies in the specific function of proper names which is identification, and not signifying.[1]

Pronouns possess the demonstrative function almost to a complete exclusion of the significative function, i.e. they only point out, they do not impart any information about the object pointed out except for its relation to the speaker.

To sum up this first point: the logical notion is the referent of lexical meaning quite often but not always, because there may be other referents such as the real objects.

II. Secondly, notions are always emotionally neutral as they are a category of thought. Language, however, expresses all possible aspects of human consciousness (see § 3.3). Therefore the meaning of many words not only conveys some reflection of objective reality but also connotations revealing the speaker's state of mind and his attitude to what he is speaking about. The following passage yields a good example: *"Vile bug of a coward," said Lypiatt, "why don't you defend yourself like a man?"* (Huxley) Due to the unpleasant connotations the name *bug* acquires a negative emotional tone. The word *man,* on the contrary, has a positive connotation implying courage and firmness. When used in emotionally coloured situations emphatic syntactic structures and contexts, as in our example from Huxley, words accumulate emotional associations that finally blur their exact denotative meaning.

The content of the emotional component of meaning varies considerably. Emotionally charged words can cover the whole scale of both positive and negative emotions: admiration, respect, tenderness and other positive feelings, on the one hand, and scorn, irony, loathing, etc., on the other. Two or more words having the same denotative meaning may differ in emotional tone. In such oppositions as *brat* : : *baby* and *kid* : : *child* the denotative force of the right- and left-hand terms is the same but the left-hand terms are emotional whereas those on the right are neutral.

III. Thirdly, the absence not only of identity, but even of regular

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[1] *Ullmann St.* The Principles of Semantics. P. 73. See also on the point of proper names: *Jespersen O.* Philosophy of Grammar. London, 1929, p.p. 63-71; *Sörensen* H.S. Word-Classes in Modern English (with Special Reference to Proper Names), with an Introductory Theory of Grammar, Meaning and Reference. Copenhagen, 1958.

one-to-one correspondence between meaning and notion is clearly seen in words belonging to some specific stylistic level. This purely linguistic factor is relevant not for the content of the message but for the personality of the speaker, his background and his relations with his audience. The wording of the following example can serve to illustrate the point: *"Well," said Kanga, "Fancy that! Fancy my making a mistake like that."* (Milne) *Fancy* when used in exclamatory sentences not only expresses surprise but has a definite colloquial character and shows that the speaker and those who hear him are on familiar terms.

The stylistic colouring should not be mixed with emotional tone although here they coincide. A word may have a definite stylistic characteristic and be completely devoid of any emotional colouring *(lifer* 'a person who has been sent to prison for life'); two words may belong to the same style and express diametrically opposed emotions (compare, for instance, the derogatory *lousy* and the laudatory *smashing,* both belonging to slang).

Summing up the second and the third points, one may say that owing to its linguistic nature the lexical meaning of many words cannot be divorced from the typical sphere where these words are used and the typical contexts, and so bears traces of both, whereas a notion belongs to abstract logic and so has no ties with any stylistic sphere and does not contain any emotive components.

IV. The linguistic nature of lexical meaning has very important consequences. Expressing a notion, a word does so in a way determined by the peculiarities of the lexical and grammatical systems of each particular language and by the various structural ties of the word in speech. Every word may be said to have paradigmatic ties relating it to other words and forms, and giving it a differential quality. These are its relations to other elements of the same thematic group, to synonymous and antonymous words, phraseological restrictions on its use and the type of words which may be derived from it. On the other hand, each word has syntagmatic ties characterising the ordered linear arrangement of speech elements.

The lexical meaning of every word depends upon the part of speech to which the word belongs. Every word may be used in a limited set of syntactical functions, and with a definite valency. It has a definite set of grammatical meanings, and a definite set of forms.

Every lexico-grammatical group of words (see p. p. 28, 39) or class is characterised by its own lexico-grammatical meaning, forming, as it were, the common denominator of all the meanings of the words which belong to this group. The lexico-grammatical meaning may be also regarded as the feature according to which these words are grouped together. Many recent investigations are devoted to establishing word classes on the basis of similarity of distribution.

In the lexical meaning of every separate word the lexico-grammatical meaning common to all the words of the class to which this word belongs is enriched by additional features and becomes particularised.

The meaning of a specific property in such words as *bright, clear, good, quick, steady, thin* is a particular realisation of the lexico-

grammatical meaning of qualitative adjectives. These adjectives always denote the properties of things capable of being compared and so have degrees of comparison. They refer to qualities that vary along a continuous scale and are called gradable. The scope of the notion rendered by the lexico-grammatical meaning of the class is much larger than the scope of the notion rendered by the lexical meaning of each individual word. The reverse also holds good: the content of the notion expressed by the lexico-grammatical meaning of the class is smaller, poorer in features than the content of the notion expressed by the lexical meaning of a word.

In summing up this fourth point, we note that the complexity of the notion is determined by the relationships of the extra-linguistic reality reflected in human consciousness. The structure of every separate meaning depends on the linguistic syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships because meaning is an inherent component of language. The complexity of each word meaning is due to the fact that it combines lexical meaning with lexico-grammatical meaning and sometimes with emotional colouring, stylistic peculiarities and connotations born from previous usage.

V. The foregoing deals with separate meanings as realised in speech. If we turn to the meaning of words as they exist in language we shall observe that frequently used words are polysemantic.

In every language the combinatorial possibility of meanings in one word is specific. Thus, it is characteristic of English nouns to combine individual and collective, countable and uncountable variants in one phonetic complex. In verbs we observe different meanings based on the transitive and intransitive lexico-semantic variants of the same verb, as illustrated by the following examples: *burn* vt 'destroy by fire', vi 'be in flames'; *hold* vt 'contain, keep fast', vi 'be true'. See also different meanings of the verbs *fire, fly, run, shake, turn, walk, warm, worry,* etc.

Morphological derivation also plays a very important part in determining possible meaning combinations. Thus, for instance, nouns derived from verbs very often name not only the action itself but its result as well, e. g. *show* n 'the act of showing', 'an exhibition'.

All these examples are sufficient to prove the fifth point, namely, that the grouping of meanings is different from the grouping of notions.

VI. Last but not least, the difference between notion and meaning is based upon the fact that notions are mostly international, especially for nations with the same level of cultural development, whereas meaning may be nationally determined and limited. The grouping of meanings in the semantic structure of a word is determined by the whole system of every language, by its grammar and vocabulary, by the peculiar history both of the language in question and the people who speak it. These factors influence not only the mere presence and absence of this or that meaning in the semantic system of words that may be considered equivalent in different languages, but also their respective place and importance. Equivalent words may be defined as words of two different languages, the main lexical variants of which express or name the same

notion, emotion or object. Their respective semantic structures (in the case of polysemantic words) show a marked parallelism, but this similarity is not absolute. Its degree may vary.

The meaning of every word forms part of the semantic system of each particular language and thus is always determined by the peculiarities of its vocabulary, namely the existence of synonyms, or words near in meaning, by the typical usage, set expressions and also by the words' grammatical characteristics depending on the grammatical system of each language.

A good illustration is given by the verb *go*. Its Russian equivalent is *идти*. The main meaning 'move or pass from place to place' is common to both languages, as well as the meaning 'extend' (e. g.: *This road goes to London —Эта дорога идет в Лондон);* and so is the meaning 'work' *(Is your watch going? — Идут ли ваши часы?).* There is, however, quite a considerable number of meanings that do not coincide. This is partly due to the existence in the English vocabulary of the words *come* and *walk* that point out the direction and character of the movement. Cf. *Вот, он идет! — Here he comes!* On the other hand the Russian language makes a distinction between *идти* and *ехать.* So that the English *go by train, go by bus* cannot be translated as **идти на поезде* or **идти на автобусе.*

There is quite a number of meanings that are realised only under certain specific structural conditions, such as: *go fishing (skating, boating, skiing, mountain-climbing); go running (flying, screaming); go limp (pale, bad, blind); be going to ...* that have no parallel in Russian (see p. 16).

It is common knowledge that there are many cases when one English word combines the meanings of two or more Russian words expressing similar notions and vice versa. For example:

A. *boat* — *судно, шлюпка, пароход, лодка; coat* — *пальто, пиджак, китель; desk* — *парта, письменный стол; floor* — *пол, этаж; gun* — *пушка, ружье; cry* — *кричать, плакать.*

B. *нога* — *foot* and *leg; рука* — *hand* and *arm; часы* — *watch* and *clock; пальцы* — *fingers* and *toes; сон* — *sleep* and *dream; высокий* — *high* and *tall.* The last example is particularly interesting because it reveals that the word *high* cannot cover all the cases of great vertical dimension, i.e. the scope of the notion and that of the meaning do not coincide.

Summing up all the points of difference between the thing meant, the notion and the meaning, we can say that the lexical meaning of the word may be defined as the realisation or naming of a notion, emotion or object by means of a definite language system subject to the influence of grammar and vocabulary peculiarities of that language. Words that express notions may also have some emotional or stylistic colouring or express connotations suggestive of the contexts in which they often appear. All the specific features that distinguish the lexical meaning from the notion are due to its linguistic nature. Expressing the notion is one of the word's functions but not the only one, as there are words that do not name any notion; their meaning is constituted by other

functions. The development of the lexical meaning is influenced by the whole complicated network of ties and relations between the words in a given vocabulary and between the vocabulary and other aspects of the language.

§ 3.3 DENOTATIVE AND CONNOTATIVE MEANING

In the previous paragraphs we emphasised the complexity of word meaning and mentioned its possible segmentation into denotative and connotative meaning. In this paragraph we shall analyse these in greater detail. In most cases t h e d e n o t a t i v e m e a n i n g is essentially cognitive: it conceptualises and classifies our experience and names for the listener some objects spoken about. Fulfilling the significative and the communicative functions of the word it is present in every word and may be regarded as the central factor in the functioning of language.

The expressive function of the language with its orientation towards the speaker's feelings, and the pragmatic function dealing with the effect of words upon listeners are rendered in connotations. Unlike the denotative meaning, connotations are optional.

The description of the denotative meaning or meanings is the duty of lexicographers in unilingual explanatory dictionaries. The task is a difficult one because there is no clear-cut demarcation line between the semantic features, strictly necessary for each definition, and those that are optional. A glance at the definitions given in several dictionaries will suffice to show how much they differ in solving the problem. A cat, for example, is defined by Hornby as "a small fur-covered animal often kept as a pet in the house". Longman in his dictionary goes into greater detail: a cat is "a small animal with soft fur and sharp teeth and claws, often kept as a pet, or in buildings to catch mice". The Chambers Dictionary gives a scientific definition — "a cat is a carnivore of the genus Felix, esp. the domesticated kind".

The examples given above bring us to one more difficult problem. Namely, whether in analysing a meaning we should be guided by all that science knows about the referent, or whether a linguist has to formulate the simplest possible concept as used by every speaker. If so, what are the features necessary and sufficient to characterise the referent? The question was raised by many prominent scientists, the great Russian philologist A. A. Potebnya among them. A. A. Potebnya distinguished the "proximate" word meaning with the bare minimum of characteristic features as used by every speaker in everyday life, and the "distant" word meaning corresponding to what specialists know about the referent. The latter type we could have called 'special' or 'terminological' meaning. A. A. Potebnya maintained that linguistics is concerned only with the first type. The problem is by no means simple, especially for lexicographers, as is readily seen from the above lexicographic treatment of the word *cat.*

The demarcation line between the two types is becoming more fluid; with the development of culture the gap between the elementary notions of a layman and the more and more exact concepts of a specialist narrows in some spheres and widens in others. The concepts themselves are

constantly changing. The speakers' ideolects vary due to different life experience, education and other extra-linguistic factors.
The bias of studies depends upon their ultimate goals.

If lexicology is needed as the basis for language teaching in engineering colleges, we have to concentrate on terminological semantics, if on the other hand it is the theory necessary for teaching English at school, the meaning with the minimum semantic components is of primary importance. So we shall have to concentrate on this in spite of all its fuzziness.

Now, if the denotative meaning exists by virtue of what the word refers to, connotation is the pragmatic communicative value the word receives by virtue of where, when, how, by whom, for what purpose and in what contexts it is or may be used. Four main types of connotations are described below. They are stylistic, emotional, evaluative and expressive or intensifying.

The orientation toward the subject-matter, characteristic, as we have seen, of the denotative meaning, is substituted here by pragmatic orientation toward speaker and listener; it is not so much what is spoken about as the attitude to it that matters.

When associations at work concern the situation in which the word is uttered, the social circumstances (formal, familiar, etc.), the social relationships between the interlocutors (polite, rough), the type and purpose of communication (learned, poetic, official, etc.), the connotation is stylistic.

An effective method of revealing connotations is the analysis of synonymic groups, where the identity of denotation meanings makes it possible to separate the connotational overtones. A classical example for showing stylistic connotations is the noun *horse* and its synonyms. The word *horse* is stylistically neutral, its synonym *steed* is poetic, *nag* is a word of slang and *gee-gee* is baby language.

An emotional or affective connotation is acquired by the word as a result of its frequent use in contexts corresponding to emotional situations or because the referent conceptualised and named in the denotative meaning is associated with emotions. For example, the verb *beseech* means 'to ask eagerly and also anxiously'. E. g.: *He besought a favour of the judge* (Longman).

Evaluative connotation expresses approval OF disapproval.

Making use of the same procedure of comparing elements of a synonymic group, one compares the words *magic, witchcraft* and *sorcery,* all originally denoting art and power of controlling events by occult supernatural means, we see that all three words are now used mostly figuratively, and also that *magic* as compared to its synonyms will have glamorous attractive connotations, while the other two, on the contrary, have rather sinister associations.

It is not claimed that these four types of connotations: stylistic, emotional, evaluative and intensifying form an ideal and complete classification. Many other variants have been proposed, but the one suggested here is convenient for practical analysis and well supported by facts. It certainly

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is not ideal. There is some difficulty for instance in separating the binary good/bad evaluation from connotations of the so-called b i a s words involving i d e o l o g i c a l viewpoints. Bias words are especially characteristic of the newspaper vocabulary reflecting different ideologies and political trends in describing political life. Some authors think these connotations should be taken separately.

The term b i a s   w o r d s is based on the meaning of the noun *bias* 'an inclination for or against someone or something, a prejudice', e. g. *a newspaper with a strong conservative bias.*

The following rather lengthy example is justified, because it gives a more or less complete picture of the phenomenon. E. Waugh in his novel "Scoop" satirises the unfairness of the Press. A special correspondent is sent by a London newspaper to report on a war in a fictitious African country Ishmalia. He asks his editor for briefing:

"Can you tell me who is fighting whom in Ishmalia?"

"I think it is the Patriots and the Traitors."

"Yes, but which is which?"

"Oh, I don't know <u>that</u>. <u>That's</u> Policy, you see [...] *You should have asked Lord Copper."*

"I gather it's between the Reds and the Blacks."

"Yes, but i t ' s not quite so easy as that. You see they are all Negroes. And the Fascists won't be called black because of their racial pride. So they are called White after the White Russians. And the Bolshevists want to be called black because of <u>their</u> racial pride." (Waugh)

The example shows that connotations are not stable and vary considerably according to the ideology, culture and experience of the individual. Even apart of this satirical presentation we learn from Barn-hart's dictionary that the word *black* meaning 'a negro', which used to be impolite and derogatory, is now upgraded by civil rights movement through the use of such slogans as "*Black is Beautiful"* or "*Black Power".*

A linguistic proof of an existing unpleasant connotation is the appearance of euphemisms. Thus backward students are now called *under-achievers.* Countries with a low standard of living were first called *unde-veloped,* but euphemisms quickly lose their polite character and the unpleasant connotations are revived, and then they are replaced by new euphemisms such as *less developed* and then as *developing countries.*

A fourth type of connotation that should be mentioned is the i n t e n - s i f y i n g   c o n n o t a t i o n (also expressive, emphatic). Thus *magnificent, gorgeous, splendid, superb* are all used colloquially as terms of exaggeration.

We often come across words that have two or three types of connotations at once, for example the word *beastly* as in *beastly weather* or *beastly cold* is emotional, colloquial, expresses censure and intensity.

Sometimes emotion or evaluation is expressed in the style of the utterance. The speaker may adopt an impolite tone conveying displeasure (e. g. *Shut up!).* A casual tone may express friendliness o r affection: *Sit down, kid* [...] *There, there — just you sit tight* (Chris tie).

Polysemy is a phenomenon of language not of speech. The sum total of many contexts in which the word is observed to occur permits the lexicographers to record cases of identical meaning and cases that differ in meaning. They are registered by lexicographers and found in dictionaries.

A distinction has to be drawn between the lexical meaning of a word in speech, we shall call it c o n t e x t u a l meaning, and the semantic structure of a word in language. Thus the semantic structure of the verb *act* comprises several variants: 'do something', 'behave', 'take a part in a play', 'pretend'. If one examines this word in the following aphorism: *Some men have acted courage who had it not; but no man can act wit* (Halifax), one sees it in a definite context that particularises it and makes possible only one meaning 'pretend'. This contextual meaning has a connotation of irony. The unusual grammatical meaning of transitivity *(act* is as a rule intransitive) and the lexical meaning of objects to this verb make a slight difference in the lexical meaning.

As a rule the contextual meaning represents only one of the possible variants of the word but this one variant may render a complicated notion or emotion analyzable into several semes. In this case we deal not with the semantic structure of the word but with the semantic structure of one of its meanings. Polysemy does not interfere with the communicative function of the language because the situation and context cancel all the unwanted meanings.

Sometimes, as, for instance in puns, the ambiguity is intended, the words are purposefully used so as to emphasise their different meanings. Consider the replica of lady Constance, whose son, Arthur Plantagenet is betrayed by treacherous allies:

LYMOGES (Duke of Austria): *Lady Constance, peace!*
CONSTANCE: *War! war! no peace! peace is to me a war* (Shakespeare).

In the time of Shakespeare *peace* as an interjection meant 'Silence!' But lady Constance takes up the main meaning — the antonym of war.

Geoffrey Leech uses the term r e f l e c t e d m e a n i n g for what is communicated through associations with another sense of the same word, that is all cases when one meaning of the word forms part of the listener's response to another meaning. G. Leech illustrates his point by the following example. Hearing in the Church Service the expression *The Holy Ghost,* he found his reaction conditioned by the everyday unreligious and awesome meaning 'the shade of a dead person supposed to visit the living'. The case where reflected meaning intrudes due to suggestivity of the expression may be also illustrated by taboo words and euphemisms connected with the physiology of sex.

Consider also the following joke, based on the clash of different meanings of the word *expose* ('leave unprotected', 'put up for show', 'reveal the guilt of'). E. g.: *Painting is the art of protecting flat surfaces from the weather and exposing them to the critic.*

Or, a similar case: *"Why did they hang this picture?" "Perhaps, they could not find the artist."*

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Contextual meanings include nonce usage. Nonce words are words invented and used for a particular occasion.

The study of means and ways of naming the elements of reality is called o n o m a s i o l o g y . As worked out in some recent publications it received the name of Theory of Nomination.[1] So if semasiology studies what it is the name points out, onomasiology and the theory of nomination have to show how the objects receive their names and what features are chosen to represent them.

Originally the nucleus of the theory concerned names for objects, and first of all concrete nouns. Later on a discussion began, whether actions, properties, emotions and so on should be included as well. The question was answered affirmatively as there is no substantial difference in the reflection in our mind of things and their properties or different events. Everything that can be named or expressed verbally is considered in the theory of nomination. Vocabulary constitutes the central problem but syntax, morphology and phonology also have their share. The theory of nomination takes into account that the same referent may receive various names according to the information required at the moment by the process of communication, e. g. *Walter Scott* and *the author of Waverley* (to use an example known to many generations of linguists). According to the theory of nomination every name has its primary function for which it was created (primary or direct nomination), and an indirect or secondary function corresponding to all types of figurative, extended or special meanings (see p. 53). The aspect of theory of nomination that has no counterpart in semasiology is the study of repeated nomination in the same text, as, for instance, when Ophelia is called by various characters of the tragedy: *fair Ophelia, sweet maid, dear maid, nymph, kind sister, rose of May, poor Ophelia, lady, sweet lady, pretty lady,* and so on.

To sum up this discussion of the semantic structure of a word, we return to its definition as a structured set of interrelated lexical variants with different denotational and sometimes also connotational meanings. These variants belong to the same set because they are expressed by the same combination of morphemes, although in different contextual conditions. The elements are interrelated due to the existence of some common semantic component. In other words, the word's semantic structure is an organised whole comprised by recurrent meanings and shades of meaning that a particular sound complex can assume in different contexts, together with emotional, stylistic and other connotations, if any.

Every meaning is thus characterised according to the function, significative or pragmatic effect that it has to fulfil as denotative and connotative meaning referring the word to the extra-linguistic reality and to the speaker, and also with respect to other meanings with which it is contrasted. The hierarchy of lexico-grammatical variants and shades of meaning within the semantic structure of a word is studied with the help of formulas establishing semantic distance between them developed by N. A. Shehtman and other authors.

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[1] The problem was studied by *W. Humboldt* (1767-1835) who called the feature chosen as the basis of nomination— the inner form of the word.

The contextual method of linguistic research holds its own alongside statistical, structural and other developments. Like structural methods and procedures, it is based on the assumption that difference in meaning of linguistic units is always indicated by a difference in environment. Unlike structural distributional procedures (see §5.2, 5.3) it is not formalised. In some respects, nevertheless, it is more rigorous than the structural procedures, because it strictly limits its observations and conclusions to an impressive corpus of actually recorded material. No changes, whether controlled or not, are permitted in linguistic data observed, no conclusions are made unless there is a sufficient number of examples to support their validity. The size of a representative sample is determined not so much by calculation though, but rather by custom. Words are observed in real texts, not on the basis of dictionaries. The importance of the approach cannot be overestimated; in fact, as E. Nida puts it, "it is from linguistic contexts that the meanings of a high proportion of lexical units in active or passive vocabularies are learned."[1]

The notion of context has several interpretations. According to N. N. Amosova context is a combination of an indicator or indicating minimum and the dependant, that is the word, the meaning of which is to be rendered in a given utterance.

The results until recently were, however more like a large collection of neatly organised examples, supplemented with comments. A theoretical approach to this aspect of linguistics will be found in the works by G. V. Kolshansky.

Contextual analysis concentrated its attention on determining the minimal stretch of speech and the conditions necessary and sufficient to reveal in which of its individual meanings the word in question is used. In studying this interaction of the polysemantic word with the syntactic configuration and lexical environment contextual analysis is more concerned with specific features of every particular language than with language universals.

Roughly, context may be subdivided into lexical, syntactical and mixed. Lexical context, for instance, determines the meaning of the word *black* in the following examples. *Black* denotes colour when used with the key-word naming some material or thing, e. g. *black velvet, black gloves.* When used with key-words denoting feeling or thought, it means 'sad', 'dismal', e. g. *black thoughts, black despair.* With nouns denoting time, the meaning is 'unhappy', 'full of hardships', e. g. *black days, black period.*

If, on the other hand, the indicative power belongs to the syntactic pattern and not to the words which make it up, the context is called syntactic. E. g. *make* means 'to cause' when followed by a complex object*: I couldn't make him understand a word I said.*

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[1] *Nida E.* Componential Analysis of Meaning. The Hague-Paris, Mouton 1975. P. 195.

A purely syntactic context is rare. As a rule the indication comes from syntactic, lexical and sometimes morphological factors combined. Thus, *late,* when used predicatively, means 'after the right, expected or fixed time', as *be late for school.* When used attributively with words denoting periods of time, it means 'towards the end of the period', e. g. *in late summer.* Used attributively with proper personal nouns and preceded with a definite article, *late* means 'recently dead'.

All lexical contexts are subdivided into lexical contexts of the first degree and lexical contexts of the second degree. In the lexical context of the first degree there is a direct syntactical connection between the indicator and the dependent: *He was arrested on a treason charge.* In lexical context of the second degree there is no direct syntactical connection between a dependent and the indicator. E.g*.: I move that Mr Last addresses the meeting* (Waugh). The dependent *move* is not directly connected to the indicating minimum *addresses the meeting.*

Alongside the context N. N. Amosova distinguishes speech situation, in which the necessary indication comes not from within the sentence but from some part of the text outside it. Speech situation with her may be of two types: text-situation and life-situation. In text-situation it is a preceding description, a description that follows or some word in the preceding text that help to understand the ambiguous word.

E. Nida gives a slightly different classification. He distinguishes linguistic and practical context. By practical context he means the circumstances of communication: its stimuli, participants, their relation to one another and to circumstances and the response of the listeners.

3.6 COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

A good deal of work being published by linguists at present and dealing with semantics has to do with componential analysis.[1] To illustrate what is meant by this we have taken a simple example (see p. 41) used for this purpose by many linguists. Consider the following set of words: *man, woman, boy, girl, bull, cow.* We can arrange them as correlations of binary oppositions *man : : woman = boy : : girl = bull : : cow.* The meanings of words *man, boy, bull on* the one hand, and *woman, girl* and *cow,* on the other, have something in common. This distinctive feature we call a semantic component or seme. In this case the semantic distinctive feature is that of sex — male or female. Another possible correlation is *man : : boy = woman : : girl.* The distinctive feature is that of age — adult or non-adult. If we compare this with a third correlation *man : : bull = woman : : cow,* we obtain a third distinctive feature contrasting human and animal beings. In addition to the notation given on p. 41, the componential formula may be also shown by brackets. The meaning of *man* can be described as (male (adult (human being))), *woman* as (female (adult (human being))), *girl* as (female (non-adult (human being))), etc.

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[1] See the works by O.K. Seliverstova, J.N. Karaulov, E. Nida, D. Bolinger and others.

Componential analysis is thus an attempt to describe the meaning of words in terms of a universal inventory of semantic components and their possible combinations.[1]

Componential approach to meaning has a long history in linguistics.[2] L. Hjelmslev's commutation test deals with similar relationships and may be illustrated by proportions from which the distinctive features d_1, d_2, d_3 are obtained by means of the following procedure:

$$d_1 = \frac{\text{'boy'}}{\text{'girl'}} = \frac{\text{'man'}}{\text{'woman'}} = \frac{\text{'bull'}}{\text{'cow'}}$$

hence

$$d_2 = \frac{\text{'boy'}}{\text{'man'}} = \frac{\text{'girl'}}{\text{'woman'}}$$

$$d_3 = \frac{\text{'boy'}}{\text{'bull'}} = \frac{\text{'girl'}}{\text{'cow'}}$$

As the first relationship is that of male to female, the second, of young to adult, and the third, human to animal, the meaning 'boy' may be characterised with respect to the distinctive features d_1, d_2, d_3 as containing the semantic elements 'male', 'young', and 'human'. The existence of correlated oppositions proves that these elements are recognised by the vocabulary.

In criticising this approach, the English linguist Prof. W. Haas[3] argues that the commutation test looks very plausible if one has carefully selected examples from words entering into clear-cut semantic groups, such as terms of kinship or words denoting colours. It is less satisfactory in other cases, as there is no linguistic framework by which the semantic contrasts can be limited. The commutation test, however, borrows its restrictions from philosophy.

A form of componential analysis describing semantic components in terms of categories represented as a hierarchic structure so that each subsequent category is a sub-category of the previous one is described by R. S. Ginzburg. She follows the theory of the American linguists J. Katz and J. Fodor involving the analysis of dictionary meanings into semantic m a r k e r s and d i s t i n g u i s h e r s but redefines it in a clear-cut way. The markers refer to features which the word has in common with other lexical items, whereas a distinguishes as the term implies, differentiates it from all other words.

We borrow from R. S. Ginzburg her analysis of the word *spinster*. It runs as follows: *spinster* — noun, count noun, human, adult, female, who has never married. Parts of speech are the most inclusive categories pointing to major classes. So we shall call this component c l a s s   s e m e (a term used by French semasiologists). As the grammatical function is predominant when we classify a word as a count noun it <u>seems more</u> logical to take this feature as a subdivision of a class seme.

[1] Note the possibility of different graphical representation.

[2] Componential analysis proper originates with the work of F.G. Lounsbury and W.H. Goodenough on kinship terms.

[3] Prof. W. Haas (of Manchester University) delivered a series of lectures on the theory of meaning at the Pedagogical Institutes of Moscow and Leningrad in 1965.

It may, on the other hand, be taken as a marker because it represents a sub-class within nouns, marks all nouns that can be counted, and differentiates them from all uncountable nouns. Human is the next marker which refers the word *spinster* to a sub-category of nouns denoting human beings *(man, woman,* etc. vs *table, flower,* etc.). Adult is another marker pointing at a specific subdivision of living beings into adult and not grown-up *(man, woman* vs *boy, girl)*. Female is also a marker *(woman, widow* vs *man, widower),* it represents a whole class of adult human females. 'Who has never married' — is not a marker but a distinguisher, it differentiates the word *spinster* from other words which have other features in common *(spinster* vs *widow, bride,* etc.).

The analysis shows that the dimensions of meaning may be regarded as semantic oppositions because the word's meaning is reduced to its contrastive elements. The segmentation is continued as far as we can have markers needed for a group of words, and stops when a unique feature is reached.

A very close resemblance to componential analysis is the method of logical definition by dividing a genus into species and species into subspecies indispensable to dictionary definitions. It is therefore but natural that lexicographic definitions lend themselves as suitable material for the analysis of lexical groups in terms of a finite set of semantic components. Consider the following definitions given in Hornby's dictionary:

cow — a full grown female of any animal of the ox family **calf** — the young of the cow

The first definition contains all the elements we have previously obtained from proportional oppositions. The second is incomplete but we can substitute the missing elements from the previous definition. We can, consequently, agree with J. N. Karaulov and regard as semantic components (or semes) the notional words of the right hand side of a dictionary entry.

It is possible to describe parts of the vocabulary by formalising these definitions and reducing them to some standard form according to a set of rules. The e x p l a n a t o r y   t r a n s f o r m a t i o n s   thus obtained constitute an intersection of transformational and componential analysis. The result of this procedure applied to collective personal nouns may be illustrated by the following.

$$S_N \text{ coll} \rightarrow a \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{body} \\ \text{group} \\ \text{number} \end{matrix} \right\} \text{ of } \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{people} \\ \text{persons} \\ \text{men} \end{matrix} \right\} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{who V...} \\ \text{V-ing...} \\ \text{V-ed...} \end{matrix} \right.$$

e. g. *team* → a group of people acting together in a game, piece of work, etc.

Procedures briefly outlined above proved to be very efficient for certain problems and find an ever-widening application, providing us with a deeper insight into some aspects of language.[1]

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[1] For further detail see: *Арнольд И.В.* Семантическая структура слова в современном английском языке и методика ее исследования. Л., 1966.

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Chapter 4 SEMANTIC CHANGE

§ 4.1 TYPES OF SEMANTIC CHANGE

In what follows we shall deal in detail with various types of semantic change. This is necessary not only because of the interest the various cases present in themselves but also because a thorough knowledge of these possibilities helps one to understand the semantic structure of English words at the present stage of their development. The development and change of the semantic structure of a word is always a source of qualitative and quantitative development of the vocabulary.

All the types discussed depend upon some comparison of the earlier (whether extinct or still in use) and the new meaning of the given word. This comparison may be based on the difference between the concepts expressed or referents in the real world that are pointed out, on the type of psychological association at work, on evaluation of the latter by the speaker, on lexico-grammatical categories or, possibly, on some other feature.

The order in which various types are described will follow more or less closely the diachronic classification of M. Bréal and H. Paul. No attempt at a new classification is considered necessary. There seems to be no point in augmenting the number of unsatisfactory schemes already offered in literature. The treatment is therefore traditional.

M. Bréal was probably the first to emphasise the fact that in passing from general usage into some special sphere of communication a word as a rule undergoes some sort of specialisation of its meaning. The word *case,* for instance, alongside its general meaning of 'circumstances in which a person or a thing is' possesses special meanings: in law fa law suit'), in grammar (e. g. the Possessive case), in medicine ('a patient', 'an illness'). Compare the following: *One of Charles's cases had been a child ill with a form of diphtheria* (Snow). *(case* = 'a patient') *The Solicitor whom I met at the Rolfords' sent me a case which any young man at my stage would have thought himself lucky to get* (Idem), *(case* = 'a question decided in a court of law, a law suit')

The general, not specialised meaning is also very frequent in present-day English. E. g.: *At last we tiptoed up the broad slippery staircase, and went to our rooms. But in my case not to sleep, immediately at least...* (Idem). *(case* = 'circumstances in which one is')

This difference is revealed in the difference of contexts in which these words occur, in their different valency. Words connected with illnesses and medicine in the first example, and words connected with

law and court procedures in the second determine the s e m a n t i c
s t r u c t u r e or p a r a d i g m of the word *case.*

The word *play* suggests different notions to a child, a playwright, a footballer, a musician or a chess-player and has in their speech different semantic paradigms. The same applies to the noun *cell* as used by a biologist, an electrician, a nun or a representative of the law; or the word *gas* as understood by a chemist, a soldier, a housewife, a motorist or a miner.

In all the examples considered above a word which formerly represented a notion of a broader scope has come to render a notion of a narrower scope. When the meaning is specialised, the word can name fewer objects, i.e. have fewer referents. At the same time the content of the notion is being enriched, as it includes a greater number of relevant features by which the notion is characterised. Or, in other words, the word is now applicable to fewer things but tells us more about them. The reduction of scope accounts for the term "narrowing of the meaning" which is even more often used than the term "specialisation". We shall avoid the term "narrowing", since it is somewhat misleading. Actually it is neither the meaning nor the notion, but the scope of the notion that is narrowed.

There is also a third and more exact term for the same phenomenon, namely "differentiation", but it is not so widely used as the first two terms.

H. Paul, as well as many other authors, emphasises the fact that this type of semantic change is particularly frequent in vocabulary of professional and trade groups.

H. Paul's examples are from the German language but it is very easy to find parallel cases in English. This type of change is fairly universal and fails to disclose any specifically English properties.

The best known examples of specialisation in the general language are as follows: OE *deor* 'wild beast'>ModE *deer* 'wild ruminant of a particular species' (the original meaning was still alive in Shakespeare's time as is proved by the following quotation: *Rats and mice and such small deer);* OE *mete* 'food'>ModE *meat* 'edible flesh', i. e. only a particular species of food (the earlier meaning is still noticeable in the compound *sweetmeat).* This last example deserves special attention because the tendency of fixed context to preserve the original meaning is very marked as is constantly proved by various examples. Other well-worn cases are: OE *fuzol* 'bird' (‖Germ *Vogel) >*ModE *fowl* 'domestic birds'. The old meaning is still preserved in poetic diction and in set expressions like *fowls of the air.* Among its derivatives, *fowler* means 'a person who shoots or traps wild birds for sport or food'; the shooting or trapping itself is called *fowling; a fowling piece* is a gun. OE *hand* 'dog' (‖Germ *Hund) >* ModE *hound* 'a species of hunting dog'. Many words connected with literacy also show similar changes: thus, *teach < OE tæcan* 'to show', 'to teach';*write < OE writan* 'to write', 'to scratch', 'to score' (‖ Germ *reißen);* writing in Europe had first the form of scratching on the bark of the trees. Tracing these semantic changes the scholars can, as it were, witness the development of culture.

In the above examples the new meaning superseded the earlier one. Both meanings can also coexist in the structure of a polysemantic word or be differentiated locally. The word *token* < OE *tac(e)n* ‖ Germ *Zeichen* originally had the broad meaning of 'sign'. The semantic change that occurred here illustrates systematic inter-dependence within the vocabulary elements. Brought into competition with the borrowed word *sign* it became restricted in use to a few cases of fixed context *(a love token, a token of respect, a token vote, a token payment)* and consequently restricted in meaning. In present-day English *token* means something small, unimportant or cheap which represents something big, important or valuable. Other examples of specialisation are *room,* which alongside the new meaning keeps the old one of 'space'; *corn* originally meaning 'grain', 'the seed of any cereal plant': locally the word becomes specialised and is understood to denote the leading crop of the district; hence in England *corn* means 'wheat', in Scotland 'oats', whereas in the USA, as an ellipsis for *Indian corn,* it came to mean 'maize'.

As a special group belonging to the same type one can mention the formation of proper nouns from common nouns chiefly in toponymies, i.e. place names. E. g.: *the City* — the business part of London; *the Highlands* — the mountainous part of Scotland; *Oxford* — University town in England (from *ox + ford,* i.e. a place where oxen could ford the river); *the Tower* (of London) —originally a fortress and palace, later a state prison, now a museum.

In the above examples the change of meaning occurred without change of sound form and without any intervention of morphological processes. In many cases, however, the two processes, semantic and morphological, go hand in hand. For instance, when considering the effect of the agent suffix -*ist* added to the noun stem *art-* we might expect the whole to mean 'any person occupied in art, a representative of any kind of art', but usage specialises the meaning of the word *artist* and restricts it to a synonym of *painter.* Cf. *tranquilliser, tumbler, trailer.*

The process reverse to specialisation is termed g e n e r a l i s a t i o n and w i d e n i n g of m e a n i n g . In that case the scope of the new notion is wider than that of the original one (hence widening), whereas the content of the notion is poorer. In most cases generalisation is combined with a higher order of abstraction than in the notion expressed by the earlier meaning. The transition from a concrete meaning to an abstract one is a most frequent feature in the semantic history of words. The change may be explained as occasioned by situations in which not all the features of the notions rendered are of equal importance for the message.

Thus, *ready* < OE *ræde* (a derivative of the verb *ridan* 'to ride') meant 'prepared for a ride'. *Fly* originally meant 'to move through the air with wings'; now it denotes any kind of movement in the air or outer space and also very quick movement in any medium. See also *pirate,* originally 'one who robs on the sea', by generalisation it came to mean 'any one who robs with violence'.

The process of generalisation went very far in the complicated history of the word *thing.* Its etymological meaning was 'an assembly for

deliberation on some judicial or business affair', hence — 'a matter brought before this assembly' and 'what was said or decided upon', then 'cause', 'object', 'decision'. Now it has become one of the most general words of the language, it can substitute almost any noun, especially non-personal noun and has received a pronominal force. Cf. *something, nothing, anything,* as in *Nothing has happened yet.*

Not every generic word comes into being solely by generalisation, other processes of semantic development may also be involved in words borrowed from one language into another. The word *person,* for instance, is now a generic term for a human being:

editor — a person who prepares written material for publication; *pedestrian* — a person who goes on foot;
refugee — a person who has been driven from his home country by war.

The word was borrowed into Middle English from Old French, where it was *persone* and came from Latin *persona* 'the mask used by an actor', 'one who plays a part', 'a character in a play'. The motivation of the word is of interest. The great theatre spaces in ancient Rome made it impossible for the spectators to see the actor's face and facial changes. It was also difficult to hear his voice distinctly. That is why masks with a megaphonic effect were used. The mask was called *persona* from Lat *per* 'through' and *sonare* 'to sound'. After the term had been transferred (metonymically) to the character represented, the generalisation to any human being came quite naturally. The process of generalisation and abstraction is continuing so that in the 70s *person* becomes a combining form substituting the semi-affix *-man (chairperson, policeperson, salesperson, workperson).* The reason for this is a tendency to abolish sex discrimination in job titles. The plural of compounds ending in -*person* may be *-persons* or *-people: businesspeople* or *businesspersons.*

In fact all the words belonging to the group of generic terms fall into this category of generalisation. By g e n e r i c   t e r m s we mean non-specific terms applicable to a great number of individual members of a big class of words (see p. 39). The grammatical categoric meaning of this class of words becomes predominant in their semantic components.

It is sometimes difficult to differentiate the instances of generalisation proper from generalisation combined with a fading of lexical meaning ousted by the grammatical or emotional meaning that take its place. These phenomena are closely connected with the peculiar characteristics of grammatical structure typical of each individual language. One observes them, for instance, studying the semantic history of the English auxiliary and semi-auxiliary verbs, especially *have, do, shall, will, turn, go,* and that of some English prepositions and adverbs which in the course of time have come to express grammatical relations. The weakening of lexical meaning due to the influence of emotional force is revealed in such words as *awfully, terribly, terrific, smashing.*

"Specialisation" and "generalisation" are thus identified on the evidence of comparing logical notions expressed by the meaning of words. If, on the other hand, the linguist is guided by psychological considerations and has to

go by the type of association at work in the transfer of the name of one object to another and different one, he will observe that the most frequent transfers are based on associations of similarity, or of contiguity. As these types of transfer are well known in rhetoric as figures of speech called m e t a p h o r (Gr *metaphora* < *meta* change' and *pherein* 'bear') and m e t o n y m y (Gr *metonymia* < *meta* 'change' and *onoma/onytna* 'name'), the same terms are adopted here. A metaphor is a transfer of name based on the association of similarity and thus is actually a hidden comparison. It presents a method of description which likens one thing to another by referring to it as if it were some other one. A cunning person for instance is referred to as *a fox*. A woman may be called *a peach, a lemon, a cat, a goose, a bitch, a lioness,* etc.

In a metonymy, this referring to one thing as if it were some other one is based on association of contiguity (a *woman —a skirt)*. Sean O'Casey in his one-act play "The Hall of Healing" metonymically names his personages according to the things they are wearing: Red Muffler, Grey Shawl, etc. Metaphor and metonymy differ from the two first types of semantic change, i.e. generalisation and specialisation, inasmuch as they do not result in hyponymy and do not originate as a result of gradual almost imperceptible change in many contexts, but come of a purposeful momentary transfer of a name from one object to another belonging to a different sphere of reality.

In all discussion of linguistic metaphor and metonymy it must be borne in mind that they are different from metaphor and metonymy as literary devices. When the latter are offered and accepted both the author and the reader are to a greater or lesser degree aware that this reference is figurative, that the object has another name. The relationship of the direct denotative meaning of the word and the meaning it has in a particular literary context is based on similarity of some features in the objects compared. The p o e t i c m e t a p h o r is the fruit of the author's creative imagination, as for example when England is called by Shakespeare (in "King Richard II") *this precious stone set in the silver sea.*

The term p o e t i c here should not be taken as 'elevated', because a metaphor may be used for satirical purposes and be classed as poetic. Here are two examples:

> *The world is a bundle of hay,*
> *Mankind are the asses who pull* (Byron).
> *Though women are angels, yet wedlock's the devil* (Byron).

Every metaphor is implicitly of the form 'X is like Y in respect of Z'.[1] Thus we understand Byron's line as 'women are like angels, so good they are, but wedlock is as bad as the devil'. The words *world, mankind, women, wedlock,* i.e. what is described in the metaphor, are its t e n o r , w h i l e *a bundle of hay, asses, angels, the devil* are the v e h i c l e , that

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[1] The formula is suggested in: *Leech* G. A Linguistic Guide to Poetry. London: Longman, 1973.

is they represent the image that carries a description and serves to represent the tenor. The third element Z is called the ground of the metaphor. In the second example the ground is 'good' (used ironically) and 'bad'. The ground, that is the similarity between the tenor and vehicle, in a metaphor is implied, not expressed.

The ground of the metaphors in the examples that follow is the insincerity of the smiles that Gr. Greene mocks at: *he excavated his smile; the woman hooked on another smile as you hook on a wreath; she whipped up a smile from a large and varied stock* (Greene). (Examples are borrowed from V. K. Tarasova's work.)

I n a l i n g u i s t i c m e t a p h o r , especially when it is dead as a result of long usage, the comparison is completely forgotten and the thing named often has no other name: *foot* (of a mountain), *leg* (of a table), *eye* (of a needle), *nose* (of an aeroplane), *back* (of a book).

Transfer of names resulting from t r o p e s (figurative use of words) has been classified in many various ways. Out of the vast collection of terms and classifications we mention only the traditional group of rhetorical categories: metaphor, metonymy, hyperbole, litotes, euphemism, because it is time-honoured and every philologist must be acquainted with it, even if he does not accept it as the best possible grouping.

The meaning of such expressions as *a sun beam* or *a beam of light* are not explained by allusions to a tree, although the word is actually derived from OE *beam* 'tree' || Germ *Baum,* whence the meaning *beam* 'a long piece of squared timber supported at both ends' has also developed. The metaphor is dead. There are no associations with hens in the verb *brood* 'to meditate' (often sullenly), though the direct meaning is 'to sit on eggs'.

There may be transitory stages: *a bottleneck* 'any thing obstructing an even flow of work', for instance, is not a neck and does not belong to a bottle. The transfer is possible due to the fact that there are some common features in the narrow top part of the bottle, a narrow outlet for road traffic, and obstacles interfering with the smooth working of administrative machinery. The drawing of sharp demarcation lines between a dead metaphor and one that is alive in the speaker's mind is here impossible.

Metaphors, H. Paul points out, may be based upon very different types of similarity, for instance, the similarity of shape: *head of a cabbage, the teeth of a saw.* This similarity of shape may be supported by a similarity of function. The transferred meaning is easily recognised from the context: *The Head of the school, the key to a mystery.* The similarity may be supported also by position: *foot of a page/of a mountain,* or behaviour and function: *bookworm, wirepuller.* The word *whip* 'a lash used to urge horses on' is metaphorically transferred to an official in the British Parliament appointed by a political party to see that members are present at debates, especially when a vote is taken, to check the voting and also to advise the members on the policy of the respective party.

In *the leg of the table* the metaphor is motivated by the similarity of the lower part of the table and the human limb in position and partly

in shape and function. A n t h r o p o m o r p h i c [1] metaphors are among the most frequent. The way in which the words denoting parts of the body are made to express a variety of meanings may be illustrated by the following: *head of an army/of a procession/of a household; arms and mouth of a river, eye of a needle, foot of a hill, tongue of a bell* and so on and so forth. The transferred meaning is easily recognised from the context: *...her feet were in low-heeled brown brogues with fringed tongues* (Plomber).

Numerous cases of metaphoric transfer are based upon the analogy between duration of time and space, e. g. *long distance : : long speech; a short path : : a short time.*

The transfer of space relations upon psychological and mental notions may be exemplified by words and expressions concerned with understanding: *to catch (to grasp) an idea; to take a hint; to get the hang of; to throw light upon.*

This metaphoric change from the concrete to the abstract is also represented in such simple words as *score, span, thrill. Score* comes from OE *scoru* 'twenty' < ON *skor* 'twenty' and also 'notch'. In OE time notches were cut on sticks to keep a reckoning. As *score* is cognate with *shear,* it is very probable that the meaning developed from the twentieth notch that was made of a larger size. From the meaning 'line' or 'notch cut or scratched down' many new meanings sprang out, such as 'number of points made by a player or a side in some games', 'running account', 'a debt', 'written or printed music', etc. *Span* <OE *spann* — maximum distance between the tips of thumb and little finger used as a measure of length — came to mean 'full extent from end to end' (of a bridge, an arch, etc.) and 'a short distance'. *Thrill* < ME *thrillen* 'to pierce' developed into the present meaning 'to penetrate with emotion.'

Another subgroup of metaphors comprises transitions of proper names into common ones: *an Adonis, a Cicero, a Don Juan,* etc. When a proper name like *Falstaff* is used referring specifically to the hero of Shakespeare's plays it has a unique reference. But when people speak of a person they know calling him Falstaff they make a proper name generic for a corpulent, jovial, irrepressibly impudent person and it no longer denotes a unique being. Cf. *Don Juan* as used about attractive profligates. To certain races and nationalities traditional characteristics have been attached by the popular mind with or without real justification. If a person is an out-and-out mercenary and a hypocrite or a conformist into the bargain they call him *a Philistine,* ruthlessly destructive people are called *Vandals, Huns,* unconventional people — *Bohemians.*

As it has been already mentioned, if the transfer is based upon the association of contiguity it is called m e t o n y m y . It is a shift of names between things that are known to be in some way or other connected in reality or the substitution of the name of an attribute of a thing for the name of the thing itself.

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[1] *Anthropo-* indicates 'human' (from Gr *anthropos* 'man').

Thus, the word *book* is derived from the name of a tree on which inscriptions were scratched. ModE *win* <OE *winnan* 'to fight'; the word has been shifted so as to apply to the success following fighting. *Cash* is an adaptation of the French word *casse* 'box'; from naming the container it came to mean what was contained, i.e. money; the original meaning was lost in competition with the new word *safe.* The transfer may be conditioned by spatial, temporal, causal, symbolic, instrumental, functional and other connections. The resulting polysemy is called regular because it embraces whole classes of words.

Regular spatial relations are, for instance, present when the name of the place is used for the people occupying it. *The chair* may mean 'the chairman', *the bar* 'the lawyers', *the pulpit* 'the priests'. The word *town* may denote the inhabitants of a town and *the House* — the members of the House of Commons or of Lords.

A causal relationship is obvious in the following development: ModE *fear* < ME *fere/feer/fer* < OE *fær* 'danger', 'unexpected attack'. States and properties serve as names for objects and people possessing them: *youth, age, authorities, forces.* The name of the action can serve to name the result of the action: ModE *kill* < ME *killen* 'to hit on the head', ModE *slay* < Germ *schlagen.* Emotions may be named by the movements that accompany them: *frown, start.*[1]

There are also the well-known instances of symbol for thing symbolised: *the crown* for 'monarchy'; the instrument for the product: *hand* for 'handwriting'; receptacle for content, as in the word *kettle* (cf. *the kettle is boiling),* and some others. Words denoting the material from which an article is made are often used to denote the particular article: *glass, iron, copper, nickel* are well known examples.

The p a r s   p r o   t o t o (also a version of metonymy) where the name of a part is applied to the whole may be illustrated by such military terms as the *royal horse* for 'cavalry' and *foot* for 'infantry', and by the expressions like *I want to have a word with you.* The reverse process (totum pro parte) is observed when OE *ceol* 'a ship' develops into *keel* 'a lowest longitudinal frame of a ship'.

A place of its own within metonymical change is occupied by the so-called f u n c t i o n a l   c h a n g e. The type has its peculiarities: in this case the shift is between names of things substituting one another in human practice. Thus, the early instrument for writing was a feather or more exactly a quill (OE *pen*<OFr *penne*<It *penna*<Lat *penna* 'feather'). We write with fountain-pens that are made of different materials and have nothing in common with feathers except the function, but the name remains. The name *rudder* comes from OE *roder* 'oar' || Germ *Ruder* 'oar'. The shift of meaning is due to the shift of function: the steering was formerly achieved by an oar. The steersman was called *pilot;* with the coming of aviation one who operates the flying controls of an aircraft was also called *pilot.* For more cases of functional change see also the semantic history of the words: *filter, pocket, spoon, stamp, sail* v.

Common names may be metonymically derived from proper names as

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[1] These last cases are studied in paralinguistics.

in *macadam* — a type of pavement named after its inventor John McAdam (1756-1836) and *diesel* or *diesel engine* — a type of compression ignition engine invented by a German mechanical engineer Rudolf Diesel (1858-1913). The process of nomination includes ellipsis *(Diesel engine — diesel).*

Many international physical and technical units are named after great scientists, as for instance *ampere* — the unit of electrical current after André Marie Ampère (1775-1836), a great French mathematician and physicist. Compare also: *ohm, volt, watt,* etc.

Transfers by contiguity often involve place names. There are many instances in political vocabulary when the place of some establishment is used not only for the establishment itself or its staff but also for its policy. *The White House* is the executive mansion of the president of the USA in Washington, the name is also used for his administration and politics. Similarly *The Pentagon,* so named, because it is a five-sided building, denotes the US military command and its political activities, because it contains the USA Defence Department and the offices of various branches of the US armed forces. *Wall Street* is the name of the main street in the financial district of New York and hence it also denotes the controlling financial interests of American capitalism.

The same type is observed when we turn to Great Britain. Here the British Government of the day is referred to as *Downing Street* because the Prime Minister's residence is at No 10 Downing Street. The street itself is named after a 17th century British diplomat.

An interesting case is Fleet Street — a thoroughfare in central London along which many British newspaper offices are located, hence *Fleet Street* means British journalism. The name of the street is also metonymical but the process here is reversed — a proper toponymical noun is formed from a common noun: *fleet* is an obsolete term for 'a creek or an inlet in the shore'. Originally the street extended along a creek.

Examples of geographical names, turning into common nouns to name the goods exported or originating there, are exceedingly numerous. Such transfer by contiguity is combined with ellipsis in the nomination of various stuffs and materials: *astrakhan* (fur), *china* (ware), *damask* (steel), *holland* (linen), *morocco* (leather).

The similarly formed names for wines or kinds of cheese are international as, for instance: *champagne, burgundy, madeira; brie cheese, cheddar, roquefort,* etc.

Sometimes the semantic connection with place names is concealed by phonetic changes and is revealed by etymological study. The word *jeans* can be traced to the name of the Italian town Genoa, where the fabric of which they are made was first manufactured. *Jeans* is a case of metonymy, in which the name of the material *jean* is used to denote an object made of it. This type of multiple transfer of names is quite common (cf. *china, iron,* etc.). The cotton fabric of which jeans are made was formerly used for manufacturing uniforms and work clothes and was known for several centuries as *jean* (from Med Lat Genes, Genoa).

The process can consist of several stages, as in the word *cardigan* — a knitted jacket opening down the front. Garments are often known

by the names of those who brought them into fashion. This particular jacket is named after the seventh earl of Cardigan whose name is from Cardigan or Cardiganshire, a county in Wales.

Other examples of denominations after famous persons are *raglan* and *Wellingtons. Raglan* — a loose coat with sleeves extending in one piece to the neckline — is named after field-marshal lord Raglan; *Wellingtons* or *Wellington boots* — boots extending to the top of the knee in front but cut low in back — were popularised by the first Duke of Wellington.

Following the lead of literary criticism linguists have often adopted terms of rhetoric for other types of semantic change, besides metaphor and metonymy. These are: h y p e r b o l e , l i t o t e s , i r o n y , e u p h e - m i s m . In all these cases the same warning that was given in connection with metaphors and metonymy must be kept in mind: namely, there is a difference between these terms as understood in literary criticism and in lexicology. H y p e r b o l e (from Gr *hyperbolē* 'exceed') is an exaggerated statement not meant to be understood literally but expressing an intensely emotional attitude of the speaker to what he is speaking about. E. g.: *A fresh egg has a world of power* (Bellow). The emotional tone is due to the illogical character in which the direct denotative and the contextual emotional meanings are combined.

A very good example is chosen by I. R. Galperin from Byron, and one cannot help borrowing it:

> *When people say "I've told you fifty times,"*
> *They mean to scold and very often do.*

The reader will note that Byron's intonation is distinctly colloquial, the poet is giving us his observations concerning colloquial expressions. So the hyperbole here, though used in verse, is not poetic but linguistic.

The same may be said about expressions like: *It's absolutely maddening, You'll be the death of me, I hate troubling you, It's monstrous, It's a nightmare, A thousand pardons, A thousand thanks, Haven't seen you for ages, I'd give the world to, I shall be eternally grateful, I'd love to do it,* etc.

The most important difference between a poetic hyperbole and a linguistic one lies in the fact that the former creates an image, whereas in the latter the denotative meaning quickly fades out and the corresponding exaggerating words serve only as general signs of emotion without specifying the emotion itself. Some of the most frequent emphatic words are: *absolutely! lovely! magnificent! splendid! marvellous! wonderful! amazing! incredible!* and so on.[1]

The reverse figure is called l i t o t e s (from Gr *litos* 'plain', 'meagre') or u n d e r s t a t e m e n t . It might be defined as expressing the affirmative by the negative of its contrary, e. g. *not bad* or *not half bad* for 'good', *not small* for 'great', *no coward* for 'brave'. Some

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[1] See *awfully* and *terribly* on p. 63.

understatements do not contain negations, e. g. *rather decent; I could do with a cup of tea.* It is, however, doubtful whether litotes should be considered under the heading of semantic change at all, because as a rule it creates no permanent change in the sense of the word used and concerns mostly usage and contextual meaning of words. Understatement expresses a desire to conceal or suppress one's feelings, according to the code of reserve, and to seem indifferent and calm. E. g.:

> *"But this is frightful, Jeeves!"*
> *"Certainly somewhat disturbing, sir."* (Wodehouse)
> *"Long time since we met."*
> *"It is a bit, isn't it?"* (Wodehouse)

The indifference may be superficial and suggest that the speaker's emotions are too strong to be explicitly stated.

Understatement is considered to be a typically British way of putting things and is more characteristic of male colloquial speech: so when a woman calls a concert *absolutely fabulous* using a hyperbole a man would say *it was not too bad* or that *it was some concert.*

Understatement is rich in connotations: it may convey irony, disparagement and add expressiveness. E. g. *rather unwise* (about somebody very silly) or *rather pushing* (about somebody quite unscrupulous).

The term i r o n y is also taken from rhetoric, it is the expression of one's meaning by words of opposite sense, especially a simulated adoption of the opposite point of view for the purpose of ridicule or disparagement. One of the meanings of the adjective *nice* is 'bad', 'unsatisfactory'; it is marked off as ironical and illustrated by the example: *You've got us into a nice mess!* The same may be said about the adjective *pretty: A pretty mess you've made of it!*

As to the e u p h e m i s m s , that is referring to something unpleasant by using milder words and phrases so that a formerly unoffensive word receives a disagreeable meaning (e. g. *pass away* 'die'), they will be discussed later in connection with extralinguistic causes of semantic change and later still as the origin of synonyms.

Changes depending on the social attitude to the object named, connected with social evaluation and emotional tone, are called a m e l i o - r a t i o n and p e j o r a t i o n of meaning, and we shall also return to them when speaking about semantic shifts undergone by words, because their referents come up or down the social scale. Examples of amelioration are OE *cwen* 'a woman' >ModE *queen,* OE *cniht* 'a young servant' > ModE *knight.* The meaning of some adjectives has been elevated through associations with aristocratic life or town life. This is true about such words as *civil, chivalrous, urbane.* The word *gentle* had already acquired an evaluation of approval by the time it was borrowed into English from French in the meaning 'well-born'. Later its meaning included those characteristics that the high-born considered appropriate to their social status: good breeding, gracious behaviour, affability. Hence the noun *gentleman,* a kind of key-word in the history of English, that originally meant 'a man of gentle (high) birth' came to mean 'an honourable and well-bred person'.

The meaning of the adjective *gentle* which at first included only social values now belongs to the ethical domain and denotes 'kind', 'not rough', 'polite'. A similar process of amelioration in the direction of high moral qualities is observed in the adjective *noble* — originally 'belonging to the nobility'.

The reverse process is called p e j o r a t i o n or d e g r a d a t i o n ; it involves a lowering in social scale connected with the appearance of a derogatory and scornful emotive tone reflecting the disdain of the upper classes towards the lower ones. E. g.: ModE *knave*<OE *cnafa* ‖ Germ *Knabe* meant at first 'boy', then 'servant', and finally became a term of abuse and scorn. Another example of the same kind is *blackguard.* In the lord's retinue of Middle Ages served among others the guard of iron pots and other kitchen utensils, black with soot. From the immoral features attributed to these servants by their masters comes the present scornful meaning of the word *blackguard* 'scoundrel'. A similar history is traced for the words: *boor, churl, clown, villain. Boor* (originally 'peasant' ‖ Germ *Bauer)* came to mean 'a rude, awkward, ill-mannered person'. *Churl* is now a synonym to *boor.* It means 'an ill-mannered and surly fellow'. The cognate German word is *Kerl* which is emotionally and evaluatory neutral. Up to the thirteenth century *ceorl* denoted the lowest rank of a freeman, later — a serf. In present-day English the social component is superseded by the evaluative meaning. A similar case is present in the history of the word *clown:* the original meaning was also 'peasant' or 'farmer'. Now it is used in two variants: 'a clumsy, boorish, uncouth and ignorant man' and also 'one who entertains, as in a circus, by jokes, antics, etc'. The French borrowing *villain* has sustained an even stronger pejorisation: from 'farm servant' it gradually passed to its present meaning 'scoundrel'.

The material of this chapter shows that semantic changes are not arbitrary. They proceed in accordance with the logical and psychological laws of thought, otherwise changed words would never be understood and could not serve the purpose of communication. The various attempts at classification undertaken by traditional linguistics, although inconsistent and often subjective, are useful, since they permit the linguist to find his way about an immense accumulation of semantic facts. However, they say nothing or almost nothing about the causes of these changes.

§ 4.2 LINGUISTIC CAUSES OF SEMANTIC CHANGE

In the earlier stages of its development semasiology was a purely diachronic science dealing mainly with changes in the word meaning and classification of those changes. No satisfactory or universally accepted scheme of classification has ever been found, and this line of search seems to be abandoned.

In comparison with classifications of semantic change the problem of their causes appears neglected. Opinions on this point are scattered through a great number of linguistic works and have apparently never been collected into anything complete. And yet a thorough understanding of the phenomena involved in semantic change is impossible unless

the whys and wherefores become known. This is of primary importance as it may lead eventually to a clearer interpretation of language development. The vocabulary is the most flexible part of the language and it is precisely its semantic aspect that responds most readily to every change in the human activity in whatever sphere it may happen to take place.

The causes of semantic changes may be grouped under two main headings, linguistic and extralinguistic ones, of these the first group has suffered much greater neglect in the past and it is not surprising therefore that far less is known of it than of the second. Linguistic causes influencing the process of vocabulary adaptation may be of paradigmatic and syntagmatic character; in dealing with them we have to do with the constant interaction and interdependence of vocabulary units in language and speech, such as differentiation between synonyms, changes taking place in connection with ellipsis and with fixed contexts, changes resulting from ambiguity in certain contexts, and some other causes.

Differentiation of synonyms is a gradual change observed in the course of language history, sometimes, but not necessarily, involving the semantic assimilation of loan words. Consider, for example, the words *time* and *tide*. They used to be synonyms. Then *tide* took on its more limited application to the shifting waters, and *time* alone is used in the general sense.

The word *beast* was borrowed from French into Middle English. Before it appeared the general word for animal was *deer* which after the word *beast* was introduced became narrowed to its present meaning 'a hoofed animal of which the males have antlers'. Somewhat later the Latin word *animal* was also borrowed, then the word *beast* was restricted, and its meaning served to separate the four-footed kind from all the other members of the animal kingdom. Thus, *beast* displaced *deer* and was in its turn itself displaced by the generic *animal*. Another example of semantic change involving synonymic differentiation is the word *twist*. In OE it was a noun, meaning 'a rope', whereas the verb *thrawan* (now *throw)* meant both 'hurl' and 'twist' Since the appearance in the Middle English of the verb *twisten* ('twist') the first verb lost this meaning. But *throw* in its turn influenced the development of *casten (cast),* a Scandinavian borrowing. Its primary meaning 'hurl', 'throw' is now present only in some set expressions. *Cast* keeps its old meaning in such phrases as *cast a glance, cast lots, cast smth in one's teeth.* Fixed context, then, may be regarded as another linguistic factor in semantic change. Both factors are at work in the case of *token.* The noun *token* originally had the broad meaning of 'sign'. When brought into competition with the loan word *sign,* it became restricted in use to a number of set expressions such as *love token, token of respect* and so became specialised in meaning. Fixed context has this influence not only in phrases but in compound words as well.

No systematic treatment has so far been offered for the syntagmatic semantic changes depending on the context. But such cases do exist showing that investigation of the problem is important.

One of these is ellipsis. The qualifying words of a frequent phrase may be omitted: *sale* comes to be used for *cut-price sale, propose* for *propose marriage, be expecting* for *be expecting a baby, media* for *mass media.* Or vice versa the kernel word of the phrase may seem redundant: *minerals* for *mineral waters, summit* for *summit meeting.*[1] Due to ellipsis *starve* which originally meant 'to die' (‖ Germ *sterben)* came to substitute the whole phrase *die of hunger,* and also began to mean 'to suffer from lack of food' and even in colloquial use 'to feel hungry'. Moreover as there are many words with transitive and intransitive variants naming cause and result, *starve* came to mean 'to cause to perish with hunger'. English has a great variety of these regular coincidences of different aspects, alongside with cause and result, we could consider the coincidence of subjective and objective, active and passive aspects especially frequent in adjectives. E.g. *hateful* means 'exciting hatred' and 'full of hatred'; *curious* —'strange' and 'inquisitive'; *pitiful* — 'exciting compassion' and 'compassionate'. One can be doubtful about a doubtful question, in a healthy climate children are healthy. To refer to these cases linguists employ the term c o n v e r s i v e s .

§ 4.3 EXTRALINGUISTIC CAUSES OF SEMANTIC CHANGE

The extralinguistic causes are determined by the social nature of the language: they are observed in changes of meaning resulting from the development of the notion expressed and the thing named and by the appearance of new notions and things. In other words, extralinguistic causes of semantic change are connected with the development of the human mind as it moulds reality to conform with its needs.

Languages are powerfully affected by social, political, economic, cultural and technical change. The influence of those factors upon linguistic phenomena is studied by sociolinguistics. It shows that social factors can influence even structural features of linguistic units: terms of science, for instance, have a number of specific features as compared to words used in other spheres of human activity.

The word being a linguistic realisation of notion, it changes with the progress of human consciousness. This process is reflected in the development of lexical meaning. As the human mind achieves an ever more exact understanding of the world of reality and the objective relationships that characterise it, the notions become more and more exact reflections of real things. The history of the social, economic and political life of the people, the progress of culture and science bring about changes in notions and things influencing the semantic aspect of language. For instance, OE *eorde* meant 'the ground under people's feet', 'the soil' and 'the world of man' as opposed to heaven that was supposed to be inhabited first by Gods and later on, with the spread of Christianity, by God, his angels, saints and the souls of the dead. With the progress of science *earth* came to mean the third planet from the sun and the knowledge is constantly enriched. With the development of electrical engineering *earth n* means 'a connection of a wire

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[1] For ellipsis combined with metonymy see p. 68.

conductor with the earth', either accidental (with the result of leakage of current) or intentional (as for the purpose of providing a return path). There is also a correspond ing verb *earth*. E. g.: *With earthed appliances the continuity of the earth wire ought to be checked.*

The word *space* meant 'extent of time or distance' or 'intervening distance'. Alongside this meaning a new meaning developed 'the limitless and indefinitely great expanse in which all material objects are located'. The phrase *outer space* was quickly ellipted into *space*. Cf. *spacecraft, spacesuit, space travel,* etc.

It is interesting to note that the English word *cosmos* was not exactly a synonym of *outer space* but meant 'the universe as an ordered system', being an antonym to *chaos*. The modern usage is changing under the influence of the Russian language as a result of Soviet achievements in outer space. The OED Supplement points out that the adjective *cosmic* (in addition to the former meanings 'universal', 'immense') in modern usage under the influence of Russian *космический* means 'pertaining to space travel', e. g. *cosmic rocket* 'space rocket'.

The extra-linguistic motivation is sometimes obvious, but some cases are not as straightforward as they may look. The word *bikini* may be taken as an example. Bikini, a very scanty two-piece bathing suit worn by women, is named after Bikini atoll in the Western Pacific but not because it was first introduced on some fashionable beach there. Bikini appeared at the time when the atomic bomb tests by the US in the Bikini atoll were fresh in everybody's memory. The associative field is emotional referring to the "atomic" shock the first bikinis produced.

The tendency to use technical imagery is increasing in every language, thus the expression *to spark off in chain reaction* is almost international. *Live wire* 'one carrying electric current' used figuratively about a person of intense energy seems purely English, though.

Other international expressions are *black box* and *feed-back. Black box* formerly a term of aviation and electrical engineering is now used figuratively to denote any mechanism performing intricate functions or any unit of which we know the effect but not the components or principles of action.

Feed-back a cybernetic term meaning 'the return of a sample of the output of a system or process to the input, especially with the purpose of automatic adjustment and control' is now widely used figuratively meaning 'response'.

Some technical expressions that were used in the first half of the 19th century tend to become obsolete: the English used to talk of people *being galvanised into activity,* or *going full steam ahead* but the phrases sound dated now.

The changes of notions and things named go hand in hand. They are conditioned by changes in the economic, social, political and cultural history of the people, so that the extralinguistic causes of semantic change might be conveniently subdivided in accordance with these. Social relationships are at work in the cases of elevation and pejoration of meaning discussed in the previous section where the attitude of the upper classes to their social inferiors determined the strengthening of emotional tone among the semantic components of the word.

Sociolinguistics also teaches that power relationships are reflected in vocabulary changes. In all the cases of pejoration that were mentioned above, such as *boor, churl, villain,* etc., it was the ruling class that imposed evaluation. The opposite is rarely the case. One example deserves attention though: *sir + -ly* used to mean 'masterful'[1] and now *surly* means 'rude in a bad-tempered way'.

D. Leith devotes a special paragraph in his "Social History of English" to the semantic disparagement of women. He thinks that power relationships in English are not confined to class stratification, that male domination is reflected in the history of English vocabulary, in the ways in which women are talked about. There is a rich vocabulary of affective words denigrating women, who do not conform to the male ideal. A few examples may be mentioned. *Hussy* is a reduction of ME *huswif (housewife),* it means now 'a woman of low morals' or 'a bold saucy girl'; *doll* is not only a toy but is also used about a kept mistress or about a pretty and silly woman; *wench* formerly referred to a female child, later a girl of the rustic or working class and then acquired derogatory connotations.

Within the diachronic approach the phenomenon of e u p h e m i s m (Gr *euphemismos < eu* 'good' and *pheme* 'voice') has been repeatedly classed by many linguists as t a b o o , i.e. a prohibition meant as a safeguard against supernatural forces. This standpoint is hardly acceptable for modern European languages. St. Ullmann returns to the conception of taboo several times illustrating it with propitiatory names given in the early periods of language development to such objects of superstitious fear as the bear and the weasel. He proves his point by observing the same phenomenon, i.e. the circumlocution used to name these animals, in other languages. This is of historical interest, but no similar opposition between a direct and a propitiatory name for an animal, no matter how dangerous, can be found in present-day English.

With peoples of developed culture and civilisation euphemism is intrinsically different, it is dictated by social usage, etiquette, advertising, tact, diplomatic considerations and political propaganda.

From the semasiological point of view euphemism is important, because meanings with unpleasant connotations appear in words formerly neutral as a result of their repeated use instead of words that are for some reason unmentionable, c f . *deceased* 'dead', *deranged* 'mad'.

Much useful material on the political and cultural causes of coining euphemisms is given in "The Second Barnhart Dictionary of New English". We read there that in modern times euphemisms became important devices in political and military propaganda. Aggressive attacks by armadas of bombers which most speakers of English would call *air raids* are officially called *protective reaction,* although there is nothing protective or defensive about it. The CIA agents in the United States often use the word *destabilise* for all sorts of despicable or malicious acts and subversions designed to cause to topple an established foreign government or to falsify an electoral campaign. Shameful secrets of various underhand CIA operations, assassinations, interception of mail, that might, if revealed, embarrass the government, are called *family jewels.*

It is decidedly less emotional to call countries with a low standard of living *underdeveloped,* but it seemed more tactful to call them *developing.* The latest terms (in the 70s) are *L.D.C. — less developed countries* and *M.D.C. — more developed countries,* or *Third World countries* or *emerging countries* if they are newly independent.

Other euphemisms are dictated by a wish to give more dignity to a profession. Some barbers called themselves *hair stylists* and even *hairologists, airline stewards* and *stewardesses* become *flight attendants, maids* become *house workers, foremen* become *supervisors,* etc.

Euphemisms may be dictated by publicity needs, hence *ready-tailored* and *ready-to-wear clothes* instead of *ready-made.* The influence of mass-advertising on language is growing, it is felt in every level of the language.

Innovations possible in advertising are of many different types as G.N. Leech has shown, from whose book on advertising English the following example is taken. A kind of orange juice, for instance, is called *Tango.* The justification of the name is given in the advertising text as follows: *"Get this different tasting Sparkling Tango. Tell you why: made from whole oranges. Taste those oranges. Taste the tang in Tango. Tingling tang, bubbles — sparks. You drink it straight. Goes down great. Taste the tang in Tango. New Sparkling Tango".* The reader will see for himself how many expressive connotations and rhythmic associations are introduced by the salesman in this commercial name in an effort to attract the buyer's attention. If we now turn to the history of the language, we see economic causes are obviously at work in the semantic development of the word *wealth.* It first meant 'well-being', 'happiness' from *weal* from OE *wela* whence *well.* This original meaning is preserved in the compounds *commonwealth* and *commonweal.* The present meaning became possible due to the role played by money both in feudal and bourgeois society. The chief wealth of the early inhabitants of Europe being the cattle, OE *feoh* means both 'cattle' and 'money', likewise Goth *faihu;* Lat *pecus* meant 'cattle' and *pecunia* meant 'money'. ME *fee-house* is both a cattle-shed and a treasury. The present-day English *fee* most frequently means the price paid for services to a lawyer or a physician. It appears to develop jointly from the above mentioned OE *feoh* and the Anglo-French *fee, fie,* probably of the same origin, meaning 'a recompense' and 'a feudal tenure'. This modern meaning is obvious in the following example: *Physicians of the utmost fame were called at once, but when they came they answered as they took their fees, "There is no cure for this disease."* (Belloc)

The constant development of industry, agriculture, trade and transport bring into being new objects and new notions. Words to name them are either borrowed or created from material already existing in the language and it often happens that new meanings are thus acquired by old words.

Chapter 5

MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF ENGLISH WORDS. AFFIXATION

If we describe a word as an autonomous unit of language in which a particular meaning is associated with a particular sound complex and which is capable of a particular grammatical employment and able to form a sentence by itself (see p. 9), we have the possibility to distinguish it from the other fundamental language unit, namely, the morpheme.

A m o r p h e m e i s also an association of a given meaning with a given sound pattern. But unlike a word it is not autonomous. Morphemes occur in speech only as constituent parts of words, not independently, although a word may consist of a single morpheme. Nor are they divisible into smaller meaningful units. That is why the morpheme may be defined as the minimum meaningful language unit.

The term m o r p h e m e is derived from Gr *morphe* 'form' + *-eme*. The Greek suffix *-erne* has been adopted by linguists to denote the smallest significant or d i s t i n c t i v e u n i t . (Cf. *phoneme, sememe.)* The morpheme is the smallest meaningful unit of form. A form in these cases is a recurring discrete unit of speech.

A form is said to be free if it may stand alone without changing its meaning; if not, it is a b o u n d form, so called because it is always bound to something else. For example, if we compare the words *sportive* and *elegant* and their parts, we see that *sport, sportive, elegant* may occur alone as utterances, whereas *eleg-, -ive, -ant* are bound forms because they never occur alone. A word is, by L. Bloomfield's definition, a minimum free form. A morpheme is said to be either bound or free. This statement should be taken with caution. It means that some morphemes are capable of forming words without adding other morphemes: that is, they are homonymous to free forms.

According to the role they play in constructing words, morphemes are subdivided into r o o t s and a f f i x e s . The latter are further subdivided, according to their position, into p r e f i x e s , s u f f i x e s and i n f i x e s , and according to their function and meaning, into d e r i v a t i o n a l and f u n c t i o n a l . a f f i x e s , the latter also called e n d i n g s or o u t e r f o r m a t i v e s .

When a derivational or functional affix is stripped from the word, what remains is a s t e m (or astern b a s e) . The stem

expresses the lexical and the part of speech meaning. For the word *hearty* and for the paradigm *heart* (sing.) —*hearts* (pi.)[1] the stem may be represented as ***heart-***. This stem is a single morpheme, it contains nothing but the root, so it is a s i m p l e   s t e m . It is also a   f r e e   s t e m because it is homonymous to the word *heart.*

A stem may also be defined as the part of the word that remains unchanged throughout its paradigm. The stem of the paradigm *hearty — heartier —* (the) *heartiest* is *hearty-.* It is a free stem, but as it consists of a root morpheme and an affix, it is not simple but derived. Thus, a stem containing one or more affixes i s   a   d e r i v e d   s t e m . If after deducing the affix the remaining stem is not homonymous to a separate word of the same root, we call it a b o u n d   s t e m . Thus, in the word *cordial* 'proceeding as if from the heart', the adjective-forming suffix can be separated on the analogy with such words as *bronchial, radial, social.* The remaining stem, however, cannot form a separate word by itself, it is bound. In *cordially* and *cordiality,* on the other hand, the derived stems are free.

Bound stems are especially characteristic of loan words. The point may be illustrated by the following French borrowings: *arrogance, charity, courage, coward, distort, involve, notion, legible* and *tolerable,* to give but a few.[2] After the affixes of these words are taken away the remaining elements are: *arrog-, char-, cour-, cow-, -tort, -volve, not-, leg-, toler-,* which do not coincide with any semantically related independent words.

Roots are main morphemic vehicles of a given idea in a given language at a given stage of its development. A root may be also regarded as the ultimate constituent element which remains after the removal of all functional and derivational affixes and does not admit any further analysis. It is the common element of words within a w o r d - f a m i l y . Thus, *-heart-* is the common root of the following series of words: *heart, hearten, dishearten, heartily, heartless, hearty, heartiness, sweetheart, heart-broken, kind-hearted, whole-heartedly,* etc. In some of these, as, for example, in *hearten,* there is only one root; in others the root *-heart* is combined with some other root, thus forming a compound like *sweetheart.*

The root word *heart* is unsegmentable, it is non-motivated morphologically. The morphemic structure of all the other words in this word-family is obvious — they are segmentable as consisting of at least two distinct morphemes. They may be further subdivided into: 1) those formed by affixation o r   a f f i x a t i o n a l   d e r i v a t i v e s consisting of a root morpheme and one or more affixes: *hearten, dishearten, heartily, heartless, hearty, heartiness;* 2) c o m p o u n d s , in which two, or very rarely more, stems simple or derived are combined into a lexical unit: *s w e e t h e a r t, h e a r t - s h a p e d,   h e a r t - b r o k e n* or 3)   d e r i v a t i o n a l c o m p o u n d s where words of a phrase are joined together by composition and affixation: *kind-hearted.* This last process is also called phrasal derivation *((kind heart) + -ed)).*

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[1] A paradigm is defined here as the system of grammatical forms characteristic of a word. See also p. 23.

[2] Historical lexicology shows how sometimes the stem becomes bound due to the internal changes in the stem that accompany the addition of affixes; cf. *broad* : : *breadth, clean* : : *cleanly* ['klenli], *dear* : : *dearth* [dɔ:θ], *grief* : : *grievous.*

There exist word-families with several tmsegmentable members, the derived elements being formed by conversion or clipping. The word-family with the noun *father as its* centre contains alongside affixational derivatives *fatherhood, fatherless, fatherly* a verb *father* 'to adopt' or 'to originate' formed by conversion.

We shall now present the different types of morphemes starting with the root.

It will at once be noticed that the root in English is very often homonymous with the word. This fact is of fundamental importance as it is one of the most specific features of the English language arising from its general grammatical system on the one hand, and from its phonemic system on the other. The influence of the analytical structure of the language is obvious. The second point, however, calls for some explanation. Actually the usual phonemic shape most favoured in English is one single stressed syllable: *bear, find, jump, land, man, sing,* etc. This does not give much space for a second morpheme to add classifying lexico-grammatical meaning to the lexical meaning already present in the root-stem, so the lexico-grammatical meaning must be signalled by distribution.

In the phrases *a morning's drive, a morning's ride, a morning's walk* the words *drive, ride* and *walk* receive the lexico-grammatical meaning of a noun not due to the structure of their stems, but because they are preceded by a genitive.

An English word does not necessarily contain formatives indicating to what part of speech it belongs. This holds true even with respect to inflectable parts of speech, i.e. nouns, verbs, adjectives. Not all roots are free forms, but p r o d u c t i v e r o o t s , i.e. roots capable of producing new words, usually are. The semantic realisation of an English word is therefore very specific. Its dependence on context is further enhanced by the widespread occurrence of homonymy both among root morphemes and affixes. Note how many words in the following statement might be ambiguous if taken in isolation: *A change of work is as good as a rest.*

The above treatment of the root is purely synchronic, as we have taken into consideration only the facts of present-day English. But the same problem of the morpheme serving as the main signal of a given lexical meaning is studied in e t y m o l o g y . Thus, when approached historically or diachronically the word *heart* will be classified as Common Germanic. One will look for c o g n a t e s , i.e. words descended from a common ancestor. The cognates of *heart* are the Latin *cor,* whence *cordial* 'hearty', 'sincere', and so *cordially* and *cordiality,* also the Greek *kardia,* whence English *cardiac condition.* The cognates outside the English vocabulary are the Russian *сердце,* the German *Herz,* the Spanish *corazon* and other words.

To emphasise the difference between the synchronic and the diachronic treatment, we shall call the common element of cognate words in d i f f e r e n t languages not their root but their r a d i c a l element.

These two types of approach, synchronic and diachronic, give rise to two different principles of arranging morphologically related words into groups. In the first case series of words with a common root morpheme in which derivatives are opposable to their unsuffixed and unprefixed bases, are combined, cf. *heart, hearty,* etc. The second grouping results in families of historically cognate words, cf. *heart, cor* (Lat), *Herz* (Germ), etc.

Unlike roots, affixes are always bound forms. The difference between suffixes and prefixes, it will be remembered, is not confined to their respective position, suffixes being "fixed after" and prefixes "fixed before" the stem. It also concerns their function and meaning.

A s u f f i x is a derivational morpheme following the stem and forming a new derivative in a different part of speech or a different word class, cf. *-en, -y, -less* in *hearten, hearty, heartless.* When both the underlying and the resultant forms belong to the same part of speech, the suffix serves to differentiate between lexico-grammatical classes by rendering some very general lexico-grammatical meaning. For instance, both *-ify* and *-er* are verb suffixes, but the first characterises causative verbs, such as *horrify, purify, rarefy, simplify,* whereas the second is mostly typical of frequentative verbs: *flicker, shimmer, twitter* and the like.

If we realise that suffixes render the most general semantic component of the word's lexical meaning by marking the general class of phenomena to which the referent of the word belongs, the reason why suffixes are as a rule semantically fused with the stem stands explained.

A p r e f i x is a derivational morpheme standing before the root and modifying meaning, c f . *hearten — dishearten.* It is only with verbs and statives that a prefix may serve to distinguish one part of speech from another, like in *earth* n — *unearth* v, *sleep* n — *asleep* (stative).

It is interesting that as a prefix *en-* may carry the same meaning of being or bringing into a certain state as the suffix *-en,* cf. *enable, encamp, endanger, endear, enslave* and *fasten, darken, deepen, lengthen, strengthen.*

Preceding a verb stem, some prefixes express the difference between a transitive and an intransitive verb: *stay* v and *outstay* (sb) vt. With a few exceptions prefixes modify the stem for time *(pre-, post-),* place *(in-, ad-)* or negation *(un-, dis-)* and remain semantically rather independent of the stem.

An i n f i x is an affix placed within the word, like *-n-* in *stand.* The type is not productive.

An affix should not be confused with a c o m b i n i n g f o r m . A combining form is also a bound form but it can be distinguished from an affix historically by the fact that it is always borrowed from another language, namely, from Latin or Greek, in which it existed as a free form, i.e. a separate word, or also as a combining form. They differ from all other borrowings in that they occur in compounds and derivatives that did not exist in their original language but were formed only in modern times in English, Russian, French, etc., cf. *polyclinic, polymer; stereophonic, stereoscopic, telemechanics, television.* Combining forms are mostly international. Descriptively a combining form differs from an affix, because it can occur as one constituent of a form whose only other constituent is an affix, as in *graphic, cyclic.*

Also affixes are characterised either by preposition with respect to the root (prefixes) or by postposition (suffixes), whereas the same combining form may occur in both positions. Cf. *phonograph, phonology* and *telephone, microphone,* etc.

§ 5.2 AIMS AND PRINCIPLES OF MORPHEMIC AND WORD-FORMATION ANALYSIS

A synchronic description of the English vocabulary deals with its present-day system and its patterns of word-formation by comparing words simultaneously existing in it.[1]

If the analysis is limited to stating the number and type of morphemes that make up the word, it is referred to as m o r p h e m i c . For instance, the word *girlishness* may be analysed into three morphemes: the root *-girl-* and two suffixes *-ish* and *-ness.* The morphemic classification of words is as follows: one root morpheme — a root word *(girl),* one root morpheme plus one or more affixes — a derived word *(girlish, girlishness),* two or more stems — a compound word *(girl-friend),* two or more stems and a common affix — a compound derivative *(old-maidish).* The morphemic analysis establishes only the ultimate constituents that make up the word (see p. 85).

A structural word-formation analysis proceeds further: it studies the s t r u c t u r a l   c o r r e l a t i o n   with other words, the structural patterns or rules on which words are built.

This is done with the help of the principle of o p p o s i t i o n s (see p. 25), i.e. by studying the partly similar elements, the difference between which is functionally relevant; in our case this difference is sufficient to create a new word. *Girl* and *girlish* are members of a morphemic opposition. They are similar as the root morpheme *-girl-* is the same. Their distinctive feature is the suffix *-ish.* Due to this suffix the second member of the opposition is a different word belonging to a different part of speech. This binary opposition comprises two elements.

A c o r r e l a t i o n is a set of binary oppositions. It is composed of two subsets formed by the first and the second elements of each couple, i.e. opposition. Each element of the first set is coupled with exactly one element of the second set and vice versa. Each second element may be derived from the corresponding first element by a general rule valid for all members of the relation (see p. 26). Observing the proportional opposition:

girl	*child*	*woman*	*monkey*	*spinster*	*book*
girlish	*childish*	*womanish*	*monkeyish*	*spinsterish*	*bookish*

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[1] The contribution of Soviet scholars to this problem is seen in the works by M.D. Stepanova, S.S. Khidekel, E.S. Koubryakova, T.M. Belyaeva, O.D. Meshkov, P.A. Soboleva and many other authors.

it is possible to conclude that there is in English a type of derived adjectives consisting of a noun stem and the suffix -*ish.* Observation also shows that the stems are mostly those of animate nouns, and permits us to define the relationship between the structural pattern of the word and its meaning. Any one word built according to this pattern contains a semantic component common to the whole group, namely: 'typical of, or having the bad qualities of. There are also some other uses of the adjective forming '*ish,* but they do not concern us here.

In the above example the results of morphemic analysis and the s t r u c t u r a l   w o r d - f o r m a t i o n   a n a l y s i s   practically coincide. There are other cases, however, where they are of necessity separated. The morphemic analysis is, for instance, insufficient in showing the difference between the structure of *inconvenience* v and *impatience* n; it classifies both as derivatives. From the point of view of word-formation pattern, however, they are fundamentally different. It is only the second that is formed by derivation. Compare:

$$\frac{impatience \text{ n}}{impatient \text{ a}} = \frac{patience \text{ n}}{patient \text{ a}} = \frac{corpulence \text{ n}}{corpulent \text{ a}}$$

The correlation that can be established for the verb *inconvenience* is different, namely:

$$\frac{inconvenience \text{ v}}{inconvenience \text{ n}} = \frac{pain \text{ v}}{pain \text{ n}} = \frac{disgust \text{ v}}{disgust \text{ n}} = \frac{anger \text{ v}}{anger \text{ n}} = \frac{daydream \text{ v}}{daydream \text{ n}}$$

Here nouns denoting some feeling or state are correlated with verbs causing this feeling or state, there being no difference in stems between the members of each separate opposition. Whether different pairs in the correlation are structured similarly or differently is irrelevant. Some of them are simple root words, others are derivatives or compounds. In terms of word-formation we state that the verb *inconvenience* when compared with the noun *inconvenience* shows relationships characteristic of the process of conversion. Cf. *to position* where the suffix -*tion* does not classify this word as an abstract noun but shows it is derived from one.

This approach also affords a possibility to distinguish between compound words formed by composition and those formed by other processes. The words *honeymoon* n and *honeymoon* v are both compounds, containing two free stems, yet the first is formed by composition: *honey* n + *moon* n > *honeymoon* n, and the second by conversion: *honeymoon* n> *honeymoon* v (see Ch. 8). The treatment remains synchronic because it is not the origin of the word that is established but its present correlations in the vocabulary and the patterns productive in present-day English, although sometimes it is difficult to say which is the derived form.

The analysis into immediate constituents described below permits us to obtain the morphemic structure and provides the basis for further word-formation analysis.

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A synctironic morphological analysis is most effectively accomplished by the procedure known as the analysis into i m m e d i a t e   c o n - s t i t u e n t s (IC's). Immediate constituents are any of the two meaningful parts forming a larger linguistic unity. First suggested by L. Bloomfield[1] it was later developed by many linguists.[2] The main opposition dealt with is the opposition of stem and affix. It is a kind of segmentation revealing not the history of the word but its m o t i v a t i o n, i.e. the data the listener has to go by in understanding it. It goes without saying that unmotivated words and words with faded motivation have to be remembered and understood as separate signs, not as combinations of other signs.

The method is based on the fact that a word characterised by morphological divisibility (analysable into morphemes) is involved in certain structural correlations. This means that, as Z. Harris puts it, "the morpheme boundaries in an utterance are determined not on the basis of considerations interior to the utterance but on the basis of comparison with other utterances. The comparisons are controlled, i.e. we do not merely scan various random utterances but seek utterances which differ from our original one only in stated portions. The final test is in utterances which are only minimally different from ours."[3]

A sample analysis which has become almost classical, being repeated many times by many authors, is L. Bloomfield's analysis of the word *ungentlemanly.* As the word is convenient we take the same example. Comparing this word with other utterances the listener recognises the morpheme *-un-* as a negative prefix because he has often come across words built on the pattern *un-* + **adjective stem:** *uncertain, unconscious, uneasy, unfortunate, unmistakable, unnatural.* Some of the cases resembled the word even more closely; these were: *unearthly, unsightly, untimely, unwomanly* and the like. One can also come across the adjective *gentlemanly.* Thus, at the first cut we obtain the following immediate constituents: *un-* + *gentlemanly.* If we continue our analysis, we see that although *gent* occurs as a free form in low colloquial usage, no such word as *lemanly* may be found either as a free or as a bound constituent, so this time we have to separate the final morpheme. We are justified in so doing as there are many adjectives following the pattern **noun stem** + *-ly,* such *as womanly, masterly, scholarly, soldierly* with the same semantic relationship of 'having the quality of the person denoted by the stem'; we also have come across the noun *gentleman* in other utterances. The two first stages of analysis resulted in separating a free and a bound form: 1) *un~* + *gentlemanly,* 2) *gentleman* + *-ly.* The third cut has its peculiarities. The division into *gent-*+*-lemon* is obviously impossible as no such patterns exist in English, so the cut is *gentle-* + *-man.* A similar pattern is observed in *nobleman,* and so we state **adjective stem**

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[1] *Bloomfield L.* Language. London, 1935. P. 210.

[2] See: *Nida E.* Morphology. The Descriptive Analysis of Words. Ann Arbor, 1946. P. 81.

[3] *Harris Z.S.* Methods in Structural Linguistics. Chicago, 1952. P. 163.

+ *man.* Now, the element *man* may be differently classified a s a s e m i - a f f i x (see § 6.2.2) or as a variant of the free form *man.* The word *gentle* is open to discussion. It is obviously divisible from the etymological viewpoint: *gentle* < (O)Fr *gentil* < Lat *gentilis* permits to discern the root or rather the radical element *gent-* and the suffix *-il.* But since we are only concerned with synchronic analysis this division is not relevant.

If, however, we compare the adjective *gentle* with such adjectives as *brittle, fertile, fickle, juvenile, little, noble, subtle* and some more containing the suffix *-lei-He* added to a bound stem, they form a pattern for our case. The bound stem that remains is present in the following group: *gentle, gently, gentleness, genteel, gentile, gentry,* etc.

One might observe that our procedure of looking for similar utterances has shown that the English vocabulary contains the vulgar word *gent* that has been mentioned above, meaning 'a person pretending to the status of a gentleman' or simply'man', but then there is no such structure as **noun stem** + *-le,* so the word *gent* should be interpreted as a shortening of *gentleman* and a homonym of the bound stem in question.

To sum up: as we break the word we obtain at any level only two IC's, one of which is the stem of the given word. All the time the analysis is based on the patterns characteristic of the English vocabulary. As a pattern showing the interdependence of all the constituents segregated at various stages we obtain the following formula:

$$un- + \{[\{gent- + -le) + -man] + -ly\}$$

Breaking a word into its immediate constituents we observe in each cut the structural order of the constituents (which may differ from their actual sequence). Furthermore we shall obtain only two constituents at each cut, the ultimate constituents, however, can be arranged according to their sequence in the word: *un-+gent-+-le+-man+'ly.*

A box-like diagram presenting the four cuts described looks as follows:

1) | un- | gentlemanly |

2) | un- | gentleman | -ly |

3) | un- | gentle | -man | -ly |

4) | un- | gent | -le | -man | -ly |

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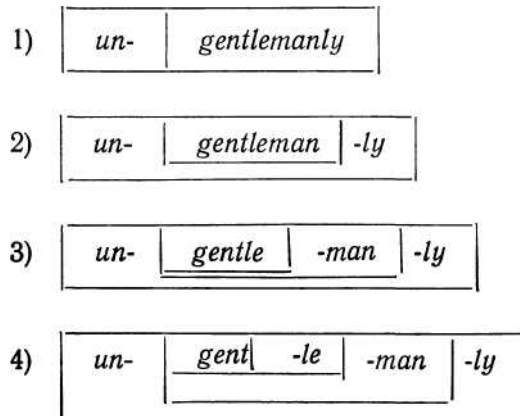
We can repeat the analysis on the word-formation level showing not only the morphemic constituents of the word but also the structural pattern on which it is built, this may be carried out in terms of proportional oppositions. The main requirements are essentially the same: the analysis must reveal patterns observed in other words of the same language, the stems obtained after the affix is taken away should correspond to a separate word, the segregation of the derivational affix is based on proportional oppositions of words having the same affix with the same lexical and lexico-grammatical meaning. *Ungentlemanly,* then, is opposed not to *ungentleman* (such a word does not exist), but to *gentlemanly.* Other pairs similarly connected are correlated with this opposition. Examples are:

ungentlemanly ___ unfair __ unkind __ unselfish gentlemanly fair   kind   selfish

This correlation reveals the pattern *un-* + **adjective stem.**

The word-formation type is defined as affixational derivation. The sense of *un-* as used in this pattern is either simply 'not', or more commonly 'the reverse of, with the implication of blame or praise, in the case of *ungentlemanly* it is blame.

The next step is similar, only this time it is the suffix that is taken away:

gentlemanly __ womanly _ scholarly
gentleman   woman scholar

The series shows that these adjectives are derived according to the pattern **noun *stem* + -*ly*.** The common meaning of the numerator term is 'characteristic of (a gentleman, a woman, a scholar).

The analysis into immediate constituents as suggested in American linguistics has been further developed in the above treatment by combining a purely formal procedure with semantic analysis of the pattern. A semantic check means, for instance, that we can distinguish the type *gentlemanly* from the type *monthly,* although both follow the same structural pattern **noun stem** + -*ly*. The semantic relationship is different, as -*ly* is qualitative in the first case and frequentative in the second, i.e. *monthly* means 'occurring every month'.

This point is confirmed by the following correlations: any adjective built on the pattern **personal noun stem+-/#** is equivalent to 'characteristic of or 'having the quality of the person denoted by the stem'.

gentlemanly -*having the qualities of a gentleman
masterly - shaving the qualities of a master
soldierly - shaving the qualities of a soldier
womanly - shaving the qualities of a woman
Monthly does not fit into this series, so we write: *monthly* ±5 having the qualities of a month

On the other hand, adjectives of this group, i.e. words built on the pattern **stem of a noun denoting a period of time** + *-ly* are all equivalent to the formula 'occurring every period of time denoted by the stem':

monthly → occurring every month
hourly → occurring every hour
yearly → occurring every year

Gentlemanly does not show this sort of equivalence, the transform is obviously impossible, so we write:

gentlemanly ↔ occurring every gentleman

The above procedure is an elementary case of the t r a n s f o r m a - t i o n a l   a n a l y s i s , in which the semantic similarity or difference of words is revealed by the possibility or impossibility of transforming them according to a prescribed model and following certain rules into a different form, called their t r a n s f o r m . The conditions of equivalence between the original form and the transform are formulated in advance. In our case the conditions to be fulfilled are the sameness of meaning and of the kernel morpheme.

E.Nida discusses another complicated case: *untruly* adj might, it seems, be divided both ways, the IC's being either *un-+truly* or *un-true+-ly*. Yet observing other utterances we notice that the prefix *un-* is but rarely combined with adverb stems and very freely with adjective stems; examples have already been given above. So we are justified in thinking that the IC's are *untrue+-ly*. Other examples of the same pattern are: *uncommonly, unlikely.*[1]

There are, of course, cases, especially among borrowed words, that defy analysis altogether; such are, for instance, *calendar, nasturtium* or *chrysanthemum.*

The analysis of other words may remain open or unresolved. Some linguists, for example, hold the view that words like *pocket* cannot be subjected to morphological analysis. Their argument is that though we are justified in singling out the element *-et,* because the correlation may be considered regular *(hog* : : *hogget, lock* : : *locket),* the meaning of the suffix being in both cases distinctly diminutive, the remaining part *pock-* cannot be regarded as a stem as it does not occur anywhere else. Others, like Prof. A.I. Smirnitsky, think that the stem is morphologically divisible if at least one of its elements can be shown to belong to a regular correlation. Controversial issues of this nature do not invalidate the principles of analysis into immediate constituents. The second point of view seems more convincing. To illustrate it, let us take the word *hamlet* 'a small village'. No words with this stem occur in present-day English, but it is clearly divisible diachronically, as it is derived from OFr *hamelet* of Germanic origin, a diminutive of *hamel,* and a cognate of the English noun *home.* We must not forget that hundreds of English place names end in *-ham,* like *Shoreham, Wyndham,* etc. Nevertheless, making a mixture of historical and structural approach

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[1] *Nida E.* Morphology, p.p. 81-82. 86

will never do. If we keep to the second, and look for recurring identities according to structural procedures, we shall find the words *booklet, cloudlet, flatlet, leaflet, ringlet, town let,* etc. In all these *-let* is a clearly diminutive suffix which does not contradict the meaning of *hamlet.* A.I. Smirnitsky's approach is, therefore, supported by the evidence afforded by the language material, and also permits us to keep within strictly synchronic limits.

Now we can make one more conclusion, namely, that in lexicological analysis words may be grouped not only according to their root morphemes but according to affixes as well.

The whole procedure of the analysis into immediate constituents is reduced to the recognition and classification of same and different morphemes and same and different word patterns. This is precisely why it permits the tracing and understanding of the vocabulary system.

§ 5.4 DERIVATIONAL AND FUNCTIONAL AFFIXES

Lexicology is primarily concerned with d e r i v a t i o n a l a f f i x e s , the other group being the domain of grammarians. The derivational affixes in fact, as well as the whole problem of word-formation, form a boundary area between lexicology and grammar and are therefore studied in both.

Language being a system in which the elements of vocabulary and grammar are closely interrelated, our study of affixes cannot be complete without some discussion of the similarity and difference between derivational and functional morphemes.

The similarity is obvious as they are so often homonymous (for the most important cases of homonymy between derivational and functional affixes see p. 18). Otherwise the two groups are essentially different because they render different types of meaning.

F u n c t i o n a l affixes serve to convey grammatical meaning. They build different forms of one and the same word. A w o r d f o r m , or the form of a word, is defined as one of the different aspects a word may take as a result of inflection. Complete sets of all the various forms of a word when considered as inflectional patterns, such as declensions or conjugations, are termed paradigms. A p a r a d i g m has been defined in grammar as the system of grammatical forms characteristic of a word, e. g. *near, nearer, nearest; son, son's, sons, sons'* (see[1] p. 23).

D e r i v a t i o n a l affixes serve to supply the stem with components of lexical and lexico-grammatical meaning, and thus form[4] different words. One and the same lexico-grammatical meaning of the affix is sometimes accompanied by different combinations of various lexical meanings. Thus, the lexico-grammatical meaning supplied by the suffix *-y* consists in the ability to express the qualitative idea peculiar to adjectives and creates adjectives from noun stems. The lexical meanings of the same suffix are somewhat variegated: 'full of, as in *bushy* or *cloudy,* 'composed of, as in *stony,* 'having the quality of, as in *slangy,* 'resembling', as in *baggy,* 'covered with', as in *hairy* and some more. This suffix sometimes conveys emotional components of meaning. E.g.:

My school reports used to say: "Not amenable to discipline; too fond of organising," which was only a kind way of saying: "Bossy." (M. Dickens) *Bossy* not only means 'having the quality of a boss' or 'behaving like a boss'; it is also a derogatory word.

This fundamental difference in meaning and function of the two groups of affixes results in an interesting relationship: the presence of a derivational affix does not prevent a word from being equivalent to another word, in which this suffix is absent, so that they can be substituted for one another in context. The presence of a functional affix changes the distributional properties of a word so much that it can never be substituted for a simple word without violating grammatical standard. To see this point consider the following familiar quotation from Shakespeare:

> *Cowards die many times before their deaths;*
> *The valiant never taste of death but once.*

Here no one-morpheme word can be substituted for the words *cowards, times* or *deaths* because the absence of a plural mark will make the sentence ungrammatical. The words containing derivational affixes can be substituted by morphologically different words, so that the derivative *valiant* can be substituted by a root word like *brave.* In a statement like *I wash my hands of the whole affair* (Du Maurier) the word *affair* may be replaced by the derivative *business* or by the simple word *thing* because their distributional properties are the same. It is, however, impossible to replace it by a word containing a functional affix *(affairs* or *things),* as this would require a change in the rest of the sentence.

The American structuralists B. Bloch and G. Trager formulate this point as follows: "A suffixal derivative is a two-morpheme word which is grammatically equivalent to (can be substituted for) any simple word in all the constructions where it occurs."[1]

This rule is not to be taken as an absolutely rigid one because the word building potential and productivity of stems depend on several factors. Thus, no further addition of suffixes is possible after *-ness, -ity, -dom, -ship* and *-hood.*

A derivative is mostly capable of further derivation and is therefore homonymous to a stem. *Foolish,* for instance, is derived from the stem *fool-* and is homonymous to the stem *foolish-* occurring in the words *foolishness* and *foolishly.* Inflected words cease to be homonymous to stems. No further derivation is possible from the word form *fools,* where the stem *fool-* is followed by the functional affix *-s.* Inflected words are neither structurally nor functionally equivalent to the morphologically simple words belonging to the same part of speech. *Things* is different from *business* functionally, because these two words cannot occur in identical contexts, and structurally, because of the different character of their immediate constituents and different word-forming possibilities.

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[1] See: *Bloch B. and Trager G.* Outline of Linguistic Analysis. Baltimore, 1942 P. 84.

After having devoted special attention to the difference in semantic characteristics of various kinds of morphemes we notice that they are different positionally. A functional affix marks the word boundary, it can only follow the affix of derivation and come last, so that no further derivation is possible for a stem to which a functional affix is added. That is why functional affixes are called by E. Nida the o u t e r f o r m a t i v e s as contrasted to the i n n e r fo r m a t i v e s which is equivalent to our term d e r i v a t i o n a l a f f i x e s .

It might be argued that the outer position of functional affixes is disproved by such examples as *the disableds, the unwanteds.* It must be noted, however, that in these words *-ed* is not a functional affix, it receives derivational force so that *the disableds* is not a form of the verb *to disable,* but a new word — a collective noun.

A word containing no outer formatives is, so to say, open, because it is homonymous to a stem and further derivational affixes may be added to it. Once we add an outer formative, no further derivation is possible. The form may be regarded as closed.

The semantic, functional and positional difference that has already been stated is supported by statistical properties and difference in valency (combining possibilities). Of the three main types of morphemes, namely roots, derivational affixes and functional affixes (formatives), the roots are by far the most numerous. There are many thousand roots in the English language; the derivational affixes, when listed, do not go beyond a few scores. The list given in "Chambers's Twentieth Century Dictionary" takes up five pages and a half, comprising all the detailed explanations of their origin and meaning, and even then the actual living suffixes are much fewer. As to the functional affixes there are hardly more than ten of them. Regular English verbs, for instance, have only four forms: *play, plays, played, playing,* as compared to the German verbs w h i c h h a v e a s m a n y a s s i x t e e n .

The valency of these three groups of morphemes is naturally in inverse proportion to their number. Functional affixes can be appended, w i t h a few e x c e p t i o n s , to a n y e l e m e n t belonging to the part of speech they serve. The regular correlation of singular and plural forms of nouns can serve to illustrate this point. Thus, *heart : : hearts; boy* : : *boys,* etc. The relics of archaic forms, such as *child* : : *children,* or foreign plurals like *criterion* : : *criteria* are very few in comparison with these.

Derivational affixes do not combine so freely and regularly. The suffix *-en* occurring in *golden* and *leaden* cannot be added to the root *steel-.* Nevertheless, as they serve to mark certain groups of words, their correlations are never isolated and always contain more than two oppositions, e. g. *boy : : boyish, child : : childish, book : : bookish, gold : : golden, lead : : leaden, wood : : wooden.* The valency of roots is of a very different order and the oppositions may be sometimes isolated. It is for instance difficult to find another pair with the root *heart* and the same relationship as in *heart : : sweetheart.*

Knowing the plural functional suffix *-s* we know how the countable nouns are inflected. The probability of a mistake is not great.

With derivational affixes the situation is much more intricate. Knowing, for instance, the complete list of affixes of feminisation, i.e. formation of feminine nouns from the stems of masculine ones by adding a characteristic suffix, we shall be able to recognise a new word if we know the root. This knowledge, however, will not enable us to construct words acceptable for English vocabulary, because derivational affixes are attached to their particular stems in a haphazard and unpredictable manner. Why, for instance, is it impossible to call a lady-guest — *a guestess* on the pattern of *host* : : *hostess?* Note also: *lion* : : *lioness, tiger* : : *tigress,* but *bear* : : *she-bear, elephant* : : *she-elephant, wolf* : : *she-wolf;* very often the correlation is assured by suppletion, therefore we have *boar* : : *sow, buck* : : *doe, bull* : : *cow, cock* : : *hen, ram* : : *ewe.*

Similarly in toponymy: the inhabitant of London is called *a Londoner,* the inhabitant of Moscow is *a Muscovite,* of Vienna — *a Viennese,* of Athens — *an Athenian.*

On the whole this state of things is more or less common to many languages; but English has stricter constraints in this respect than, for example, Russian; indeed the range of possibilities in English is very narrow. Russian not only possesses a greater number of diminutive affixes but can add many of them to the same stem: *мальчик, мальчишка, мальчишечка, мальчонка, мальчуган, мальчугашка.* Nothing of the kind is possible for the English noun stem *boy.* With the noun stem *girl* the diminutive *-ie* can be added but not *-ette, -let, -kin / -kins.* The same holds true even if the corresponding noun stems have much in common: a short lecture is *a lecturette* but a small picture is never called *a picturette.* The probability that a given stem will combine with a given affix is thus not easily established.

To sum up: derivational and functional morphemes may happen to be identical in sound form, but they are substantially different in meaning, function, valency, statistical characteristics and structural properties.

§ 5.5 THE VALENCY OF AFFIXES AND STEMS. WORD-BUILDING PATTERNS AND THEIR MEANING

Another essential feature of affixes that should not be overlooked is their combining power or v a l e n c y and the d e r i v a t i o n a l p a t t e r n s in which they regularly occur.

We have already seen that not all combinations of existing morphemes are actually used. Thus, *unhappy, untrue* and *unattractive* are quite regular combinations, while seemingly analogous **unsad, *UN-FALSE, *unpretty* do not exist. The possibility of a particular stem taking a particular affix depends on phono-morphological, morphological and semantic factors. The suffix *-ance/-ence,*[1] for instance, occurs only after **b, t, d, dz, v, l, r, m, n**: *disturbance, insistence, independence,* but not after **s** or **z**: *condensation, organisation.*

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[1] These are allomorphs. See § 5.7.

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It is of course impossible to describe the whole system. To make our point clear we shall take adjective-forming suffixes as an example. They are mostly attached to noun stems. They are: ~ed (barbed), -en (golden), -ful (careful), -less (careless), -ly (soldierly), -like (childlike), -y (hearty) and some others. The highly productive suffix -able can be combined with noun stems and verbal stems alike (clubbable, bearable). It is especially frequent in the pattern un- + **verbal stem** + -able (unbearable). Sometimes it is even attached to phrases in which composition and affixation are simultaneous producing compound-derivatives (unbrushoffable, ungetatable). These characteristics are of great importance both structurally and semantically.

Their structural significance is clear if we realise that to describe the system of a given vocabulary one must know the typical patterns on which its words are coined. To achieve this it is necessary not only to know the morphemes of which they consist but also to reveal their recurrent regular combinations and the relationship existing between them. This approach ensures a rigorously linguistic basis for the identification of lexico-grammatical classes within each part of speech. In the English language these classes are little studied so far, although an inquiry into this problem seems very promising.[1]

It is also worthy of note that from the information theory viewpoint the fact that not every affix is capable of combining with any given stem makes the code more reliable, protects it from noise,[2] mistakes, and misunderstanding.

The valency of stems is not therefore unlimited. Noun stems can be followed by the noun-forming suffixes: -age (bondage), -dom (serfdom), -eer/-ier (profiteer, collier), -ess (waitress), -ful (spoonful), -hood (childhood), -ian (physician), -ics (linguistics), -iel-y (daddy), -ing (flooring), -ism (heroism), -ist (violinist), -let (cloudlet), -ship (friendship)-, by the adjective-forming suffixes: -al/-ial (doctoral), -an (African), -ary (revolutionary), -ed (wooded), -ful (hopeful), -ic/-ical (historic, historical), -ish (childish), -like (businesslike), -ly (friendly), -ous/-ious/-eous (spacious), -some (handsome), -y (cloudy)', verb-forming suffixes: -ate (aerate), -en (hearten), -fy/-ify (speechify), -ise (sympathise).

Verbal stems are almost equal to noun stems in valency. They combine with the following noun-forming suffixes: -age (breakage), -al (betrayal), -ance/-ence (guidance, reference), -ant/-ent (assistant, student), -ee (employee), -er/-or (painter, editor), -ing (uprising), -ion/-tion/-ation (action, information), -ment (government). The adjective-forming suffixes used with verbal stems are: -able/-ible (agreeable, comprehensible), -ive/-sive/-tive (talkative), -some (meddlesome).

Adjective stems furnish a shorter list: -dom (freedom), -ism (realism), -ity/-ty (reality, cruelty), -ness (brightness), -ish (reddish), -ly (firmly), •ate (differentiate), -en (sharpen), -fy/-ify (solidify).

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[1] See the works by I.V. Arnold, T.M. Belyaeva, S.S. Khidekel, E.S. Koobryakova, O.D. Meshkov, I.K. Arhipov and others.

[2] Noise as a term of the theory of information is used to denote any kind of interference with the process of communication.

The combining possibilities (or valency) are very important semantically because the meaning of the derivative depends not only on the morphemes of which it is composed but also on combinations of stems and affixes that can be contrasted with it. Contrast is to be looked for in the use of the same morpheme in different environment and also in the use of different morphemes in environments otherwise the same.

The difference between the suffixes *-ity* and *-ism,* for instance, will become clear if we compare them as combined with identical stems in the following oppositions: *formality* : : *formalism : : humanity : : humanism; reality* : : *realism.* Roughly, the words in *-ity* mean the quality of being what the corresponding adjective describes, or an instance of this quality. The resulting nouns are countable. The suffix *-ism* forms nouns naming a disposition to what the adjective describes, or a corresponding type of ideology. Being uncountable they belong to a different lexico-grammatical class.

The similarity on which an opposition is based may consist, for the material under consideration in the present paragraph, in the sameness of suffix. A description of suffixes according to the stem with which they are combined and the lexico-grammatical classes they serve to differentiate may be helpful in the analysis of the meanings they are used to render.

A good example is furnished by the suffix *-ish,* as a suffix of adjectives. The combining possibilities of the suffix *-ish* are vast but not unlimited. *Boyish* and *waspish* are used, whereas **enemish* and **aspish* are not. The constraints here are of semantic nature. It is regularly present in the names of nationalities, as for example: *British, Irish, Spanish.*[1] When added to noun stems, it forms adjectives of the type 'having the nature of with a moderately derogatory colouring: *bookish, churlish, monkeyish, sheepish, swinish. Childish has* a derogatory twist of meaning, the adjective with a good sense is *childlike.* A man may be said to behave with *a childish petulance,* but with *a childlike simplicity.* Compare also *womanly* 'having the qualities befitting a woman', as in *womanly compassion, womanly grace, womanly tact,* with the derogatory *womanish* 'effeminate', as in: *womanish fears, traitors to love and duty* (Coleridge).

With adjective stems the meaning is not derogatory, the adjective renders a moderate degree of the quality named: *greenish* 'somewhat green', *stiffish* 'somewhat stiff, *thinnish* 'somewhat thin'. The model is especially frequent with colours: *blackish, brownish, reddish. A* similar but stylistically peculiar meaning is observed in combinations with numeral stems: *eightyish, fortyish* and the like are equivalent to 'round about eighty', 'round about forty'. E. g.: *"What's she like, Min*?" *"Sixtyish. Stout. Grey hair. Tweeds. Red face."* (McCrone)

In colloquial speech the suffix *-ish* is added to words denoting the time of the day: *four-o'clockish* or more often *fourish* means 'round about four o'clock'. E. g.: *Robert and I went to a cocktail party at Annette's. (It was called "drinks at six thirty'ish" — the word "cocktail" was going out.)* (W. Cooper).

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[1] But not all nationalities. E. g. *Russian, Italian, Chinese, Japanese.* 92

The study of correlations of derivatives and stems is also helpful in bringing into relief the meaning of the affix. The lexico-grammatical meaning of the suffix *-ness* that forms nouns of quality from adjective stems becomes clear from the study of correlations of the derivative and the underlying stem. A few examples picked up at random will be sufficient proof: *good : : goodness; kind : : kindness; lonely : : loneliness; ready : : readiness; righteous : : righteousness; slow : : slowness.*

The suffixes *-ion* (and its allomorphs *-sion* and *-tion)* and *-or* are noun-forming suffixes combined with verbal stems. The opposition between them serves to distinguish between two subclasses of nouns: a b s t r a c t n o u n s and a g e n t nouns, e. g. *accumulation : : accumulator; action : : actor; election : : elector; liberation : : liberator; oppression : : oppressor; vibration : : vibrator,* etc. The abstract noun in this case may mean action, state or result of action remaining within the same subclass. Thus, *cultivation* denotes the process of cultivating (most often of cultivating the soil) and the state of being cultivated. Things may be somewhat different with the suffix *-or,* because *a cultivator* is 'a person who cultivates[1] and 'a machine for breaking up ground, loosening the earth round growing plants and destroying weeds'. Thus two different subclasses are involved: one of animate beings, the other of inanimate things. They differ not only semantically but grammatically too; there exists a regular opposition between animate and inanimate nouns in English: the first group is substituted *by he* or *she,* and the second by the pronoun *it.* In derivation this opposition of animate personal nouns to all other nouns is in some cases sustained by such suffixes as *-ard/-art (braggart), -ist (novelist)* and a few others, but most often neutralised. The term n e u t r a l i s a t i o n may be defined as a temporary suspension of an otherwise functioning opposition. Neutralisation, as in the word *cultivator,* is also observed with such suffixes as *-ant, -er* that also occur in agent nouns, both animate and inanimate. Cf. *accountant* 'a person who keeps accounts' and *coolant* 'a cooling substance'; *fitter* 'mechanic who fits up all kinds of metalwork' and *shutter* (in photography) 'a device regulating the exposure to light of a plate of film'; *runner* 'a messenger' and 'a blade of a skate'.

Structural observations such as these show that an analysis of suffixes in the light of their valency and the lexico-grammatical subclasses that they serve to differentiate may be useful in the analysis of their semantic properties. The notions of opposition, correlation and neutralisation introduced into linguistics by N. Trubetzkoy prove relevant and helpful in morphological analysis as well.

The term word-building or d e r i v a t i o n a l p a t t e r n is used to denote a meaningful combination of stems and affixes that occur regularly enough to indicate the part of speech, the lexico-semantic category and semantic peculiarities common to most words with this particular arrangement of morphemes.[1] Every type of word-building (affixation, composition, conversion, compositional derivation, shortening, etc.) as well as every part of speech have a characteristic set of

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[1] See also: *Ginzburg R.S. et al.* A Course in Modern English Lexicology. P. 103.

patterns. Some of these, especially those with the derivational suffix *-ish,* have already been described within this paragraph. It is also clear from the previous description that the grouping of patterns is possible according to the type of stem, according to the affix or starting with some semantic grouping.[1]

The grouping of patterns, their description and study may be based on the same principle of explanatory transformations that we have used for componential analysis in Chapter 3 (see §3.6).

Let us turn again to affixation and see how the dictionary defines words with the prefix *un-:*

unaccented a —without an accent or stress
unbolt v — to remove the bolt of, to unlock
unconcern n — lack of concern
undo v — to reverse the effect of doing
unfailing a — not failing, constant

These few examples show that the negative prefix *un-* may be used in the following patterns:

I. *un-* + an adjective stem *un-* +
Part. I stem *un-* + Part. II stem } with the meaning 'not', 'without',
'the opposite of'

II. *un-* + **a verbal stem** — with the meaning of 'to reverse the action as the effect of...'
III. *un-* + **a verbal stem** which is derived from a noun stem — with the reversative meaning 'to release from'
IV. *un-* + **a noun stem** shows the lack of the quality denoted

The examples for pattern I are: *uncertain, unfair, unbelievable, unconscious, unbalanced, unknown, unborn, unbecoming',* for pattern II: *unbend, unbind, unpack, unwrap;* for pattern III: *unhook, unpack, unlock, unearth.*

With noun stems (pattern IV) *un-* is used very rarely. E. g. *unpeople* 'people lacking the semblance of humanity', *unperson* 'a public figure who has lost his influence'.

These cases of semantic overlapping show that the meaning or rather the variety of meanings of each derivational affix can be established only when we collect many cases of its use and then observe its functioning within the structure of the word-building patterns deduced from the examples collected. It would be also wrong to say that there exists a definite meaning associated with this or that pattern, as they are often polysemantic, and the affixes homonymous. This may be also seen from the following examples. A very productive pattern is *out-*+ V = Vt. The meaning is 'to do something faster, better, longer than somebody or something'. E. g. *outdo, out-grow, out-live, outnumber,*

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[1] As for instance, **a numeral stem** + *-ish* with ages has the meaning 'approximately so many years old': *fiftyish, sixtyish, seventyish,* and has a colloquial connotation.

outplay. The number of possible combinations is practically unlimited. The spelling, whether hyphenated, solid or separate is in many cases optional. When formed not on verbs but on names of persons it means 'to surpass this person in something that is known as his special property'. The classical example is *"to out-Herod Herod"* (Shakespeare) 'to outdo sb in cruelty'.[1]

On the other hand, the same formal pattern *out-+V* may occur with the locative *out-* and produce nouns, such as *outbreak* or *outburst*. The second element here is actually a deverbal noun of action.

The above examples do not exhaust the possibilities of patterns with *out-* as their first element. *Out-* may be used with verbal stems and their derivatives *(outstanding),* with substantives *(outfield),* with adjectives *(outbound)* and adverbs *(outright).*

The more productive an affix is the more probable the existence alongside the usual pattern of some semantic variation. Thus, *-ee* is freely added to verbal stems to form nouns meaning 'One who is V-ed', as *addressee, divorcee, employee, evacuee, examinee,* often paralleling agent nouns in *-er,* as *employer, examiner.* Sometimes, however, it is added to intransitive verbs; in these cases the pattern *V+-ee* means 'One who V-s' or 'One who has V-ed', as in *escapee, retiree.* In the case of *bargee* 'a man in charge of a barge' the stem is a noun.

It may also happen that due to the homonymy of affixes words that look like antonyms are in fact synonyms. A good example is analysed by V.K. Tarasova. The adjectives *inflammable* and *flammable* are not antonyms as might be supposed from their morphological appearance (cf. *informal : : formal, inhospitable : : hospitable)* but synonyms, because *inflammable* is 'easily set on fire'. They are also interchangeable in non-technical texts. *Inflammable* may be used figuratively as 'easily excited'. *Flammable* is preferred in technical writing.

The fact is that there are two prefixes *in-*. One is a negative prefix and the other may indicate an inward motion, an intensive action or as in the case of *inflame, inflammable* and *inflammation* have a causative function.[2]

It is impossible to draw a sharp line between the elements of form expressing only lexical and those expressing only grammatical meaning and the difficulty is not solved by introducing alongside the term m o t i v a - t i o n the term w o r d - f o r m a t i o n meaning.

To sum up: the word-building pattern is a structural and semantic formula more or less regularly reproduced, it reveals the morphological motivation of the word, the grammatical part-of-speech meaning and in most cases helps to refer the word to some lexico-grammatical class, the components of the lexical meaning are mostly supplied by the stem.

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[1] Herod — the ruler of Judea, at the time of Christ's birth was noted for his despotic nature and cruelty.
[2] V.K. Tarasova studies the possibilities of this homonymy of the word *inflammable* when she comments on the poem by Ogden Nash entitled "Philology, Etymology, You Owe Me an Apology".

Depending on the purpose of research, various classifications of suffixes have been used and suggested. Suffixes have been classified according to their origin, parts of speech they served to form, their frequency, productivity and other characteristics.

Within the parts of speech suffixes have been classified semantically according to lexico-grammatical groups and semantic fields, and last but not least, according to the types of stems they are added to.

In conformity with our primarily synchronic approach it seems convenient to begin with the classification according to the part of speech in which the most frequent suffixes of present-day English occur. They will be listed together with words illustrating their possible semantic force.[1]

N o u n - f o r m i n g s u f f i x e s :
-age *(bondage, breakage, mileage, vicarage);* **-ance/-ence**[2] *(assistance, reference);* **-ant/-ent** *(disinfectant, student);* **-dom** *(kingdom, freedom, officialdom);* **-ee** *(employee);* **-eer** *(profiteer);* **-er** *(writer, type-writer);* -ess *(actress, lioness);* **-hood** *(manhood);* -ing *(building, meaning, washing);* **-ion/-sion/-tion/-ation** *(rebellion, tension, creation, explanation);* **-ism/-icism** *(heroism, criticism);* **-ist** *(novelist, communist);* **-ment** *(government, nourishment);* **-ness** *(tenderness);* **-ship** *(friendship);* **-(i)ty** *(sonority).*

A d j e c t i v e - f o r m i n g s u f f i x e s :
-able/-ible/-uble *(unbearable, audible, soluble);* **-al** *(formal);* **-ic** *(poetic);* **-ical** *(ethical);* **-ant/-ent** *(repentant, dependent);* **-ary** *(revolutionary);* **-ate/-ete** *(accurate, complete);* **-ed/-d** *(wooded);* **-ful** *(delightful);* **-an/-ian** *(African, Australian);* **-ish** *(Irish, reddish, childish);* **-ive** *(active);* **-less** *(useless);* **-like** *(lifelike);* **-ly** *(manly);* **-ous/-ious** *(tremendous, curious);* **-some** *(tiresome);* **-y** *(cloudy, dressy).*

N u m e r a l - f o r m i n g s u f f i x e s : **-fold** *(twofold);* **-teen** *(fourteen);* **-th** *(seventh);* **-ty** *(sixty).*

V e r b - f o r m i n g s u f f i x e s :
-ate *(facilitate);* **-er** *(glimmer);* **-en** *(shorten);* **-fy/-ify** *(terrify, speechify, solidify);* **-ise/-ize** *(equalise);* **-ish** *(establish).*

A d v e r b - f o r m i n g s u f f i x e s : - **ly** *(coldly);* - **ward/-wards** *(upward, northwards);* **-wise** *(likewise).*

If we change our approach and become interested in the lexico-grammatical meaning the suffixes serve to signalise, we obtain within each part of speech more detailed lexico-grammatical classes or subclasses.

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[1] It should be noted that diachronic approach would view the problem of morphological analysis differently, for example, in the word *complete* they would look for the traces of the Latin *complet-us.*

[2] Between forms the sign / denotes allomorphs. See § 5.7.

Taking up nouns we can subdivide them into proper and common nouns. Among common nouns we shall distinguish personal names, names of other animate beings, collective nouns, falling into several minor groups, material nouns, abstract nouns and names of things.

Abstract nouns are signalled by the following suffixes: **-age, -ance/ -ence, -ancy/-ency, -dom, -hood, -ing, -ion/-tion/-ation, -ism, -ment, -ness, -ship, -th, -ty.**[1]

Personal nouns that are emotionally neutral occur with the following suffixes: **-an** *{grammarian), -ant/-ent (servant, student),* **-arian** *(vegetarian),* **-ee** *(examinee),* **-er** *(porter),* **-ician** *(musician),* **-ist** *(linguist),* **-ite** *(sybarite),* **-or** *(inspector),* and a few others.

Feminine suffixes may be classed as a subgroup of personal noun suffixes. These are few and not frequent: **-ess** *(actress),* **-ine** *(heroine),* **-rix** *(testatrix),* **-ette** *(cosmonette).*

The above classification should be accepted with caution. It is true that in a polysemantic word at least one of the variants will show the class meaning signalled by the affix. There may be other variants, however, whose different meaning will be signalled by a difference in distribution, and these will belong to some other lexico-grammatical class. Cf. *settlement, translation* denoting a process and its result, or *beauty* which, when denoting qualities that give pleasure to the eye or to the mind, is an abstract noun, but occurs also as a personal noun denoting a beautiful woman. The word *witness* is more often used in its several personal meanings than (in accordance with its suffix) as an abstract noun meaning 'evidence' or 'testimony'. The coincidence of two classes in the semantic structure of some words may be almost regular. Collectivity, for instance, may be signalled by such suffixes as **-dom, -ery-, -hood, -ship. It** must be borne in mind, however, that words with these suffixes are polysemantic and show a regular correlation of the abstract noun denoting state and a collective noun denoting a group of persons of whom this state is characteristic, cf. *knighthood.*

Alongside with adding some lexico-grammatical meaning to the stem, certain suffixes charge it with emotional force. They may be derogatory: **-ard** *(drunkard),* **-ling** *(underling);* **-ster** *(gangster),* **-ton** *(simpleton),* These seem to be more numerous in English than the suffixes of endearment.

Emotionally coloured d i m i n u t i v e suffixes rendering also endearment differ from the derogatory suffixes in that they are used to name not only persons but things as well. This point may be illustrated by the suffix **-y/-ie/-ey** *(auntie, cabbie (cabman), daddy),* but also: *hanky (handkerchief), nightie (night-gown).* Other suffixes that express smallness are **-kin/-kins** (mannikin); **-let** *(booklet);* **-ock** *(hillock);* **-ette** *(kitchenette).*

The c o n n o t a t i o n (see p. 47ff) of some diminutive suffixes is not one of endearment but of some outlandish elegance and novelty, particularly in the case of the borrowed suffix **-ette** *(kitchenette, launderette, lecturette, maisonette,* etc.).

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[1] See examples on p. 96. 7

Derivational morphemes affixed before the stem are called p r e - f i x e s . Prefixes modify the lexical meaning of the stem, but in so doing they seldom affect its basic lexico-grammatical component. Therefore both the simple word and its prefixed derivative mostly belong to the same part of speech. The prefix *mis-,* for instance, when added to verbs, conveys the meaning 'wrongly', 'badly', 'unfavourably'; it does not suggest any other part of speech but the verb. Compare the following oppositions: *behave : : misbehave, calculate : : miscalculate, inform : : misinform, lead : : mislead, pronounce* : : *mispronounce.* The above oppositions are strictly p r o p o r - t i o n a l semantically, i.e. the same relationship between elements holds throughout the series. There may be other cases where the semantic rela- tionship is slightly different but the general lexico-grammatical meaning remains, c f . *giving : : misgiving* 'foreboding' or 'suspicion'; *take : : mis- take* and *trust* : : *mistrust.*

The semantic effect of a prefix may be termed adverbial because it modifies the idea suggested by the stem for manner, time, place, degree and so on. A few examples will prove the point. It has been already shown that the prefix *mis-* is equivalent to the adverbs *wrongly* and *badly,* therefore by expressing evaluation it modifies the corresponding verbs for manner.[1] The prefixes *pre-* and *post-* refer to time and order, e. g. *historic :: pre-historic, pay :: prepay, view :: preview.* The last word means 'to view a film or a play before it is submitted to the general public'. Compare also: *graduate :: postgraduate* (about the course of study carried on after graduation), *Im- pressionism :: Post-impressionism.* The latter is so called because it came after Impressionism as a reaction against it. The prefixes *in-, a-, ab-, super-, sub-, trans-* modify the stem for place, e. g. *income, abduct* 'to carry away', *subway, transatlantic.* Several prefixes serve to modify the meaning of the stem for degree and size. The examples are *out-, over- and under-.* The pre- fix *out-* has already been described (see p. 95). Compare also the modifica- tion for degree in such verbs as *overfeed* and *undernourish, subordinate.*

The group of negative prefixes is so numerous that some scholars even find it convenient to classify prefixes into negative and non-negative ones. The negative ones are: *de-, dis-, in-/im-/il-/ir-, non-, un-.* Part of this group has been also more accurately classified as prefixes giving negative, reverse or opposite meaning.[2]

The prefix *de-* occurs in many neologisms, such as *decentralise, decon- taminate* 'remove contamination from the area or the clothes', *denazify,* etc.

The general idea of negation is expressed by *dis-;* it may mean 'not', and be simply negative or 'the reverse of, 'asunder', 'away', 'apart' and then it is called reversative. Cf. *agree : : disagree* 'not to agree' *appear : : disappear* (disappear is the reverse of appear), *appoint : : dis-. appoint* 'to undo the appointment and thus frustrate the expectation', *disgorge* 'eject as from the throat', *dishouse* 'throw out, evict'. /n-/

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[1] R. Quirk rails it a pejorative prefix. (See: *Quirk R. et al.* A Grammar of Contem- porary English. P. 384.)

[2] See: *Vesnik D. and Khidekel S.* Exercises in Modern English Word-building. M., 1964.

im-/ir-/il have already been discussed, so there is no necessity to dwell upon them. *Non-* is often used in abstract verbal nouns such as *noninterference, nonsense* or *non-resistance,* and participles or former participles like *non-commissioned* (about an officer in the army below the rank of a commissioned officer), *non-combatant* (about any one who is connected with the army but is there for some purpose other than fighting, as, for instance, an army surgeon.)

Non- used to be restricted to simple unemphatic negation. Beginning with the sixties *non-* indicates not so much the opposite of something but rather that something is not real or worthy of the name. E. g. *non-book* — is a book published to be purchased rather than to be read, *non-thing* — something insignificant and meaningless.

The most frequent by far is the prefix *un-;* it should be noted that it may convey two different meanings, namely:

1) Simple negation, when attached to adjective stems or to participles: *happy* : : *unhappy, kind* : : *unkind, even* : : *uneven.* It is immaterial whether the stem is native or borrowed, as the suffix *un-* readily combines with both groups. For instance, *uncommon, unimportant,* etc. are hybrids.

2) The meaning is reversative when *un-* is used with verbal stems. In that case it shows action contrary to that of the simple word: *bind* : : *unbind, do* : : *undo, mask* : : *unmask, pack* : : *unpack.*

A very frequent prefix with a great combining power is *re-* denoting repetition of the action expressed by the stem. It may be prefixed to almost any verb or verbal noun: *rearrange* v, *recast* v 'put into new shape', *reinstate* v 'to place again in a former position', *refitment* n 'repairs and renewal', *remarriage* n, etc. There are, it must be remembered, some constraints. Thus, while *reassembled* or *revisited* are usual, *rereceived* or *reseen* do not occur at all.

The meaning of a prefix is not so completely fused with the meaning of the primary stem as is the case with suffixes, but retains a certain degree of semantic independence.

It will be noted that among the above examples verbs predominate. This is accounted for by the fact that prefixation in English is chiefly characteristic of verbs and words with deverbal stems.

The majority of prefixes affect only the lexical meaning of words but there are three important cases where prefixes serve to form words belonging to different parts of speech as compared with the original word.

These are in the first place the verb-forming prefixes *be-* and *en-,* which combine functional meaning with a certain variety of lexical meanings.[1] *Be-* forms transitive verbs with adjective, verb and noun stems and changes intransitive verbs into transitive ones. Examples are: *belittle* v 'to make little', *benumb* v 'to make numb', *befriend* v 'to treat

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[1] Historically *be-* is a weakened form of the preposition and adverb *by,* the original meaning was 'about'. The prefix *en-/em-,* originally Latin, is the doublet of the prefix *in-/im-;* it penetrated into English through French. Many English words in which this prefix is quite readily distinguished were formed not on English soil but borrowed as derivatives, as was the case with the verb *enlarge<OFr enlargier.*

like a friend', *becloud* v *(bedew* v, *befoam* v) 'to cover with clouds (with dew or with foam)', *bemadam* v 'to call madam', *besiege* v 'to lay siege on'. Sometimes the lexical meanings are very different; compare, for instance, *bejewel* v 'to deck with jewels' and *behead* v which has the meaning of 'to cut the head from'. There are on the whole about six semantic verb-forming varieties and one that makes adjectives from noun stems following the pattern *be-* + **noun stem** + *-ed,* as in *benighted, bespectacled,* etc. The pattern is often connected with a contemptuous emotional colouring.

The prefix *en-/em-* is now used to form verbs from noun stems with the meaning 'put (the object) into, or on, something', as in *embed, engulf, encamp,* and also to form verbs with adjective and noun stems with the meaning 'to bring into such condition or state', as in *enable* v, *enslave* v, *encash* v. Sometimes the prefix *en-/em-* has an intensifying function, cf. *enclasp.*

The prefix *a-* is the characteristic feature of the words belonging to statives: *aboard, afraid, asleep, awake,* etc.
[1] As a prefix forming the words of the category of state a- represents: (1) OE preposition *on,* as *abed, aboard, afoot;* (2) OE preposition *of, from,* as in *anew,* (3) OE prefixes *ge-* and *y-* as in *aware.*

This prefix has several homonymous morphemes which modify only the lexical meaning of the stem, cf. *arise* v, *amoral* a.

The prefixes *pre-, post-, non-, anti-,* and some other Romanic and Greek prefixes very productive in present-day English serve to form adjectives retaining at the same time a very clear-cut lexical meaning, e. g. *antiwar, pre-war, post-war, non-party,* etc.

From the point of view of etymology affixes are subdivided into two main classes: the native affixes and the borrowed affixes. By n a t i v e a f f i x e s we shall mean those that existed in English in the Old English period or were formed from Old English words. The latter category needs some explanation. The changes a morpheme undergoes in the course of language history may be of very different kinds. A bound form, for instance, may be developed from a free one. This is precisely the case with such English suffixes as *-dom*, *-hood, -lock, -ful, -less, -like, -ship,* e. g. ModE *-dom* < OE *dom* 'fate', 'power', cf. ModE *doom.* The suffix *-hood* that we see in *childhood, boyhood* is derived from OE *had* 'state'. The OE *lac* was also a suffix denoting state. The process may be summarised as follows: first *lac* formed the second element of compound words, then it became a suffix and lastly was so fused with the stem as to become a dead suffix in *wedlock.* The nouns *freedom, wisdom,* etc. were originally compound words.

The most important native suffixes are: *-d, -dom, -ed, -en, -fold, -ful, -hood, -ing, -ish, -less, -let, -like, -lock, -ly, -ness, -oc, -red, -ship, -some, -teen, -th, -ward, -wise, -y.*

The suffixes of foreign origin are classified according to their source into Latin *(-able/-ible, -ant/-ent),* French *(-age, -ance/-ence, -ancy/-ency, -ard, -ate, -sy),* Greek *(-ist, -ism, -ite),* etc.

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The term b o r r o w e d a f f i x e s is not very exact as affixes are never borrowed as such, but only as parts of l o a n w o r d s . To enter the morphological system of the English language a borrowed affix has to satisfy certain conditions. The borrowing of the affixes is possible only if the number of words containing this affix is considerable, if its meaning and function are definite and clear enough, and also if its structural pattern corresponds to the structural patterns already existing in the language.

If these conditions are fulfilled, the foreign affix may even become productive and combine with native stems or borrowed stems within the system of English vocabulary like *-able* < Lat *-abilis* in such words as *laughable* or *unforgettable* and *unforgivable.* The English words *balustrade, brigade, cascade* are borrowed from French. On the analogy with these in the English language itself such words as *blockade* are coined.

It should be noted that many of the borrowed affixes are international and occur not only in English but in several other European languages as well.

§ 5.7 ALLOMORPHS

The combining form *allo-* from Greek *allos* 'other' is used in linguistic terminology to denote elements of a group whose members together constitute a structural unit of the language (allophones, allomorphs). Thus, for example, *-ion/-sion/-tion/-ation* in §5.6. are the positional variants of the same suffix. To show this they are here taken together and separated by the sign /. They do not differ in meaning or function but show a slight difference in sound form depending on the final phoneme of the preceding stem. They are considered as variants of one and the same morpheme and called its all o m o r p h s . Descriptive linguistics deals with the regularities in the distributional relations among the features and elements of speech, i.e. their occurrence relatively to each other within utterances. The approach to the problem is consequently based on the principles of distributional analysis.

An a l l o m o r p h is defined as a positional variant of a morpheme occurring in a specific environment and so characterised by complementary distribution. C o m p l e m e n t a r y d i s t r i b u t i o n is said to take place when two linguistic variants cannot appear in the same environment. Thus, stems ending in consonants take as a rule *-ation (liberation);* stems ending in *pt,* however, take *-tion (corruption)* and the final *t* becomes fused with the suffix.

Different morphemes are characterised by c o n t r a s t i v e d i s - t r i b u t i o n , i.e. if they occur in the same environment they signal different meanings. The suffixes *-able* and *-ed,* for instance, are different morphemes, not allomorphs, because adjectives in *-able* mean 'capable of being': *measurable* 'capable of being measured', whereas *-ed* as a suffix of adjectives has a resultant force: *measured* 'marked by due proportion', as *the measured beauty of classical Greek art;* hence also 'rhythmical' and 'regular in movement', as in *the measured form of verse, the measured tread.*

In some cases the difference is not very clear-cut: *-ic* and *-ical,* for example, are two different affixes, the first a simple one, the second a group affix; they are said to be characterised by contrastive distribution. But many adjectives have both the *-ic* and *-ical* form, often without a distinction in meaning. COD points out that the suffix *-ical* shows a vaguer connection with what is indicated by the stem: *a comic paper* but *a comical story.* However, the distinction between them is not very sharp.

Allomorphs will also occur among prefixes. Their form then depends on the initials of the stem with which they will assimilate. A prefix such as *im-* occurs before bilabials *(impossible),* its allomorph *ir-* before *r (irregular),* *il-* before *l (illegal).* It is *in-* before all other consonants and vowels *(indirect, inability).*

Two or more sound forms of a stem existing under conditions of complementary distribution may also be regarded as allomorphs, as, for instance, in *long* a : : *length* n, *excite* v : : *excitation* n.

In American descriptive linguistics allomorphs are treated on a purely semantic basis, so that not only [ɪz] in *dishes,* [z] in *dreams* and [s] in *books,* which are allomorphs in the sense given above, but also formally unrelated [n] in *oxen,* the vowel modification in *tooth : : teeth* and zero suffix in *many sheep,* are considered to be allomorphs of the same morpheme on the strength of the sameness of their grammatical meaning. This surely needs some serious re-thinking, as within that kind of approach morphemes cease to be linguistic units combining the two fundamental aspects of form and meaning and become pure abstractions. The very term m o r - p h e m e (from the Greek *morphē* 'form') turns into a misnomer, because all connection with form is lost.

Allomorphs therefore are as we have shown, phonetically conditioned positional variants of the same derivational or functional morpheme (suffix, root or prefix) identical in meaning and function and differing in sound only insomuch, as their complementary distribution produces various phonetic assimilation effects.

§ 5.8 BOUNDARY CASES BETWEEN DERIVATION, INFLECTION AND COMPOSITION

It will be helpful now to remember what has been said in the first chapter about the vocabulary being a constantly changing adaptive system, the subsets of which have blurred boundaries.

There are cases, indeed, where it is very difficult to draw a hard and fast line between roots and affixes on the one hand, and derivational affixes and inflectional formatives on the other. The distinction between these has caused much discussion and is no easy matter altogether.

There are a few roots in English which have developed great combining ability in the position of the second element of a word and a very general meaning similar to that of an affix. These are semi-affixes treated at length in Chapter 6.[1] They receive this name because semantically, functionally, structurally and statistically they behave more like affixes than like roots. Their meaning is as general. They determine the lexico-grammatical class the word belongs to. Cf. *sailor : : seaman,* where *-or* is a suffix, and functionally similar, *-man* is a semi-affix.

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[1] On the subject of semi-affixes see p.p. 116-118. 102

Another specific group is formed by the adverb-forming suffix *-ly,* following adjective stems, and the noun-forming suffixes *-ing, -ness, -er,* and by *-ed* added to a combination of two stems: *faint-hearted, long-legged.* By their almost unlimited combining possibilities (high valency) and the almost complete fusion of lexical and lexico-grammatical meaning they resemble inflectional formatives. The derivation with these suffixes is so regular and the meaning and function of the derivatives so obvious that such derivatives are very often considered not worth an entry in the dictionary and therefore omitted as self-evident. Almost every adjective stem can produce an adverb with the help of *-ly,* and an abstract noun by taking up the suffix *-ness.* Every verbal stem can produce the name of the doer by adding *-er,* and the name of the process or its result by adding *-ing.* A suffix approaching those in productivity is *-ish* denoting a moderate degree of the quality named in the stem. Therefore these words are explained in dictionaries by referring the reader to the underlying stem. For example, in "The Concise Oxford Dictionary" we read: "*womanliness* — the quality of being womanly; *womanised* a or past participle in senses of the verb; *womanishly* — in a womanish manner; *womanishness* — the quality or state of being womanish".

These affixes are remarkable for their high valency also in the formation of compound derivatives corresponding to free phrases. Examples are: *every day* : : *everydayness.*

Other borderline cases also present considerable difficulties for classification. It is indeed not easy to draw the line between derivatives and compound words or between derivatives and root words. Such morphemes expressing relationships in space and time as *after-, in-,[1] off-, on-, out-, over-, under-, with-* and the like which may occur as free forms have a combining power at least equal and sometimes even superior to that of the affixes. Their function and meaning as well as their position are exactly similar to those characteristic of prefixes. They modify the respective stems for time, place or manner exactly as prefixes do. They also are similar to prefixes in their statistical properties of frequency. And yet prefixes are bound forms by definition, whereas these forms are free. This accounts for the different treatment they receive in different dictionaries. Thus, Chambers's Dictionary considers *aftergrowth* a derivation with the prefix *after-,* while similar formations like *afternoon, afterglow* or *afterthought* are classified as compound nouns. Webster's Dictionary does not consider *after-* as a prefix at all. COD alongside with the preposition and the adverb *on* gives a prefix *on-* with the examples: *oncoming, onflow, onlooker,* whereas in Chambers's Dictionary *oncome* is treated as a compound.

The other difficulty concerns borrowed morphemes that were never active as prefixes in English but are recognised as such on the analogy with other words also borrowed from the same source. A strong protest against this interpretation was expressed by N.N.Amosova. In her

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[1] Not to be mixed with the bound form *in-/im-/il-/ir-* expressing negation.

opinion there is a very considerable confusion in English linguistic literature concerning the problem of the part played by foreign affixes in English word-building. This author lays particular stress on the distinction between morphemes that can be separated from the rest of the stem and those that cannot. Among the latter she mentions the following prefixes listed by H. Sweet: *amphi-, ana-, apo-, cata-, exo-, en-, hypo-, meta-, sina-* (Greek) and *ab-, ad-, amb-* (Latin). The list is rather a mixed one. Thus, *amphi-* is even productive in terminology and is with good reason considered by dictionaries a combining form. *Ana-* in such words as *anachronism, anagram, anaphora* is easily distinguished, because the words readily lend themselves for analysis into immediate constituents. The prefix *ad-* derived from Latin differs very much from these two, being in fact quite a cluster of allomorphs assimilated with the first sound of the stem: *ad-/ac-/af-/ag-/al-/ap-/as-/at-/*. E. g. *adapt, accumulation, affirm, aggravation,* etc.

On the synchronic level this differentiation suggested by N.N. Amosova is irrelevant and the principle of analysis into immediate constituents depends only on the existence of other similar cases as it was shown in § 5.3 for the suffixes.

§ 5.9 COMBINING FORMS

It has already been mentioned in the beginning of this chapter that there exist linguistic forms which in modern languages are used as bound forms although in Greek and Latin from which they are borrowed they functioned as independent words.

The question at once arises whether being bound forms, they should be treated like affixes and be referred to the set of derivatives, or whether they are nearer to the elements of compounds, because in languages from which they come they had the status of words. In fact we have a fuzzy set whose elements overlap with the set of affixes on the one hand and with that of words on the other. Different lexicographers have treated them differently but now it is almost universally recognised that they constitute a specific type of linguistic units.

Combining forms are particularly frequent in the specialised vocabularies of arts and sciences. They have long become familiar in the international scientific terminology. Many of them attain widespread currency in everyday language.

To illustrate the basic meaning and productivity of these forms we give below a short list of Greek words most frequently used in producing combining forms together with words containing them.

Astron 'star' — *astronomy, autos* 'self' — *automatic; bios* 'life' — *biology, electron* 'amber' — *electronics;*[1] *ge* 'earth' — *geology, graph-ein* 'to write' — *typography, hydor* 'water' —*hydroelectric; logos* 'speech' — *physiology, oikos* 'house', 'habitat' — 1) *economics,* 2) *ecological system',* *philein* 'love' —*philology, phone* 'sound', 'voice' — *telephone;*

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[1] Electricity was first observed in amber. 104

photos 'light' — *photograph; skopein* 'to view' — *microscope; tēle* 'far' — *telescope.*

It is obvious from the above list that combining forms mostly occur together with other combining forms and not with native roots. Lexicological analysis meets with difficulties here if we try to separate diachronic and synchronic approach and distinguish between the words that came into English as borrowings and those coined on this model on the English soil. From the synchronic point of view, which coincides with that of an educated English speaking person, it is immaterial whether the morphological motivation one recognises in the word *autopilot* originated in modern times or is due to its remote ancestry in Latin and Greek. One possible criterion is that the word in question could not have existed in Greek or Latin for the simple reason that the thing it names was invented, discovered or developed only much later.

Almost all of the above examples are international words, each entering a considerable word-family. A few of these word-families we shall now describe though briefly, in order to give an idea of the rich possibilities this source of word-building provides.

Auto- comes from the Greek word *autos* 'self' and like *bio-, eco-, hydro-* and many others is mostly used initially. One of the first English words containing this element was *automaton* borrowed from late Latin in the 16th century. OED dates the corresponding adjective *automatic* as appearing in 1586.

The word *autograph* belonging to this word-family is a good example of how combining forms originate. It was borrowed from French in the 17th century. Its etymology is: Fr *autograph<late* Latin *autographum <*Gr *autographos* 'that which is written in one's own handwriting'. Hence in the 19th century the verb — 'to write with one's own hand', 'to give an autograph'. Thus the word *autograph* provides one of the patterns so well established in English that they are freely segmented providing material for new combinations.

In English as well as in Russian and other languages word coining with the form *auto-* is especially intense in the 19th century and goes on in the 20th. Cf. *autobiography, autodiagnosis, autonomy, autogenic (training).*

There are also many technical terms beginning with *auto-* and denoting devices, machines and systems, the chief basis of nomination being 'self-acting', 'automatic'. E. g. *autopilot, autoloader, auto-starter* or *autochanger* 'apparatus on a record-player for changing the records'.

The word *automobile* was coined not in the English but in the French language and borrowed from French. The word itself is more often used in America, in Britain they prefer its synonym *motor-car* or simply *car,* it proved productive in giving a new homonym — a free-standing word *auto,* a clipping of the word *automobile.* This in its turn produces such compounds as: *autobus, autocross* 'an automobile competition', *auto-drome.* It is thus possible for a combining form to be homonymous to words. One might also consider such pairs as *auto-* and *auto* or *-graph* and *graph* as doublets (see § 13.3) because of their common origin.

The Greek word *bios* 'life', long known to us in the internationalism *bi-ography,* helps to name many branches of learning dealing with living organisms: *bio-astronautics, biochemistry, bio-ecology, biology, bionics, bio-physics.* Of these *bio-astronautics, bio-ecology* and *bionics* are the newest, and therefore need explanation. *Bio-astronautics* (note also the combining forms *astro-* and *-naut-)* is the study of man's physical capabilities and needs, and the means of meeting those in outer space. *Bio-ecology* is also an interesting example because the third combining form is so often used in naming branches of study. Cf. *geology, lexicology, philology, phonology.* The form *eco-* is also very interesting. This is again a case of doublets. One of these is found in *economics, economist, economise,* etc. The other, connoting environment, receives now the meaning of 'dealing with ecology'. The general concern over the growing pollution of the environment gave rise to many new words with this element: *eco-climate, eco-activist, eco-type, eco-catastrophe, eco-development* 'development which balances economic and ecological factors'. Bionics is a new science, its name is formed by *bio-+-onics.* Now *-onics* is not a combining form properly speaking but what the Barnhart Dictionary of New English calls a b s t r a c t e d   f o r m which is defined as the use of a part of the word in what seems to be the meaning it contributes. The term here is well motivated, because bionics is the study of how man and other living beings perform certain tasks and solve certain problems, and the application of the findings to the design of computers and other electronic equipment.

The combining form *geo-* not only produced many scientific terms in the 19th century but had been productive much earlier: *geodesy* and *geography* come down from the 16th century, *geometry* was known in the 14th century and *geology* in the 18th.

In describing words containing the forms *auto-, bio-,* and *geo-* we have already come across the form *graph* meaning 'something written'. One can also quote some other familiar examples: *hydrography, phonograph, photograph, telegraph.*

Words beginning with *hydro-* are also quite familiar to everybody: *hydrodynamic, hydroelectric, hydromechanic, hydroponic, hydrotherapeutic.*

§ 5.10 HYBRIDS

Words that are made up of elements derived from two or more different languages are called h y b r i d s . English contains thousands of hybrid words, the vast majority of which show various combinations of morphemes coming from Latin, French and Greek and those of native origin.

Thus, *readable* has an English root and a suffix that is derived from the Latin *-abilis* and borrowed through French. Moreover, it is not an isolated case, but rather an established pattern that could be represented as **English stem**+*-able.* Cf. *answerable, eatable, likable, usable.* Its variant with the native negative prefix *un-* is also worthy of note: *un-+***English** stem+*-able.* The examples for this are: *unanswerable, unbearable, unforeseeable, un-sayable, unbelievable.* An even more

frequent pattern is *un-*+**Romanic stem + -*able,*** which is also a hybrid: *un-allowable, uncontrollable, unmoveable, unquestionable, unreasonable* and many others. A curious example is the word *unmistakable,* the ultimate constituents of which are*: un-*(Engl)+*mis-*(Engl)+*-tak-*(Scand) +*-able (Fr).* The very high valency of the suffix *-able* [əbl] seems to be accounted for by the presence of the homographic adjective *able* [eibl] with the same meaning.

The suffix of personal nouns *-ist* derived from the Greek agent suffix *-istes* forms part of many hybrids. Sometimes (like in *artist, dentist)* it was borrowed as a hybrid already (Fr *dentiste<Lat dens, dentis* 'a tooth' + *-ist).* In other cases the mixing process took place on English soil, as in *fatalist* (from Lat *fatalis)* or *violinist* (from It *violino,* diminutive of *viola),* or *tobacconist* 'dealer in tobacco' (an irregular formation from Sp *tabaco).*

When a borrowed word becomes firmly established in English this creates the possibility of using it as a stem combined with a native affix. The phenomenon may be illustrated by the following series of adjectives with the native suffix *-less: blameless, cheerless, colourless, countless, doubtless, faceless, joyless, noiseless, pitiless, senseless.* These are built on the pattern that had been established in the English language and even in Old English long before the corresponding French loans were taken up. Prof. B.A. Ilyish mentions the following adjectives formed from noun and verbal stems: *slæpleas* 'sleepless'; *zeliefleas* 'unbelieving'; *arleas* 'dishonest'; *recceleas* 'reckless'. It goes without saying that there are many adjectives in which *-less* is combined with native stems: *endless, harmless, hopeless, speechless, thankless.*

The same phenomenon occurs in prefixation and inflection. The noun *bicycle* has a Latin prefix *(bi-),* a Greek root *(cycle<kyklos* 'a wheel'), and it takes an English inflection in the plural: *bicycles.* There are also many hybrid compounds, such as *blackguard* (Engl+Fr) or *schoolboy* (Gr+Engl); cf. *aircraft* in which the first element came into English through Latin and French about 1600 but is ultimately derived from the Greek word *aēr,* whereas the second element is Common Germanic.

Observation of the English vocabulary, which is probably richer in hybrids than that of any other European language, shows a great variety of patterns. In some cases it is the borrowed affixes that are used with native stems, or vice versa. A word can simultaneously contain borrowed and native affixes.

Chapter 6
COMPOUND WORDS

§ 6.1 DEFINITIONS AND INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Compound words are words consisting of at least two stems which occur in the language as free forms. In a compound word the immediate constituents obtain integrity and structural cohesion that make them function in a sentence as a separate lexical unit. E. g.: *I'd rather read a time-table than nothing at all.*

The structural cohesion of a compound may depend upon unity of stress, solid or hyphenated spelling, semantic unity, unity of morphological and syntactic functioning, or, more often, upon the combined effect of several of these or similar phonetic, graphic, semantic, morphological or syntactic factors.

The integrity of a compound is manifest in its indivisibility, i.e. the impossibility of inserting another word or word-group between its elements. If, for example, speaking about a *sunbeam,* we can insert some other word between the article and the noun, e. g. *a bright sunbeam, a bright and unexpected sunbeam,* because the article a is a separate word, no such insertion is possible between the stems *sun* and *beam,* for they are not words but morphemes here. (See p. 28.)

In describing the structure of a compound one should examine three types of relations, namely the relations of the members to each other, the relation of the whole to its members, and correlation with equivalent free phrases.

Some compounds are made up of a determining and a determined part, which may be called the d e t e r m i n a n t and the d e t e r m i - n a t u m .[1] The second stem, in our case *beam,* is the basic part, the determinatum. The determinant *sun* serves to differentiate it from other beams. The determinatum is the grammatically most important part which undergoes inflection, cf. *sunbeams, brothers-in-law, passers-by.*

There are non-idiomatic compounds with a perfectly clear motivation. Here the meanings of the constituents add up in creating the meaning of the whole and name the referent either directly or figuratively.

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[1] For a more complete treatment see: *Marchand H.* The Categories and Types of Present-day English Word-formation. Wiesbaden, 1960. P. 11. Useful 'material on English compounds and their correlation with free phrases will be found in: *Vesnik D.* and *Khidekel S.* Exercises in Modern English Word-building, p.p. 95-100, 119, 120. Exhaustive tables are presented in: *Quirk R. et al.* A Grammar of Contemporary English, p.p. 1021-1030.

Thus, when the combination *seaman* was first used it was not difficult to understand that it meant 'a man professionally connected with the sea'. The word differentiated in this way a sailor from the rest of mankind. When aviation came into being the same formula with the same kind of motivation was used to coin the compound *airman,* and also *aircraft* and *airship* to name the machines designed for air-travel, differentiating them from sea-going craft. *Spaceman, spacecraft* and *spaceship,* built on the model of *airman, aircraft* and *airship,* are readily understood even when heard for the first time. The semantic unity of the compounds *seaman, airman, spaceman, aircraft, spacecraft, airship* and *spaceship* is based on the fact that as the conquest of the sea, air and outer space advanced, new notions were created, notions possessing enough relevant distinctive features to ensure their separate existence. The logical integrity of the new combinations is supported by solid spelling and by the unity of stress. When the meaning is not only related to the meaning of the parts but can be inferred from it, the compound is said to be t r a n s p a r e n t or n o n - i d i o m a t i c . The non-idiomatic compounds can be easily transformed into free phrases: *air mail* → '*mail* conveyed by air', *night flight* > 'flying at night'. Such compounds are like regularly derived words in that their meaning is readily understood, and so they need not be listed in dictionaries.

On the other hand, a compound may be very different in meaning from the corresponding free phrase. These compounds are called i d i o - m a t i c . Thus, a blackboard is very different from a black board. Its essential feature is being a teaching aid: not every board of a black colour is a blackboard. A blackboard may be not a board at all but a piece of linoleum or some other suitable material. Its colour is not necessarily black: it may be brown or something else. Thus, *blackboard* ↔ 'a b o a r d   w h i c h   i s   b l a c k '.

G. Leech calls this not idiomatic but petrified meaning; the expression in his opinion is suggestive of solidifying and shrinking of the denotation, i.e. of the word becoming more restricted in sense. His examples are: *a trouser-suit* which is not just a 'suit with trousers' but 'suit with trousers for women'. He also compared *wheel-chair* and *push-chair,* i.e. 'chair which has wheels' and 'chair which one pushes'. They look interchangeable since all push-chairs have wheels and almost all wheelchairs are pushed, and yet wheel chairs are for invalids and push-chairs — for infants.[1]

A compound may lose its motivation and become idiomatic because one of its elements is at present not used in the language in the same meaning. The word *blackmail* has nothing to do with *mail* 'post'. Its second element, now obsolete except in Scottish, was used in the 16th century meaning 'payment' or 'tax'. Blackmail was the payment exacted by freebooting chiefs in return for immunity from plunder. This motivation is now forgotten and the compound is idiomatic. We shall call idiomatic such compounds the meaning of which is not a simple sum of the meanings of the determinant and determinatum.

See: *Leech, Geoffrey.* Semantics. Penguin books, 1974, p.p. 226-228.

The analysis of semantic relationships existing between the constituents of a compound present many difficulties. Some authors have attempted a purely logical interpretation. They distinguish copulative, existential, spatial and some other types of connection. Others, like H. Marchand,[1] think that the most important factor is that the under lying concept may be grammatical. He illustrates the verb/object relation by such compounds as *skyscraper* or *housekeeping* and subject/verb relation in *rattlesnake* and *crybaby*. The first element in *well-being* or *shortcoming* is equivalent to the predicate complement.

N.G. Guterman pointed out that syntactic ties are ties between words, whereas in dealing with a compound one studies relations within a word, the relations between its constituents, the morphemes. In the compound *spacecraft space* is not attribute, it is the determinant restricting the meaning of the determinatum by expressing the purpose for which *craft* is designed or the medium in which it will travel.

Phrases correlated with compounds by means of transformational analysis may show objective, subject/predicative, attributive and adverbial relations. E. g. *house-keeping : : to keep house, well-being : : to be well.* In the majority of cases compounds manifest some restrictive relationship between the constituents; the types of restrictions show great variety.

Some examples of determinative compound nouns with restrictive qualitative relations are given below. The list is not meant to be exhaustive and serves only to illustrate the manifold possibilities.

Purpose or functional relations underlie such compounds as *bathrobe, raincoat, classroom, notice-board, suitcase, identity-card, textbook.* Different place or local relations are expressed in *dockland, garden-party, sea-front.* Comparison is the basis of *blockhead, butter-fingers, floodlight, goldfish.* The material or elements the thing is made of is pointed out in *silverware, tin-hat, waxwork, clay-pipe, gold-foil.* Temporal relations underlie such compounds as *night-club, night-duty, summer-house, day-train, season-ticket.* Sex-denoting compounds are rather numerous: *she-dog, he-goat, jack-ass, Jenny-ass, tom-cat, pea-hen.* When characterising some process, the first element will point out the agent *(cock-crowing),* the instrument *(pin-prick),* etc.

Many compounds defy this kind of analysis or may be explained in different ways: thus *spacecraft* may be analysed as 'a craft travelling in space' (local) or 'a craft designed for travelling in space' (purpose). There are also some tautological compounds such as *pathway, roadway* and the French translation loan *courtyard.* They are especially numerous in uneducated speech which is generally given to producing redundant forms: *tumbler-glass, trout-fish, engineerman.*

Often different relations are expressed by the same determinant: *ear-ache* (local) 'an ache in the ear', *earmark* (comparison) 'a mark like an ear', *ear-lobe* (part) 'a lobe of the ear', *eardrop* (purpose) 'a drop for the ear', *ear-ring* (local or purpose). Compare also: *lip-reading* (instrumental

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[1] *Marchand H.* The Categories and Types .... P. 30. See also: *Potter S.* Modern Linguistics. P. 91.

relations) 'interpretation of the motion of the lips'; *lip-service* (comparison) 'superficial service from the lips only'; *lipstick* (purpose) 'a stick of cosmetics for rouging lips'.

In the beginning of the present chapter it has been mentioned that in describing the structure of a compound one has to examine three types of relations. We have discussed the relations of the elements to each other, and the relations of the whole compound to its members. The third approach is comparing compounds with phrases containing the same morphemes, e.g. *an ashtray* → 'a tray for ashes'.

The corresponding structural correlations take the following form:

ashtray __ hairbrush __ paperknife a tray for ashes a brush for hair a knife for paper

Such correlations are very helpful in showing similarity and difference of meaning in morphologically similar pairs. Consider, for example, the following:

bookselling _ bookbinding bookmaking sell books bind books make books

A bookmaker is not one who makes books but a person who makes a living by taking bets on horse-races. The method may be used to distinguish unmotivated compounds.

Compounds that conform to grammatical patterns current in present-day English are termed s y n t a c t i c   c o m p o u n d s , e. g. *seashore.* If they fail to do so, they may be called a s y n t a c t i c , e. g. *baby-sitting.*

In the first type the functional meaning and distribution coincide with those of the elements of a free phrase, no matter how different their lexical meaning may be. This may be shown by substituting a corresponding compound for a free phrase.

Compare: *A slow coach moves slowly. A slow-coach moves slowly.*

Though different in meaning, both sentences are grammatically correct.

In these compounds the two constituent elements are clearly the determinant and the determinatum. Such compounds receive the name of e n - d o c e n t r i c   compounds.

There are, however, other compounds where the determinatum is not expressed but implied. *A killjoy* 'a person who throws gloom over social enjoyment' is neither 'joy' nor 'kill' and the case is different from the *slow-coach* above, as in the corresponding free phrase 'kill' is a verb in the Imperative Mood and 'joy' is a noun on which the action of this verb is directed. A phrase of this type cannot be used predicatively, whereas the predicative function is typical of the compound *killjoy.* The essential part of the determinatum is obviously missing, it is implied and understood but not formally expressed. H. Marchand considers these words as having a zero determinatum stem and calls such compounds e x o c e n t r i c , e. g. *cut-throat, dare-devil, scarecrow* because their determinatum lies outside as opposed to the endocentric: *sun-beam, blackboard, slow-coach, wall-flower.*

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The absence of formal determinatum results in the tendency to append the inflectional ending to the element that happens to be final. Thus, *brothers-in-law,* but *in-laws*. E. g.: *Laws banning unofficial strikes, go-slows* and *slow-downs* ("Morning Star").

§ 6.2.1 THE CRITERIA OF COMPOUNDS

As English compounds consist of free forms, it is difficult to distinguish them from phrases. The combination *top dog* 'a person occupying foremost place', for instance, though formally broken up, is neither more nor less analysable semantically than the combination *underdog* 'a person who has the worst of an encounter', and yet we count the first *(top dog)* as a phrase and the second *(underdog)* as a word. How far is this justified? In reality the problem is even more complex than this isolated example suggests. Separating compounds from phrases and also from derivatives is no easy task, and scholars are not agreed upon the question of relevant criteria. The following is a brief review of various solutions and various combinations of criteria that have been offered.

The problem is naturally reducible to the problem of defining word boundaries in the language. It seems appropriate to quote E. Nida who writes that "the criteria for determining the word-units in a language are of three types: (1) phonological, (2) morphological, (3) syntactic. No one type of criteria is normally sufficient for establishing the word-unit. Rather the combination of two or three types is essential."[1]

E. Nida does not mention the graphic criterion of solid or hyphenated spelling. This underestimation of written language seems to be a mistake. For the present-day literary language, the written form is as important as the oral. If we accept the definition of a written word as the part of the text from blank to blank, we shall have to accept the graphic criterion as a logical consequence. It may be argued, however, that there is no consistency in English spelling in this respect. With different dictionaries and different authors and sometimes even with the same author the spelling varies, so that the same unit may exist in a solid spelling: *headmaster, loudspeaker,* with a hyphen: *head-master, loud-speaker* and with a break between the components: *head master, loud speaker.* Compare also: *airline, air-line, air line', matchbox, matchbox, match box', break-up, breakup.* Moreover, compounds that appear to be constructed on the same pattern and have similar semantic relations between the constituents may be spelt differently: *textbook, phrasebook* and *reference book.* Yet if we take into consideration the comparative frequency of solid or hyphenated spelling of the combinations in question, the criterion is fairly reliable. These three types of spelling need not indicate different degrees of semantic fusion. Sometimes hyphenation may serve aesthetic purposes, helping to avoid words that will look too long, or purposes of convenience, making syntactic components clearer to the eye: *peace-loving nations, old-fashioned ideas.*

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[1] *Nida E.* Morphology. P. 147; *Quirk R. et al.* A Grammar of Contemporary English. P. 1019.

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This lack of uniformity in spelling is the chief reason why many authors consider this criterion insufficient. Some combine it with the phonic criterion of stress. There is a marked tendency in English to give compounds a heavy stress on the first element. Many scholars consider this unity of stress to be of primary importance. Thus L. Bloomfield writes: "Wherever we hear lesser or least stress upon a word which would always show a high stress in a phrase, we describe it as a compound member: *ice-cream* ['ajs-krijm] is a compound but *ice cream* ['ajs'krijm] is a phrase, although there is no denotative difference in meaning."[1]

It is true that all compound nouns, with very few exceptions, are stressed on this pattern. Cf. *'blackboard : : 'blackboard', 'blackbird : : 'black'bird; 'bluebottle : : 'blue'bottle.* In all these cases the determinant has a heavy stress, the determinatum has the middle stress. The only exception as far as compound nouns are concerned is found in nouns whose first elements are *all-* and *self-,* e. g. *'All-'Fools-Day, 'self-con'trol.* These show double even stress.

The rule does not hold with adjectives. Compound adjectives are double stressed like *'gray-'green, 'easy-'going, 'new-'born.* Only compound adjectives expressing emphatic comparison are heavily stressed on the first element: *'snow-white, 'dog-cheap.*

Moreover, stress can be of no help in solving this problem because word-stress may depend upon phrasal stress or upon the syntactic function of the compound. Thus, *light-headed* and similar adjectives have a single stress when used attributively, in other cases the stress is even. Very often the stress is structurally determined by opposition to other combinations with an identical second element, e. g. *'dining table : : 'writing table.* The forestress here is due to an implicit contrast that aims at distinguishing the given combination from all the other similar cases in the same series, as in *'passenger train, ' freight train, ex'press train.* Notwithstanding the unity stress, these are not words but phrases.

Besides, the stress may be phonological and help to differentiate the meaning of compounds:

'overwork 'extra work'
'over'work 'hard work injuring one's health'
'bookcase 'a piece of furniture with shelves for books'
'book'case 'a paper cover for books'
'man'kind 'the human race'
'mankind 'men' (contrasted with women)
'toy͵factory 'factory that produces toys'
'toy'factory 'factory that is a toy'.

It thus follows that phonological criterion holds for certain types of words only.[2]

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[1] *Bloomfield L.* Language. P. 228. Transcription is given] as L. Bloomfield has it.

[2] For details see: *Quirk R. et al.* A Grammar of Contemporary English. Appendix 2, p.p. 1039-1042.

H. Paul, O. Jespersen, E. Kruisinga[1] and many others, each in his own way, advocate the semantic criterion, and define a c o m p o u n d as a combination forming a unit expressing a single idea which is not identical in meaning to the sum of the meanings of its components in a free phrase. From this point of view *dirty work* with the figurative meaning 'dishonorable proceedings' is a compound, while *clean work* or *dry work* are phrases. Cf. *fusspot, slow-coach.* The insufficiency of this criterion will be readily understood if one realises how difficult it is to decide whether the combination in question expresses a single integrated idea. Besides, between a clearly motivated compound and an idiomatic one there are a great number of intermediate cases. Finally, what is, perhaps, more important than all the rest, as the semantic features and properties of set expressions are similar to those of idiomatic compounds, we shall be forced to include all idiomatic phrases into the class of compounds. Idiomatic phrases are also susceptible to what H. Paul calls isolation, since the meaning of an idiomatic phrase cannot be inferred from the meaning of components. For instance, one must be specially explained the meaning of the expressions *(to rain) cats and dogs, to pay through the nose,* etc. It cannot be inferred from the meaning of the elements.

As to morphological criteria of compounds, they are manifold. Prof. A. I. Smirnitsky introduced the criterion of formal i n t e g r i t y .[2] He compares the compound *shipwreck* and the phrase *(the) wreck of (a) ship* comprising the same morphemes, and points out that although they do not differ either in meaning or reference, they stand in very different relation to the grammatical system of the language. It follows from his example that a word is characterised by structural integrity non-existent in a phrase. Unfortunately, however, in the English language the number of cases when this criterion is relevant is limited due to the scarcity of morphological means.

"A Grammar of Contemporary English" lists a considerable number of patterns in which plural number present in the correlated phrase is neutralised in a compound. *Taxpayer* is one who pays taxes, *cigar smoker* is one who smokes cigars, *window-cleaner* is one who cleans windows, *lip-read* is to read the lips. The plural of *still-life* (a term of painting) is *still-lifes* and not *still lives.* But such examples are few. It cannot be overemphasised that giving a mere description of some lexicological phenomenon is not enough; one must state the position of the linguistic form discussed in the system of the language, i.e. the relative importance of the type. Therefore the criterion of structural integrity is also insufficient.

The same is true as regards connective elements which ensure the integrity. The presence of such an element leaves no doubt that the combination

[1] *Paul H.* Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte. 3 Aufl., Halle, 1898. S. 302; *Kruisinga E.* A Handbook of Present-Day English. Gröningen, 1932. Pt. II. P. 72; *Jespersen O.* A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles. London, 1946. Pt. VI. P. 137.

[2] See: *Смирницкий А.И.* Лексикология английского языка. М., 1956. С. 33.

is a compound but the number of compounds containing connective elements is relatively insignificant. These elements are few even in languages morphologically richer than English. In our case they are *-s- (craftsman), -o- (Anglo-Saxon), -i- (handiwork.)*

Diachronically speaking, the type *craftsman* is due either to the old Genitive *(guardsman, kinsman, kinswoman, sportsman, statesman, tradesman, tradeswoman, tradesfolk, tradespeople)* or to the plural form.

The Genitive group is kept intact in the name of the butterfly *death's head* and also in some metaphorical plant names: *lion's snout, bear's ear, heart's ease,* etc.

The plural form as the origin of the connective *-s-* is rarer: *beeswax, woodsman, salesman, saleswoman.* This type should be distinguished from *clothes-basket, goods-train* or *savings-bank,* where the singular form of the word does not occur in the same meaning.

It has already been pointed out that the additive (copulative) compounds of the type *Anglo-Saxon* are rare, except in special political or technical literature.

Sometimes it is the structural formula of the combination that shows it to be a word and not a phrase. E. g. *starlit* cannot be a phrase because its second element is the stem of a participle and a participle cannot be syntactically modified by a noun. Besides the meaning of the first element implies plurality which should have been expressed in a phrase. Thus, the word *starlit* is equivalent to the phrase *lit by stars*.

It should be noted that *lit* sounds somewhat, if a very little, obsolete: the form *lighted* is more frequent in present-day English. This survival of obsolete forms in fixed contexts or under conditions of fixed distribution occurs both in phraseology and composition.

To some authors the syntactical criterion based on comparing the compound and the phrase comprising the same morphemes seems to ,be the most promising. L. Bloomfield points out that "the word *black* in the phrase *black birds* can be modified by *very (very black birds)* but not so the compound-member *black* in *blackbirds.*"[1] This argument, however, does not permit the distinguishing of compounds from set expressions any more than in the case of the semantic criterion: the first element of *black market* or *black list* (of persons under suspicion) cannot be modified by *very* either.[2]

This objection holds true for the argument of indivisibility advanced by B. Bloch and G. Trager who point out that we cannot insert any word between the elements of the compound *blackbird*.[3] The same example *black market* serves H. Marchand to prove the insufficiency of this criterion.[4] *Black market* is indivisible and yet the stress pattern shows it is a phrase.

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[1] *Bloomfield L.* Language. P. 232.

[2] Prof. R. Lord in his letter to the author expressed the opinion that *black market* and *black list* could be modified by *very* in order to produce an ironically humorous effect, although admittedly this kind of thing would not occur in normal speech. The effect of the deviation therefore proves the existence of the norm.

[3] *Bloch B.* and *Trager G.* Outline of Linguistic Analysis. P. 66.

[4] *Marchand H.* The Categories and Types .... P. 14.

Some transformational procedures that have been offered may also prove helpful. The gist of these is as follows. A phrase like *a stone wall* can be transformed into the phrase *a wall of stone,* whereas *a toothpick* cannot be replaced by *a pick for teeth.* It is true that this impossibility of transformation proves the structural integrity of the word as compared with the phrase, yet the procedure works only for idiomatic compounds, whereas those that are distinctly motivated permit the transformation readily enough:

a toothpick ↔ a pick for teeth tooth-powder → powder for teeth a tooth-brush → a brush for teeth

In most cases, especially if the transformation is done within the frame of context, this test holds good and the transformation, even if it is permissible, brings about a change of meaning. For instance, ...*the wall-papers and the upholstery recalled ... the refinements of another epoch* (Huxley) cannot be transformed without ambiguity into *the papers on the wall and the upholstery recalled the refinements of another epoch.*

That is why we shall repeat with E. Nida that no one type of criteria is normally sufficient for establishing whether the unit is a compound or a phrase, and for ensuring isolation of word from phrase. In the majority of cases we have to depend on the combination of two or more types of criteria (phonological, morphological, syntactic or graphical). But even then the ground is not very safe and the path of investigation inevitably leads us to the intricate labyrinth of "the *stone wall* problem" that has received so much attention in linguistic literature.

§ 6.2.2 SEMI-AFFIXES

Having discussed the difficulties of distinguishing compounds from phrases, we turn to the problem of telling compounds from derivatives.

The problem of distinguishing a compound from a derivative is actually equivalent to distinguishing a stem from an affix. In most cases the task is simple enough: the immediate constituents of a compound are free forms, likely to occur in the same phonic character as independent words, whereas a combination containing bound forms as its immediate constituents, is a derivative.

There are, however, some borderline cases that do not fit in, and so present difficulties. Some elements of the English vocabulary occurring as independent nouns, such as *man, berry, land,* have been very frequent as second elements of words for a long time. They seem to have acquired valency similar to that of affixes. They are unstressed, and the vowel sound has been reduced to [mɘn], although the reduction is not quite regular: for instance, when the concept "man" is clearly present in the word, there is no reduction. As to *land,* the pronunciation [lænd] occurs only in ethnic names Scotland, Finland and the like, but not in *homeland* or *fatherland.* As these elements seem to come somewhere in between the stems and affixes, the term s e m i - a f f i x has been offered to designate them. Though not universally accepted, it can be kept for convenience's sake.

As *man* is by far the most frequent of semi-affixes it seems worth while to dwell upon it at some length. Its combining activity is very great. In addition to *seaman, airman* and *spaceman* one might compile a very long list: *chairman, clergyman, countryman, fireman, fisherman, gentleman, horseman, policeman, postman, workman, yes-man* (one that agrees with everything that is said to him) and many others. It is interesting to note that *seaman* and *workman* go back to the Old English period, but the model is still as productive as ever, which is testified by the neologism *spaceman.*

The second element, *-man* is considerably generalised semantically and approaches in meaning a mere suffix of the doer like *-er.* The fading of the lexical meaning is especially evident when the words containing this element are used about women, as in the following: *The chairman, Miss Ellen McGullough, a member of the TUC, said ...* ("Daily Worker").

In cases when a woman chairs a sitting, the official form of addressing her is *madam Chairman. Chairwoman* is also sometimes found unofficially and also *chairperson.*

The evolution of the element *-man* in the 70s provides an interesting example of the extra-linguistic factors influencing the development of the language. Concern with eliminating discriminatory attitudes towards women in various professions led to many attempts to degender, i.e. to remove reference to gender in the names of professions. Thus, *cameraman* is substituted by *camera operator, fireman* by *firefighter, policeman* by *police officer* or *police person. Person* is increasingly used in replacing the semi-affix *-man* to avoid reference to gender: *houseperson, businessperson.* The fact that the generic sense of 'human being' is present only in the word *man* 'adult male' but not in the word *woman* which is only 'adult female', is felt as a symptom of implicitly favouring the male sex.[1]

A great combining capacity characterises the elements *-like, -proof* and *-worthy,* so that they may be also referred to s e m i - a f f i x e s , i.e. elements that stand midway between roots and affixes: *godlike, gentlemanlike, ladylike, unladylike, manlike, childlike, unbusinesslike, suchlike.* H. Marchand[2] points out that *-like* as a semi-affix is isolated from the word *like* because we can form compounds of the type *unmanlike* which would be impossible for a free form entering into combination with another free form. The same argument holds good for the semi-affix *-worthy* and the word *worthy.* Cf. *worthy of note* and *noteworthy, praiseworthy, seaworthy, trustworthy,* and *unseaworthy, untrustworthy, unpraiseworthy.*

H. Marchand chooses to include among the semi-affixes also the element *-wise* traditionally referred to adverb-forming suffixes: *otherwise, likewise, clockwise, crosswise,* etc.

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[1] See: The Second Barnhart Dictionary of New English. N.Y., 1980.
[2] *Marchand H.* The Categories and Types .... P. 290.

Alongside with these, he analyses combinations with *-way* and *-way(s)* representing the Genitive: *anyway(s), otherways, always, likeways, sideway(s), crossways,* etc. The analysis given by H. Marchand is very convincing. "*Way* and *wise* are full words, so it might be objected that combinations with them are compounds. But the combinations are never substantival compounds as their substantival basis would require. Moreover, *wise* is being used less and less as an independent word and may one day come to reach the state of French *-meat* (and its equivalents in other Romance languages), which went a somewhat similar way, being developed from the Latin *mente,* Ablative of *mens* ('spirit', 'character', later 'manner')."

Two elements, very productive in combinations, are completely dead as independent words. These are *-monger* and *-wright.*[1] The existing combinations with the element *-monger* have a strongly disparaging character, e . g . : *If any passages of the present tale should startle the reader's faith, I must be content to bear the stigma of a fictionmonger* (Waugh). Cf. *fashionmonger, newsmonger, scandalmonger, warmonger*. Only the words that existed in the language from before 1500 are emotionally neutral: *fishmonger, ironmonger, -wright* occurs in *playwright, shipwright, wheelwright.*

As *-proof* is also very uncommon in independent use except in the expression *proof against,* and extremely productive in combinations, it seems right to include it among the semi-affixes: *damp-proof, fire-proof, bomb-proof, waterproof, shockproof, kissproof* (said about a lipstick), *foolproof* (said about rules, mechanisms, etc., so simple as to be safe even when applied by fools).

Semi-affixes may be also used in preposition like prefixes. Thus, anything that is smaller or shorter than others of its kind may be preceded by *mini-: mini-budget, mini-bus, mini-car, mini-crisis, mini-planet, mini-skirt,* etc.

Other productive semi-affixes used in pre-position are *midi-, maxi-, self-* and others: *midi-coat, maxi-coat, self-starter, self-help.*

The factors conducing to transition of free forms into semi-affixes are high semantic productivity, adaptability, combinatorial capacity (high valency), and brevity.

§ 6.2.3 "THE *STONE WALL* PROBLEM**"**

The so-called *stone wall* problem concerns the status of the complexes like *stone wall, cannon ball* or *rose garden.* Noun premodifiers of other nouns often become so closely fused together with what they modify that it is difficult to say whether the result is a compound or a syntactical free phrase. Even if this difficulty is solved and we agree that these are phrases and not words, the status of the first element remains to be determined. Is it a noun used as an attribute or is it to be treated as an adjective?

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[1] *-monger* < OE *mangere* 'a tradesman', *-wright* < OE *wyrhta* 'a worker'. 118

The first point to be noted is that lexicographers differ in their treatment. Thus, "The Heritage Dictionary of the English Language" combines in one entry the noun *stone* and the adjective *stone* pertaining to or made of stone' and gives as an example this very combination *stone wall.* In his dictionary A.S. Hornby, on the other hand, when beginning the entry — *stone* as an uncountable noun, adds that it is often used attributively and illustrates this statement with the same example — *stone wall.*

R. Quirk and his colleagues in their fundamental work on the grammar of contemporary English when describing premodification of nouns by nouns emphasise the fact that they become so closely associated as to be regarded as compounds. The meaning of noun premodification may correspond to an of-phrase as in the following *the story of his life — his life story,* or correlate with some other prepositional phrase as in *a war story — a story about war, an arm chair — a chair with arms, a dish cloth — a cloth for dishes.*

There is no consistency in spelling, so that in the A.S. Hornby's Dictionary both *arm-chair* and *dish-cloth* are hyphenated.

R. Quirk finds orthographic criteria unreliable, as there are no hard and fast rules according to which one may choose solid, hyphenated or open spelling. Some examples of complexes with open spelling that he treats as compound words are: *book review, crime report, office management, steel production, language teacher.* They are placed in different structural groups according to the grammatical process they reflect. Thus, *book review, crime report* and *haircut* are all compound count nouns formed on the model **object+deverbal noun:** *X reviews books → the reviewing of books → book review.* We could reasonably take all the above examples as free syntactic phrases, because the substitution of some equonym for the first element would leave the meaning of the second intact. We could speak about *nickel production* or *a geography teacher.* The first elements may be modified by an adjective — *an English language teacher* especially because the meaning of the whole can be inferred from the meaning of the parts.

H. Marchand also mentions the fact that 's*tone 'wall* is a two-stressed combination, and the two-stressed pattern never shows the intimate permanent semantic relationship between the two components that is characteristic of compound words. This stress pattern stands explained if we interpret the premodifying element as an adjective or at least emphasise its attributive function. The same explanation may be used to account for the singularisation that takes place, i.e. the compound is *an arm-chair* not **an arms-chair.* Singularisation is observed even with otherwise invariable plural forms. Thus, the game is called *billiards* but a table for it is *a billiard table* and it stands in *a billiard-room.* A similar example is *a scissor sharpener* that is a sharpener for scissors. One further theoretical point may be emphasised, this is the necessity of taking into account the context in which these complexes are used. If the complex is used attributively before a third noun, this attributive function joins them more intimately. For example*: I telephoned: no air-hostess trainees had been kept late* (J. Fowles).

It is especially important in case a compound of this type is an author's neologism. E. g. : *The train was full of soldiers. I once again felt the great current of war, the European death-wish* (J. Fowles).

It should, perhaps, be added that an increasing number of linguists are now agreed — and the evidence at present available seems to suggest they are right — that the majority of English nouns are regularly used to form nominal phrases that are semantically derivable from their components but in most cases develop some unity of referential meaning. This set of nominal phrases exists alongside the set of nominal compounds. The boundaries between the two sets are by no means rigid, they are correlated and many compounds originated as free phrases.

§ 6.2.4 VERBAL COLLOCATIONS OF THE 'GIVE UP' TYPE

The lexicological aspects of the *stone wall* problem have been mentioned in connection with compound words. Phrasal verbs of *the give up* type deserve a more detailed study from the phraseological viewpoint.

An almost unlimited number of such units may be formed by the use of the simpler, generally monosyllabic verbs combined with elements that have been variously treated as "adverbs", "preposition-like adverbs", "postpositions of adverbial origin", "postpositives" or even "postpositive prefixes".[1]

The verbs most frequent in these units are: *bear, blow, break, bring, call, carry, cast, catch, come, cut, do, draw, drive, eat, fall, fly, get, give, go, hurry, hold, keep, lay, let, look, make, move, play, pull, put, ride, run, sell, set, shake, show, shut, sit, speak, stand, strike, take, throw, turn, walk,* etc. To these the adverbs: *about, across, along, around, away, back, by, down, forth, in, off, on, out, over, past, round, through, to, under,* and the particularly frequent *up* are added.

The pattern is especially common with the verbs denoting motion. Some of the examples possible with the verb *go* are: *go ahead* 'to proceed without hesitation'; *go away* 'to leave'; *go back* 'to return'; *go by* 'to pass'; *go down* (a) 'to sink' (for a ship); (b) 'to set' (of the sun, moon, etc.); (c) 'to be remembered' (of people or events); (d) 'to become quiet' (of the sea, wind, etc.) and many other combinations. The list of meanings for *go down* could be increased. Units of this type are remarkable for their multiple meaning. Cf. *bring up* which may mean not only 'to rear from childhood, educate' but also 'to cause to stop', 'to introduce to notice', 'to make prominent', etc.

Only combinations forming integral wholes, the meaning of which is not readily derived from the meaning of the components, so that the lexical meaning of one of the components is strongly influenced by the presence of the other, are referred to set expressions or compounds. E. g. *come off* 'to take place', *fall out* 'to quarrel', *give in* 'to surrender', *leave off* 'to cease'. Alongside with these combinations showing idiomatic

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[1] The problem on the whole is a very complex one and has attracted the attention of many scholars. See, for example: *Berlizon S.* English Verbal Collocations. M.; L., 1964, where a complete bibliography may be found. See also: *Ilyish B.* The Structure of Modern English. M.; L., 1965, p.p. 153-154.

character there are free combinations built on the same pattern and of the same elements. In these the second element may: (1) retain its adverbial properties of showing direction *(come* : : *come back, go* : : *go in, turn* : : *turn away);* (2) change the aspect of the verb *(eat* : : *eat up, speak* : : *speak out, stand* : : *stand up;* the second element then may mark the completeness or the beginning of the action); (3) intensify the meaning of the action *(end* : : *end up, talk* : : *talk away).*

The second elements with the exception of *about* and *around* may be modified by *right,* which acts as an intensifier suggesting the idea of extremity: *He pushed it right down.* Sometimes the second element serves to create an evaluative shade, so that **a verb of motion** + *about* means 'move here and there' with an implication of light-mindedness and waste of time: *climb, drive, float, run, walk,* etc. *about.*

There are also cases where the criteria of motivation serving to differentiate between compounds, free phrases and set expressions do not appear to yield definite results, because motivation is partially retained, as for instance in *drop in, put on* or *shut up,* so that the existence of boundary cases must of necessity be admitted.

The borderline between free phrases and set expressions is not always sharp and distinct. This is very natural, as set expressions originate as imaginative free phrases and only gradually become stereotyped. So this is one more instance where understanding of synchronic facts is incomplete without diachronistic additions.

§ 6.3 SPECIFIC FEATURES OF ENGLISH COMPOUNDS

There are two important peculiarities distinguishing compounding in English from compounding in other languages. Firstly, both immediate constituents of an English compound are free forms, i.e. they can be used as independent words with a distinct meaning of their own. The conditions of distribution will be different but the sound pattern the same, except for the stress. The point may be illustrated by a brief list of the most frequently used compounds studied in every elementary course of English: *afternoon, anyway, anybody, anything, birthday, day-off, downstairs, everybody, fountain-pen, grown-up, ice-cream, large-scale, looking-glass, mankind, mother-in-law, motherland, nevertheless, notebook, nowhere, post-card, railway, schoolboy, skating-rink, somebody, staircase, Sunday.*

It is common knowledge that the combining elements in Russian are as a rule b o u n d f o r m s *(руководство),* but in English combinations like *Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Soviet, Indo-European* or *politico-economical,* where the first elements are bound forms, occur very rarely and seem to be avoided. They are coined on the neo-Latin pattern.

The second feature that should attract attention is that the regular pattern for the English language is a two-stem compound, as is clearly testified by all the preceding examples. An exception to this rule is observed when the combining element is represented by a form-word stem, as in *mother-in-law, bread-and-butter, whisky-and-soda, deaf-and-dumb, good-for-nothing, man-of-war, mother-of-pearl, stick-in-the-mud.*

If, however, the number of stems is more than two, so that one of the immediate constituents is itself a compound, it will be more often the determinant than the determinatum. Thus *aircraft-carrier, waste-paper-basket* are words, but *baby outfit, village schoolmaster, night watchman* and similar combinations are syntactic groups with two stresses, or even phrases with the conjunction *and: book-keeper and typist.*

The predominance of two-stem structures in English compounding distinguishes it from the German language which can coin monstrosities like the anecdotal *Vierwaldstatterseeschraubendampfschiffgesellschaft* or *Feuer- and Unfallversicherungsgesellschaft.*

One more specific feature of English compounding is the important role the attributive syntactic function can play in providing a phrase with structural cohesion and turning it into a compound. Compare: *... we've done last-minute changes before ...*(Priestley) and the same combination as a free phrase in the function of an adverbial: *we changed it at the last minute more than once.* Cf. *four-year course, pass-fail basis* (a student passes or fails but is not graded).

It often happens that elements of a phrase united by their attributive function become further united phonemically by stress and graphically by a hyphen, or even solid spelling. Cf. *common sense* and *common-sense advice; old age* and *old-age pensioner; the records are out of date* and *out-of-date records; the let-sleeping-dogs-lie approach* (Priestley). C f.: *Let sleeping dogs lie* (a proverb). This last type is also called q u o t a t i o n   c o m - p o u n d or h o l o p h r a s i s . The speaker (or writer, as the case may be) creates those combinations freely as the need for them arises: they are originally nonce-compounds. In the course of time they may become firmly established in the language: *the ban-the-bomb voice, round-the-clock duty.*

Other syntactical functions unusual for the combination can also provide structural cohesion. E. g. *working class* is a noun phrase, but when used predicatively it is turned into a compound word. E. g.: *He wasn't working-class enough.* The process may be, and often is, combined with conversion and will be discussed elsewhere (see p. 163).

The function of hyphenated spelling in these cases is not quite clear. It may be argued that it serves to indicate syntactical relationships and not structural cohesion, e. g. *keep-your-distance chilliness.* It is then not a word-formative but a phrase-formative device. This last term was suggested by L. Bloomfield, who wrote: "A phrase may contain a bound form which is not part of a word. For example, the possessive [z] in *the man I saw yesterday's daughter.* Such a bound form is a phrase formative."[1] Cf. *... for the I-don't-know-how-manyth time* (Cooper).

§ 6.4.1 CLASSIFICATION OF COMPOUNDS

The great variety of compound types brings about a great variety of classifications. Compound words may be classified according to the type of composition and the linking element; according to the part of

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[1] *Bloomfield L.* A Set of Postulates for the Science of Language. // Psycholinguistics. A Book of Reading/Ed. by Sol Saporta. N.Y., 1961. Pt. IV. P. 28.

speech to which the compound belongs; and within each part of speech according to the structural pattern (see the next paragraph). It is also possible to subdivide compounds according to other characteristics, i.e. semantically, into motivated and idiomatic compounds (in the motivated ones the meaning of the constituents can be either direct or figurative). Structurally, compounds are distinguished as endocentric and exocentric, with the subgroup of b a h u v r i h i (see p. 125ff) and syntactic and asyntactic combinations. A classification according to the type of the syntactic phrase with which the compound is correlated has also been suggested. Even so there remain some miscellaneous types that defy classification, such as phrase compounds, reduplicative compounds, pseudo-compounds and quotation compounds.

The classification according to the type of composition permits us to establish the following groups:

1) The predominant type is a mere juxtaposition without connecting elements: *heartache* n, *heart-beat* n, *heart-break* n, *heart-breaking* a, *heart-broken* a, *heart-felt* a.

2) Composition with a vowel or a consonant as a linking element. The examples are very few: *electromotive* a, *speedometer* n, *Afro-Asian* a, *handicraft* n, *statesman* n.

3) Compounds with linking elements represented by preposition or conjunction stems: *down-and-out* n, *matter-of-fact* a, *son-in-law* n, *pepper-and-salt* a, *wall-to-wall* a, *up-to-date* a, *on the up-and-up* adv (continually improving), *up-and-coming,* as in the following example: *No doubt he'd had the pick of some up-and-coming* jazzmen in Paris (Wain). There are also a few other lexicalised phrases like *devil-may-care* a, *forget-me-not* n, *pick-me-up* n, *stick-in-the-mud* n, *what's-her name* n.

The classification of compounds according to the structure of immediate constituents distinguishes:

1) compounds consisting of simple stems: *film-star;*

2) compounds where at least one of the constituents is a derived stem: *chain-smoker;*

3) compounds where at least one of the constituents is a clipped stem: *maths-mistress* (in British English) and *math-mistress* (in American English). The subgroup will contain abbreviations like *H-bag (handbag)* or *Xmas (Christmas), whodunit n* (for mystery novels) considered substandard;

4) compounds where at least one of the constituents is a compound stem: *wastepaper-basket.*

In what follows the main structural types of English compounds are described in greater detail. The list is by no means exhaustive but it may serve as a general guide.

§ 6.4.2 COMPOUND NOUNS

Within the class of c o m p o u n d n o u n s we distinguish endocentric and e x o c e n t r i c c o m p o u n d s . In endocentric nouns the referent is named by one of the elements and given a

further characteristic by the other. In exocentric nouns only the combination of both elements names the referent. A further subdivision takes into account the character of stems.

The *sunbeam* type. A noun stem is determined by another noun stem. This is a most productive type, the number of examples being practically unlimited.

The *maidservant* type also consists of noun stems but the relationship between the elements is different. *Maidservant* is an appositional compound. The second element is notionally dominant.

The *looking-glass* type shows a combination of a derived verbal stem with a noun stem.

The *searchlight* type consisting of a verbal stem and a noun stem is of a comparatively recent origin.

The *blackboard* type has already been discussed. The first stem here very often is not an adjective but a Participle II: *cutwork*. Sometimes the semantic relationship of the first element to the second is different. For instance, *a green-grocer* is not a grocer who happens to be green but one who sells vegetables.

There are several groups with a noun stem for the first element and various deverbal noun stems for the second: *housekeeping, sunrise, time-server*.

In exocentric compounds the referent is not named. The type *scarecrow* denotes the agent (a person or a thing) who or which performs the action named by the combination of the stems. In the case of *scarecrow,* it is a person or a thing employed in scaring birds. The type consists of a verbal stem followed by a noun stem. The personal nouns of this type are as a rule imaginative and often contemptuous: *cut-throat, daredevil* 'a reckless person', 'a murderer', *lickspittle* 'a toady', 'a flatterer', *pickpocket* 'a thief, *turncoat* 'a renegade'.

A very productive and numerous group are nouns derived from verbs with postpositives, or more rarely with adverbs. This type consists chiefly of impersonal deverbal nouns denoting some action or specific instance. Examples: *blackout* 'a period of complete darkness' (for example, when all the electric lights go out on the stage of the theatre, or when all lights in a city are covered as a precaution against air raids); also 'a temporary loss of consciousness'; *breakdown* 'a stoppage through accident', 'a nervous collapse'; *hangover* 'an unpleasant after-effect' (especially after drink); *make-up,* a polysemantic compound which may mean, for example, 'the way anything is arranged', 'one's mental qualities', 'cosmetics'; *take-off,* also polysemantic: 'caricature', 'the beginning of a flight', etc. Compare also*: I could just imagine the brush-off he'd had* (Wain). Some more examples: *comedown, drawback, drop-out, feedback, frame-up, knockout, set-back, shake-up, splash-down, take-in, teach-in,* etc.

A special subgroup is formed by personal nouns with a somewhat derogatory connotation, as in *go-between* 'an intermediary', *start-back* 'a deserter'. Sometimes these compounds are keenly ironical: *die-hard* 'an irreconcilable conservative', *pin-up* (such a girl as might have her

photograph pinned up on the wall for admiration, also the photograph it-self), *pick-up* 'a chance acquaintance', 'a prostitute'. More seldom the pattern is used for names of objects, mostly disparaging. For instance: *"Are these your books?" "Yes". They were a very odd collection of throw-outs from my flat* (Cooper).

The group of b a h u v r i h i compound nouns is not very numerous. The term b a h u v r i h i is borrowed from the grammarians of ancient India. Its literal meaning is 'much-riced'. It is used to designate possessive exocentric formations in which a person, animal or thing are metonymically named after some striking feature they possess, chiefly a striking feature in their appearance. This feature is in its turn expressed by the sum of the meanings of the compound's immediate constituents. The formula of the bahuvrihi compound nouns is **adjective stem +noun stem.** The following extract will illustrate the way bahuvrihi compounds may be coined*: I got discouraged with sitting all day in the*
backroom of a police station.........with six assorted women and a man with a wooden leg. At the end of a week, we all knew each other's life histories, including that of the woodenleg's *uncle, who lived at Selsey and had to be careful of his diet* (M. Dickens).

Semantically the bahuvrihi are almost invariably characterised by a deprecative ironical emotional tone. Cf. *bigwig* 'a person of importance', *black-shirt* 'an Italian fascist' (also, by analogy, any fascist), *fathead* 'a dull, stupid person', *greenhorn* 'an ignoramus', *highbrow* 'a person who claims to be superior in intellect and culture', *lazy-bones* 'a lazy person'.

§ 6.4.3 COMPOUND ADJECTIVES

C o m p o u n d   a d j e c t i v e s   regularly correspond to free phrases. Thus, for example, the type *threadbare* consists of a noun stem and an adjective stem. The relation underlying this combination corresponds to the phrase 'bare to the thread'. Examples are: *airtight, blood-thirsty, carefree, heartfree, media-shy, noteworthy, pennywise, poundfool-ish, seasick,* etc.

The type has a variant with a different semantic formula: *snow-white* means 'as white as snow', so the underlying sense relation in that case is emphatic comparison, e. g. *dog-tired, dirt-cheap, stone-deaf.* Examples are mostly connected with colours: *blood-red, sky-blue, pitch-black;* with dimensions and scale: *knee-deep, breast-high, nationwide, life-long, world-wide.*

The *red-hot* type consists of two adjective stems, the first expressing the degree or the nuance of the second: *white-hot, light-blue, reddish-brown.*

The same formula occurs in additive compounds of the *bitter-sweet* type correlated with free phrases of the type **adjective₁** and **adjective₂** *{bitter* and *sweet)* that are rather numerous in technical and scholarly vocabulary: *social-economic,* etc. The subgroup of *Anglo-Saxon* has been already discussed.

The *peace-loving* type consisting of a noun stem and a participle stem, is very productive at present. Examples are: *breath-taking,*

freedom-loving, soul-stirring. Temporal and local relations underlie such cases as *sea-going, picture-going, summer-flowering.*

The type is now literary and sometimes lofty, whereas in the 20s it was very common in upper-class slang, e. g. *sick-making* 'sickening'.

A similar type with the pronoun stem *self-* as the first component *(self-adjusting, self-propelling)* is used in cultivated and technical speech only.

The *hard-working* type structurally consists of an adjective stem and a participle stem. Other examples of the same type are: *good-looking, sweet-smelling, far-reaching.* It is not difficult to notice, however, that *looking, smelling, reaching* do not exist as separate adjectives. Neither is it quite clear whether the first element corresponds to an adjective or an adverb. They receive some definite character only in compounds.

There is a considerable group of compounds characterised by the type word *man-made,* i.e. consisting of Participle II with a noun stem for a determinant.

The semantic relations underlying this type are remarkable for their great variety: *man-made* 'made by man' (the relationship expressed is that of the agent and the action); *home-made* 'made at home' (the notion of place); *safety-tested* 'tested for safety' (purpose); *moss-grown* 'covered with moss' (instrumental notion); compare also the figurative compound *heart-broken* 'having a broken heart'. Most of the compounds containing a Participle II stem for their second element have a passive meaning. The few exceptions are: *well-read, well-spoken, well-behaved* and the like.

§ 6.4.4 COMPOUND VERBS

Scholars are not agreed on the question of compound verbs. This problem indeed can be argued in several different ways. It is not even clear whether verbal compositions exist in present-day English, though such verbs as *outgrow, overflow, stand up, black-list, stage-manage* and *white-wash* are often called compound verbs. There are even more complications to the problem than meet the eye.

H. Marchand, whose work has been quoted so extensively in the present chapter, treats *outgrow* and *overflow* as unquestionable compounds, although he admits that the type is not productive and that locative particles are near to prefixes. "The Concise Oxford Dictionary", on the other hand, defines *out-* and *over-* as prefixes used both for verbs and nouns; this approach classes *outgrow* and *overflow* as derivatives, which seems convincing.

The *stand-up* type was in turns regarded as a phrase, a compound and a derivative; its nature has been the subject of much discussion (see § 6.2.4).

The verbs *blackmail* and *stage-manage* belong to two different groups because they show different correlations with the rest of the vocabulary.

$$\frac{blackmail \text{ v}}{blackmail \text{ n}} = \frac{honeymoon \text{ v}}{honeymoon \text{ n}} = \frac{nickname \text{ v}}{nickname \text{ n}}$$

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The verbs *blackmail, honeymoon* and *nickname* are, therefore, cases of conversion from endocentric nominal compounds. The type *stage-manage* may be referred to b a c k - f o r m a t i o n. The correlation is as follows:

$$\frac{\text{\underline{\textit{stage-manage}} v}}{\text{\textit{stage-manager} n}} = \frac{\text{\underline{\textit{proof-read}} v}}{\text{\textit{proof-reader} n}} = \frac{\text{\underline{\textit{housekeep}} v}}{\text{\textit{housekeeper} n}}$$

The second element in the first group is a noun stem; in the second group it is always verbal.

Some examples of the first group are the verbs *safeguard, nickname, shipwreck, whitewash, tiptoe, outline, honeymoon, blackmail, hero-worship.* All these exist in English for a long time. The 20th century created *weekend, double-cross* 'betray', *stream-line, softpedal, spotlight.*

The type is especially productive in colloquial speech and slang, particularly in American English.

The second group is less numerous than the first but highly productive in the 20th century. Among the earliest coinages are *backbite* (1300) and *browbeat* (1603), then later *ill-treat, house-keep.* The 20th century has coined *hitch-hike* (cf. *hitch-hiker)* 'to travel from place to place by asking motorists for free rides'; *proof-read* (cf. *proof-reader)* 'to read and correct printer's proofs'; compare also *mass-produce, taperecord* and *vacuum-clean.* The most recent is *hijack* 'make pilots change the course of aeroplanes by using violence' which comes from the slang word *hijacker* explained in the Chambers's Dictionary as 'a highwayman or a robber and blackmailer of bootleggers' (smugglers of liquor).

The structural integrity of these combinations is supported by the order of constituents which is a contrast to the usual syntactic pattern where the verb stem would come first. Cf. *to read proofs* and *to proofread.*

H. Marchand calls them p s e u d o - c o m p o u n d s , because they are created as verbs not by the process of composition but by conversion and back-formation. His classification may seem convincing, if the vocabulary is treated diachronically from the viewpoint of those processes that are at the back of its formation. It is quite true that the verb *vacuum-clean* was not coined by compounding and so is not a compound genetically (on the word-formation level). But if we are concerned with the present-day structure and follow consistently the definition of a compound given in the opening lines of this chapter, we see that it is a word containing two free stems. It functions in the sentence as a separate lexical unit. It seems logical to consider such words as compounds by right of their structural pattern.

§ 6.5 DERIVATIONAL COMPOUNDS

D e r i v a t i o n a l   c o m p o u n d s   or   c o m p o u n d- de r i vatives like *long-legged* do not fit the definition of compounds as words consisting of more than one free stem, because their second element *(-legged)* is not a free stem. Derivational compounds are included in this

chapter for two reasons: because the number of root morphemes is more than one, and because they are nearest to compounds in patterns.

D e r i v a t i o n a l   c o m p o u n d s   or   c o m p o u n d - d e r i v a t i v e s are words in which the structural integrity of the two free stems is ensured by a suffix referring to the combination as a whole, not to one of its elements: *kind-hearted, old-timer, schoolboyishness, teen-ager*. In the coining of the derivational compounds two types of word-formation are at work. The essence of the derivational compounds will be clear if we compare them with derivatives and compounds proper that possess a similar structure. Take, for example, *brainstraster, honeymooner* and *mill-owner*. The ultimate constituents of all three are: **noun stem** + **noun** stem+-*er*. Analysing into immediate constituents, we see that the immediate constituents (IC's) of the compound *mill-owner* are two noun stems, the first simple, the second derived: *mill+owner,* of which the last, the determinatum, as well as the whole compound, names a person. For the word *honeymooner* no such division is possible, since **mooner* does not exist as a free stem. The IC's are *honeymoon+-er,* and the suffix -*er* signals that the whole denotes a person: the structure is *(honey+moon)+-er.*

The process of word-building in these seemingly similar words is different: *mill-owner* is coined by composition, *honeymooner* — by derivation from the compound *honeymoon. Honeymoon* being a compound, *honeymooner* is a derivative. Now *brains trust* 'a group of experts' is a phrase, so *brainstruster* is formed by two simultaneous processes — by composition and by derivation and may be called a derivational compound. Its IC's are *(brains+ trust)+-er*[1].

The suffix -*er* is one of the productive suffixes in forming derivational compounds. Other examples of the same pattern are: *backbencher* 'an M.P. occupying the back bench', *do-gooder* (ironically used in AmE), *eye-opener* 'enlightening circumstance', *first-nighter* 'habitual frequenter of the first performance of plays', *go-getter* (colloq.) 'a pushing person', *late-comer, left-hander* 'left-handed person or blow'.

Nonce-words show some variations on this type. The process of their formation is clearly seen in the following examples: *"Have you ever thought of bringing them together?" "Oh, God forbid. As you may have noticed, I'm not much of a bringer-together at the best of times."* (Plomer) *"The shops are very modern here," he went on, speaking with all the rather touchy insistence on up-to-dateness which characterises the inhabitants of an under-bathroomed and over-monumented country* (Huxley).

Another frequent type of derivational compounds are the possessive compounds of the type *kind-hearted:* **adjective stem+noun stem+ -ed**. Its IC's are a noun phrase *kind heart* and the suffix -*ed* that unites the elements of the phrase and turns them into the elements of a compound adjective. Similar examples are extremely numerous. Compounds of this type can be coined very freely to meet the requirements of different situations.

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[1] See on this point the article on compounds in "The Second Barnhart Dictionary of New English" (p. 115).

Very few go back to Old English, such as *one-eyed* and *three-headed*, most of the cases are coined in Modern English. Examples are practically unlimited, especially in words describing personal appearance or character: *absent-minded, bare-legged, black-haired, blue-eyed, cruel-hearted, light-minded, ill-mannered, many-sided, narrow-minded, shortsighted*, etc.

The first element may also be a noun stem: *bow-legged, heart-shaped* and very often a numeral: *three-coloured.*

The derivational compounds often become the basis of further derivation. Cf. *war-minded* : : *war-mindedness; whole-hearted* : : *whole-heartedness* : : *whole-heartedly, schoolboyish* : : *schoolboyishness; do-it-yourselfer* : : *do-it-yourselfism.*

The process is also called phrasal derivation: *mini-skirt>mini-skirted, nothing but>nothingbutism, dress up>dressuppable, Romeo-and-Julietishness,* or quotation derivation as when an unwillingness to do anything is characterised as *let-George-do-it-ity.* All these are nonce-words, with some ironic or jocular connotation.

§ 6.6 REDUPLICATION AND MISCELLANEA OF COMPOSITION
§ 6.6.1 REDUPLICATIVE COMPOUNDS

In what follows we shall describe some combinations that may be called compounds by right of pattern, as they very markedly consist of two parts, but otherwise in most cases fail to satisfy our definition of a compound word. Some of them contain only one free form, the other constituents being a variation of this, while there are also cases where both constituents are jocular pseudo-morphemes, meaningless and fanciful sound clusters which never occur elsewhere. Their motivation is mostly based upon sound-symbolism and it is their phonetic make-up that plays the most important role in their functioning They are all stylistically coloured (either colloquial, slang or nursery words) and markedly expressive and emotional: the emotion is not expressed in the constituents but suggested by the whole pattern (reduplication rhyme).

The group consists of r e d u p l i c a t i v e   c o m p o u n d s that fall into three main subgroups: reduplicative compounds proper, ablaut combinations and rhyme combinations.

R e d u p l i c a t i v e   c o m p o u n d s   p r o p e r are not restricted to the repetition of o n o m a t o p o e i c   s t e m s with intensifying effect, as it is sometimes suggested. Actually it is a very mixed group containing usual free forms, onomatopoeic stems and pseudo-morphemes. Onomatopoeic repetition exists but it is not very extensive: *hush-hush* 'secret', *murmur* (a borrowing from French) *pooh-pooh* (to express contempt). In *blah-blah* 'nonsense', 'idle talk' the constituents are pseudo-morphemes which do not occur elsewhere. The usage may be illustrated by the following example: *Should he give them half a minute of blah-blah or tell them what had been passing through his mind?* (Priestley) Nursery words such *as quack-quack* 'duck', *Pops-Pops* 'father' and many other words belong to the same type.

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Non-imitative words may be also used in reduplication and possess then an ironical ring: *pretty-pretty* 'affectedly pretty', *goody-goody* 'sentimentally and affectedly good'. The instances are not numerous and occur only in colloquial speech. An interesting example is the expressive and ironical *never-never,* an ellipsis of the phrase *never-never system* 'a hire-purchase system in which the consumer may never be able to become the owner of the thing purchased'. The situation may be clear from the following: "*They've got a smashing telly, a fridge and another set of bedroom furniture in silver-grey.*" "*All on the never-never, what'll happen if he loses his job?*" (Lindsay)

§ 6.6.2 ABLAUT COMBINATIONS

The reduplicative compounds resemble in sound form the rhyme combinations like *razzle-dazzle* and ablaut combinations like *sing-song.* These two types, therefore, are treated by many[1] as repetition with change of initial consonant or with vowel interchange. H. Marchand treats these as pseudo-compounds, which occur as twin forms with phonic variation and as twin forms with a rhyme for characteristic feature.

A b l a u t   c o m b i n a t i o n s are twin forms consisting of one basic morpheme (usually the second), sometimes a pseudo-morpheme which is repeated in the other constituent with a different vowel. The typical changes are [ɪ]— [æ]: *chit-chat* 'gossip' (from *chat* 'easy familiar talk'), *dilly-dally* 'loiter', *knick-knack* 'small articles of ornament', *riff-raff* 'the mob', *shilly-shally* 'hesitate', *zigzag* (borrowed from French), and [ɪ] — [o]: *ding-dong* (said of the sound of a bell), *ping-pong* 'table-tennis', *sing-song* 'monotonous voice', *tiptop* 'first-rate'. The free forms corresponding to the basic morphemes are as a rule expressive words denoting sound or movement.

Both groups are based on sound symbolism expressing polarity. With words denoting movement these words symbolise to and fro rhythm: *criss-cross;* the to and fro movement also suggests hesitation: *shilly-shally* (probably based on the question "Shall I?"); alternating noises: *pitter-patter.* The semantically predominant group are the words meaning idle talk: *bibble-babble, chit-chat, clitter-clatter,* etc.

§ 6.6.3 RHYME COMBINATIONS

R h y m e   c o m b i n a t i o n s are twin forms consisting of two elements (most often two pseudo-morphemes) which are joined to rhyme: *boogie-woogie, flibberty-gibberty* 'frivolous', *harum-scarum* 'disorganised', *helter-skelter* 'in disordered haste', *hoity-toity* 'snobbish', *humdrum* 'bore', *hurry-scurry* 'great hurry', *hurdy-gurdy* 'a small organ', *lovey-dovey* 'darling', *mumbo-jumbo* 'deliberate mystification, fetish',

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[1] O. Jespersen, H. Koziol and the author of this book in a previous work.

namby-pamby 'weakly sentimental', *titbit* 'a choice morsel', *willy-nilly* 'compulsorily' (cf. Lat *volens-nolens).*

The choice of the basic sound cluster in some way or other is often not arbitrary but motivated, for instance, *lovey-dovey* is motivated in both parts, as well as *willy-nilly. Hurry-scurry* and a few other combinations are motivated in the first part, while the second is probably a blend if we take into consideration that in *helter-skelter* the second element is from obsolete *skelt* 'hasten'.

About 40% of these rhyme combinations (a much higher percentage than with the ablaut combinations) are not motivated: *namby-pamby, razzle-dazzle.* A few are borrowed: *pow-wow* 'a noisy assembly' (an Algonquin[1] word), *mumbo-jumbo* (from West African), but the type is purely English, and mostly modern.

The pattern is emotionally charged and chiefly colloquial, jocular, often sentimental in a babyish sort of way. The expressive character is mainly due to the effect of rhythm, rhyme and sound suggestiveness. It is intensified by endearing suffixes *-y, -sie* and the jocular *-ty, -dy.* Semantically predominant in this group are words denoting disorder, trickery, teasing names for persons, and lastly some playful nursery words. Baby-talk words are highly connotative because of their background.

§ 6.7 PSEUDO-COMPOUNDS

The words like *gillyflower* or *sparrow-grass* are not actually compounds at all, they are cases of f a l s e - e t y m o l o g y , an attempt to find motivation for a borrowed word: *gillyflower* from OFr *giroflé, crayfish* (small lobster-like fresh-water crustacean, a spiny lobster) from OFr *crevice,* and *sparrow-grass* from Latin *asparagus.*

May-day (sometimes capitalised *May Day)* is an international radio signal used as a call for help from a ship or plane, and it has nothing to do with the name of the month, but is a distortion of the French *m'aidez* 'help me' and so is not a compound at all.

§ 6.8 THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH COMPOUNDS

Compounding, one of the oldest methods of word-formation occurring in all Indo-European languages, is especially developed in Germanic languages. English has made use of compounding in all periods of its existence. *Headache, heartache, rainbow, raindrop* and many other compounds of the type **noun stem+noun stem** and its variant, such as *manslaughter* <OE *mannslæht* with the deverbal noun stem for a second element, go back to Old English. To the oldest layer belong also the **adjective stem+noun stem** compounds: *holiday, sweetmeat,* and so on.

Some compounds (among them all those listed above) preserve their type in present-day English, others have undergone phonetic changes due to which their stems ceased to be homonymous to the corresponding free forms, so that the compounds themselves were turned into root words.

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[1] Algonquin is the name of an American Indian tribe.

The phenomenon was investigated by Russian and Soviet philologists V.A. Bogoroditsky, L.A. Bulakhovsky and N.N. Amosova, who used the Russian term опрощение о с н о в ы which may be translated into English as "simplification of stem" (but this translation can be only tentative). S i m p l i f i c a t i o n is defined as "a morphological process by which a word of a complex morphological structure loses the meaning of its separate morphological parts and becomes a mere symbol of the notion given."[1]

The English grammarians, such as J.C. Nesfield, for instance, used the term d i s g u i s e d compounds, which is inconvenient because it is misleading. In English, when a morpheme becomes the constituent of a compound, this does not affect its sound pattern. Exceptions to this rule signify therefore that the formation cannot be regarded as a compound at the present stage of the language development, although it might have been the result of compounding at some earlier stage.

The degree of change can be very different. Sometimes the compound is altered out of all recognition. Thus, in the name of the flower *daisy*, or in the word *woman* composition as the basis of the word's origin can be discovered by etymological analysis only: *daisy<OE дæзез еазе* 'day's eye'; *woman<OE wifmann,* i.e. 'woman person'. Other examples are: *aught<OE awiht* 'anything whatever'; *barn<OE bere-ærn* 'a place for keeping barley'; *elbow<OE elnвoза,* i.e. 'the bending of the arm'; *gossip<OE зodsibbe* 'godparent' (originally 'fellow sponsor at baptism' *(sibb/sib* means 'akin')); *husband*<OE *husbonda* 'master of the house' (from *bua* 'dwell').

D e m o t i v a t i o n (the Russian term is деэтимологизация) is closely connected with simplification, but not identical with it: rather they are different aspects of changes that may occur simultaneously. Demotivation is in fact etymological isolation when the word loses its ties with other word or words with which it was formerly connected and associated, ceases to be understood as belonging to its original word-family. For instance, *kidnap* 'steal (a child) or carry off a person by illegal practice' literally means 'to seize a young goat'. The second syllable is from an obsolete word *nap,* probably closely related to *nab* (a slang word for 'arrest'). In present-day English all associations with goats or nabbing are forgotten, the word is isolated from its etymological relatives and functions as a simple sign.

The process of demotivation begins with semantic change. The change of sound form comes later. There is for some time a contradiction between meaning and form, but in the long run this contradiction is overcome, as the word functions not on the strength of the meaning of the components but as a whole indivisible structure.

In many cases the two processes, the morphological and the semantic one, go hand in hand: *lady<OE hlæsfdiзe (hlaf* 'loaf, *diзe* 'knead'), i.e. 'the person who kneads bread'; *lord<OE hlaford,* originally 'breadkeeper'. Both words have become morphologically indivisible and have changed their meaning, so that neither of them is connected with the word *loaf.*

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[1] See: *Богородицкий В.А.* Общий курс русской грамматики. 2-е изд. Казань, 1907. С. 13.

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There are cases where one of the processes, namely demotivation, is complete, while simplification is still under way. We are inclined to rate such words as *boatswain, breakfast, cupboard* as compounds, because they look like compounds thanks to their conservative spelling that shows their origin, whereas in meaning and pronunciation they have changed completely and turned into simple signs for new notions. For example, *breakfast* originates from the verb *break* 'interrupt' and the noun *fast* 'going without food'. Phonetically, had it been a compound, it should sound ['breikfa:st], whereas in reality it is ['brekfastl. The compound is disguised as the vowels have changed; this change corresponds to a change in meaning (the present meaning is 'the first meal of the day').

To take another example, the word *boatswain* ['bousn] 'ship's officer in charge of sails, rigging, etc. and summoning men to duty with whistle' originates from Late OE *batswезen*. The first element is of course the modern *boat,* whereas the second *swain* is archaic: its original meaning was 'lad'. This meaning is lost. The noun *swain* came to mean 'a young rustic', 'a bucolic lover'.

All these examples might be regarded as borderline cases, as simplification is not yet completed graphically.

§ 6.9 NEW WORD-FORMING PATTERNS IN COMPOSITION

An interesting pattern revealing the influence of extra-linguisticfactors on word-formation and vocabulary development are such compounds as *camp-in, ride-in, teach-in, work-in* and the like. "The Barn-hart Dictionary of New English" treats the second element as a combining form of the adverb *in* and connects the original appearance of this morpho-semantic pattern with the civil-rights movement of the 60s. It was used to nominate such public demonstrations of protest as riding in segregated buses *(ride-in),* praying in segregated churches *(kneel-in),* bathing in segregated swimming pools *(swim-in).*

The pattern is structurally similar to an older type of compounds, such as *breakdown, feedback* or *lockout* but differs from them semantically including as its semantic invariant the meaning of public protest.

Somewhat later the word *teach-in* appeared. The name was used for long meetings, seminars or sessions held at universities for the purpose of expressing criticism on important political issues and discussing them. Then any form of seminar patterned on the university *teach-ins* was also called by this term. And similar terms were coined for other cases of staging public protest. E. g. *lie-in* and *die-in* when blocking traffic.

The third stage in the development of this pattern proved to be an extension to any kind of gathering of hippies, flower children and other groups of young people: *laugh-ins, love-ins, sing-ins.* A still further generalisation of meaning may be observed in the compound *call-in* and its American version *phone-in* 'period of time on radio or television programme during which questions, statements, etc. from the public are broadcast', *big sit-down planned for September 17* ("Daily Worker"), where *sitdown* stands for *sitdown demonstration.*

St. Ullmann follows M. Bréal in emphasising the social causes for these. Professional and other communities with a specialised 'sphere of common interests are the ideal setting for ellipsis. *Open on* for *open fire on,* and *put to sea* for *put ship to sea* are of wartime and navy origin, and *bill* for *bill of exchange* comes from business circles; in a newspaper office *daily paper* and *weekly paper* were quite naturally shortened to *daily* and *weekly.*[1] It is clear from the above examples that unlike other types of shortening, ellipsis always results in a change of lexico-grammatical meaning, and therefore the new word belongs to a different part of speech. Various other processes are often interwoven with ellipsis. For instance: *finals* for *final examinations* is a case of ellipsis combined with substantivation of the first element, whereas *prelims* for *preliminary examinations* results from ellipsis, substantivation and clipping. Other examples of the same complex type *are perm : : permanent wave; pop* : : *popular music;*[2] *prom : : promenade concert,* i.e. 'a concert at which at least part of the audience *is* not seated and can walk about'; *pub : : public house* 'an inn or tavern'; *taxi* : : *taxicab,* itself formed from *taximeter-cab.* Inside this group a subgroup with prefixed derivatives as first elements of prototype phrases can be distinguished, e. g. *coed* 'a girl student at a coeducational institution', *prefab* 'a prefabricated house or structure' *(to prefabricate* means 'to manufacture component parts of buildings prior to their assembly on a site').

Curtailed words arise in various types of colloquial speech and have for the most part a pronounced stylistic colouring as long as their connection with the prototype is alive, so that they remain synonyms. E. g.: *They present the tops in pops.* When the connection with the prototype is lost, the curtailed word may become stylistically neutral, e. g. *brig, cab, cello, pram.* Stylistically coloured shortened words may belong to any variety of colloquial style. They are especially numerous in various branches of s l a n g : school slang, service slang, sport slang, newspaper slang, etc. Familiar colloquial style gives such examples as *bobby, cabbie, mac, maxi, mini, movies.* Nursery words are often clipped: *gran, granny; hanky* from *handkerchief; ma* from *mama; nightie* from *nightdress; pinnie* from *pinafore.* Stylistic peculiarity often goes hand in hand with emotional colouring as is revealed in the above diminutives. School and college slang, on the other hand, reveal some sort of reckless if not ironical attitude to the things named: *caf* from *cafeteria* 'self-service restaurant', *digs* from *diggings* 'lodgings', *ec, eco* from *economics, home ecs, lab, maths, prelims, prep, prof, trig, undergrad, vac, varsity.* Service slang is very rich in clipped words, some of them penetrate the familiar colloquial style. A few examples are: *demob* v from *demobilise; civvy* n from *civilian, op* n from *operator; non-com* n from *non-combatant; corp* n from *corporal; sarge* n *from sergeant.*

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[1] See: *Ullmann St.* The Principles of Semantics, p.p. 116, 239.
[2] Often used in such combinations as *pop art, pop singer, pop song.*

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The only type of clippings that belong to bookish style are the poetical contractions such as *e'en, e'er, ne'er, o'er.*

It has already been mentioned that curtailed words from compounds are few; cases of curtailment combined with composition set off against phrasal prototypes are slightly more numerous, e. g. *ad-lib* v 'to speak without notes or preparation' from the Latin phrase *ad libitum* meaning 'at pleasure'; *subchaser* n from *submarine chaser.* A curious derivational compound with a clipping for one of its stems is the word *teen-ager* (see p. 35). The jocular and ironical name *Lib-Labs* (Liberal Labour MP's, i.e. a particular group) illustrates clipping, composition and ellipsis and imitation of reduplication all in one word.

Among these formations there is a specific group that has attracted special attention of several authors and was even given several different names: b l e n d s ,   b l e n d i n g s ,   f u s i o n s   o r   p o r t m a n t e a u w o r d s . The last term is due to Lewis Carroll, the author of "Alice in Wonderland" and "Through the Looking Glass". One of the most linguistically conscious writers, he made a special technique of using blends coined by himself, such as *chortle* v *<chuckle+snort; mimsy* a*<miserable+flimsy; galumph v<gallop+triumph; slithy* a*< slimy+lithe.*[1] Humpty Dumpty explaining these words to Alice says "You see it's like a portmanteau — there are two meanings packed up into one word." The process of formation is also called t e l e s c o p i n g ,   because the words seem to slide into one another like sections of a telescope. Blends may be defined as formations that combine two words and include the letters or sounds they have in common as a connecting element.

Compare also *snob* which may have been originally an abbreviation for *sine nobilitate,* written after a name in the registry of fashionable English schools to indicate that the bearer of the name did not belong to nobility. One of the most recent examples is *bit,* the fundamental unit of information, which is short for *binary digit.* Other examples are: the already mentioned *paratroops* and the words *bloodalyser* and *breathalyser* for apparatuses making blood and breath tests, *slimnastics* (blend of *slim* and *gymnastics).*

The analysis into immediate constituents is helpful in so far as it permits the definition of a blend as a word with the first constituent represented by a stem whose final part may be missing, and the second constituent by a stem of which the initial part is missing. The second constituent when used in a series of similar blends may turn into a suffix. A new suffix *-on* is, for instance, well under way in such terms as *nylon, rayon,-silon,* formed from the final element of *cotton.*

Depending upon the prototype phrases with which they can be

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[1] Most of the coinages referred to occur in the poem called "Jabberwocky": "O *frabjous day! Calloch! Callay!" He chortled in his joy.*

correlated two types of blends can be distinguished. One may be termed additive, the second restrictive. Both involve the sliding together not only of sound but of meaning as well. Yet the semantic relations which are at work are different. The first, i.e. additive type, is transformable into a phrase consisting of the respective complete stems combined by the conjunction *and,* e. g. *smog<smoke* and *fog* 'a mixture of smoke and fog'. The elements may be synonymous, belong to the same semantic field or at least be members of the same lexico-grammatical class of words: *French+English> Frenglish;* compare also the coinage *smaze <smoke+haze.* The word *Pakistan* was made up of elements taken from the names of the five western provinces: the initials of the words *Panjab, Afghania, Kashmir* and *Singh,* and the final part of *Baluchistan.* Other examples are: *brunch<breakfast* and *lunch', transceiver< transmitter* and *receiver; Niffles<Niagara Falls.*

The restrictive type is transformable into an attributive phrase where the first element serves as modifier of the second: *cine(matographic pano) rama>cinerama.* Other examples are: *medicare<medical care; positron<positive electron; telecast<television broadcast.* An interesting variation of the same type is presented by cases of superposition, formed by pairs of words having similar clusters of sounds which seem to provoke blending, e. g. *motel<motorists' hotel:* the element *-ot-* is present in both parts of the prototype. Further examples are: *shamboo<sham bamboo* (imitation bamboo); *atomaniac<atom maniac; slanguage<slang +language; spam<spiced ham.* Blends, although not very numerous altogether, seem to be on the rise, especially in terminology and also in trade advertisements.

§ 7.3 GRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS. ACRONYMS

Because of the ever closer connection between the oral and the written forms of the language it is sometimes difficult to differentiate clippings formed in oral speech from graphical abbreviations. The more so as the latter often pass into oral speech and become widely used in conversation.

During World War I and after it the custom became very popular not only in English-speaking countries, but in other parts of the world as well, to call countries, governmental, social, military, industrial and trade organisations and officials not only by their full titles but by initial abbreviations derived from writing. Later the trend became even more pronounced, e. g. *the USSR, the U.N., the U.N.O., MP.* The tendency today is to omit full-stops between the letters: *GPO (General Post Office).* Some abbreviations nevertheless appear in both forms: *EPA* and *E.P.A. (Environment Protection Agency).* Such words formed from the initial letter or letters of each of the successive parts of a phrasal term have two possible types of orthoepic correlation between written and spoken forms.

1. If the abbreviated written form lends itself to be read as though it were an ordinary English word and sounds like an English word, it will be read like one. The words thus formed are called a c r o n y m s

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(from Gr *acros-* '*end'+onym* 'name'). This way of forming new words is becoming more and more popular in almost all fields of human activity, and especially in political and technical vocabulary: *U.N.O.,* also *UNO* ['ju:nou] — *United Nations Organisation, NATO — the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, SALT—Strategic Arms Limitation Talks.* The last example shows that acronyms are often homonymous to ordinary words; sometimes intentionally chosen so as to create certain associations. Thus, for example, *the National Organisation for Women* is called *NOW.* Typical of acronymic coinages in technical terminology are *JATO, laser, maser* and *radar. JATO* or *jato* means *jet-assisted take-off; laser* stands for *light amplification by stimulated emission radiation; maser* — for *micro-wave amplification and stimulated emission radiation; radar* — for *radio detection and ranging,* it denotes a system for ascertaining direction and ranging of aircraft, ships, coasts and other objects by means of electro-magnetic waves which they reflect. Acronyms became so popular that their number justified the publication of special dictionaries, such as D.D. Spencer's "Computer Acronym Handbook" (1974). We shall mention only one example from computer terminology — the rather ironic *GIGO* for *garbage in, garbage out* in reference to unreliable data fed into the computer that produces worthless output.

Acronyms present a special interest because they exemplify the working of the lexical adaptive system. In meeting the needs of communication and fulfilling the laws of information theory requiring a maximum signal in the minimum time the lexical system undergoes modification in its basic structure: namely it forms new elements not by combining existing morphemes and proceeding from sound forms to their graphic representation but the other way round — coining new words from the initial letters of phrasal terms originating in texts.

2. The other subgroup consists of initial abbreviation with the alphabetical reading retained, i.e. pronounced as a series of letters. They also retain correlation with prototypes. The examples are well-known: *B.B.C.* *['bi:'bi:'si:] — the British Broadcasting Corporation; G.I.* ['dʒi: 'ai] — for *Government Issue,* a widely spread metonymical name for American soldiers on the items of whose uniforms these letters are stamped. The last abbreviation was originally an Americanism but has been firmly established in British English as well. *M.P.* ['em'pi:] is mostly used as an initial abbreviation for *Member of Parliament,* also *military police,* whereas *P.M.* stands for *Prime Minister.*

Abbreviations are freely used in colloquial speech as seen from the following extract, in which CP. Snow describes the House of Commons gossip: *They were swapping promises to speak for one another: one was bragging how two senior Ministers were "in the bag" to speak for him. Roger was safe, someone said, he'd give a hand. "What has the P.M. got in mind for Roger when we come back?"* The familiar colloquial quality of the context is very definitely marked by the set expressions: *in the bag, give a hand, get in mind,* etc.

Other examples of initial abbreviations with the alphabetical reading retained are: S.O.S. ['es'ou'es]—*Save Our Souls,* a wireless code-signal of extreme distress, also figuratively, any despairing cry for help; *T.V.* or *TV* I'tir'vi:] — *television; Y.C.L.* ['wai'sir'el] — *the Young Communist League.*

3. The term a b b r e v i a t i o n may be also used for a shortened form of a written word or phrase used in a text in place of the whole for economy of space and effort. Abbreviation is achieved by omission of letters from one or more parts of the whole, as for instance *abbr* for *abbreviation, bldg* for *building, govt* for *government, wd* for *word, doz* or *dz* for *dozen, ltd* for *limited, B.A.* for *Bachelor of Arts, N.Y. for New York State.* Sometimes the part or parts retained show some alteration, thus, *oz* denotes *ounce* and *Xmas* denotes *Christmas.* Doubling of initial letters shows plural forms as for instance *pplp.p.* for *pages, ll* for *lines* or *cc* for *chapters.* These are in fact not separate words but only graphic signs or symbols representing them. Consequently no orthoepic correlation exists in such cases and the unabbreviated word is pronounced: *ll* [lainz], *pp* ['peʤʃʒz].

A specific type of abbreviations having no parallel in Russian is represented by Latin abbreviations which sometimes are not read as Latin words but substituted by their English equivalents. A few of the most important cases are listed below: *ad lib* (Lat *ad libitum) — at pleasure', a.m.* (Lat *ante meridiem) — in the morning', cf.* (Lat *conferre)*
— compare; cp. (Lat *comparare) — compare', e.g.* (Lat *exempli gratia)*
— for example; ib(id) (Lat *ibidem) — in the same place; i.e.* (Lat *id est)*
— that is; loc.cit. (Lat *locus citato) — in the passage cited; ob.* (Lat *obiit)*
—he (she) died; q.v. (Lat *quod vide) — which see; p.m.* (Lat *post meridiem)*
— in the afternoon; viz (Lat *videlicet) — namely,* sometimes read *viz.* Actual letters are also read in the following cases: *a.m.* ['ei'em], *e.g., i.e., q.v., p.m.*

An interesting feature of present-day English is the use of initial abbreviations for famous persons' names and surnames. Thus, George Bernard Shaw is often alluded to as *G.B.S.* ['dʒi:'bi:'es], Herbert George Wells as *H.G.* The usage is clear from the following example: "*Oh, yes ... where was I?*" "*With H.G.'s Martians,*" *I told him* (Wyndham).

Journalistic abbreviations are often occasioned by a desire to economise head-line space, as seen from the following example "*CND Calls Lobby to Stop MLF*" ("Daily Worker"). This means that a mass lobby of Parliament against the NATO multilateral nuclear force *(MLF)* is being called by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament *(CND).*

These regular developments are in some cases combined with occasional jocular or accidental distortions. The National Economic Development Council is facetiously termed *Neddy.* Elementary education is colloquially referred to as *the three R's* — reading, (w)riting and 'rithmetic. Some kind of witty folk etymology is at play when the abbreviation *C.B.* for *construction battalions* in the navy is respelt into *sea bees.* The two well-known Americanisms *jeep* and *okay* may be mentioned in this connection. *Jeep* meaning 'a small military motor vehicle' comes from *g.p.* ['dʒi:'pi:] (the initials of *general purpose). Okay, OK* may be an illiterate misinterpretation of the initials in *all correct.* Various other historic anecdotes have been also offered by way of explanation of the latter.

It must be emphasised that initial abbreviation, no less than other types of shortening, retains the valency, i.e. the combining possibilities of the prototypes. The difference in distribution is conditioned only by a change of meaning (lexical or more rarely lexico-grammatical). Abbreviations receive the plural and Possessive case inflections: *G.I.'s, M.P.'s, P.O.W.'s* (from *prisoner of war),* also the verb paradigm: *okays, okayed, okaying.* E. g. *A hotel's no life for you... Why don't you come and P.G. with me?* (A. Wilson) Here *P.G.* is an abbreviation for *paying guest.* Like all nouns they can be used attributively: *BBC television, TV program, UN vote.*

A specifically English word pattern almost absent in the Russian language must be described in connection with initial abbreviations in which the first element is a letter and the second a complete word. The examples are: *A-bomb* for *atomic bomb, V-sign* — a sign made by holding the hand up with the first two fingers spread with the palm facing forward in the shape of a V used for expressing victory or the hope for it. A like sign made with the back of the hand facing forward expressed dislike and is considered very rude. The example is interesting, because it shows the connection between the lexical system and paralinguistic means of communication, that is gestures, mimics and prosodic means (from *para* 'beyond').

There is no uniformity in semantic relationships between the elements: *Z-bar* is a metallic bar with a cross section shaped like the letter Z, while *Z-hour* is an abbreviation of *zero-hour* meaning 'the time set for the beginning of the attack', *U* is standing for upper classes in such combinations as *U-pronunciation, U-language.* Cf.: *U-boat* 'a submarine'. *Non-U* is its opposite. So *Non-U speakers* are those whose speech habits show that they do not belong to the upper classes.

It will have been noted that all kinds of shortening are very productive in present-day English. They are especially numerous in colloquial speech, both familiar colloquial and professional slang. They display great combining activity and form bases for further word-formation and inflection.

§ 7.4 MINOR TYPES OF LEXICAL OPPOSITIONS. SOUND INTERCHANGE

S o u n d   i n t e r c h a n g e   may be defined as an opposition in which words or word forms are differentiated due to an alternation in the phonemic composition of the root. The change may affect the root vowel, as in *food* n : : *feed* v; or root consonant as in *speak* v : : *speech* n; or both, as for instance in *life* n : : *live* v. It may also be combined with affixation: *strong* a : : *strength* n; or with affixation and shift of stress as in '*democrat :* : de'*mocracy.*

The process is not active in the language at present, and oppositions like those listed above survive in the vocabulary only as remnants of previous stages. Synchronically sound interchange should not be considered as a method of word-building at all, but rather as a basis for contrasting words belonging to the same word-family and different parts of speech or different lexico-grammatical groups.

The causes of sound interchange are twofold and one should learn to differentiate them from the historical point of view. Some of them are due to a b l a u t   o r   v o w e l   g r a d a t i o n characteristic of Indo-European languages and consisting in a change from one to another vowel accompanying a change of stress. The phenomenon is best known as a series of relations between vowels by which the stems of strong verbs are differentiated in grammar *(drink — drank — drunk* and the like). However, it is also of great importance in lexicology, because ablaut furnishes distinctive features for differentiating words. The examples are: *abide* v : : *abode* n; *bear* v : : *burden* n; *bite* v : : *bit* n; *ride* v : : *road* n; *strike* v : : *stroke* n.

The other group of cases is due to an assimilation process conditioned by the phonemic environment. One of these is v o w e l   m u t a t i o n , otherwise called u m l a u t , a feature characteristic of Germanic languages, and consisting in a partial assimilation to a succeeding sound, as for example the fronting or raising of a back vowel or a low vowel caused by an [i] or [j] originally standing in the following syllable but now either altered or lost. This accounts for such oppositions as *full* a : : *fill* v; *whole* a : : *heal* v; *knot* n : : *knit* v; *tale* n : : *tell* v. The process will be clear if we follow the development of the second element in each pair. ModE *fill<OE fyllan; heal < hælan <*hailjan* cognate to the OE *hal; tell<OE tellan<*tallian; knit<OE cnyttan* is especially interesting, as OE *cnotta* is akin to ON *knūtr, knot, knötr* 'ball' and to the Russian *кнут* which is 'a lash of knotted things'.

The consonant interchange was also caused by phonetic surroundings. Thus, the oppositions *speak* v : : *speech* n; *bake* v : : *batch* n; or *wake* v : : *watch* n are due to the fact that the palatal OE [k] very early became [tS] but was retained in verbs because of the position before the consonants [s] and [θ] in the second and third persons singular.

A voiced consonant in verbs contrasting with an unvoiced one in nouns results from the fact that in ME verbs this final of the stem occurred in intervocalic positions which made it voiced, whereas in nouns it ended the word or was followed by a consonant ending. After the loss of endings the voicedness was retained and grew into a d i s t i n c t i v e   f e a t u r e . There is a long series of cognate verbs and nouns and also some adjectives differing in this way. Observe, for example, the opposition of voiced and unvoiced consonants in the following: *advise* v : : *advice* n; *bathe* v : : *bath* n; *believe* v : : *belief* n; *clothe* v : : *cloth* n; *glaze* v : : *glass* n; *halve* v : : *half* n; *live* v : : *life* n; *loathe* v : : *loath* n and a; *lose* v : : *loss* n, *loose* a; *prove* v : : *proof* n and a; *serve* v : : *serf* n; *shelve* v : : *shelf* n; *wreathe* v : : *wreath* n.

As to the difference in the root vowels of these verbs and nouns, it is caused by the fact that the root syllable in verbs was open, whereas in nouns it was closed. Observe the analogy between plurals in [-vz] correlated with singulars in [-f] and verbs in [-v] correlated with nouns in [-f]: *shelf* n sing. — *shelves* n pl. — *shelve* v.[1]

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[1] O. Jespersen in "A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles" (pt. VI, p. 200) points out that if the plural of a noun ends in *-fs*, a derived verb never has a voiced final consonant: *dwarf* n — *dwarf* v; *roof* n —*roof* v.

It will be recalled in this connection that the systematic character of the language may manifest itself in the analogy between word-building processes and word inflection. It is worthy of note that not only are these processes similar, but they also develop simultaneously. Thus, if some method is no longer productive in expressing grammatical categories, we shall also observe a parallel loss of productivity in expressing lexical meaning. This is precisely the case with root inflection. Instances of root inflection in the formation of the plural of nouns *(goose — geese, foot — feet, tooth—teeth)* or the Past Indefinite and Participle II of verbs *(sing — sang — sung, drive — drove — driven, tear — tore — torn)* exist in the language as the relics of past stages; and although in the case of verbs the number of ablaut forms is still very great, no new verbs are inflected on this pattern.

The same may be said about word-building by sound interchange. The type is not productive. No new words are formed in this way, yet sound interchange still stays in the language serving to distinguish one long-established word from another.

Synchronically, it differentiated parts of speech, i.e. it may signal the non-identity of words belonging to different parts of speech: *full* a : : *fill* v; *food* n : : *feed* v; or to different lexico-grammatical sets within the same part of speech: *fall* intransitive v : : *fell* causative v; compare also *lie : : lay, sit* : : *set, rise* : : *raise.*

Derivation often involves phonological changes of vowel or consonant: *strong* SL : : *strength* n; *heal* v : : *health* n; *steal* v : : *stealth* n; *long* a : : *length* n; *deep* a : : *depth* n.

Major derivative alternations involving changes of vowel and /or consonant and sometimes stress shift in borrowed words are as follows: *delicacy* n : : *delicate* a; *piracy* n : : *pirate* n; *democracy* n : : *democrat* n; *decency n* : : *decent* a; *vacancy* n : : *vacant* a; *creation* n : : *create* v; *edify* v : : *edification* n; *organise* v : : *organisation* n; *agnostic* a : : *agnosticism* n.

Some long vowels are retained in quality and quantity; others are shortened, and there seems to be no fixed rule, e . g . [a:] tends to be retained: *artist* n : : *artistic* a; [ɘ:] is regularly shortened: '*permit* n : : *per'mit* v.

§ 7.5 DISTINCTIVE STRESS

Some otherwise homographic, mostly disyllabic nouns and verbs of Romanic origin have a distinctive stress pattern. Thus, '*conduct* n 'behaviour' is forestressed, whereas *con'duct* v 'to lead or guide (in a formal way)' has a stress on the second syllable. Other examples are: *accent, affix, asphalt, compact (impact),*[1] *compound, compress (impress), conflict, contest, contract (extract), contrast, convict, digest, essay, export (import, transport), increase, insult, object (subject, project), perfume, permit, present, produce, progress, protest, rebel, record, survey, torment, transfer.*[2] Examples of words of more than two syllables are very few:

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[1] Words of the same root are given in brackets.
[2] There are some meanings in which the verb is also forestressed.

'attribute n : : *a'ttribute* v. Historically this is probably explained by the fact that these words were borrowed from French where the original stress was on the last syllable. Thus, *ac'cent* comes through French from Latin *ac'centus.* Verbs retained this stress all the more easily as many native disyllabic verbs were also stressed in this way: *be come, be'lieve, for'bid, for'get, for'give.* The native nouns, however, were forestressed, and in the process of assimilation many loan nouns came to be stressed on the first syllable.

A similar phenomenon is observed in some homographic pairs of adjectives and verbs, e . g . '*absent* a : : *ab'sent* v; '*frequent* a : : *fre'quent* v; '*perfect* a : : *per'fect* v; '*abstract* a : : *ab'stract* v. Other patterns with difference in stress are also possible, such as *arithmetic* [ə'riθ-mətik] n : : *arithmetical)* [əπθ'metik(əl)] a. The fact that in the verb the second syllable is stressed involves a phonemic change of the vowels as well: [ə/ae] and [ə/i].

This stress distinction is, however, neither productive nor regular. There are many denominal verbs that are forestressed and thus homonymous with the corresponding nouns. For example, both the noun and the verb *comment* are forestressed, and so are the following words: *exile, figure, preface, quarrel, focus, process, program, triumph, rivet* and others.

There is a large group of disyllabic loan words that retain the stress on the second syllable both in verbs and nouns: *accord, account, advance, amount, approach, attack, attempt, concern, defeat, distress, escape, exclaim, research,* etc.

A separate group is formed by compounds where the corresponding combination of words has double stress and the compound noun is forestressed so that the stress acquires a word-building force: '*black* '*board* : : '*blackboard* and '*draw'back* : : '*drawback.*

It is worth noting that stress alone, unaccompanied by any other differentiating factor, does not seem to provide a very effective means of distinguishing words. And this is, probably, the reason why oppositions of this kind are neither regular nor productive.

§ 7.6 SOUND IMITATION

The great majority of motivated words in present-day language are motivated by reference to other words in the language, to the morphemes that go to compose them and to their arrangement. Therefore, even if one hears the noun *wage-earner* for the first time, one understands it, knowing the meaning of the words *wage* and *earn* and the structural pattern **noun stem** + **verbal stem**+ *-er* as in *bread-winner, skyscraper, strike-breaker.* Sound imitating or onomatopoeic words are on the contrary motivated with reference to extra-linguistic reality, they are echoes of natural sounds (e. g. *lullaby, twang, whiz.)* S o u n d i m i t a t i o n (o n o m a t o p o e i a or e c h o i s m) is consequently the naming of an action or thing by a more or less exact reproduction of a sound

associated with it. For instance words naming sounds and movement of water: *babble, blob, bubble, flush, gurgle, gush, splash,* etc.

The term o n o m a t o p o e i a is from Greek *onoma* 'name, word' and *poiein* 'to make[1] → 'the making of words (in imitation of sounds)'.

It would, however, be wrong to think that onomatopoeic words reflect the real sounds directly, irrespective of the laws of the language, because the same sounds are represented differently in different languages. Onomatopoeic words adopt the phonetic features of English and fall into the combinations peculiar to it. This becomes obvious when one compares onomatopoeic words *crow* and *twitter* and the words *flow* and *glitter* with which they are rhymed in the following poem:

The cock is crowing,
The stream is flowing.
The small birds twitter,
The lake does glitter,
The green fields sleep in the sun (Wordsworth).

The majority of onomatopoeic words serve to name sounds or movements. Most of them are verbs easily turned into nouns: *bang, boom, bump, hum, rustle, smack, thud,* etc.

They are very expressive and sometimes it is difficult to tell a noun from an interjection. Consider the following: *Thum — crash! "Six o'clock, Nurse," — crash] as the door shut again. Whoever it was had given me the shock of my life* (M. Dickens).

Sound-imitative words form a considerable part of interjections. Cf . *bang! hush! pooh!*

Semantically, according to the source of sound, onomatopoeic words fall into a few very definite groups. Many verbs denote sounds produced by human beings in the process of communication or in expressing their feelings: *babble, chatter, giggle, grunt, grumble, murmur, mutter, titter, whine, whisper* and many more. Then there are sounds produced by animals, birds and insects, e . g . *buzz, cackle, croak, crow, hiss, honk, howl, moo, mew, neigh, purr, roar* and others. Some birds are named after the sound they make, these are *the crow, the cuckoo, the whippoor-will* and a few others. Besides the verbs imitating the sound of water such as *bubble* or *splash,* there are others imitating the noise of metallic things: *clink, tinkle,* or forceful motion: *clash, crash, whack, whip, whisk,* etc.

The combining possibilities of onomatopoeic words are limited by usage. Thus, a contented cat *purrs,* while a similarly sounding verb *whirr* is used about wings. A gun *bangs* and a bow *twangs.*

R. Southey's poem "How Does the Water Come Down at Lodore" is a classical example of the stylistic possibilities offered by onomatopoeia: the words in it sound an echo of what the poet sees and describes.

Here it comes sparkling, And
there it flies darkling ... Eddying
and whisking,

Spouting and frisking, ...
And whizzing and hissing, ...
And rattling and battling, ...
And guggling and struggling, ...
And bubbling and troubling and doubling,
And rushing and flushing and brushing and gushing,
And flapping and rapping and clapping and slapping ...
And thumping and pumping and bumping and jumping,
And dashing and flashing and splashing and clashing ...
And at once and all o'er, with a mighty uproar,
And this way the water comes down at Lodore.

Once being coined, onomatopoeic words lend themselves easily to further word-building and to semantic development. They readily develop figurative meanings. *Croak,* for instance, means 'to make a deep harsh sound'. In its direct meaning the verb is used about frogs or ravens. Metaphorically it may be used about a hoarse human voice. A further transfer makes the verb synonymous to such expressions as 'to protest dismally', 'to grumble dourly', 'to predict evil'.

§ 7.7 BACK-FORMATION

B a c k - f o r m a t i o n (also called reversion) is a term borrowed from diachronic linguistics. It denotes the derivation of new words by subtracting a real or supposed affix from existing words through misinterpretation of their structure. The phenomenon was already introduced in § 6.4.3 when discussing compound verbs.

The process is based on analogy. The words *beggar, butler, cobbler,* or *typewriter* look very much like agent nouns with the suffix *-er/-or,* such as *actor* or *painter.* Their last syllable is therefore taken for a suffix and subtracted from the word leaving what is understood as a verbal stem. In this way the verb *butle* 'to act or serve as a butler' is derived by subtraction of *-er* from a supposedly verbal stem in the noun *butler. Butler* (ME *buteler, boteler* from OFr *bouteillier* 'bottle bearer') has widened its meaning. Originally it meant 'the man-servant having charge of the wine'. It means at present 'the chief servant of a rich household who is in charge of other servants, receives guests and directs the serving of meals'.

These examples are sufficient to show how structural changes taking place in back-formation became possible because of semantic changes that preceded them. In the above cases these changes were favoured by contextual environment. The change of meaning resulted in demotivation, and this paved the way for phonic changes, i.e. assimilation, loss of sound and the like, which in their turn led to morphemic alternations that became meaningful. Semantic changes often influence the morphological structure by

modifying the relations between stems and derivational affixes. Structural changes, in their turn, depend on the combined effect of demotivation and analogy conditioned by a higher frequency of occurrence of the pattern that serves as model. Provided all other conditions are equal, words following less frequent structural patterns are readily subjected to changes on the analogy of more frequent patterns.

The very high frequency of the pattern **verb** *stem+-er* (or its equivalents) is a matter of common knowledge. Nothing more natural therefore than the prominent part this pattern plays in back-formation. Alongside the examples already cited above are *burgle v<burglar* n; *cobble v<cobbler* n; *sculpt v<sculptor* n. This phenomenon is conveniently explained on the basis of proportional lexical oppositions. If

$$\frac{teacher}{teach} = \frac{painter}{paint} = \frac{butler}{x}$$

then x = *butle,* and *to butle* must mean 'to act as butler'.

The process of back-formation has only diachronic relevance. For synchronic approach *butler* : : *butle* is equivalent to *painter* : : *paint,* so that the present-day speaker may not feel any difference between these relationships. The fact that *butle* is derived from *butler* through misinterpretation is synchronically of no importance. Some modern examples of back-formation are *lase* v — a verb used about the functioning of the apparatus called *laser (see* p. 143), *escalate* from *escalator* on the analogy of *elevate — elevator.* Cf. also the verbs *aggress, automate, enthuse, obsolesce* and *reminisce.*

Back-formation may be also based on the analogy of inflectional forms as testified by the singular nouns *pea* and *cherry. Pea* (the plural of which is *peas* and also *pease)* is from ME *pese<OE pise, peose<Lat pisa,* pl. of *pesum.* The ending *-s* being the most frequent mark of the plural in English, English speakers thought that *sweet peas(e)* was a plural and turned the combination *peas(e) soup* into *pea soup. Cherry* is from OFr *cerise,* and the *-se* was dropped for exactly the same reason.

The most productive type of back-formation in present-day English is derivation of verbs (see p. 126) from compounds that have either *-er* or *-ing* as their last element. The type will be clear from the following examples: *thought-read v<thought-reader n<thought-reading* n; *air-condition* v<*air-conditioner* n < *air-conditioning* n; *turbo-supercharge* v < *turbo-supercharger* n. Other examples of back-formations from compounds are the verbs *baby-sit, beachcomb, house-break, house-clean, house-keep, red-bait, tape-record* and many others.

The semantic relationship between the prototype and the derivative is regular. *Baby-sit,* for example, means to act or become employed as a baby-sitter', that is to take care of children for short periods of time while the parents are away from home. Similarly, *beachcomb* is 'to live or act as a beachcomber'; the noun is a slightly ironical word de-

The degree of substantivation may be different. Alongside with complete substantivation of the type already mentioned *(the private, the private's, the privates),* there exists partial substantivation. In this last case a substantivised adjective or participle denotes a group or a class of people: *the blind, the dead, the English, the poor, the rich, the accused, the condemned, the living, the unemployed, the wounded, the lower-paid.*

We call these words partially substantivised, because they undergo no morphological changes, i.e. do not acquire a new paradigm and are only used with the definite article and a collective meaning. Besides they keep some properties of adjectives. They can, for instance, be modified by adverbs. E.g.: *Success is the necessary misfortune of human life, but it is only to the very unfortunate that it comes early* (Trollope). *It was the suspicious and realistic, I thought, who were most easy to reassure. It was the same in love: the extravagantly jealous sometimes needed only a single word to be transported into absolute trust* (Snow).

Besides the substantivised adjectives denoting human beings there is a considerable group of abstract nouns, as is well illustrated by such grammatical terms as: *the Singular, the Plural, the Present, the Past, the Future,* and also: *the evil, the good, the impossible.* For instance: *"One should never struggle against the inevitable,"* he said (Christie)/

It is thus evident that substantivation has been the object of much controversy. Some of those, who do not accept substantivation of adjectives as a variant of conversion, consider conversion as a process limited to the formation of verbs from nouns and nouns from verbs. But this point of view is far from being universally accepted.

§ 8.6 CONVERSION IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF SPEECH

In this paragraph we present the types of conversion according to parts of speech and secondary word classes involved. By secondary word classes we mean lexico-grammatical classes, that is subsets within parts of speech that differ in meaning and functions, as, for instance, transitive and intransitive verbs, countable and uncountable nouns, gradable and non-gradable adjectives, and so on.

We know already that the most frequent types of conversion are those from noun to verb, from verb to noun and from adjective to noun and to verb. The first type seems especially important, conversion being the main process of verb-formation at present.

Less frequent but also quite possible is conversion from form words to nouns. E. g. *He liked to know the ins and outs. I shan't go into the whys and wherefores. He was familiar with ups and downs of life.* Use is even made of affixes. Thus, *ism* is a separate word nowadays meaning 'a set of ideas or principles', e. g. *Freudism, existentialism* and all the other *isms.*

In all the above examples the change of paradigm is present and helpful for classifying the newly coined words as cases of conversion. But it is not absolutely necessary, because conversion is not limited to such parts of speech which possess a paradigm. *That,* for example, may be converted into an adverb in informal speech: *I was that hungry I could have eaten a horse.*

R. Quirk and his colleagues extend the notion of conversion to re-classification of secondary word classes within one part of speech, a phenomenon also called t r a n s p o s i t i o n . Thus, mass nouns and abstract nouns are converted into countable nouns with the meanings 'a unit of N', 'a kind of N', 'an instance of N'. E. g. *two coffees, different oils* (esp. in technical literature), *peaceful initiatives.*

The next commonest change is changing of intransitive verbs into transitive: *to run a horse in a race, to march the prisoners, to dive a plane.* Other secondary verb-classes can be changed likewise. Non-gradable adjectives become gradable with a certain change of meaning: *He is more English than the English.*

We share a more traditional approach and treat transposition within one part of speech as resulting in lexico-semantic variation of one and the same word, not as coining a new one (see § 3.4).

§ 8.7 CONVERSION AND OTHER TYPES OF WORD-FORMATION

The flexibility of the English vocabulary system makes a word formed by conversion capable of further derivation, so that it enters into combinations not only with functional but also with derivational affixes characteristic of a verbal stem, and becomes distributionally equivalent to it. For example, *view* 'to watch television' gives *viewable, viewer, viewing.*

Conversion may be combined with other word-building processes, such as composition. Attributive phrases like *black ball, black list, pin point, stone wall* form the basis of such firmly established verbs as *blackball, blacklist, pinpoint, stonewall.* The same pattern is much used in noncewords such as *to my-dear, to my-love, to blue-pencil.*

This type should be distinguished from cases when composition and conversion are not simultaneous, that is when, for instance, a compound noun gives rise to a verb: *corkscrew* n : : *corkscrew* v; *streamline n : : streamline* v.

A special pattern deserving attention because of its ever increasing productivity results as a combined effect of composition and conversion forming nouns out of verb-adverb combinations. This type is different from conversion proper as the basic forms are not homonymous due to the difference in the stress pattern, although they consist of identical morphemes. Thanks to solid or hyphenated spelling and single stress the noun stem obtains phonetical and graphical integrity and indivisibility absent in the verb-group, cf. *to 'draw 'back* : : *a 'drawback.* Further examples are: *blackout* n : : *black out* v; *breakdown* n : : *break down* v; *come-back, drawback, fall-out, hand-out, hangover, knockout, link-up, lookout, lockout, makeup, pull-over, runaway, run-off, set-back, take-off, takeover, teach-in.*

The type is specifically English, its intense and growing development is due to the profusion of verbal collocations (see p. 120 ff) and con- or unchangeable, whether the meaning of the one element remains free, and,

more generally, on the interdependence between the meaning of the elements and the meaning of the set expression. Much attention is devoted to different types of variation: synonymic, pronominal, etc.

After this brief review of possible semantic classifications, we pass on to a formal and functional classification based on the fact that a set expression functioning in speech is in distribution similar to definite classes of words, whereas structurally it can be identified with various types of syntagmas or with complete sentences.

We shall distinguish set expressions that are nominal phrases: *the wot of the trouble'*, verbal phrases: *put one's best foot forward;* adjectival phrases: *as good as gold; red as a cherry;* adverbial phrases: *from head to foot;* prepositional phrases: *in the course of;* conjunctional phrases: *as long as, on the other hand;* interjectional phrases: *Well, I never*! A stereotyped sentence also introduced into speech as a ready-made formula may be illustrated by *Never say die!* 'never give up hope', *take your time* 'do not hurry'.

The above classification takes into consideration not only the type of component parts but also the functioning of the whole, thus, *tooth and nail* is not a nominal but an adverbial unit, because it serves to modify a verb (e. g. *fight tooth and nail);* the identically structured *lord and master* is a nominal phrase. Moreover, not every nominal phrase is used in all syntactic functions possible for nouns. Thus, *a bed of roses* or *a bed of nails* and *forlorn hope* are used only predicatively.

Within each of these classes a further subdivision is necessary. The following list is not meant to be exhaustive, but to give only the principal features of the types.

I. Set expressions functioning like nouns:

N+N: *maiden name* 'the surname of a woman before she was married'; *brains trust* 'a committee of experts' or 'a number of reputedly well informed persons chosen to answer questions of general interest without preparation', *family jewels* 'shameful secrets of the CIA' (Am. slang).

N's+N: *cat's paw* 'one who is used for the convenience of a cleverer and stronger person' (the expression comes from a fable in which a monkey wanting to eat some chestnuts that were on a hot stove, but not wishing to burn himself while getting them, seised a cat and holding its paw in his own used it to knock the chestnuts to the ground); *Hob-son's choice,* a set expression used when there is no choice at all, when a person has to take what is offered or nothing (Thomas Hobson, a 17th century London stableman, made every person hiring horses take the next in order).

Ns'+N: *ladies' man* 'one who makes special effort to charm or please women'.

N+prp+N: *the arm of the law; skeleton in the cupboard.*

N+A: *knight errant* (the phrase is today applied to any chivalrous man ready to help and protect oppressed and helpless people).

N+and+N: *lord and master* 'husband'; *all the world and his*

wife (a more complicated form); *rank and file* 'the ordinary working members of an organisation' (the origin of this expression is military life, it denotes common soldiers); *ways and means* 'methods of overcoming difficulties'.

A+N: *green room* 'the general reception room of a theatre' (it is said that formerly such rooms had their walls coloured green to relieve the strain on the actors' eyes after the stage lights); *high tea* 'an evening meal which combines meat or some similar extra dish with the usual tea'; *forty winks* 'a short nap'.

N+**subordinate clause:** *ships that pass in the night* 'chance acquaintances'.

II. Set expressions functioning like verbs:

V+N: *take advantage*

V+and+V: *pick and choose*

V+(one's)+N+(prp): *snap ones fingers at*

V+one+N: *give one the bird* 'to fire sb'

V+subordinate clause: *see how the land lies* 'to discover the state of affairs'.

III. Set expressions functioning like adjectives:

A+and+A: *high and mighty*

(as)+A+as+N: *as old as the hills, as mad as a hatter* Set expressions are often used as predicatives but not attributively. In the latter function they are replaced by compounds.

IV. Set expressions functioning like adverbs:

A big group containing many different types of units, some of them with a high frequency index, neutral in style and devoid of expressiveness, others expressive.

N+N: *tooth and nail*

prp+N: *by heart, of course, against the grain*

adv+prp+N: *once in a blue moon*

prp+N+or+N: *by hook or by crook*

cj+clause: *before one can say Jack Robinson*

V. Set expressions functioning like prepositions:

prp+N+prp: *in consequence of*

It should be noted that the type is often but not always characterised by the absence of article. Cf: *by reason of : : on the ground of.*

VI. Set expressions functioning like interjections:

These are often structured as imperative sentences: *Bless (one's) soul! God bless me! Hang it (all)!*

This review can only be brief and very general but it will not be difficult for the reader to supply the missing links.

The list of types gives a clear notion of the contradictory nature of set expressions: structured like phrases they function like words.

There is one more type of combinations, also rigid and introduced into discourse ready-made but differing from all the types given above in so far as it is impossible to find its equivalent among the parts of speech. These are formulas used as complete utterances and syntactically shaped like sentences, such as the well-known American maxim *Keep smiling!* or the British *Keep Britain tidy. Take it easy.*

A.I. Smirnitsky was the first among Soviet scholars who paid attention to sentences that can be treated as complete formulas, such as *How do you do?* or *I beg your pardon, It takes all kinds to make the world, Can the leopard change his spots?* They differ from all the combinations so far discussed, because they are not equivalent to words in distribution and are semantically analysable. The formulas discussed by N.N. Amosova are on the contrary semantically specific, e. g. *save your breath* 'shut up' or *tell it to the marines.* As it often happens with set expressions, there are different explanations for their origin. (One of the suggested origins is *tell that to the horse marines;* such a corps being nonexistent, as marines are a sea-going force, the last expression means 'tell it to someone who does not exist, because real people will not believe it'). Very often such formulas, formally identical to sentences are in reality used only as insertions into other sentences: *the cap fits* 'the statement is true' (e. g.: "*He called me a liar.*" "*Well, you should know if the cap fits.)* Compare also: *Butter would not melt in his mouth; His bark is worse than his bite.*

§ 9.4 SIMILARITY AND DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A SET EXPRESSION AND A WORD

There is a pressing need for criteria distinguishing set expressions not only from free phrases but from compound words as well. One of these criteria is the formal integrity of words which had been repeatedly mentioned and may be best illustrated by an example with the word *breakfast* borrowed from W.L. Graff. His approach combines contextual analysis and diachronic observations. He is interested in gradation from free construction through the formula to compound and then simple word. In showing the borderline between a word and a formular expression, W.L. Graff speaks about the word *breakfast* derived from the set expression *to break fast,* where *break* was a verb with a specific meaning inherent to it only in combination with *fast* which means 'keeping from food'. Hence it was possible to say: *And knight and squire had broke their fast* (W.Scott). The fact that it was a phrase and not a word is clearly indicated by the conjugation treatment of the verb and syntactical treatment of the noun. With an analytical language like English this conjugation test is, unfortunately, not always applicable.

It would also be misleading to be guided in distinguishing between set expressions and compound words by semantic considerations, there being no rigorous criteria for differentiating between one complex notion and a combination of two or more notions. The references of component words are lost within the whole of a set expression, no less than within a compound word. What is, for instance, the difference in this respect between the set expression *point of view* and the compound *viewpoint?* And if there is any, what are the formal criteria which can help to estimate it?

Alongside with semantic unity many authors mention the unity of syntactic function. This unity of syntactic function is obvious in the predicate of the main clause in the following quotation from J. Wain, which is a simple predicate, though rendered by a set expression: ...*the government we had in those days, when we (Great Britain) were the world's richest country, didn't give a damn whether the kids grew up with rickets or not* ...

This syntactic unity, however, is not specific for all set expressions.

Two types of substitution tests can be useful in showing us the points of similarity and difference between the words and set expressions. In the first procedure a whole set expression is replaced within context by a synonymous word in such a way that the meaning of the utterance remains unchanged, e. g. *he was in a brown study* → *he mas gloomy.* In the second type of substitution test only an element of the set expression is replaced, e. g. *(as) white as chalk* → *(as) white as milk* → *(as) white as snow;* or *it gives me the blues* → *it gives him the blues* → *it gives one the blues.* In this second type it is the set expression that is retained, although its composition or referential meaning may change.

When applying the first type of procedure one obtains a criterion for the degree of equivalence between a set expression and a word. One more example will help to make the point clear. The set expression *dead beat* can be substituted by a single word *exhausted.* E. g.: *Dispatches, sir. Delivered by a corporal of the 33rd. Dead beat with hard riding, sir* (Shaw). The last sentence may be changed into *Exhausted with hard riding, sir.* The lines will keep their meaning and remain grammatically correct. The possibility of this substitution permits us to regard this set expression as a word equivalent.

On the other hand, there are cases when substitution is not possible. The set expression *red tape* has a one word equivalent in Russian *бюрократизм,* but in English it can be substituted only by a free phrase. Thus, in the enumeration of political evils in the example below *red tape,* although syntactically equivalent to derivative nouns used as homogeneous members, can be substituted only by some free phrase, such as *rigid formality of official routine.* Cf. the following example:

BURGOYNE: *And will you wipe out our enemies in London, too?*
SWINDON: *In London! What enemies?*
BURGOYNE (forcible): *Jobbery and snobbery, incompetence and Red Tape* ... (Shaw).

The unity of syntactic function is present in this case also, but the criterion of equivalence to a single word cannot be applied, because substitution by a single word is impossible. Such equivalence is therefore only relative, it is not universally applicable and cannot be accepted as a general criterion for defining these units. The equivalence of words and set expressions should not be taken too literally but treated as a useful abstraction, only in the sense we have stated.

The main point of difference between a word and a set expression is the divisibility of the latter into separately structured elements which is contrasted to the structural integrity of words. Although equivalent to words in being introduced into speech ready-made, a set expression is different from them, because it can be resolved into words, whereas words are resolved

into morphemes. In compound words the process of integration is more advanced. The methods and criteria serving to identify compounds and distinguish them from phrases or groups of words, no matter how often used together, have been pointed out in the chapter on compounds.

Morphological divisibility is evident when one of the elements (but not the last one as in a compound word) is subjected to morphological change. This problem has been investigated by N.N. Amosova, A.V. Koonin and others.] N.N. Amosova gives the following examples:

He played second fiddle to her in his father's heart (Galsworthy). ... *She disliked playing second fiddle* (Christie). *To play second fiddle* 'to occupy a secondary, subordinate position'.

It must be rather fun having a skeleton in the cupboard (Milne*). I hate skeletons in the cupboard* (Ibid.) *A skeleton in the cupboard* 'a family secret'.

A.V. Koonin shows the possibility of morphological changes in adjectives forming part of phraseological units: *He's deader than a doornail; It made the night blacker than pitch; The Cantervilles have blue blood, for instance, the bluest in England.*

It goes without saying that the possibility of a morphological change cannot regularly serve as a distinctive feature, because it may take place only in a limited number of set expressions (verbal or nominal).

The question of syntactic ties within a set expression is even more controversial. All the authors agree that set expressions (for the most part) represent one member of the sentence, but opinions differ as to whether this means that there are no syntactical ties within set expressions themselves. Actually the number of words in a sentence is not necessarily equal to the number of its members.

The existence of syntactical relations within a set expression can be proved by the possibility of syntactical transformations (however limited) or inversion of elements and the substitution of the variable member, all this without destroying the set expression as such. By a v a r i a b l e e l e m e n t we mean the element of the set expression which is structurally necessary but free to vary lexically. It is usually indicated in dictionaries by indefinite pronouns, often inserted in round brackets: *make (somebody's) hair stand on end* 'to give the greatest astonishment or fright to another person'; *sow (one's) wild oats* 'to indulge in dissipation while young'. The word in brackets can be freely substituted: *make (my, your, her, the reader's) hair stand on end.*

The sequence of constant elements may be broken and some additional words inserted, which, splitting the set expression, do not destroy it, but establish syntactical ties with its regular elements. The examples are chiefly limited to verbal expressions, e . g . *The chairman broke the ice → Ice was broken by the chairman; Has burnt his boats and ... → Having burnt his boats he ...* Pronominal substitution is illustrated by the following example: *"Hold your tongue, Lady L." "Hold yours, my good fool."* (N. Marsh, quoted by N.N. Amosova)

All these facts are convincing manifestations of syntactical ties within

the units in question. Containing the same elements these units can change their morphological form and syntactical structure, they may be called c h a n g e a b l e   s e t   e x p r e s s i o n s , as contrasted to s t e r e o t y p e d   or   u n c h a n g e a b l e   s e t   e x p r e s s i o n s , admitting no change either morphological or syntactical. The examples discussed in the previous paragraph mostly belong to this second type, indivisible and unchangeable; they are nearer to a word than their more flexible counterparts. This opposition is definitely correlated with structural properties.

All these examples proving the divisibility and variability of set expressions throw light on the difference between them and words.

§ 9.5 FEATURES ENHANCING UNITY AND STABILITY OF SET EXPRESSIONS

Set expressions have their own specific features, which enhance their stability and cohesion. These are their e u p h o n i c ,   i m a g i n a - t i v e   and c o n n o t a t i v e   qualities. It has been often pointed out that many set expressions are distinctly rhythmical, contain alliteration, rhyme, imagery, contrast, are based on puns, etc. These features have always been treated from the point of view of style and expressiveness. Their cementing function is perhaps no less important. All these qualities ensure the strongest possible contact between the elements, give them their peculiar muscular feel, so that in pronouncing something like *stuff and nonsense* the speaker can enjoy some release of pent-up nervous tension. Consider the following sentence: *Tommy would come back to her safe and sound* (O'Flaherty). *Safe and sound* is somehow more reassuring than the synonymous word *uninjured,* which could have been used.

These euphonic and connotative qualities also prevent substitution for another purely linguistic, though not semantic, reason — any substitution would destroy the euphonic effect. Consider, for instance, the result of synonymic substitution in the above alliterative pair *safe and sound. Secure* and *uninjured* has the same denotational meaning but sounds so dull and trivial that the phrase may be considered destroyed and one is justified in saying that *safe and sound* admits no substitution.

R h y t h m i c   qualities are characteristic of almost all set expressions. They are especially marked in such pairs as *far and wide, far and near* 'many places both near and distant'; *by fits and starts* 'irregularly'; *heart and soul* 'with complete devotion to a cause'. Rhythm is combined with reiteration in the following well-known phrases: *more and more, on and on, one by one, through and through.* Alliteration occurs in many cases: *part and parcel* 'an essential and necessary part'; *with might and main* 'with all one's powers'; *rack and ruin* 'a state of neglect and collapse'; *then and there* 'at once and on the spot'; *from pillar to post', in for a penny, in for a pound', head over heels; without rhyme or reason', pick of the pops', a bee in one's bonnet', the why and wherefore.* It is interesting to note that alliterative phrases often contain obsolete elements, not used elsewhere. In the above expressions these are *main,* an obsolete synonym to *might,* and *rack,* probably a variant of *wreck.*

As one of the elements becomes obsolete and falls out of the language, demotivation may set in, and this, paradoxical though it may seem, also tends to increase the stability and constancy of a set expression. The process is complicated, because the preservation of obsolete elements in set expressions is in its turn assisted by all the features mentioned above. Some more examples of set expressions containing obsolete elements are: *hue and cry* 'a loud clamour about something' (a synonymic pair with the obsolete word *hue); leave in the lurch* 'to leave in a helpless position' (with the obsolete noun *lurch* meaning 'ambush'); *not a whit* 'not at all' (with the obsolete word *whit* — a variant of *wight* 'creature', 'thing' —not used outside this expression and meaning 'the smallest thing imaginable').

R h y m e is also characteristic of set expressions: *fair and square* 'honest'; *by hook or by crook* 'by any method, right or wrong' (its elements are not only rhymed but synonymous). *Out and about* 'able to go out' is used about a convalescent person. *High and dry* was originally used about ships, meaning 'out of the water', 'aground'; at present it is mostly used figuratively in several metaphorical meanings: 'isolated', 'left without help', 'out of date'. This capacity of developing an integer (undivided) transferred meaning is one more feature that makes set expressions similar to words.

S e m a n t i c s t y l i s t i c f e a t u r e s contracting set expressions into units of fixed context are s i m i l e , c o n t r a s t , m e t a - p h o r and s y n o n y m y . For example: *as like as two peas, as old as the hills and older than the hills* (simile); *from beginning to end, for love or money, more or less, sooner or later* (contrast); *a lame duck, a pack of lies, arms race, to swallow the pill, in a nutshell* (metaphor); *by leaps and bounds, proud and haughty* (synonymy). A few more combinations of different features in the same phrase are: *as good as gold, as pleased as Punch, as fit as a fiddle* (alliteration, simile); *now or never, to kill or cure* (alliteration and contrast). More rarely there is an intentional pun: *as cross as two sticks* means 'very angry'. This play upon words makes the phrase jocular. The comic effect is created by the absurdity of the combination making use of two different meanings of the word *cross* a and n.

To a linguistically conscious mind most set expressions tend to keep their history. It remains in them as an intricate force, and the awareness of their history can yield rewarding pleasure in using or hearing them. Very many examples of metaphors connected with the sea can be quoted: *be on the rocks, rest on the oars, sail close to the wind, smooth sailing, weather the storm.* Those connected with agriculture are no less expressive and therefore easily remembered: *plough the sand, plough a lonely furrow, reap a rich harvest, thrash (a subject) out.*

For all practical purposes the boundary between set expressions and free phrases is vague. The point that is to be kept in mind is that there are also some structural features of a set expression correlated with its invariability.

There are, of course, other cases when set expressions lose their metaphorical picturesqueness, having preserved some fossilised words and

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phrases, the meaning of which is no longer correctly understood. For instance, the expression *buy a pig in a poke* may be still used, although *poke* 'bag' (cf . *pouch, pocket)* does not occur in other contexts. Expressions taken from obsolete sports and occupations may survive in their new figurative meaning. In these cases the euphonic qualities of the expression are even more important. A muscular and irreducible phrase is also memorable. The muscular feeling is of special importance in slogans and battle cries. *Saint George and the Dragon for Merrie England,* the medieval battle cry, was a rhythmic unit to which a man on a horse could swing his sword. The modern *Scholarships not battleships]* can be conveniently scanned by a marching crowd.

To sum up, the memorableness of a set expression, as well as its unity, is assisted by various factors within the expression such as rhythm, rhyme, alliteration, imagery and even the muscular feeling one gets> when pronouncing them.

§ 9.6 PROVERBS, SAYINGS, FAMILIAR QUOTATIONS AND CLICHÉS

The place of proverbs, sayings and familiar quotations with respect to set expressions is a controversial issue. A p r o v e r b is a short familiar epigrammatic saying expressing popular wisdom, a truth or a moral lesson in a concise and imaginative way. Proverbs have much in common with set expressions, because their lexical components are also constant, their meaning is traditional and mostly figurative, and they are introduced into speech ready-made. That is why some scholars following V.V. Vinogradov think proverbs must be studied together with phraseological units. Others like J. Casares and N.N. Amosova think that unless they regularly form parts of other sentences it is erroneous to include them into the system of language, because they are independent units of communication. N.N. Amosova even thinks that there is no more reason to consider them as part of phraseology than, for instance, riddles and children's counts. This standpoint is hardly acceptable especially if we do not agree with the narrow limits of phraseology offered by this author. Riddles and counts are not as a rule included into utterances in the process of communication, whereas proverbs are. Whether they are included into an utterance as independent sentences or as part of sentences is immaterial. If we follow that line of reasoning, we shall have to exclude all interjections such as *Hang it (all)*! because they are also syntactically independent. As to the argument that in many proverbs the meaning of component parts does not show any specific changes when compared to the meaning of the same words in free combinations, it must be pointed out that in this respect they do not differ from very many set expressions, especially those which are emotionally neutral.

Another reason why proverbs must be taken into consideration together with set expressions is that they often form the basis of set expressions. E. g. *the last straw breaks the camel's back* : : *the last straw; a drowning man will clutch at a straw* : : *clutch at a straw; it is useless to lock the stable door when the steed is stolen* : : *lock the stable door* 'to take precautions when the accident they are meant to prevent has already happened'.

Both set expressions and proverbs are sometimes split and changed for humorous purposes, as in the following quotation where the proverb *All is not gold that glitters* combines with an allusion to the set expression *golden age,* e . g . *It will be an age not perhaps of gold, but at least of glitter.* Compare also the following, somewhat daring compliment meant to shock the sense of bourgeois propriety: *But I laughed and said, "Don't you worry, Professor, I'm not pulling her ladyship's leg. I wouldn't do such a thing. I have too much respect for that charming limb."* (Cary) Sometimes the speaker notices the lack of logic in a set expression and checks himself, as in the following: *Holy terror, she is — least not so holy, I suppose, but a terror all right* (Rattigan).

Taking a familiar group of words: *A living dog is better than a dead lion* (from the Bible) and turning it around, a fellow critic once said that Hazlitt was unable to appreciate a writer till he was dead — that Hazlitt thought *a dead ass better than a living lion.* A. Huxley is very fond of stylistic, mostly grotesque, effects achieved in this way. So, for example, paraphrasing the set expression *marry into money* he says about one of his characters, who prided herself on her conversation, that *she had married into conversation.*

Lexicology does not deal more fully with the peculiarities of proverbs: created in folklore, they are studied by folklorists, but in treating units introduced into the act of communication ready-made we cannot avoid touching upon them too.

As to f a m i l i a r   q u o t a t i o n s ,   they are different from proverbs in their origin. They come from literature but by and by they become part and parcel of the language, so that many people using them do not even know that they are quoting, and very few could acccurately name the play or passage on which they are drawing even when they are aware of using a quotation from W. Shakespeare.

The Shakespearian quotations have become and remain extremely numerous — they have contributed enormously to the store of the language. Some of the most often used are*: I know a trick worth two of that; A man more sinned against than sinning* ("King Lear"); *Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown* ("Henry IV"). Very many come from "Hamlet", for example: *Frailty, thy name is woman', Give every man thy ear, but few thy voice', Something is rotten in the state of Denmark; Brevity is the soul of wit; The rest is silence; Thus conscience does make cowards of us all; There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, I Than are dreamt of in your philosophy; It out-herods Herod; For to the noble mind / Rich gifts wax poor when givers prove unkind.*

Excepting only W. Shakespeare, no poet has given more of his lines than A. Pope to the common vocabulary of the English-speaking world. The following are only a few of the best known quotations: *A little learning is a dangerous thing; To err is human; To forgive, divine; For fools rush in where angels fear to tread; At every word a reputation dies; Who shall decide when doctors disagree?*

Quotations from classical sources were once a recognised feature of

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public speech: *de te fabula narratur* (Horace) 'the story is about you'; *ternpora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis* 'times change, and we change with them'; *timeo Danaoset dona ferentes* (Virgil) 'I fear the Greeks, even when bringing gifts'. Now they are even regarded as bad form, because they are unintelligible to those without a classical education. So, when a speaker ventures a quotation of that kind he hastens to translate it. A number of classical tags nevertheless survive in educated speech in many countries, in Russian no less than in English. There are the well-known phrases, such as *ad hoc* 'for this special reason'; *bona fide* 'in good faith'; *cum grano salts* 'with a grain of salt'; *mutatis mutandis* 'with necessary changes'; *tabula rasa* 'a blank tablet' and others of the same kind. As long as they keep their Latin form they do not belong to English vocabulary. Many of them, however, show various degrees of assimilation, e . g . *viva voce* ['vaiva 'vousi] 'oral examination', which may be used as an adjective, an adverb and a verb. *Viva voce examination* is colloquially shortened into *viva* (noun and verb).

Some quotations are so often used that they come to be considered c l i c h é s . The term comes from the printing trade. The cliché (the word is French) is a metal block used for printing pictures and turning them out in great numbers. The term is used to denote such phrases as have become hackneyed and stale. Being constantly and mechanically repeated they have lost their original expressiveness and so are better avoided. H.W. Fowler in a burst of eloquence in denouncing them even exclaims: "How many a time has Galileo longed to recant his recantation, as *e pur si muove* was once more applied or misapplied!"[1] Opinions may vary on what is tolerable and what sounds an offence to most of the listeners or readers, as everyone may have his own likes and dislikes. The following are perhaps the most generally recognised: *the acid test, ample opportunities, astronomical figures, the arms of Morpheus, to break the ice, consigned to oblivion, the irony of fate, to sleep the sleep of the just, stand shoulder to shoulder, swan song, toe the line, tender mercies,* etc. Empty and worn-out but pompous phrases often become mere verbiage used as a poor compensation for a lack of thought or precision. Here are some phrases occurring in passages of literary criticism and justly branded as clichés: *to blaze a trail, consummate art, consummate skill, heights of tragedy, lofty flight of imagination.* The so-called journalese has its own set of overworked phrases: *to usher in a new age, to prove a boon to mankind, to pave the way to a bright new world, to spell the doom of civilisation,* etc.

In giving this review of English set expressions we have paid special attention to the fact that the subject is a highly complex one and that it has been treated by different scholars in very different ways. Each approach and each classification have their advantages and their drawbacks. The choice one makes depends on the particular problem one has in view, and even so there remains much to be studied in the future.

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[1] *E pur si muove* (It) 'yet it does move' — the words attributed to Galileo Galilei. He is believed to have said them after being forced to recant his doctrine that the Earth moves round the Sun.

Part Two
ENGLISH VOCABULARY AS A SYSTEM

Chapter 10
HOMONYMS. SYNONYMS. ANTONYMS

§ 10.1 HOMONYMS

In a simple code each sign has only one meaning, and each meaning is associated with only one sign. This one-to-one relationship is not realised in natural languages. When several related meanings are associated with the same group of sounds within one part of speech, the word is called p o l y s e m a n t i c , when two or more unrelated meanings are associated with the same form — the words are h o m o n y m s , when two or more different forms are associated with the same or nearly the same denotative meanings — the words are s y n o n y m s .

Actually, if we describe the lexical system according to three distinctive features, each of which may be present or absent, we obtain $2^3 = 8$ possible combinations. To represent these the usual tables with only horizontal and vertical subdivisions are inadequate, so we make use of a mapping technique developed for simplifying logical truth functions by E.W. Veitch that proved very helpful in our semantic studies.

In the table below a small section of the lexico-semantic system of the language connected with the noun *sound* (as in *sound of laughter)* is represented as a set of oppositions involving phonetical form, similar lexical meaning and grammatical part-of-speech meaning. Every pair of words is contrasted according to sameness or difference in three distinctive features at once.

A maximum similarity is represented by square 1 containing the lexico-semantic variants of the same word. All the adjoining squares differ in one feature only. Thus squares 1 and 2 differ in part of speech meaning only. Some dictionaries as, for instance "Thorndike Century Junior Dictionary" even place *sound$_1$* and *sounds$_3$* in one entry. On the other hand, we see that squares 2, 3 and 4 represent what we shall call different types of homonymy. Square 7 presents words completely dissimilar according to the distinctive features chosen. Square 5 is a combination of features characteristic not only of synonyms but of other types of semantic similarity that will be discussed later on. But first we shall concentrate on homonyms, i.e. words characterised by phonetic coincidence and semantic

Two or more words identical in sound and spelling but different in meaning, distribution and (in many cases) origin are called h o m o nyms. The term is derived from Greek *homonymous (homos* 'the same'

Table 1

	SIMILAR LEXICAL MEANING		DIFFERENT LEXICAL MEANING	
SIMILAR SOUND FORM	1. Polysemy *sound₂* n : : *sound₂* n *sound₂* as in : *a vowel sound*	2. Patterned Homonymy *sound₁* n : : *sounds₃ sounds* as *in: to sound a trumpet*	3. Partial Homonymy *sound₁* n : : *sound₄* a *sound₄* as in: *sound argument*	4. Full Homonymy *sound₁* n: : *sound₅* n *sound₅* as in: *Long Island Sound*
DIFFERENT SOUND FORM	5. Synonymy and Hyponymy *sound₁:* : *noise* *sound₁::* *whistle*	6. Word-Family *sound₁* n *soundless* a *soundproof* a *sound₃* v	7. Any English Words *sound* n *simple* a	8. Words of the Same Part of Speech *sound n simplicity* n
	SAME PART OF SPEECH	DIFFERENT PART OF SPEECH		SAME PART OF SPEECH

and *onoma* 'name') and thus expresses very well the sameness of name combined with the difference in meaning.

There is an obvious difference between the meanings of the symbol *fast* in such combinations as *run fast* 'quickly' and *stand fast* 'firmly'. The difference is even more pronounced if we observe cases where *fast* is a noun or a verb as in the following proverbs: *A clean fast is better than a dirty breakfast; Who feasts till he is sick, must fast till he is well. Fast* as an isolated word, therefore, may be regarded as a variable that can assume several different values depending on the conditions of usage, or, in other words, distribution. All the possible values of each linguistic sign are listed in dictionaries. It is the duty of lexicographers to define the boundaries of each word, i.e. to differentiate homonyms and to unite variants deciding in each case whether the different meanings belong to the same polysemantic word or whether there are grounds to treat them as two or more separate words identical in form. In speech, however, as a rule only one of all the possible values is determined by the context, so that no ambiguity may normally arise. There is no danger, for instance, that the listener would wish to substitute the meaning

'quick' into the sentence: *It is absurd to have hard and fast rules about any-thing* (Wilde), or think that *fast rules* here are 'rules of diet'. Combinations when two or more meanings are possible are either deliberate puns, or result from carelessness. Both meanings of *liver,* i.e. 'a living person' and 'the organ that secretes bile' are, for instance, intentionally present in the following play upon words: *"Is life worth living?" "It depends upon the liver."* Cf.: *"What do you do with the fruit?" "We eat what we can, and what we can't eat we can."*

Very seldom can ambiguity of this kind interfere with understanding. The following example is unambiguous, although the words *back* and *part* have several homonyms, and *maid* and *heart* are polysemantic:

> *Maid of Athens, ere we part,*
> *Give, oh give me back my heart* (Byron).

Homonymy exists in many languages, but in English it is particularly frequent, especially among monosyllabic words. In the list of 2540 homonyms given in the "Oxford English Dictionary" 89% are monosyllabic words and only 9.1 % are words of two syllables. From the viewpoint of their morphological structure, they are mostly one-morpheme words.

Classification of Homonyms. The most widely accepted classification is that recognising homonyms proper, homophones and homographs. H o m o n y m s proper are words identical in pronunciation and spelling, like *fast* and *liver* above. Other examples are: *back* n 'part of the body' : : *back* adv 'away from the front' : : *back* v 'go back'; *ball* n 'a round object used in games' : : *ball* n 'a gathering of people for dancing'; *bark* n 'the noise made by a dog' : : *bark* v 'to utter sharp explosive cries' : : *bark* n 'the skin of a tree' : : *bark* n 'a sailing ship'; *base* n 'bottom' : : *base* v 'build or place upon' : : *base* a 'mean'; *bay* n 'part of the sea or l a k e f i l l-i n g w i d e - m o u t h o p e n i n g o f l a n d' : : *bay* n 'r e c e s s in a house or a room' : : *bay* v 'bark' : : *bay* n 'the European laurel'. The important point is that homonyms are distinct words: not different meanings within one word.

H o m o p h o n e s are words of the same sound but of different spelling and meaning: *air : : heir; arms : : alms; buy : : by; him : : hymn; knight : : night; not: : knot; or: : oar; piece : : peace; rain: : reign; scent: : cent; steel : : steal; storey : : story; write : : right* and many others.

In the sentence *The play-wright on my right thinks it right that some conventional rite should symbolise the right of every man to write as he pleases* the sound complex [rait] is a noun, an adjective, an adverb and a verb, has four different spellings and six different meanings. The difference may be confined to the use of a capital letter as in *bill* and *Bill,* in the following example: *"How much is my milk bill?*[11] *"Excuse me, Madam, but my name is John.*[11] On the other hand, whole sentences may be homophonic: *The sons raise meat : : The sun's rays meet.* To understand these one needs a wider context. If you hear the second in the course of a lecture in optics, you will understand it without thinking of the possibility of the first.

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H o m o g r a p h s are words different in sound and in meaning but accidentally identical in spelling: *bow* [bou] : : *bow* [bau]; *lead* [li:d] : : *lead* [led]; *row* [rou] : : *row* [rau]; *sewer* ['souə] : : *sewer* [sjuə]; *tear* [tiə] : : *tear* [tea]; *wind* [wind] : : *wind* [waind] and many more.

It has been often argued that homographs constitute a phenomenon that should be kept apart from homonymy as the object of linguistics is sound language. This viewpoint can hardly be accepted. Because of the effects of education and culture written English is a generalised national form of expression. An average speaker does not separate the written and oral form. On the contrary he is more likely to analyse the words in terms of letters than in terms of phonemes with which he is less familiar. That is why a linguist must take into consideration both the spelling and the pronunciation of words when analysing cases of identity of form and diversity of content.

Various types of classification for homonyms proper have been suggested.

A comprehensive system may be worked out if we are guided by the theory of oppositions and in classifying the homonyms take into consideration the difference or sameness in their lexical and grammatical meaning, paradigm and basic form. For the sake of completeness we shall consider this problem in terms of the same mapping technique used for the elements of vocabulary system connected with the word *sound.*

As both form and meaning can be further subdivided, the combination of distinctive features by which two words are compared becomes more complicated — there are four features: the form may be phonetical and graphical, the meaning — lexical and grammatical, a word may also have a paradigm of grammatical forms different from the basic form.

The distinctive features shown in the table on p. 186 are lexical meaning (different denoted by A, or nearly the same denoted by A), grammatical meaning (different denoted by B, or same by B), paradigm (different denoted by C, or same denoted by C), and basic form (different D and same D).

The term "nearly same lexical meaning" must not be taken too literally. It means only that the corresponding members of the opposition have some important invariant semantic components in common. "Same grammatical meaning" implies that both members belong to the same part of speech.

Same paradigm comprises also cases when there is only one word form, i.e. when the words are unchangeable. Inconsistent combinations of features are crossed out in the table. It is, for instance, impossible for two words to be identical in all word forms and different in basic forms, or for two homonyms to show no difference either in lexical or grammatical meaning, because in this case they are not homonyms. That leaves twelve possible classes.

Table II

**Homo-
nyms**

Difference and Identity in Words				
A Different lexical meaning		<u>A</u> Nearly same lexical meaning		
B Different grammatical meaning	Partial Homonymy		Patterned Homonymy		<u>D</u> Same basic form
	light, -s n *light, -er, -est* a *flat, -s* n *flat, -er, -est* a	*for* prp *for* cj	*before* prp *before* adv *before* cj	*eye, -s* n *eye, -s, -ed, -ing* v	
	might n *may— might* v			*thought* n *thought* v (Past Indefinite Tense of *think)*	D Different basic form
B Same grammatical meaning	*axis, axes* n *axe — axes* n *bat—butted* v *butt—butted* v			Synonyms	
	lie—lay—lain v *lie — lied — lied* v	Full Homonymy *spring, -s* n *spring, -s* n *spring, -s* n	Polysemy Variants of the same polysemantic word		<u>D</u> Same basic form
	C Different paradigm	<u>C</u> Same paradigm or no changes	C Different paradigm		

The 12 classes are:

ABC<u>D</u>. Members of the opposition *light* n 'the contrary of darkness' : : *light* a 'not heavy' are different in lexical and grammatical meaning, have different paradigms but the same basic form. The class of partial homonymy is very numerous. A further subdivision might take into consideration the parts of speech to which the members belong, namely the oppositions of noun : : verb, adjective : : verb, n : : adjective, etc.

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ABCD. Same as above, only not both members are in their basic form. The noun (here *might* 'power') is in its basic form, the singular, but the verb *may* will coincide with it only in the Past Tense. This lack of coincidence between basic forms is not frequent, so only few examples are possible. Compare also *bit* n 'a small piece' and *bit* (the Past Indefinite Tense and Participle II of *bite)*.

ABCD. Contains pairs of words belonging to the same part of speech, different in their basic form but coinciding in some oblique form, e. g. in the plural, or in the case of verbs, in the Past Tense. *Axe — axes, axis — axes.* The type is rare.

ABCD. Different lexical meaning, same basic form, same grammatical meaning and different paradigm: *lie — lay — lain* and *lie — lied — lied.* Not many cases belong to this group.

ABCD. Represents pairs different in lexical and grammatical meaning but not in paradigm, as these are not changeable form words. Examples: *for* prp contrasted to *for* cj.

ABCD. The most typical case of full homonymy accepted by everybody and exemplified in every textbook. Different lexical meanings, but the homonyms belong to the same part of speech: *spring₁* n 'a leap' :: *spring₂* 'a source' :: *spring₃* n 'the season in which vegetation begins'.

ABCD. Patterned homonymy. Differs from the previous (i.e. ABCD) in the presence of some common component in the lexical meaning of the members, some lexical invariant: *before* prp, *before* adv, *before* cj, all express some priority in succession. This type of opposition is regular among form words. .

ABCD. Pairs showing maximum identity. But as their lexical meaning is only approximately the same, they may be identified as variants of one polysemantic word.

ABCD. Contains all the cases due to conversion: *eye* n : : *eye* v. The members differ in grammatical meaning and paradigm. This group is typical of patterned homonymy. Examples of such noun-to-verb or verb-to-noun homonymy can be augmented almost indefinitely. The mean-ing of the second element can always be guessed if the first is known.

ABCD. Pairs belonging to different parts of speech and coinciding in some of the forms. Their similarity is due to a common root, as in *thought* n : *thought* v (the Past Indefinite Tense of *think)*.

ABCD. Similarity in both lexical and grammatical meaning combined with difference in form is characteristic of synonyms and hyponyms.

ABCD. The group is not numerous and comprises chiefly cases of double plural with a slight change in meaning such as *brother — brothers : : brother — brethren.*

It goes without saying that this is a model that gives a general scheme. Actually a group of homonyms may contain members belonging to different groups in this classification. Take, for example, *fell₁* n 'animal's hide or skin with the hair'; *fell₂* n 'hill' and also 'a stretch of North-English moorland'; *fell₃* a 'fierce' (poet.); *fell₄* v 'to cut down

trees' and as a noun 'amount of timber cut'; *fell₅* (the Past Indefinite Tense of the verb *fall)*. This group may be broken into pairs, each of which will fit into one of the above described divisions. Thus, *fell₁* : : *fell₂* may be characterised as **A<u>BCD</u>**, *fell₁* : : *fell₄* as **ABC<u>D</u>** and *fell₄* : : *fell₅* as **<u>A</u>BCD**.

§ 10.2 THE ORIGIN OF HOMONYMS

The intense development of homonymy in the English language is obviously due not to one single factor but to several interrelated causes, such as the monosyllabic character of English and its analytic structure.

The abundance of homonyms is also closely connected with such a characteristic feature of the English language as the phonetic identity of word and stem or, in other words, the predominance of free forms among the most frequent roots. It is quite obvious that if the frequency of words stands in some inverse relationship to their length, the monosyllabic words will be the most frequent. Moreover, as the most frequent words are also highly polysemantic, it is only natural that they develop meanings which in the course of time may deviate very far from the central one. When the intermediate links fall out, some of these new meanings lose all connections with the rest of the structure and start a separate existence. The phenomenon is known as d i s i n t e g r a t i o n or s p l i t o f p o l y s e m y .

Different causes by which homonymy may be brought about are subdivided into two main groups:

1) homonymy through convergent sound development, when two or three words of different origin accidentally coincide in sound; and

2) homonymy developed from polysemy through divergent sense development. Both may be combined with loss of endings and other morphological processes.

In Old English the words *zesund* 'healthy' and *sund* 'swimming' were separate words both in form and in meaning. In the course of time they have changed their meaning and phonetic form, and the latter accidentally coincided: OE *sund>ModE sound* 'strait'; OE *зesund>ModE sound* 'healthy'. The group was joined also accidentally by the noun *sound* 'what is or may be heard' with the corresponding verb that developed from French and ultimately from the Latin word *sonus,* and the verb *sound* 'to measure the depth' of dubious etymology. The coincidence is purely accidental.

Two different Latin verbs: *cadere* 'to fall' and *capere* 'to hold' are the respective sources of the homonyms *case₁* 'instance of thing's occurring' and *case₂* 'a box'. Indeed, *case₁<OFr cas* < Lat *casus* 'fall', and *case₂<Old Northern French casse<Lat capsa.* Homonymy of this type is universally recognised. The other type is open to discussion. V.I. Abayev accepts as homonymy only instances of etymologically different words. Everything else in his opinion is polysemy. Many other scholars do not agree with V.I. Abayev and insist on the semantic and structural criteria for distinguishing homonymy from polysemy.

Unlike the homonyms *case* and *sound* all the homonyms of the *box* group due to disintegration or split of polysemy are etymologically connected. The sameness of form is not accidental but based on genetic relationship. They are all derived from one another and are all ultimately traced to the Latin *buxus. "*The Concise Oxford Dictionary" has five entries for *box: box₁* n 'a kind of small evergreen shrub'; *box₂* n 'receptacle made of wood, cardboard, metal, etc. and usually provided with a lid'; *box₃* v 'to put into a box'; *box₄* n 'slap with the hand on the ear'; *box₅* v — a sport term meaning 'to fight with fists in padded gloves'.

Such homonyms may be partly derived from one another but their common point of origin lies beyond the limits of the English language. In these words with the appearance of a new meaning, very different from the previous one, the semantic structure of the parent word splits. The new meaning receives a separate existence and starts a new semantic structure of its own. Hence the term d i s i n t e g r a t i o n   or   s p l i t   of p o l y s e m y .

It must be noted, however, that though the number of examples in which a process of this sort could be observed is considerable, it is difficult to establish exact criteria by which disintegration of polysemy could be detected. The whole concept is based on stating whether there is any connection between the meanings or not.[1] Whereas in the examples dealing with phonetic convergence, i.e. when we said that *case₁* and *case₂* are different words because they differ in origin, we had definite linguistic criteria to go by; in the case of disintegration of polysemy there are none to guide us, we can only rely on intuition and individual linguistic experience. For a trained linguist the number of unrelated homonyms will be much smaller than for an uneducated person. The knowledge of etymology and cognate languages will always help to supply the missing links. It is easier, for instance, to see the connection between *beam* 'a ray of light' and *beam* 'the metallic structural part of a building' if one knows the original meaning of the word, i.e. 'tree' (OE *beam*||Germ *Baum),* and is used to observe similar metaphoric transfers in other words. The connection is also more obvious if one is able to notice the same element in such compound names of trees as *hornbeam, whitebeam,* etc.

The conclusion, therefore, is that in diachronic treatment the only rigorous criterion is that of etymology observed in explanatory dictionaries of the English language where words are separated according to their origin, as in *match₁* 'a piece of inflammable material you strike fire with' (from OFr *mesche,* Fr *mèche)* and *match₂* (from OE *gemæcca* 'fellow').

It is interesting to note that out of 2540 homonyms listed in "The Oxford English Dictionary" only 7% are due to disintegration of polysemy, all the others are etymologically different. One must, however, keep in mind that patterned homonymy is here practically disregarded.

This underestimation of regular patterned homonymy tends to produce a false impression. Actually the homonymy of nouns and verbs due to the processes of loss of endings on the one hand and conversion

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[1] See p. 192 where a formal procedure is suggested.

on the other is one of the most prominent features of present-day English. The process has been analysed in detail in the chapter on conversion. It may be combined with semantic changes as in the pair *long* a : : *long* v. The explanation is that when it seems long before something comes to you, you long for it *(long* a<OE *1anz, lonz* a <OE *lanzian* v), so that *me lonzs* means 'it seems long to me'.

The opposite process of morphemic addition can also result in homonymy. This process is chiefly due to independent word-formation with the same affix or to the homonymy of derivational and functional affixes. The suffix *-er* forms several words with the same stem: *trail — trailer₁* 'a creeping plant' : : *trailer₂* 'a caravan', i.e. 'a vehicle drawn along by another vehicle'.

In summing up this diachronic analysis of homonymy it should be emphasised that there are two ways by which homonyms come into being, namely convergent development of sound form and divergent development of meaning (see table below).

The first may consist in

(a) phonetic change only,

(b) phonetic change combined with loss of affixes,

(c) independent formation from homonymous bases by means of homonymous affixes.

The second, that is divergent development of meaning may be

(a) limited within one lexico-grammatical class of words,

(b) combined with difference in lexico-grammatical class and therefore difference in grammatical functions and distribution,

(c) based on independent formation from the same base by homonymous morphemes.

Table III

Origin **of Homonyms**

	Convergent development of sound form	Divergent semantic development
Independent of morphological changes	OE *zemæne* 'common' Lat *medianus mean* 'average' OE *mænan* 'think'	*chest* 'large box' OE *cest* *chest* 'part of human body'
Combined with morphological changes	OE *lufu* n love n, v OE *lufian* v	*wait* v ME *waiten* v *wait* n *silence* n Lat *silentium* n *silence* v

The process can sometimes be more complicated. Thus, according to COD, the verb *stick* developed as a mixture of ME *stiken<OE stician<sticca* 'peg', and ME *steken* cognate with Greek *stigma.* At present there are at least two homonyms: *stick* v 'to insert pointed things into', a highly polysemantic word, and the no less polysemantic *stick* n 'a rod'.

In the course of time the number of homonyms on the whole increases, although occasionally the conflict of homonyms ends in word loss.

§ 10.3 HOMONYMY TREATED SYNCHRONICALLY

The synchronic treatment of English homonyms brings to the forefront a set of problems of paramount importance for different branches of applied linguistics: lexicography, foreign language teaching and information retrieval. These problems are: the criteria distinguishing homonymy from polysemy, the formulation of rules for recognising different meanings of the same homonym in terms of distribution, and the description of difference between patterned and non-patterned homonymy. It is necessary to emphasise that all these problems are connected with difficulties created by homonymy in understanding the message by the reader or listener, not with formulating one's thoughts; they exist for the speaker though in so far as he must construct his speech in a way that would prevent all possible misunderstanding.

All three problems are so closely interwoven that it is difficult to separate them. So we shall discuss them as they appear for various practical purposes. For a lexicographer it is a problem of establishing word boundaries. It is easy enough to see that *match,* as in *safety matches,* is a separate word from the verb *match* 'to suit'. But he must know whether one is justified in taking into one entry *match,* as in *football match,* and *match* in *meet one's match* 'one's equal'.

On the synchronic level, when the difference in etymology is irrelevant, the problem of establishing the criterion for the distinction between different words identical in sound form, and different meanings of the same word becomes hard to solve. Nevertheless the problem cannot be dropped altogether as upon an efficient arrangement of dictionary entries depends the amount of time spent by the readers in looking up a word: a lexicographer will either save or waste his readers' time and effort.

Actual solutions differ. It is a widely spread practice in English lexicography to combine in one entry words of identical phonetic form showing similarity of lexical meaning or, in other words, revealing a lexical invariant, even if they belong to different parts of speech. In our country a different trend has settled. The Anglo-Russian dictionary edited by V.D. Arakin makes nine separate entries with the word *right* against four items given in the dictionary edited by A.S. Hornby.

The truth is that there exists no universal criterion for the distinction between polysemy and homonymy.

The etymological criterion may lead to distortion of the present-day situation. The English vocabulary of today is not a replica of the Old English vocabulary with some additions from borrowing. It is in many respects a different system, and this system will not be revealed if the lexicographer is guided by etymological criteria only.

A more or less simple, if not very rigorous, procedure based on purely synchronic data may be prompted by analysis of dictionary definitions. It may be called e x p l a n a t o r y   t r a n s f o r m a t i o n . It is based on the assumption that if different senses rendered by the same phonetic complex can be defined with the help of an identical kernel word-group, they may be considered sufficiently near to be regarded as variants of the same word; if not, they are homonyms.

Consider the following set of examples:

1. *A child's voice is heard* (Wesker).
2. *His voice ... was ... annoyingly well-bred* (Cronin).
3. *The voice-voicelessness distinction ... sets up some English consonants in opposed pairs ...*
4. *In the voice contrast of active and passive ... the active is the unmarked form.*

The first variant *(voice₁)* may be defined as 'sounds uttered in speaking or singing as characteristic of a particular person', *voice₂* as 'mode of uttering sounds in speaking or singing', *voice₃* as 'the vibration of the vocal chords in sounds uttered'. So far all the definitions contain one and the same kernel element rendering the invariant common basis of their meaning. It is, however, impossible to use the same kernel element for the meaning present in the fourth example. The corresponding definition is: "Voice — that form of the verb that expresses the relation of the subject to the action". This failure to satisfy the same explanation formula sets the fourth meaning apart. It may then be considered a homonym to the polysemantic word embracing the first three variants. The procedure described may remain helpful when the items considered belong to different parts of speech; the verb *voice* may mean, for example, 'to utter a sound by the aid of the vocal chords':

This brings us to the problem of p a t t e r n e d   h o m o n y m y , i.e. of the invariant lexical meaning present in homonyms that have developed from one common source and belong to various parts of speech.

Is a lexicographer justified in placing the verb *voice* with the above meaning into the same entry with the first three variants of the noun? The same question arises with respect to *after* or *before* — preposition, conjunction and adverb.

English lexicographers think it quite possible for one and the same word to function as different parts of speech. Such pairs as *act* n — *act* v, *back* n — *back* v, *drive* n — *drive* v, the above mentioned *after* and *before* and the like, are all treated as one word functioning as different parts of speech. This point of view was severely criticised. It was argued that one and the same word could not belong to different parts of speech simultaneously, because this would contradict the definition of the word as a system of forms.

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This viewpoint is not faultless either; if one follows it consistently, one should regard as separate words all cases when words are countable nouns in one meaning and uncountable in another, when verbs can be used transitively and intransitively, etc. In this case *hair₁* 'all the hair that grows on a person's head' will be one word, an uncountable noun; whereas 'a single thread of hair' will be denoted by another word *(hair₂)* which, being countable, and thus different in paradigm, cannot be considered the same word. It would be tedious to enumerate all the absurdities that will result from choosing this path. A dictionary arranged on these lines would require very much space in printing and could occasion much wasted time in use. The conclusion therefore is that efficiency in lexicographic work is secured by a rigorous application of etymological criteria combined with formalised procedures of establishing a lexical invariant suggested by synchronic linguistic methods.

As to those concerned with teaching of English as a foreign language, they are also keenly interested in patterned homonymy. The most frequently used words constitute the greatest amount of difficulty, as may be summed up by the following jocular example: *I think that this "that" is a conjunction but that that "that" that that man used was a pronoun.*

A correct understanding of this peculiarity of contemporary English should be instilled in the pupils from the very beginning, and they should be taught to find their way in sentences where several words have their homonyms in other parts of speech, as in Jespersen's example: *Will change of air cure love?* To show the scope of the problem for the elementary stage a list of homonyms that should be classified as patterned is given below:

Above, prp, adv, a; *act* n, v; *after* prp, adv, cj; *age* n, v; *back* n, adv, v; *ball* n, v; *bank* n, v; *before* prp, adv, cj; *besides* prp, adv; *bill* n, v; *bloom* n, v; *box* n, v. The other examples are: *by, can, case, close, country, course, cross, direct, draw, drive, even, faint, flat, fly, for, game, general, hard, hide, hold, home, just, kind, last, leave, left, lie, light, like, little, lot, major, march, may, mean, might, mind, miss, part, plain, plane, plate, right, round, sharp, sound, spare, spell, spring, square, stage, stamp, try, type, volume, watch, well, will.*

For the most part all these words are cases of patterned lexico-grammatical homonymy taken from the minimum vocabulary of the elementary stage: the above homonyms mostly differ within each group grammatically but possess some lexical invariant. That is to say, *act* v follows the standard four-part system of forms with a base form *act,* an *s*-form *(act-s),* a Past Indefinite Tense form *(acted)* and an *ing*-form *(acting)* and takes up all syntactic functions of verbs, whereas *act* n can have two forms, *act* (sing.) and *acts* (pl.). Semantically both contain the most generalised component rendering the notion of doing something.

Recent investigations have shown that it is quite possible to establish and to formalise the differences in environment, either syntactical or lexical, serving to signal which of the several inherent values is to be ascribed to the variable in a given context. An example of distributional analysis will help to make this point clear.

The distribution of a lexico-semantic variant of a word may be represented as a list of structural patterns in which it occurs and the data on its combining power. Some of the most typical structural patterns for a verb are: **N+V+N, N+V+prp+N, N+V+A, N+V+adv, N+ V+to+V** and some others. Patterns for nouns are far less studied, but for the present case one very typical example will suffice. This is the structure: **article+A+N.**

In the following extract from "A Taste of Honey" by Shelagh Delaney the morpheme *laugh* occurs three times*: I can't stand people who faugh at other people. They'd get a bigger laugh, if they laughed at themselves.*

We recognise *laugh* used first and last here as a verb, because the formula is **N**+*laugh*+**prp+N** and so the pattern is in both cases **N+ V+prp+N. In** the beginning of the second sentence *laugh* is a noun and the pattern is **article+A+N.**

This elementary example can give a very general idea of the procedure which can be used for solving more complicated problems.

We may sum up our discussion by pointing out that whereas distinction between polysemy and homonymy is relevant and important for lexicography it is not relevant for the practice of either human or machine translation. The reason for this is that different variants of a polysemantic word are not less conditioned by context than lexical homonyms. In both cases the identification of the necessary meaning is based on the corresponding distribution that can signal it and must be present in the memory either of the pupil or the machine. The distinction between patterned and non-patterned homonymy, greatly underrated until now, is of far greater importance. In non-patterned homonymy every unit is to be learned separately both from the lexical and grammatical points of view. In patterned homonymy when one knows the lexical meaning of a given word in one part of speech, one can accurately predict the meaning when the same sound complex occurs in some other part of speech, provided, of course, that there is sufficient context to guide one.

| 10.4 SYNONYMS

Taking up similarity of meaning and contrasts of phonetic shape, we observe that every language has in its vocabulary a variety of words, kindred in meaning but distinct in morphemic composition, phonemic shape and usage, ensuring the expression of most delicate shades of thought, feeling and imagination. The more developed the language, the richer the diversity and therefore the greater the possibilities of lexical choice enhancing the effectiveness and precision of speech.

Thus, *slay* is the synonym of *kill* but it is elevated and more expressive involving cruelty and violence. The way synonyms function may be seen from the following example: *Already in this half-hour of bombardment hundreds upon hundreds of men would have been violently slain, smashed, torn, gouged, crushed, mutilated* (Aldington).

The synonymous words *smash* and *crush* are semantically very close, they combine to give a forceful representation of the atrocities of war. Even this preliminary example makes it obvious that the still very common

definitions of synonyms as words of the same language having the same meaning or as different words that stand for the same notion are by no means accurate and even in a way misleading. By the very nature of language every word has its own history, its own peculiar motivation, its own typical contexts. And besides there is always some hidden possibility of different connotation and feeling in each of them. Moreover, words of the same meaning would be useless for communication: they would encumber the language, not enrich it. If two words exactly coincide in meaning and use, the natural tendency is for one of them to change its meaning or drop out of the language.

Thus, synonyms are words only similar but not identical in meaning. This definition is correct but vague. E. g. *horse* and *animal* are also semantically similar but not synonymous. A more precise linguistic definition should be based on a workable notion of the semantic structure of the word and of the complex nature of every separate meaning in a polysemantic word. Each separate lexical meaning of a word has been described in Chapter 3 as consisting of a denotational component identifying the notion or the object and reflecting the essential features of the notion named, shades of meaning reflecting its secondary features, additional connotations resulting from typical contexts in which the word is used, its emotional component and stylistic colouring. Connotations are not necessarily present in every word. The b a s i s   o f   a   s y n o n y m i c   o p p o s i t i o n is formed by the first of the above named components, i.e. the denotational component. It will be remembered that the term o p p o s i t i o n means the relationship of partial difference between two partially similar elements of a language. A common denotational component forms the basis of the opposition in synonymic group. All the other components can vary and thus form the distinctive features of the synonymic oppositions.

S y n o n y m s can therefore be defined in terms of linguistics as two or more words of the same language, belonging to the same part of speech and possessing one or more identical or nearly identical denotational meanings, interchangeable, at least in some contexts without any considerable alteration in denotational meaning, but differing in morphemic composition, phonemic shape, shades of meaning, connotations, style, valency and idiomatic use. Additional characteristics of style, emotional colouring and valency peculiar to one of the elements in a synonymic group may be absent in one or all of the others.

The definition is of necessity very bulky and needs some commenting upon.

To have something tangible to work upon it is convenient to compare some synonyms within their group, so as to make obvious the reasons for the definition. The verbs *experience, undergo, sustain* and *suffer,* for example, come together, because all four render the notion of experiencing something. The verb and the noun *experience* indicate actual living through something and coming to know it first-hand rather than from hearsay. *Undergo* applies chiefly to what someone or something bears or is subjected to, as in *to undergo an operation, to undergo changes.* Compare also the following example from L.P. Smith: *The French language has undergone*

considerable and more recent changes since the date when the Normans brought it into England. In the above example the verb *undergo* can be replaced by its synonyms *suffer* or *experience* without any change of the sentence meaning. The difference is neutralised.

Synonyms, then, are interchangeable under certain conditions specific to each group. This seems to call forth an analogy with phonological neutralisation. Now, it will be remembered that n e u t r a l i s a t i o n is the absence in some contexts of a phonetic contrast found elsewhere or formerly in the language. It appears we are justified in calling s e m a n - t i c   n e u t r a l i s a t i o n the suspension of an otherwise functioning semantic opposition that occurs in some lexical contexts.

And yet *suffer* in this meaning ('to undergo'), but not in the example above, is characterised by connotations implying wrong or injury. No semantic neutralisation occurs in phrases like *suffer atrocities, suffer heavy losses.* The implication is of course caused by the existence of the main intransitive meaning of the same word, not synonymous with the group, i.e. 'to feel pain'. *Sustain* as an element of this group differs from both in shade of meaning and style. It is an official word and it suggests undergoing affliction without giving way.

A further illustration will be supplied by a group of synonymous nouns: *hope, expectation, anticipation.* They are considered to be synonymous, because they all three mean 'having something in mind which is likely to happen'. They are, however, much less interchangeable than the previous group because of more strongly pronounced difference in shades of meaning. *Expectation* may be either of good or of evil. *Anticipation,* as a rule, is a pleasurable expectation of something good. *Hope* is not only a belief but a desire that some event would happen. The stylistic difference is also quite marked. The Romance words *anticipation* and *expectation* are formal literary words used only by educated speakers, whereas the native monosyllabic *hope* is stylistically neutral. Moreover, they differ in idiomatic usage. Only *hope* is possible in such set expressions as: *hope against hope, lose hope, pin one's hopes on sth.* Neither *expectation* nor *anticipation* could be substituted into the following quotation from T.S. Eliot: *You do not khow what hope is until you have lost it.*

Taking into consideration the corresponding series of synonymous verbs and verbal set expressions: *hope, anticipate, expect, look forward to,* we shall see that separate words may be compared to whole set expressions. *Look forward to* is also worthy of note, because it forms a definitely colloquial counterpart to the rest. It can easily be shown, on the evidence of examples, that each synonymic group comprises a dominant element. This s y n o n y m i c   d o m i n a n t is the most general term of its kind potentially containing the specific features rendered by all the other members of the group, as, for instance, *undergo* and *hope* in the above.

The s y n o n y m i c   d o m i n a n t should not be confused with a g e n e r i c   t e r m or a h y p e r o n y m . A generic term is relative. It serves as the name for the notion of the genus as distinguished from the names of the species — h y p o n y m s . For instance, *animal* is a

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generic term as compared to the specific names *wolf, dog* or *mouse* (which are called e q u o n y m s). *Dog,* in its turn, may serve as a generic term for different breeds such as *bull-dog, collie, poodle,* etc.

The recently introduced term for this type of paradigmatic relation is h y p o n y m y or i n c l u s i o n , for example the meaning of *pup* is said to be included in the meaning of *dog,* i.e. a more specific term is included in a more generic one. The class of animals referred to by the word *dog* is wider and includes the class referred to by the word *pup.* The term i n c l u s i o n is somewhat ambiguous, as one might also say that *pup* includes the meaning 'dog'+the meaning 'small', therefore the term h y - p o n y m is preferable. We can say that *pup* is the hyponym of *dog,* and *dog* is the hyponym of *animal, dog, cat, horse, cow,* etc. are equonyms and are co-hyponyms of *animal.* Synonymy differs from hyponymy in being a symmetrical relation, i.e. if *a* is a synonym of *b, b* is the synonym of *a.* Hyponymy is asymmetrical, i.e. if *a* is a hyponym of *b, b* is the hyperonym of *a.* The combining forms *hypo-* and *hyper-come* from the Greek words *hypo-* 'under' and *hyper-* 'over' (cf. *hypotonic* 'having less than normal blood pressure' and *hypertonic* 'having extreme arterial tension').

The definition on p. 195 states that synonyms possess one or more identical or nearly identical meanings. To realise the significance of this, one must bear in mind that the majority of frequent words are polysemantic, and that it is precisely the frequent words that have many synonyms. The result is that one and the same word may belong in its various meanings to several different synonymic groups. The verb *appear* in *... an old brown cat without a tail appeared from nowhere* (Mansfield) is synonymous with *come into sight, emerge.* On the other hand, when Gr. Greene depicts the far-off figures of the parachutists who ...*a p peared stationary, appeared* is synonymous with *look* or *seem,* their common component being 'give impression of'. *Appear,* then, often applies to erroneous impressions.

Compare the following groups synonymous to five different meanings of the adjective *fresh,* as revealed by characteristic contexts:

A fresh metaphor — fresh : : *original* : : *novel* : : *striking.*
To begin a fresh paragraph — fresh : : *another* : : *different* : : *new.*
Fresh air — fresh : : *pure* : : *invigorating.*
A freshman — fresh : : *inexperienced* : : *green* : : *raw.*
To be fresh with sb — fresh : : *impertinent* : : *rude.*

The semantic structures of two polysemantic words sometimes coincide in more than one meaning, but never completely.

Synonyms may also differ in emotional colouring which may be present in one element of the group and absent in all or some of the others. *Lonely* as compared with *alone* is emotional as is easily seen from the following examples: ... *a very lonely boy lost between them and aware at ten that his mother had no interest in him, and that his father was a stranger.* (Aldridge). *I shall be alone as my secretary doesn't come to-day* (M.Dickens). Both words denote being apart from others, but *lonely* besides the general meaning implies longing for company, feeling sad because of the lack of sympathy and companionship. *Alone* does not necessarily suggest any sadness at being by oneself.

If the difference in the meaning of synonyms concerns the notion or the emotion expressed, as was the case in the groups discussed above, the synonyms are classed as i d e o g r a p h i c   s y n o n y m s, [1] and the opposition created in contrasting them may be called an i d e o g r a p h i c   o p p o s i t i o n. The opposition is formulated with the help of a clear definitive statement of the semantic component present in all the members of the group. The analysis proceeds as a definition by comparison with the standard that is thus settled. The establishment of differential features proves very helpful, whereas sliding from one synonym to another with no definite points of departure created a haphazard approach with no chance of tracing the system.

"The Anglo-Russian Dictionary of Synonyms" edited by J.D. Apresyan analyses semantic, stylistic, grammatical and distributional characteristics of the most important synonymic groups with great skill and thoroughness and furnishes an impressive array of well-chosen examples. The distinctive features evolved in describing the points of similarity and difference within groups deserves special attention. In analysing the group consisting of the nouns *look, glance, glimpse, peep, sight* and *view* the authors suggest the following distinctive features: 1) quickness of the action, 2) its character, 3) the role of the doer of the action, 4) the properties and role of the object. The words *look, glance, glimpse* and *peep* denote a conscious and direct endeavour to see, the word *glance* being the most general. The difference is based on time and quickness of the action. *A glance* is 'a look which is quick and sudden'. *A glimpse* is quicker still, implying only momentary sight. *A peep* is 'a brief furtive glimpse at something that is hidden'. The words *sight* and *view,* unlike the other members of the group, can describe not only the situation from the point of one who sees something, but also situations in which it is the object — that what is seen, that is most important, e. g. *a fine view over the lake.* It is also mentioned that *sight* and *view* may be used only in singular. What is also important about synonyms is that they differ in their use of prepositions and in other combining possibilities. One can, for instance, use *at* before *glance* and *glimpse (at a glance, at a glimpse)* but not before *look.*

In a stylistic opposition of synonyms the basis of comparison is again the denotational meaning, and the distinctive feature is the presence or absence of a stylistic colouring which may also be accompanied by a difference in emotional colouring.

It has become quite a tradition with linguists when discussing synonyms to quote a passage from "As You Like It" (Act V, Scene I) to illustrate the social differentiation of vocabulary and the stylistic relationship existing in the English language between simple, mostly native, words and their dignified and elaborate synonyms borrowed from the French. We shall keep to this time-honoured convention. Speaking to a country fellow William, the jester Touchstone says: *Therefore, you*

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[1] The term has been introduced by V.V. Vinogradov.

clown, abandon, — which is in the vulgar leave, — the society, — which in the boorish is company, — of this female, — which in the common is woman; which together is abandon the society of this female, or, clown, thou perishest; or to thy better understanding diest; or, to wit, I kill thee, make thee away, translate thy life into death.

The general effect of poetic or learned synonyms when used in prose or in everyday speech is that of creating an elevated tone. The point may be proved by the very first example in this paragraph (see p. 194) where the poetic and archaic verb *slay* is substituted for the neutral *kill.* We must be on our guard too against the idea that the stylistic effect may exist without influencing the meaning; in fact it never does. The verb *slay* not only lends to the whole poetical and solemn ring, it also shows the writer's and his hero's attitude to the fact, their horror and repugnance of war and their feeling for the victims.

The study of synonyms is a borderline province between semantics and stylistics on the one hand and semantics and phraseology on the other because of the synonymic collocations serving as a means of emphasis.

Synonymic pairs like *wear and tear, pick and choose* are very numerous in modern English phraseology and often used both in everyday speech and in literature. They show all the typical features of idiomatic phrases that ensure their memorableness such as rhythm, alliteration, rhyme and the use of archaic words seldom occurring elsewhere.

The examples are numerous: *hale and hearty, with might and main, nevertheless and notwithstanding, stress and strain, rack and ruin, really and truly, hue and cry, wane and pale, act and deed.* There are many others which show neither rhyme nor alliteration, and consist of two words equally modern. They are pleonastic, i.e. they emphasise the idea by just stating it twice, and possess a certain rhythmical quality which probably enhances their unity and makes them easily remembered. These are: *by leaps and bounds, pure and simple, stuff and nonsense, bright and shining, far and away, proud and haughty* and many more.

In a great number of cases the semantic difference between two or more synonyms is supported by the difference in valency. The difference in distribution may be syntactical, morphological, lexical, and surely deserves more attention than has been so far given to it. It is, for instance, known that *bare* in reference to persons is used only predicatively, while *naked* occurs both predicatively and attributively. The same is true about *alone,* which, irrespective of referent, is used only predicatively, whereas its synonyms *solitary* and *lonely* occur in both functions. The function is predicative in the following sentence*: If you are idle, be not solitary, if you are solitary, be not idle* (S. Johnson). It has been repeatedly mentioned that *begin* and *commence* differ stylistically. It must be noted, however, that their distributional difference is not less important. *Begin* is generalised in its lexical meaning and becomes a semi-auxiliary when used with an infinitive. E. g.: *It has begun to be done — it has been begun.* If follows naturally that *begin* and not *commence* is the right word before an infinitive even in formal style. *Seem and appear* may be followed by an infinitive or

a *that*-clause, a hill of a hundred metres is not *high*. The same relativity is characteristic of its antonym *low*. As to the word *tall,* it is used about objects whose height is greatly in excess of their breadth or diameter and whose actual height is great for an object of its kind: *a tall man, a tall tree.* The antonym is *short*.

The area where substitution is possible is very limited and outside it all replacement makes the utterance vague, ungrammatical and even unintelligible. This makes the knowledge of where each synonym differs from another of paramount importance for correctness of speech.

The distinction between words similar in meaning are often very fine and elusive, so that some special instruction on the use of synonyms is necessary even for native speakers. This accounts for the great number of books of synonyms that serve as guides for those who aim at good style and precision and wish to choose the most appropriate terms from the varied stock of the English vocabulary. The practical utility of such reference works as "Roget's International Thesaurus" depends upon a prior knowledge of the language on the part of the person using them. N.A. Shechtman has discussed this problem on several occasions. (See Recommended Reading.)

The study of synonyms is especially indispensable for those who learn English as a foreign language because what is the right word in one situation will be wrong in many other, apparently similar, contexts.

It is often convenient to explain the meaning of a new word with the help of its previously learned synonyms. This forms additional associations in the student's mind, and the new word is better remembered. Moreover, it eliminates the necessity of bringing in a native word. And yet the discrimination of synonyms and words which may be confused is more important. The teacher must show that synonyms are not identical in meaning or use and explain the difference between them by comparing and contrasting them, as well as by showing in what contexts one or the other may be most fitly used.

Translation cannot serve as a criterion of synonymy: there are cases when several English words of different distribution and valency are translated into Russian by one and the same word. Such words as *also, too* and *as well,* all translated by the Russian word *тоже,* are never interchangeable. A teacher of English should always stress the necessity of being on one's guard against mistakes of this kind.

C o n t e x t u a l   o r   c o n t e x t - d e p e n d e n t   s y n o n y m s are similar in meaning only under some specific distributional conditions. It may happen that the difference between the meanings of two words is contextually neutralised. E. g. *buy* and *get* would not generally be taken as synonymous, but they are synonyms in the following examples offered by J. Lyons: *I'll go to the shop and buy some bread* : : *I'll go to the shop and get some bread.* The verbs *bear, suffer* and *stand* are semantically different and not interchangeable except when used in the negative form; *can't stand* is equal to *can't bear* in the following words of an officer: *Gas. I've swallowed too much of the beastly stuff. I can't stand it any longer. I'm going to the dressing-station* (Aldington).

There are some other distinctions to be made with respect to different kinds of semantic similarity. Some authors, for instance, class groups like *ask* : : *beg* : : *implore; like* : : *love* : : *adore* or *gift* : : *talent* : : *genius* as synonymous, calling them r e l a t i v e   s y n o n y m s . This attitude is open to discussion. In fact the difference in denotative meaning is unmistakable: the words name different notions, not various degrees of the same notion, and cannot substitute one another. An entirely different type of opposition is involved. Formerly we had oppositions based on the relationships between the members of the opposition, here we deal with proportional oppositions characterised by their relationship with the whole vocabulary system and based on a different degree of intensity of the relevant distinctive features. We shall not call such words synonymous, as they do not fit the definition of synonyms given in the beginning of the chapter.

T o t a l   s y n o n y m y , i.e. synonymy where the members of a synonymic group can replace each other in any given context, without the slightest alteration in denotative or emotional meaning and connotations, is a rare occurrence. Examples of this type can be found in special literature among technical terms peculiar to this or that branch of knowledge. Thus, in linguistics the terms *noun* and *substantive; functional affix, flection* and *inflection* are identical in meaning. What is not generally realised, however, is that terms are a peculiar type of words totally devoid of connotations or emotional colouring, and that their stylistic characterisation does not vary. That is why this is a very special kind of synonymy: neither ideographic nor stylistic oppositions are possible here. As to the distributional opposition, it is less marked, because the great majority of terms are nouns. Their interchangeability is also in a way deceptive. Every writer has to make up his mind right from the start as to which of the possible synonyms he prefers, and stick to it throughout his text to avoid ambiguity. Thus, the interchangeability is, as it were, theoretical and cannot be materialised in an actual text.

The same misunderstood conception of interchangeability lies at the bottom of considering different dialect names for the same plant, animal or agricultural implement and the like as total (absolute) synonyms. Thus, a perennial plant with long clusters of dotted whitish or purple tubular flowers that the botanists refer to as genus Digitalis has several dialectal names such as *foxglove, fairybell, fingerflower, finger-root, dead men's bells, ladies' fingers*. But the names are not interchangeable in any particular speaker's i d e o l e c t . [1] The same is true about the *cornflower* (Centaurea cyanus), so called because it grows in cornfields; some people call it *bluebottle* according to the shape and colour of its petals. Compare also *gorse, furze* and *whim,* different names used in different places for the same prickly yellow-flowered shrub.

§ 10.6 SOURCES OF SYNONYMY

The distinction between synchronic and diachronic treatment is so fundamental that it cannot be overemphasised, but the two aspects

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[1] Ideolect — language as spoken by one individual.

are interdependent. It is therefore essential after the descriptive analysis of synonymy in present-day English to take up the historical line of approach and discuss the origin of synonyms and the causes of their abundance in English.

The majority of those who studied synonymy in the past have been cultivating both lines of approach without keeping them scrupulously apart, and focused their attention on the prominent part of foreign loan words in English synonymy, e. g. *freedom* : : *liberty* or *heaven* : : *sky,* where the first elements are native and the second, French and Scandinavian respectively. O. Jespersen and many others used to stress that the English language is peculiarly rich in synonyms, because Britons, Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans fighting and settling upon the soil of the British Isles could not but influence each other's speech. British scholars studied Greek and Latin and for centuries used Latin as a medium for communication on scholarly topics.

Synonymy has its characteristic patterns in each language. Its peculiar feature in English is the contrast between simple native words stylistically neutral, literary words borrowed from French and learned words of Greco-Latin origin. This results in a sort of stylistically conditioned triple "keyboard" that can be illustrated by the following:

Native English words	Words borrowed from French	Words borrowed from Latin
to ask	*to question*	*to interrogate*
belly	*stomach*	*abdomen*
to gather	*to assemble*	*to collect*
empty	*devoid*	*vacuous*
to end	*to finish*	*to complete*
to rise	*to mount*	*to ascend*
teaching	*guidance*	*instruction*

English also uses many pairs of synonymous derivatives, the one Hellenic and the other Romance, e. g. *periphery* : : *circumference; hypothesis* : : *supposition; sympathy* : : *compassion; synthesis* : : *composition.*

The pattern of stylistic relationship represented in the above table, although typical, is by no means universal. For example, the native words *dale, deed, fair* are the poetic equivalents of their much more frequent borrowed synonyms *valley, act* or the hybrid *beautiful.*

This subject of stylistic differentiation has been one of much controversy in recent years. It is universally accepted, however, that semantic and stylistic properties may change and synonyms which at one time formed a stylistic opposition only may in the course of time become ideographically cognitively contrasted as well, and vice versa.

It would be linguistically naive to maintain that borrowing results only in quantitative changes or that qualitative changes are purely stylistical. The introduction of a borrowed word almost invariably starts some alteration both in the newcomer and in the semantic structure of existing words that are close to it in meaning. When in the 13th century the word *soil* (OFr *soil,*

soyil) was borrowed into English its meaning was 'a strip of land'. The upper layer of earth in which plants grow had been denoted since Old English by one of the synonyms: *eorþe, land, folde.* The development of the group has been studied by A.A. Ufimtseva. All these words had other central meanings so that the meaning in question was with them secondary. Now, if two words coincide in meaning and use, the tendency is for one of them to drop out of the language. *Folde* had the same function and meaning as *eorþe* and in the fight for survival the latter won. The polysemantic word *land* underwent an intense semantic development in a different direction but dropped out of this synonymic series. In this way it became quite natural for *soil* to fill the obvious lexical gap, receive its present meaning and become the main name for the corresponding notion, i.e. 'the mould in which plants grow'. The noun *earth* retained this meaning throughout its history, whereas the word *ground* in which this meaning was formerly absent developed it. As a result this synonymic group comprises at present *soil, earth* and *ground.*

The fate of the word *folde* is not at all infrequent. Many other words now marked in the dictionaries as "archaic" or "obsolete" have dropped out in the same competition of synonyms; others survived with a meaning more or less removed from the original one. The process is called s y n - o n y m i c d i f f e r e n t i a t i o n and is so current that M. Bréal regarded it as an inherent law of language development. It must be noted that synonyms may influence each other semantically in two diametrically opposite ways: one of them is dissimilation, the other the reverse process, i.e. a s s i m i l a t i o n . The assimilation of synonyms consists in parallel development. This law was discovered and described by G. Stern. H.A. Trebe and G.H. Vallins give as examples the pejorative meanings acquired by the nouns *wench, knave* and *churl* which originally meant 'girl', 'boy' and 'labourer' respectively, and point out that this loss of old dignity became linguistically possible, because there were so many synonymous terms at hand.

The important thing to remember is that it is not only borrowings from foreign languages but other sources as well that have made increasing contributions to the stock of English synonyms. There are, for instance, words that come from dialects, and, in the last hundred years, from American English in particular. As a result speakers of British English may make use of both elements of the following pairs, the first element in each pair coming from the USA: *gimmick* : : *trick; dues* : : *subscription; long distance (telephone) call* : : *trunk call; radio* : : *wireless.* There are also synonyms that originate in numerous dialects as, for instance, *clover* : : *shamrock; liquor* : : *whiskey* (from Irish); *girl* : : *lass, lassie* or *charm* : : *glamour* (from Scottish).

The role of borrowings should not be overestimated. Synonyms are also created by means of all word-forming processes productive in the language at a given time of its history. The words already existing in the language develop new meanings. New words may be formed by affixation or loss of affixes, by conversion, compounding, shortening and so on, and being coined, form synonyms to those already in use.

Of special importance for those who are interested in the present-day trends and characteristic peculiarities of the English vocabulary are the synonymic oppositions due to shift of meaning, new combinations of verbs with postpositives and compound nouns formed from them, shortenings, set expressions and conversion.

Phrasal verbs consisting of a verb with a postpositive are widely used in present-day English and may be called one of its characteristic features. (See p. 120 ff.) Many verbal synonymic groups contain such combinations as one of their elements. A few examples will illustrate this statement: *choose* : : *pick out; abandon* : : *give up; continue* : : *go on; enter* : : *come in; lift* : : *pick up; postpone* : : *put off; quarrel* : : *fall out; return* : : *bring back.* E.g.: *By the way, Toby has quite given up the idea of doing those animal cartoons* (Plomer).

The vitality of these expressions is proved by the fact that they really supply material for further word-formation. Very many compound nouns denoting abstract notions, persons and events are correlated with them, also giving ways of expressing notions hitherto named by somewhat lengthy borrowed terms. There are, for instance, such synonymic pairs as *arrangement* : : *layout; conscription* : : *call-up; precipitation* : : *fall-out; regeneration* : : *feedback; reproduction* : : *playback; resistance* : : *fight-back; treachery* : : *sell-out.*

An even more frequent type of new formations is that in which a noun with a verbal stem is combined with a verb of generic meaning *(have, give, take, get, make)* into a set expression which differs from the simple verb in aspect or emphasis: *laugh* : : *give a laugh; sigh* : : *give a sigh; walk* : : *take a walk; smoke* : : *have a smoke; love* : : *fall in love* (see p. 164). E. g.: *Now we can all have a good read with our coffee* (Simpson).

N.N. Amosova stresses the patterned character of the phrases in question, the regularity of connection between the structure of the phrase and the resulting semantic effect. She also points out that there may be cases when phrases of this pattern have undergone a shift of meaning and turned into phraseological units quite different in meaning from and not synonymical with the verbs of the same root. This is the case with *give a lift, give somebody quite a turn,* etc.

Quite frequently synonyms, mostly stylistic, but sometimes ideographic as well, are due to shortening, e. g. *memorandum* : : *memo; vegetables* : : *vegs; margarine* : : *marge; microphone* : : *mike; popular (song)* : : *pop (song).*

One should not overlook the fact that conversion may also be a source of synonymy; it accounts for such pairs as *commandment* : : *command] laughter* : : *laugh.* The problem in this connection is whether such cases should be regarded as synonyms or as lexical variants of one and the same word. It seems more logical to consider them as lexical variants. Compare also cases of different affixation: *anxiety* : : *anxious- ness; effectivity* : : *effectiveness,* and loss of affixes: *amongst* : : *among* or *await : : wait.*

A source of synonymy also well worthy of note is the so-called euphemism in which by a shift of meaning a word of more or less 'pleasant or at least inoffensive connotation becomes synonymous to one that is harsh, obscene, indelicate or otherwise unpleasant.[1] The euphemistic expression *merry* fully coincides in denotation with the word *drunk* it substitutes, but the connotations of the latter fade out and so the utterance on the whole is milder, less offensive. The effect is achieved, because the periphrastic expression is not so harsh, sometimes jocular and usually motivated according to some secondary feature of the notion: *naked : : in one's birthday suit] pregnant : : in the family way.* Very often a learned word which sounds less familiar is therefore less offensive, as in *drunkenness : : intoxication; sweat : : perspiration.*

Euphemisms can also be treated within the synchronic approach, because both expressions, the euphemistic and the direct one, co-exist in the language and form a synonymic opposition. Not only English but other modern languages as well have a definite set of notions attracting euphemistic circumlocutions. These are notions of death, madness, stupidity, drunkenness, certain physiological processes, crimes and so on. For example: *die : : be no more : : be gone : : lose one's life : : breathe one's last : : join the silent majority : : go the way of alt flesh : : pass away : : be gathered to one's fathers.*

A prominent source of synonymic attraction is still furnished by interjections and swearing addressed to God. To make use of God's name is considered sinful by the Church and yet the word, being expressive, formed the basis of many interjections. Later the word *God* was substituted by the phonetically similar word *goodness: For goodness sake\ Goodness gracious] Goodness knows!* Cf. *By Jovel Good Lord! By Gum!* As in:

> *His father made a fearful row.*
> *He said: "By Gum, you've done it now."* (Belloc)

A certain similarity can be observed in the many names for the devil *(deuce, Old Nick).* The point may be illustrated by an example from Burns's "Address to the Devil":

> O *thou! Whatever title suit thee,*
> *Auld Hornie, Satan, Nick, or Clootie …*

Euphemisms always tend to be a source of new synonymic formations, because after a short period of use the new term becomes so closely connected with the notion that it turns into a word as obnoxious as the earlier synonym.

§ 10.8 LEXICAL VARIANTS AND PARONYMS

There are many cases of similarity between words easily confused with synonymy but in fact essentially different from it.

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[1] For a diachronic analysis of this phenomenon see p.p. 73 ff.

Lexical variants, for instance, are examples of free variation in language, in so far as they are not conditioned by contextual environment but are optional with the individual speaker. E. g. *northward / norward; whoever / whosoever.* The variation can concern morphological or phonological features or it may be limited to spelling. Compare *weazen/weazened* 'shrivelled and dried in appearance', an adjective used about a person's face and looks; *directly* which may be pronounced [di'rektli] or [dai'rektli] and *whisky* with its spelling variant *whiskey.* Lexical variants are different from synonyms, because they are characterised by similarity in phonetical or spelling form and identity of both meaning and distribution.

The cases of identity of stems, a similarity of form, and meaning combined with a difference in distribution should be classed as synonyms and not as lexical variants. They are discussed in many books dedicated to correct English usage. These are words belonging to the same part of speech, containing identical stems and synonymical affixes, and yet not permitting free variation, not optional. They seem to provoke mistakes even with native speakers. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the point. The adjectives *luxurious* and *luxuriant* are synonymous when meaning 'characterised by luxury'. Otherwise, *luxuriant* is restricted to the expression of abundance (used about hair, leaves, flowers). *Luxurious* is the adjective expressing human luxury and indulgence (used about tastes, habits, food, mansions). *Economic* and *economical* are interchangeable under certain conditions, more often, however, *economic* is a technical term associated with economics *(an economic agreement).* The second word, i.e. *economical,* is an everyday word associated with economy; e. g. *economical stove, economical method, be economical of one's money.*

Synonyms of this type should not be confused with p a r o n y m s , i.e. words that are kindred in origin, sound form and meaning and therefore liable to be mixed but in fact different in meaning and usage and therefore only mistakenly interchanged.

The term p a r o n y m comes from the Greek *para* 'beside' and *onoma* 'name', it enters the lexicological terminology very conveniently alongside such terms as synonyms, antonyms, homonyms and allonyms.[1]

Different authors suggest various definitions. Some define paronyms as words of the same root, others as words having the same sound form, thus equalising them with word-families or homonyms. Any definition, however, is valuable only insofar as it serves to reflect the particular conception or theory of the subject one studies and proves useful for the practical aims of its study. As the present book is intended for the future teachers of English, it is vital to pay attention to grouping of words according to the difficulties they might present to the student. That is why we take the definition given above stressing not only the phonetic and semantic similarity but also the possible mistakes in the use

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[1] A l l o n y m is a term offered by N.A. Shechtman denoting contextual pairs semantically coordinated like *slow* and *careful, quick* and *impatient.*

of these "hard words". This is the case with the adjectives *ingenious* and *ingenuous*. The first of these means 'clever' and may be used both of man and of his inventions and doings, e. g. *an ingenious craftsman, an ingenious device. Ingenuous* means 'frank', 'artless', as *an ingenuous smile.*

The likeness may be accidental as in the verbs *affect* and *effect.* The first means 'influence', the second — 'to produce'. These come from different Latin verbs. The similarity may be also due to a common source. It is etymologically justified in *alternate* 'succeeding each other' and *alternative* 'providing a choice', or *consequent* 'resulting' and *consequential* 'important', or *continuance* 'an uninterrupted succession' and *continuation* which has two distinct meanings 'beginning again' and 'sequel' as *the continuation of a novel.*

§ 10.9 ANTONYMS AND CONVERSIVES

A n t o n y m s may be defined as two or more words of the same language belonging to the same part of speech and to the same semantic field, identical in style and nearly identical in distribution, associated and often used together so that their denotative meanings render contradictory or contrary notions.

C o n t r a d i c t o r y notions are mutually opposed and denying one another, e. g. *alive* means 'not dead' and *impatient* means 'not patient'. C o n t r a r y notions are also mutually opposed but they are gradable, e. g. *old* and *young* are the most distant elements of a series like: *old : : middle-aged : : young,* while *hot* and *cold* form a series with the intermediate *cool* and *warm,* which, as F.R. Palmer points out, form a pair of antonyms themselves. The distinction between the two types is not absolute, as one can say that *one is more dead than alive,* and thus make these adjectives gradable.

Another classification of antonyms is based on a morphological approach: root words form a b s o l u t e antonyms *(right : : wrong),* the presence of negative affixes creates d e r i v a t i o n a l antonyms *(happy : : unhappy).*

The juxtaposition of antonyms in a literary text emphasises some contrast and creates emotional tension as in the following lines from "Romeo and Juliet" (Act I, Scene V):

> *My only love sprang from my only hate\ Too*
> *early seen unknown, and known too late!*

One of the features enhancing the pathetic expressiveness of these lines is contrast based on such pairs as *love : : hate; early : : late; unknown : : known.* The opposition is obvious: each component of these pairs means the opposite of the other. The pairs may be termed antonymic pairs.

Antonyms have traditionally been defined as words of opposite meaning. This definition, however, is not sufficiently accurate, as it only shifts the problem to the question of what words may be regarded as words of opposite meaning, so we shall keep to the definition given at the beginning of the present paragraph.

The important question of criteria received a new and rigorously linguistic treatment in V.N. Komissarov's work. Keeping to the time-honoured classification of antonyms into absolute or root antonyms *(love* : : *hate)* and derivational antonyms, V.N. Komissarov breaks new ground by his contextual treatment of the problem. Two words, according to him, shall be considered antonymous if they are regularly contrasted in actual speech, that is if the contrast in their meanings is proved by definite types of contextual co-occurrence.

Absolute antonyms, then, are words regularly contrasted as homogenous sentence members connected by copulative, disjunctive or adversative conjunctions, or identically used in parallel constructions, in certain typical contexts.

In the examples given below we shall denote the first of the antonyms — **A**, the second — **B**, and the words they serve to qualify — **X** and **Y**, respectively.

1. *If you've obeyed all the rules good and bad, and you still come out at the dirty end ... then I say the rules are no good* (M. Wilson).

The formula is: A and (or) B = all

2. *He was alive, not dead* (Shaw).

The formula is: not A but (on the contrary) B

3. *You will see if you   were right or wrong* (Cronin).

The formula is: A or B

4. *The whole was big, oneself was little* (Galsworthy). The formula is: **X** is **A**, and **Y**, on the contrary, **B**

A regular and frequent co-occurrence in such contexts is the most important characteristic feature of antonyms. Another important criterion suggested by V.N. Komissarov is the possibility of substitution and identical lexical valency. This possibility of identical contexts is very clearly seen in the following lines:

There is so much good in the worst of us, and
so much bad in the best of us, That it hardly
becomes any of us To talk about the rest of
us (Hock).

Members of the same antonymic pair reveal nearly identical spheres of collocation. For example the adjective *hot* in its figurative meaning of 'angry' and 'excited' is chiefly combined with names of

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unpleasant emotions: *anger, resentment, scorn,* etc. Its antonym *cold* occurs with the same words.

The diagnostic force of valency is weaker than that of regular cooccurrence.

Unlike synonyms, antonyms do not differ either in style, emotional colouring or distribution. They are interchangeable at least in some contexts. The result of this interchange may be of different kind depending on the conditions of context. There will be, for instance, no change of meaning if *ill* and *well* change places within the sentence in the following: *But whether he treated it ill or well, it loved nothing so much as to be near him* (Wells). Or a whole sentence receives an opposite meaning when a word is replaced by its antonym, although it differs from its prototype in this one word only: *You may feel he is clever* : : *You may feel he is foolish.*

As antonyms do not differ stylistically, an antonymic substitution never results in a change of stylistic colouring.

The possibility of substitution and identical valency show that semantic polarity is a very special kind of difference implying a great deal of sameness.

In dealing with antonymic oppositions it may be helpful to treat antonyms in terms of "marked" and "unmarked" members. The unmarked member can be more widely used and very often can include the referents of the marked member but not vice versa. This proves that their meanings have some components in common. In the antonymic pair *old* : : *young* the unmarked member is *old.* It is possible to ask: *How old is the girl?* without implying that she is no longer young. W.C. Chafe says that we normally talk about a continuum of wideness as width and not about a continuum of narrowness. Thus, the usual question is: *How wide is if?* and not *How narrow is it?* which proves the unmarked vs marked character of *wide* vs *narrow.* In the antonymic opposition *love : : hate,* there is no unmarked element.

Some authors, J.Lyons among them, suggest a different terminology. They distinguish antonyms proper and complementary antonyms. The chief characteristic feature of antonyms proper is that they are regularly gradable. Antonyms proper, therefore, represent contrary notions. Grading is based on the operation of comparison. One can compare the intensity of feeling as in *love — attachment — liking — indifference — antipathy — hate.* Whenever a sentence contains an antonym or an antonymic pair, it implicitly or explicitly contains comparison.

The important point to notice is this — the denial of the one member of antonymic opposition does not always imply the assertion of the other — take, for instance W.H. Auden's line: *All human hearts have ugly little treasures.* If we say that our hearts' treasures are neither ugly nor little, it does not imply that they are beautiful or great.

It is interesting to note that such words as *young* : : *old; big* : : *small; good* : : *bad* do not refer to independent absolute qualities but to some implicit norm, they are relative. Consider the following portrait of an elephant:

The Elephant

When people call this beast to mind,
They marvel more and more

At such a little tail behind

So large a trunk before.

The tail of an elephant is little only in comparison with his trunk and the rest of his body. For a mouse it would have been quite big. J. Lyons discusses an interesting example of antonyms also dealing with elephants: *A small elephant is a large animal.* The implicit size-norm for elephants is not the same as that for all animals in general: the elephant which is small in comparison with other elephants may be big in comparison with animals as a class.

This example may also serve to show the difference and parallelism between antonymy proper and complementarity (expressing contradictory notions).

The semantic polarity in antonymy proper is relative, the opposition is gradual, it may embrace several elements characterised by different degrees of the same property. The comparison they imply is clear from the context. *Large* and *little* denote polar degrees of the same notion. The same referent which may be small as an elephant is a comparatively big animal, but it cannot be male as an elephant and female as an animal: a male elephant is a male animal.

Having noted the difference between complementary antonyms and antonyms proper, we must also take into consideration that they have much in common so that in a wider sense both groups are taken as antonyms. Complementaries like other antonyms are regularly contrasted in speech *(male* and *female),* and the elements of a complementary pair have similar distribution. The assertion of a sentence containing an antonymous or complementary term implies the denial of a corresponding sentence containing the other antonym or complementary:

The poem is good → *The poem is not bad (good : : bad* — antonyms proper)

This is prose → *This is not poetry (prose : : poetry* — complementaries)

As to the difference in negation it is optional with antonyms proper: by saying that the poem is not good the speaker does not always mean that it is positively bad. Though more often we are inclined to take into consideration only the opposite ends of the scale and by saying that something is not bad we even, using a litotes, say it is good.

So complementaries are a subset of antonyms taken in a wider sense.

If the root of the word involved in contrast is not semantically relative, its antonym is derived by negation. Absolute or root antonyms (see p. 209) are on this morphological basis, contrasted to those containing some negative affix.

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Thus, the second group of antonyms is known as d e r i v a t i o n a l a n -
t o n y m s . The affixes in them serve to deny the quality stated in the
stem. The opposition *known* : : *unknown* in the opening example from
Shakespeare (see p. 209) is by no means isolated: far from it. It is not diffi-
cult to find other examples where contrast is implied in the morphological
structure of the word itself. E. g. *appear* : : *disappear; happiness* : : *unhap-
piness; logical* : : *illogical; pleasant* : : *unpleasant; prewar* : : *postwar; use-
ful* : : *useless,* etc. There are typical affixes and typical patterns that go into
play in forming these derivational antonyms. It is significant that in the ex-
amples given above prefixes prevail. The regular type of derivational anto-
nyms contains negative prefixes: *dis-, il-/im-/in-/ir-, non-* and *un-.* Other
negative prefixes occur in this function only occasionally.

As to the suffixes, it should be noted that modern English gives no ex-
amples of words forming their antonyms by adding a negative suffix, such
as, for instance, *-less.* The opposition *hopeless* : : *hopeful* or *useless : : use-
ful* is more complicated, as the suffix *-less* is not merely added to the con-
trasting stem, but substituted for the suffix *-ful.* The group is not numerous.
In most cases, even when the language possesses words with the suffix *-
less,* the antonymic pairs found in actual speech are formed with the pre-
fix *un-.* Thus, the antonymic opposition is not *selfish* : : *self/ess* but
selfish : : *unselfish.* Cf. *selfishness* : : *unselfishness; selfishly* : : *unselfishly.*
E . g . : *I had many reasons, both selfish and unselfish, for not giving the un-
necessary openings* (Snow).

Several features distinguish the two groups of antonyms. In words con-
taining one of the above negative prefixes the contrast is expressed mor-
phologically as the prefixed variant is in opposition to the unprefixed one.
Therefore if the morphological motivation is clear, there is no necessity in
contexts containing both members to prove the existence of derivational
antonyms. The word *unsuccessful,* for instance, presupposes the existence
of the word *successful,* so that the following quotation is sufficient for es-
tablishing the contrast: *Essex was always in a state of temper after one of
these unsuccessful interviews* (Aldridge).

The patterns, however, although typical, are not universal, so that mor-
phologically similar formations may show different semantic relationships.
Disappoint, for example, is not the antonym of *appoint,* neither is *unman*
'to deprive of human qualities' the antonym of *man* 'to furnish with per-
sonnel'.

The difference between absolute and derivational antonyms is not only
morphological but semantic as well. To reveal its essence it is necessary to
turn to logic. A pair of derivational antonyms form a privative binary oppo-
sition, whereas absolute antonyms, as we have already seen, are polar
members of a gradual opposition which may have intermediary elements,
the actual number of which may vary from zero to several units, e. g. *beau-
tiful : : pretty* : : *good-looking : : plain : : ugly.*

Many antonyms are explained by means of the negative particle: *clean
— not dirty, shallow — not deep.* It is interesting to note that whereas in
Russian the negative particle and the negative prefix are homonymous, in
the English language the negative particle *not* is morphologically unrelated
to the prefixes *dis-, il-/im-/in-/ir-* and *un-.* Syntactic negation by means of

this particle is weaker than the lexical antonymy. Compare: *not happy* : : *unhappy; not polite* : : *impolite; not regular* : : *irregular; not to believe* : : *to disbelieve.* To prove this difference in intensity V.N. Komissarov gives examples where a word with a negative prefix is added to compensate for the insufficiency of a syntactic negation, even intensified by *at all: I am sorry to inform you that we are not at all satisfied with your sister. We are very much dissatisfied with her* (Ch. Dickens).

Almost every word can have one or more synonyms. Comparatively few have antonyms. This type of opposition is especially characteristic of qualitative adjectives. Cf. in W.Shakespeare's "Sonnet LXXVI":

> *For as the sun is daily new and old, So is my*
> *love still telling what is told.*

It is also manifest in words derived from qualitative adjectives, e. g. *gladly* : : *sadly; gladness* : : *sadness.* Irrespective of the part of speech, they are mostly words connected with feelings or state: *triumph* : : *disaster; hope* : : *despair.* Antonymic pairs, also irrespective of part of speech, concern direction *(hither and thither)* (L.A. Novikov calls these "vectorial antonyms"), and position in space and time *(far and near).*

> *Nothing so difficult as a beginning,*
> *In poetry, unless perhaps the end* (Byron).

Compare also *day* : : *night; late* : : *early; over* : : *under.*

The number of examples could be augmented, but those already quoted will suffice to illustrate both the linguistic essence of antonyms and the very prominent part they play among the expressive means a language can possess. Like synonyms they occupy an important place in the phraseological fund of the language: *backwards and forwards, far and near, from first to last, in black and white, play fast and loose,* etc.

Not only words, but set expressions as well, can be grouped into antonymic pairs. The phrase *by accident* can be contrasted to the phrase *on purpose.* Cf. *up to par* and *below par. Par* represents the full nominal value of a company's shares, hence *up to par* metaphorically means 'up to the level of one's normal health' and *below par* 'unwell'.

Antonyms form mostly pairs, not groups like synonyms: *above* : : *below; absent* : : *present; absence* : : *presence; alike* : : *different; asleep* : : *awake; back* : : *forth; bad* : : *good; big* : : *little,* etc. Cases when there are three or more words are reducible to a binary opposition, so that *hot* is contrasted to *cold* and *warm* to *cool.*

Polysemantic words may have antonyms in some of their meanings and none in the others. When *criticism* means 'blame' or 'censure' its antonym is *praise,* when it means 'writing critical essays dealing with the works of some author', it can have no antonym. The fact lies at the basis of W.S. Maugham's pun: *People ask you for criticism, but they only want praise.* Also in different meanings a word may have different aa-tonyms. Compare for example: *a short story* : : *a long story* but *a short man* : : *a tall man; be short with somebody* : : *be civil with somebody.*

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Semantic polarity presupposes the presence of some common semantic components in the denotational meaning. Thus, while *ashamed* means 'feeling unhappy or troubled because one has done something wrong or foolish', its antonym *proud* also deals with feeling but the feeling of happiness and assurance which also has its ground in moral values.

A synonymic set of words is an opposition of a different kind: its basis is sameness or approximate sameness of denotative meaning, the distinctive features can be stylistic, emotional, distributional or depending on valency.

There is one further type of semantic opposition we have to consider. The relation to which the name of c o n v e r s i v e s is usually given may be exemplified by such pairs as *buy* : : *sell; give* : : *receive; ancestor* : : *descendant; parent* : : *child; left* : : *right; cause* : : *suffer; saddening* : : *saddened.*

Conversives (or relational opposites) as F.R. Palmer calls them denote one and the same referent or situation as viewed from different points of view, with a reversal of the order of participants and their roles. The interchangeability and contextual behaviour are specific. The relation is closely connected with grammar, namely with grammatical contrast of active and passive. The substitution of a conversive does not change the meaning of a sentence if it is combined with appropriate regular morphological and syntactical changes and selection of appropriate prepositions: *He gave her flowers. She received flowers from him. = She was given flowers by him.*

Some linguists class conversives as a subset of antonyms, others suggest that antonyms and conversives together constitute the class of contrastives. Although there is parallelism between the two relations, it seems more logical to stress that they must be distinguished, even if the difference is not always clear-cut. The same pair of words, e. g. *fathers* and *sons,* may be functioning as antonyms or as conversives.

An important point setting them apart is that conversive relations are possible within the semantic structure of one and the same word. M.V. Nikitin mentions such verbs as *wear, sell, tire, smell,* etc. and such adjectives as *glad, sad, dubious, lucky* and others.

It should be noted that *sell* in this case is not only the conversive of *buy,* it means 'be sold', 'find buyers' *(The book sells well).* The same contrast of active and passive sense is observed in adjectives: *sad* 'saddening' and 'saddened', *dubious* and *doubtful* mean 'feeling doubt and inspiring doubt'.

This peculiarity of conversives becomes prominent if we compare equivalents in various languages. The English verb *marry* renders both conversive meanings, it holds good for both participants: *Mary married Dick* or *Dick married Mary.* In a number of languages, including Russian, there are, as J. Lyons and some other authors have pointed out, two verbs: one for the woman and another for the man.

The methodological significance of the antonymic, synonymic, conversive, hyponymic and other semantic relations between lexical items becomes clear if we remember that the place that each unit occupies in the lexical system and its function is derived from the relations it contracts with other units (see table on p. 183).

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Chapter 11
LEXICAL SYSTEMS

§ 11.1 THE ENGLISH VOCABULARY AS AN ADAPTIVE SYSTEM.
NEOLOGISMS

To adapt means to make or undergo modifications in function and structure so as to be fit for a new use, a new environment or a new situation.[1] It has been stated in § 1.5 that being an adaptive system the vocabulary is constantly adjusting itself to the changing requirements and conditions of human communications and cultural and other needs. We shall now give a more detailed presentation of the subject. This process of self-regulation of the lexical system is a result of overcoming contradictions between the state of the system and the demands it has to meet. The speaker chooses from the existing stock of words such words that in his opinion can adequately express his thought and feeling. Failing to find the expression he needs, he coins a new one. It is important to stress that the development is not confined to coining new words on the existing patterns but in adapting the very structure of the system to its changing functions.

According to F. de Saussure synchronic linguistics deals with systems and diachronic linguistics — with single elements, and the two methods must be kept strictly apart. A language system then should be studied as something fixed and unchanging, whereas we observe the opposite: it is constantly changed and readjusted as the need arises. The concept of adaptive systems overcomes this contradiction and permits us to study language as a constantly developing but systematic whole. The adaptive system approach gives a more adequate account of the systematic phenomena of a vocabulary by explaining more facts about the functioning of words and providing more relevant generalisations, because we can take into account the influence of extra-linguistic reality. The study of the vocabulary as an adaptive system reveals the pragmatic essence of the communication process, i.e. the way language is used to influence the addressee.

There is a considerable difference of opinion as to the type of system involved, although the majority of linguists nowadays agree that the vocabulary should be studied as a system.[2] Our present state of knowledge is, however, insufficient to present the whole of the vocabulary as one articulated system, so we deal with it as if it were a set of interrelated systems.

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[1] The term a d a p t i v e comes from the theory of evolution. Ch. Darvin as far back as 1859 wrote about adaptation in the animal world by which a species or individual improves its conditions in relation to its environment. Note also that a relatively new science called "bionics" studies living systems in order to make machines behaving as efficiently as systems in nature.

[2] For a detailed discussion of the statistical approach the reader should refer to the works of A.J. Shaikevitch.

For different purposes of study different types of grouping may prove effective, there is no optimum short cut equally suitable for all purposes. In the present chapter we shall work out a review of most of the types of grouping so far suggested and an estimate of their possibilities. If we succeed in establishing their interrelation, it will help us in obtaining an idea of the lexical system as a whole. We must be on our guard, however, against taking the list of possible oppositions suggested by this chapter for a classification.

We shall constantly slide the basis of our definitions from one level to another, whereas in an adequate classification the definition of various classes must be based on the same kind of criteria. That means we shall obtain data for various approaches to the system, not the system itself as yet.

The adaptive system approach to vocabulary is still in its infancy, but it is already possible to hazard an interim estimate of its significance. Language as well as other adaptive systems, better studied in other branches of science, is capable of obtaining information from the extra-linguistic world and with the help of feedback makes use of it for self-optimisation. If the variation proves useful, it remains in the vocabulary. The process may be observed by its results, that is by studying new words or n e o l o - g i s m s . New notions constantly come into being, requiring new words to name them. Sometimes a new name is introduced for a thing or notion that continues to exist, and the older name ceases to be used. The number of words in a language is therefore not constant, the increase, as a rule, more than makes up for the leak-out.

New words and expressions or n e o l o g i s m s are created for new things irrespective of their scale of importance. They may be all-important and concern some social relationships, such as a new form of state, e. g. *People's Republic,* or something threatening the very existence of humanity, like *nuclear war.* Or again the thing may be quite insignificant and short-lived, like fashions in dancing, clothing, hairdo or footwear (e. g. *roll-neck).* In every case either the old words are appropriately changed in meaning or new words are borrowed, or more often coined out of the existing language material either according to the patterns and ways already productive in the language at a given stage of its development or creating new ones.

Thus, a n e o l o g i s m is a newly coined word or phrase or a new meaning for an existing word, or a word borrowed from another language.

The intense development of science and industry has called forth the invention and introduction of an immense number of new words and changed the meanings of old ones, e. g. *aerobic, black hole, computer, isotope, feedback, penicillin, pulsar, quasar, tape-recorder, supermarket* and so on.

The laws of efficient communication demand maximum signal in minimum time. To meet these requirements the adaptive lexical system is not only adding new units but readjusts the ways and means of word-formation and the word-building means. Thus, when radio location was invented it was defined as *radio detection and ranging* which is long and so a

convenient abbreviation out of the first letter or letters of each word in this phrase was coined, hence *radar.* (See § 7.3.) The process of nomination may pass several stages. In other words, a new notion is named by a terminological phrase consisting of words which in their turn are made up of morphemes. The phrase may be shortened by ellipsis or by graphical abbreviation, and this change of form is achieved without change of meaning. Acronyms are not composed of existing morphemes according to existing word-formation patterns, but on the contrary revolutionise the system by forming new words and new morphemes out of letters. The whole process of word-formation is paradoxically reversed.

The lexical system may adapt itself to new functions by combining several word-building processes. Thus *fall-out* — the radioactive dust descending through the air after an atomic explosion — is coined by composition and conversion simultaneously. *Ad-lib* 'to improvise' is the result of borrowing (Lat. *ad libitum),* shortening, compounding and conversion. Compare also *admass* coined by J.B. Priestley and meaning 'mass advertising in its harmful effect on society'.

It is also interesting to mention the new meaning of word-formation patterns in composition (see § 6.9). *Teach-in* is a student conference or a series of seminars on some burning issue of the day, meaning some demonstration of protest. This pattern is very frequent: *lie-in, sleep-in, pray-in, laugh-in, love-in, read-in, sing-in, stay-in, talk-in.*

In all the above variants the semantic components 'protest' and 'place' are invariably present. This is a subgroup of peculiarly English and steadily developing type of nouns formed by a combined process of conversion and composition from verbs with postpositives, such as *a holdup* 'armed robbery' from *hold-up* 'rob', *come-back* 'a person who returns after a long absence'.

The intense development of shortening aimed at economy of time and effort but keeping the sense complete is manifest not only in acronyms and abbreviations but also in blends, e . g . *bionics < bio+(electr)onics; slintnastics < slim+gymnastics* (see § 7.2.) and back-formation (§ 7.7). The very means of word-formation change their status. This is for instance manifest in the set of combining forms. In the past these were only bound forms borrowings from Latin and Greek mostly used to form technical terms. Now some of them turn into free standing words, e. g. *maxi* n 'something very large'.

Semi-affixes which used to be not numerous and might be treated as exceptions now evolve into a separate set. An interesting case is *person* substituting the semi-affix -*man* due to an extra linguistic cause — a tendency to degender professional names, to avoid mentioning sex discrimination *(chairperson, policeperson).* A freer use of semi-affixes has been illustrated on p. 118. The set of semi-affixes is also increased due to the so-called abstracted forms, that is parts of words or phrases used in what seems the meaning they contribute to the unit. E. g. *workaholic* 'a person with a compulsive desire to work' was patterned on *alcoholic; footballaholic* and *bookaholic* are selfexplanatory. Compare also: *washeteria* 'a self-service laundry'.

When some word becomes a very frequent element in compounds the discrimination of compounds and derivatives, the difference between affix and semi-affix is blurred. Here are some neologisms meaning 'obsessed with sth' and containing the elements *mad* and *happy: power-mad, money-mad, speed-mad, movie-mad* and *auto-happy, trigger-happy, footlight-happy.* It is not quite clear whether, in spite of their limitless productivity, we are still justified in considering them as compounds.

Our survey has touched only upon a representative series of problems connected with **the** functioning and development of the present-day English vocabulary as an adaptive system and of the tendency in coining new words. For a reliable mass of evidence on the new English vocabulary the reader is referred to lexicographic sources.

New additions to the English vocabulary are collected in addenda to explanatory dictionaries and in special dictionaries of new words. One should consult the supplementary volume of the English-Russian Dictionary ed. by I.R. Galperin, the three supplementary volumes of "The Oxford English Dictionary" and the dictionaries of New English which are usually referred to as Barnhart Dictionaries, because Clarence Barnhart, a distinguished American lexicographer, is the senior of the three editors. The first volume covers words and word equivalents that have come into the vocabulary of the English-speaking world during the period 1963-1972 and the second — those of the 70s.

In what follows the student will find a few examples of neologisms showing the patterns according to which they are formed. *Automation* 'automatic control of production' is irregularly formed from the stem *automatic* with the help of the very productive suffix *-tion.* The corresponding verb *automate* is a back-formation, i. e. 're-equip in the most modern and automated fashion'. *Re-* is one of the most productive prefixes, the others are *anti-, de-, un-,* the semi-affixes *self-, super-* and *mini-*and many more; e. g. *anti-flash* 'serving to protect the eyes', *antimatter* n, *anti- novel* n, *anti-pollution, deglamorise* 'to make less attractive', *resit* 'to take a written examination a second time', *rehouse* 'to move a family, a community, etc. to new houses'. The prefix *un-* increases its combining power, enjoys a new wave of fashion and is now attached even to noun stems. A literary critic refers to the broken-down "Entertainer" (in John Osborne's play) as a "*contemporary un-hero, the desperately unfunny Archie Rice". Unfunny* here means "not amusing in spite of the desire to amuse'. All the other types of word-formation described in the previous chapters are in constant use, especially conversion *(orbit the moon, service a car),* composition and semantic change.

Compounding by mere juxtaposition of free forms has been a frequent pattern since the Old English period and is so now, cf. *brains-trust* 'a group of experts', *brain drain* 'emigration of scientists', *to brain-drain, brain-drainer, quiz-master* 'chairman in competitions designed to test the knowledge of the participants'. In the neologism *backroom boys* 'men engaged in secret research' the structural cohesion of the compound is enhanced by the attributive function. Cf. *redbrick (universities), paperback (books), ban-the-bomb (demonstration).* The change of meaning, or rather the introduction of

a new, additional meaning may be illustrated by the word *net-work* 'a number of broadcasting stations, connected for a simultaneous broadcast of the same programme'. Another example is a word of American literary slang — *the square.* This neologism is used as a derogatory epithet for a person who plays safe, who sticks to his illusions, and thinks that only his own life embodies all decent moral values.

As a general rule neologisms are at first clearly motivated. An exception is shown by those based on borrowings or learned coinages which, though motivated at an early stage, very soon begin to function as indivisible signs. A good example is the much used term *cybernetics* 'study of systems of control and communication in living beings and man-made devices' coined by Norbert Wiener from the Greek word *kyberne-tes* 'steersman'+suffix *-ics.*

There are, however, cases when etymology of comparatively new words is obscure, as in the noun *boffin* 'a scientist engaged in research work' or in *gimmick* 'a tricky device' — an American slang word that is now often used in British English.

In the course of time the new word is accepted into the word-stock of the language and being often used ceases to be considered new, or else it may not be accepted for some reason or other and vanish from the language. The fate of neologisms is hardly predictable: some of them are short-lived, others, on the contrary, become durable as they are liked and accepted. Once accepted, they may serve as a basis for further word-formation: *gimmick, gimmickry, gimmicky. Zip* (an imitative word denoting a certain type of fastener) is hardly felt as new, but its derivatives — the verb *zip (zip from one place to another),* the corresponding personal noun *zipper* and the adjective *zippy* — appear to be neologisms.

When we consider the lexical system of a language as an adaptive system developing for many centuries and reflecting the changing needs of the communication process, we have to contrast the innovations with words that dropped from the language (o b s o l e t e words) or survive only in special contexts (a r c h a i s m s and h i s t o r i s m s) .

A r c h a i s m s are words that were once common but are now replaced by synonyms. When these new synonymous words, whether borrowed or coined within the English language, introduce nothing conceptually new, the stylistic value of older words tends to be changed; on becoming rare they acquire a lofty poetic tinge due to their ancient flavour, and then they are associated with poetic diction.

Some examples will illustrate this statement: *aught* n 'anything whatever', *betwixt* prp 'between', *billow* n 'wave', *chide* v 'scold', *damsel* n 'a noble girl', *ere* prp 'before', *even* n 'evening', *forbears* n 'ancestors', *hapless* a 'unlucky', *hark* v 'listen', *lone* a 'lonely', *morn* n 'morning', *perchance* adv 'perhaps', *save* prp, cj 'except', *woe* n 'sorrow', etc.

When the causes of the word's disappearance are extra-linguistic, e.g. when the thing named is no longer used, its name becomes an h i s t o r i s m . Historisms are very numerous as names for social relations, institutions and objects of material culture of the past. The names of ancient transport means, such as types of boats or types of carriages, ancient clothes, weapons, musical instruments, etc. can offer many examples.

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Before the appearance of motor-cars many different types of horse-drawn carriages were in use. The names of some of them are: *brougham, berlin, calash, diligence, fly, gig, hansom, landeau, phaeton,* etc. It is interesting to mention specially the romantically metaphoric *prairie schooner* 'a canvas-covered wagon used by pioneers crossing the North American prairies'. There are still many sailing ships in use, and *schooner* in the meaning of 'a sea-going vessel' is not an historism, but *a prairie schooner* is. Many types of sailing craft belong to the past as *caravels* or *galleons,* so their names are historisms too.

The history of costume forms an interesting topic by itself. It is reflected in the history of corresponding terms. The corresponding glossaries may be very long. Only very few examples can be mentioned here. In W. Shakespeare's plays, for instance, *doublets* are often mentioned. A doublet is a close-fitting jacket with or without sleeves worn by men in the 15th-17th centuries. It is interesting to note that descriptions of ancient garments given in dictionaries often include their social functions in this or that period. Thus, a tabard of the 15th century was a short surcoat open at the sides and with short sleeves, worn by a knight over his armour and emblazoned on the front, back and sides with his armorial bearings. Not all historisms refer to such distant periods. Thus, *bloomers* — an outfit designed for women in mid-nineteenth century. It consisted of Turkish-style trousers gathered at the ankles and worn by women as "a rational dress". It was introduced by Mrs Bloomer, editor and social reformer, as a contribution to woman rights movement. Somewhat later bloomers were worn by girls and women for games and cycling, but then they became shorter and reached only to the knee.

A great many historisms denoting various types of weapons occur in historical novels, e. g. *a battering ram* 'an ancient machine for breaking walls'; *a blunderbuss* 'an old type of gun with a wide muzzle'; *breastplate* 'a piece of metal armour worn by knights over the chest to protect it in battle'; *a crossbow* 'a medieval weapon consisting of a bow fixed across a wooden stock'. Many words belonging to this semantic field remain in the vocabulary in some figurative meaning, e. g. *arrow, shield, sword, vizor,* etc.

§ 11.2 MORPHOLOGICAL AND LEXICO-GRAMMATICAL GROUPING

On the morphological level words are divided into four groups according to their morphological structure (see § 5.1), namely the number and type of morphemes which compose them. They are:

1. Root or morpheme words. Their stem contains one free morpheme, e. g. *dog, hand.*

2. Derivatives contain no less than two morphemes of which at least one is bound, e . g . *dogged, doggedly, handy, handful;* sometimes both are bound: *terrier.*

3. Compound words consist of not less than two free morphemes, the presence of bound morphemes is possible but not necessary, e. g. *dog-cheap* 'very cheap'; *dog-days* 'hottest part of the year'; *handball, handbook.*

4. Compound derivatives consist of not less than two free morphemes and one bound morpheme referring to the whole combination. The pattern is **(stem+stem) +suffix,** e. g. *dog-legged* 'crooked or bent like a dog's hind leg', *left-handed.*

This division is the basic one for lexicology.

Another type of traditional lexicological grouping is known as w o r d - f a m i l i e s . The number of groups is certainly much greater, being equal to the number of root morphemes if all the words are grouped according to the root morpheme. For example: *dog, doggish, doglike, doggy/doggie, to dog, dogged, doggedly, doggedness, dog-wolf, dog-days, dog-biscuit, dog-cart,* etc.; *hand, handy, handicraft, handbag, handball, handful, handmade, handsome,* etc.

Similar groupings according to a common suffix or prefix are also possible, if not as often made use of. The greater the combining power of the affix, the more numerous the group. Groups with such suffixes as *-er, -ing, -ish, -less, -ness* constitute infinite (open) sets, i.e. are almost unlimited, because new combinations are constantly created. When the suffix is no longer productive the group may have a diminishing number of elements, as with the adjective-forming suffix *-some,* e. g. *gladsome, gruesome, handsome, lithesome, lonesome, tiresome, troublesome, wearisome, wholesome, winsome,* etc.

The next step is classifying words not in isolation but taking them within actual utterances. Here the first contrast to consider is the contrast between notional words and form or functional words. Actually the definition of the word as a minimum free form holds good for notional words only. It is only n o t i o n a l words that can stand alone and yet have meaning and form a complete utterance. They can name different objects of reality, the qualities of these objects and actions or the process in which they take part. In sentences they function syntactically as some primary or secondary members. Even extended sentences are possible which consist of notional words only. They can also express the attitude of the speaker towards reality.

F o r m w o r d s , also called functional words, empty words or auxiliaries (the latter term is coined by H. Sweet), are lexical units which are called words, although they do not conform to the definition of the word, because they are used only in combination with notional words or in reference to them. This group comprises auxiliary verbs, prepositions, conjunctions and relative adverbs. Primarily they express grammatical relationships between words. This does not, however, imply that they have no lexical meaning of their own.

The borderline between notional and functional words is not always very clear and does not correspond to that between various parts of speech. Thus, most verbs are notional words, but the auxiliary verbs are classified as form words. It is open to discussion whether link verbs should be treated as form words or not. The situation is very complicated if we consider pronouns. Personal, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, as their syntactical functions testify, are notional words;

reflexive pronouns seem to be form words building up such analytical verb forms as *I warmed myself,* but this is open to discussion. As to prop-words *(one, those,* etc.), some authors think that they should be considered as a separate, third group.

B.N. Aksenenko very aptly proved the presence of a lexical meaning by suggesting a substitution test with *They went to the village* as a test frame. By substituting *across, from, into, round, out of* and *through* for *to,* one readily sees the semantic difference between them.

It is typical of the English language that the boundary between notional and functional words sometimes lies within the semantic structure of one and the same word, so that in some contexts they appear as notional words and in other contexts as form words. Compare the functions and meanings of the verb *have* as used in the following extract from a novel by A. Hux-ley: *Those that have not complain about their own fate. Those that have do not, it is only those in contact with them •— and since the havers are few these too are few — who complain of the curse of having. In my time I have belonged to both categories. Once I had, and I can see that to my fellow-men I must then have been intolerable ... now I have not. The curse of inso-lence and avarice has been removed from me.*

The systematic use of form words is one of the main devices of English grammatical structure, surpassed in importance only by fixed word order. Form words are therefore studied in grammar rather than in lexicology which concentrates its attention upon notional words.

Those linguists who divide all the words into three classes (notional words, form words, deictic and substitute words or prop-words) consider the latter as pointing words *(this, that, they, there, then, thus, he, here, how, who, what, where, whither, nobody, never, not).* Deictic words are orienta-tional words, relative to the time and place of utterance. They ultimately stand for objects of reality, if only at second hand.

Very interesting treatment of form words is given by Charles Fries. The classes suggested by Ch. Fries are based on distribution, in other words, they are syntactic positional classes. Ch. Fries establishes them with the view of having the minimum number of different groups needed for a gen-eral description of utterances. His classification is based on the assumption that all the words that could occupy the same "set of positions" in the pat-terns of English single free utterances without a change of the structural meaning, must belong to the same class. Very roughly and approximately his classification may be described as follows. The bulk of words in the utterances he investigated is constituted by four main classes. He gives them no names except numbers. Class I: *water, time, heating, thing, green* (of a particular shade), *(the) sixth, summer, history,* etc.; Class II: *felt, ar-ranged, sees, forgot, guess, know, help, forward* 'to send on'; Class HI: *general, eighth, good; better, outstanding, wide, young',* Class IV: *there, here, now, usually, definitely, first, twice.*

The percentage of the total vocabulary in these four classes is over 93%. The remaining *7%* are constituted by 154 form words. These, though few in number, occur very frequently.

Every reader is at once tempted to equate these class numbers with the usual names: "nouns", "verbs", "adjectives" and "adverbs". The two sets of names, however, do not strictly coincide in either what is included or what is excluded. Neither morphological form nor meaning are taken into consideration. Unfortunately Ch. Fries does not give satisfactory definitions and offers only the procedure of substitution by which words can be tested and identified in his minimum test frames:

		Class I		Class II	Class III	Class IV
Frame	A	(The)	concert	was	good	(always)
Frame	B	(The)	clerk	remembered	(the) tax	(suddenly)
Frame	C	(The)	team	went		there

The functional words are subdivided into 15 groups, and as Ch. Fries could not find for them any general identifying characteristics, they are supposed to be recognised and learned as separate words, so that they form 15 subsets defined by listing all the elements. As an example of form words the group of determiners may be taken. These are words which in the Ch. Fries classification system serve to mark the so-called Class I forms. They can be substituted for *the* in the frame *(The) concert is good.* That is to say, they are words belonging to the group of limiting noun modifiers, such as *a, an, any, each, either, every, neither, no, one, some, the, that, those, this, these, what, whatever, which, whichever,* possessive adjectives *(my)* and possessive case forms *(Joe's).* Determiners may occur before descriptive adjectives modifying the Class I words.

We have dwelt so extensively upon this classification, because it is very much used, with different modifications, in modern lexicological research practice, though the figures in the denotations of Ch. Fries were later substituted by letters. **N** denotes Class I words, i.e. all the nouns and some pronouns and numerals occupying the same positions, **V** — Class II, namely verbs with the exception of the auxiliaries, **A** — Class III, adjectives, some pronouns and numerals used attributively, **D** — Class IV, adverbs and some noun phrases. In lexicology the notation is chiefly used in various types of semasiological research with distributional and transformational analysis.

The division into such classes as p a r t s o f s p e e c h observes both paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationships of the words and also their meaning. There is no necessity to dwell here upon the parts of speech, because they are dealt with in grammar. We shall limit our discussion to subdivisions of parts of speech and call them lexico-grammatical groups. By a l e x i c o - g r a m m a t i c a l g r o u p we understand a class of words which have a common lexico-grammatical meaning, a common paradigm, the same substituting elements and possibly a characteristic set of suffixes rendering the lexico-grammatical meaning. These groups are subsets of the parts of speech, several lexico-grammatical groups constitute one part of speech. Thus, English nouns are subdivided approximately into the following lexico-grammatical groups: personal names, animal names, collective names (for people), collective names (for animals), abstract nouns, material nouns, object nouns, proper names for people, toponymic proper nouns.

If, for instance, we consider a group of nouns having the following characteristics: two number forms, the singular and the plural; two case forms; animate, substituted in the singular by *he* or *she;* common, i.e. denoting a notion and not one particular object (as proper names do); able to combine regularly with the indefinite article, some of them characterised by such suffixes as *-er/-or, -ist, -ee, -eer* and the semi-affix *-man,* we obtain the so-called personal names: *agent, baker, artist, volunteer, visitor, workman.*

Observing the semantic structure of words belonging to this group we find a great deal of semantic likeness within it, not only in the denotative meanings as such but also in the way various meanings are combined. Personal nouns, for instance, possess a comparatively simple semantic structure. A structure consisting of two variants predominates. In many cases the secondary, i.e. derived meaning is due to generalisation or specialisation.[1] Generalisation is present in such words as *advocate,* which may mean any person who supports or defends a plan or a suggestion anywhere, not only in court; *apostle,* which alongside its religious meaning may denote any leader of any reform or doctrine. E.g.: *What would Sergius, the apostle of the higher love, say if he saw me now?* (Shaw)

Specialisation is observed in cases like *beginner,* where the derived meaning corresponds to a notion of a narrower scope: 'one who has not had much experience' as compared to 'one who begins'.

The group is also characterised by a high percentage of emotionally coloured, chiefly derogatory words among the metaphorical derived variants, such as *baby* 'a person who behaves like a baby' or *witch* 'an ugly and unkind woman'.

Words belonging to another lexico-grammatical group, for instance those denoting well-known animals, very often develop metaphorical expressive names for people possessing qualities rightly or wrongly attributed to the respective animals: *ass, bitch, cow, fox, swine.* E. g.: *Armitage had talked, he supposed. Damned young pup! What did he know about it*! (Christie)

The subdivision of all the words belonging to some part of speech into groups of the kind described above is also achieved on this basis of oppositions. Should we want to find the subgroups of the English noun, we may take as distinctive features the relations of the given word to the categories of number and case, their combining possibilities with regard to definite, indefinite and zero article, their possible substitution by *he, she, it* or *they,* their unique or notional correlation.[2]

Lexico-grammatical groups should not be confused with parts of speech. A few more examples will help to grasp the difference. *Audience* and *honesty,* for instance, belong to the same part of speech but to different lexico-grammatical groups, because their lexico-grammatical

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[1] These terms are used to denote not the process but the result of the semantic change seen when existing lexico-semantic variants of a word are compared.

[2] Unique correlation is characteristic of proper names which have some unique object for referent (e. g. *the Thames);* words whose referents are generalised in a notion have notional correlations (e. g. *river).*

meaning is different: *audience* is a group of people, and *honesty* is a quality; they have different paradigms: *audience* has two forms, singular and plural, *honesty* is used only in the singular; also *honesty* is hardly ever used in the Possessive case unless personified. To show that the substituting elements are different two examples will suffice*: I am referring to what goes on inside the audience's mind when they see the play* (Arden). *Honesty isn't everything but I believe it's the first thing* (Priestley). Being a collective noun, the word *audience* is substituted by *they; honesty* is substituted by *it.*

Other words belonging to the same lexico-grammatical group as *audience* are *people, party, jury,* but not *flock* or *swarm,* because the lexico-grammatical meaning of the last two words is different: they are substituted by *it* and denote groups of living beings but not persons, unless, of course, they are used metaphorically.

§ 11.3 THEMATIC AND IDEOGRAPHIC GROUPS. THE THEORIES OF SEMANTIC FIELDS. HYPONYMY

A further subdivision within the lexico-grammatical groups is achieved in the well-known thematic subgroups, such as terms of kinship, names for parts of the human body, colour terms, military terms and so on. The basis of grouping this time is not only linguistic but also extra-linguistic: the words are associated, because the things they name occur together and are closely connected in reality. It has been found that these words constitute quite definitely articulated spheres held together by differences, oppositions and distinctive values. For an example it is convenient to turn to the adjectives. These are known to be subdivided into qualitative and relative lexico-grammatical groups. Among the first, adjectives that characterise a substance for shape, colour, physical or mental qualities, speed, size, etc. are distinguished.

The group of colour terms has always attracted the attention of linguists, because it permits research of lexical problems of primary importance. The most prominent among them is the problem of the systematic or non-systematic character of vocabulary, of the difference in naming the same extra-linguistic referents by different languages, and of the relationship between thought and language. There are hundreds of articles written about colour terms.

The basic colour name system comprises four words: *blue, green, yellow, red;* they cover the whole spectrum. All the other words denoting colours bring details into this scheme and form subsystems of the first and second order, which may be considered as synonymic series with corresponding basic terms as their dominants. Thus, *red* is taken as a dominant for the subsystem of the first degree: *scarlet, orange, crimson, rose,* and the subsystem of the second degree is: *vermilion, wine red, cherry, coral, copper-red,* etc. Words belonging to the basic system differ from words belonging to subsystems not only semantically but in some other features as well. These features are: (1) frequency of use; (2) motivation; (3) simple or compound character; (4) stylistic colouring; (5) combining power. The basic

terms, for instance, are frequent words belonging to the first thousand of words in H.S. Eaton's "semantic frequency list", their motivation is lost in present-day English. They are all native words of long standing. The motivation of colour terms in the subsystem is very clear: they are derived from the names of fruit *(orange),* flowers *(pink),* colouring stuffs *(indigo).* Basic system words and most of the first degree terms are root words, the second degree terms are derivatives or compounds: *copper-red, jade-green, sky-coloured.* Stylistically the basic terms are definitely neutral, the second degree terms are either special or poetic. The meaning is widest in the four basic terms, it gradually narrows down from subsystem to subsystem.

The relationship existing between elements of various levels is logically that of inclusion. Semanticists call it h y p o n y m y . The term is of comparatively recent creation. J. Lyons stresses its importance as a constitutive principle in the organisation of the vocabulary of all languages. For example, the meaning of *scarlet* is "included" in the meaning of *red.* So *scarlet* is the hyponym of *red,* and its co-hyponym is *crimson,* as to *red* — it is the superordinate of both *crimson* and *scarlet.* Could every word have a superordinate in the vocabulary, the hierarchical organisation of the lexical system would have been ideal. As it is there is not always a superordinate term. There is, for instance, no superordinate term for all colours as the term *coloured* usually excludes *white* and *black.* F.R. Palmer gives several examples from the animal world. The word *sheep* is the superordinate for *ram, ewe* and *lamb.* The word *dog* is in a sense its own superordinate, because there is no special word for a male dog, although there is a special term for the female and for the little dog, i.e. *bitch* and *pup.* Superordinates are also called h y p e r o n y m s , this latter term is even more frequent. Some scholars treat this phenomenon as presupposition, because if we say that some stuff is *scarlet* it implies that it is *red.* One may also treat synonymy as a special case of hyponymy (see Ch. 10).

Thematic groups as well as ideographic groups, i.e. groups uniting words of different parts of speech but thematically related, have been mostly studied diachronically. Thus A.A. Ufimtseva wrote a monograph on the historical development of the words: *eorþe, land, grund;, mideanzeard, molde, folde* and *hruse.*

The evolution of these words from the Old-English period up to the present is described in great detail. The set in this case is defined by enumerating all its elements as well as by naming the notion lying at the basis of their meaning. Many other authors have also described the evolution of lexico-semantic groups. The possibility of transferring the results obtained with limited subsets on the vocabulary as a whole adaptive system remains undefined. Subsequent works by A.A. Ufimtseva are devoted to various aspects of the problem of the lexical and lexico-semantic system.

All the elements of lexico-semantic groups remain within limits of the same part of speech and the same lexico-grammatical group. When; grammatical meaning is not taken into consideration, we obtain the so-called ideographic groups.

The ideographic subgroups are independent of classification into parts of speech. Words and expressions are here classed not according to their lexico-grammatical meaning but strictly according to their signification, i.e. to the system of logical notions. These subgroups may comprise nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs together, provided they refer to the same notion. Thus, V.I. Agamdzhanova unites into one group such words as *light* n, *bright* a, *shine* v and other words connected with the notion of light as something permitting living beings to see the surrounding objects.

The approach resembles the much discussed theory of semantic fields but is more precise than some of them, because this author gives purely linguistic criteria according to which words belonging to the group may be determined. The equivalence of words in this case is reflected in their valency.

The theory of semantic fields continues to engage the attention of linguists. A great number of articles and full-length monographs have been written on this topic, and the discussion is far from being closed.

Jost Trier's[1] conception of linguistic fields is based on F. de Saussure's theory of language as a synchronous system of networks held together by differences, oppositions and distinctive values. The starting point of the whole field theory was J. Trier's work on intellectual terms in Old and Middle High German. J. Trier shows that they form an interdependent lexical sphere where the significance of each unit is determined by its neighbours. The semantic areas of the units limit one another and cover up the whole sphere. This sphere he called a linguistic, conceptual or lexical field. His definition (here given in St. Ullmann's translation)[2] is: "Fields are linguistic realities existing between single words and the total vocabulary; they are parts of a whole and resemble words in that they combine into some higher unit, and the vocabulary in that they resolve themselves into smaller units." Since the publication of J. Trier's book, the field theory has proceeded along different lines, and several definitions of the basic notion have been put forward. A search for objective criteria made W. Porzig, G. Ipsen and other authors narrow the conception down. G. Ipsen studies Indo-European names of metals and notices their connection with colour adjectives. W. Porzig pays attention to regular contextual ties: *dog — bark, blind — see, see — eye.* A. Jolles takes up correlative pairs like *right — left.*

The greatest merit of the field theories lies in their attempt to find linguistic criteria disclosing the systematic character of language. Their structuralist orientation is consistent. J. Trier's most important shortcoming is his idealistic methodology. He regards language as a super-individual cultural product shaping our concepts and our whole knowledge of the world. His ideas about the influence of language upon thought, and the existence of an "intermediate universe" of concepts interposed between man and the universe are wholly untenable. An

[1] See: *Trier, Jost.* Der deutsche Wortschatz im Sinnbezirk des Verstandes. Die Geschichte eines sprachlichen Feldes. Heidelberg, 1931.
[2] See: *Ullmann St.* The Principles of Semantics. P. 157.

exhaustive criticism of this theory may be found in M.D. Stepanova's work.

Freed from its idealistic fetters, J. Trier's theory may, if properly developed, have far-reaching consequences in modern semantics. At this point mention should be made of influential and promising statistical work by A. Shaikevitch.[1] This investigation is based on the hypothesis that semantically related words must occur near one another in the text, and vice versa; if the words often occur in the text together, they must be semantically related. Words (adjectives) were chosen from concordance dictionaries for G. Chaucer, E. Spenser, W. Shakespeare and several other English poets. The material was studied statistically, and the results proved the hypothesis to be correct. Groups were obtained without making use of their meaning on a strictly formal basis, and their elements proved to be semantically related. For example: *faint, feeble, weary, sick, tedious* and *whole* 'healthy' formed one group. *Thin, thick, subtle* also came together. The experiment shows that a purely formal criterion of co-occurrence can serve as a basis of semantic equivalence.

A syntactic approach to the problem of semantic fields has been initiated by the Moscow structuralist group. From their point of view, the detailed syntactic properties of the word are its meaning. Y. Apresyan proposes an analysis, the material of which includes a list of configuration patterns (phrase types) of the language as revealed by syntactic analysis, an indication of the frequency of each configuration pattern and an enumeration of meanings (already known, no matter how discovered) that occur in each pattern. Preliminary study of English verbs as constituents of each pattern has yielded corresponding sets of verbs with some semantic features in common. A semantic field can therefore be described on the basis of the valency potential of its members. Since a correlation has been found between the frequency of a configuration pattern and the number of word meanings which may appear in it, Y. Apresyan proposes that a hierarchy of increasingly comprehensive word fields should be built by considering configuration patterns of increasing frequency. Of the vast literature on semantic fields special attention should be paid to the works by G. Šcur.[2]

§ 11.4 TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEMS

Sharply defined extensive semantic fields are found in terminological systems.

Terminology constitutes the greatest part of every language vocabulary. It is also its most intensely developing part, i.e. the class giving the largest number of new formations. Terminology of a. language consists of many systems of terms. We shall call a t e r m any word or word-group used to name a notion characteristic of some special field of knowledge, industry or culture. The scope and content of the notion that a 'term serves to express are specified by d e f i n i t i o n s in

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[1] *Шайкевич А.Я.* Дистрибутивно-статистический анализ текстов: Автореф. Дис. ...д-ра филол. наук. Л., 1982.

[2] See, for instance: *Щур Г.С.* Теория поля в лингвистике. М., 1974.

literature on the subject. The word *utterance* for instance, may be regarded as a linguistic term, since Z. Harris, Ch. Fries and other representatives of descriptive linguistics attach to it the following definition: "An utterance is any stretch of talk by one person before and after which there is a silence."

Many of the influential works on linguistics that appeared in the last five years devote much attention to the problems of sociolinguistics. Sociolinguistics may be roughly defined as the study of the influence produced upon language by various social factors. It is not difficult to understand that this influence is particularly strong in lexis. Now terminology is precisely that part of lexis where this influence is not only of paramount importance, but where it is recognised so that terminological systems are purposefully controlled. Almost every system of special terminology is nowadays fixed and analysed in glossaries approved by authorities, special commissions and eminent scholars.

A term is, in many respects, a very peculiar type of word. An ideal term should be monosemantic and, when used within its own sphere, does not depend upon the micro-context, provided it is not expressed by a figurative variant of a polysemantic word. Its meaning remains constant until some new discovery or invention changes the referent or the notion. Polysemy, when it arises,[1] is a drawback, so that all the speakers and writers on special subjects should be very careful to avoid it. Polysemy may be tolerated in one form only, namely if the same term has various meanings in different fields of science. The terms *alphabet* and *word,* for example, have in mathematics a meaning very different from those accepted in linguistics.

Being mostly independent of the context a term can have no contextual meaning whatever. The only meaning possible is a denotational free meaning. A term is intended to ensure a one-to-one correspondence between morphological arrangement and content. No emotional colouring or evaluation are possible when the term is used within its proper sphere. As to connotation or stylistic colouring, they are superseded in terms by the connection with the other members of some particular terminological system and by the persistent associations with this system when the term is used out of its usual sphere.

A term can obtain a figurative or emotionally coloured meaning only when taken out of its sphere and used in literary or colloquial speech. But in that case it ceases to be a term and its denotational meaning may also become very vague. It turns into an ordinary word. The adjective *atomic* used to describe the atomic structure of matter was until 1945 as emotionally neutral as words like *quantum* or *parallelogram.* But since Hiroshima and the ensuing nuclear arms race it has assumed a new implication, so that the common phrase *this atomic age,* which taken literally has no meaning at all, is now used to denote an age of great scientific progress, but also holds connotations of ruthless menace and monstrous destruction.

Every branch and every school of science develop a special

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[1] There may be various reasons for it.

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terminology adapted to their nature and methods. Its development represents an essential part of research work and is of paramount importance, because it can either help or hinder progress. The great physiologist I.P. Pavlov, when studying the higher nervous activity, prohibited his colleagues and pupils to use such phrases as *the dog thinks, the dog wants, the dog remembers;* he believed that these words interfered with objective observation.

The appearance of structuralist schools of linguistics has completely changed linguistic terminology. A short list of some frequently used terms will serve to illustrate the point: *allomorph, allophone; constituent, immediate constituent', distribution, complementary distribution, contrastive distribution', morph, morphophonemics, morphotactics,* etc.

Using the new terms in context one can say that "phonologists seek to establish the system pattern or structure of *archiphonemes, phonemes* and *phonemic variants* based primarily on the principle of twofold choice or *binary opposition*[11]. All the italicised words in the above sentence are terms. No wonder therefore that the intense development of linguistics made it imperative to systematise, standardise and check the definitions of linguistic terms now in current use. Such work on terminology standardisation has been going on in almost all branches of science and engineering since the beginning of the 20th century, and linguists have taken an active part in it, while leaving their own terminology in a sad state of confusion. Now this work of systematisation of linguistic terms is well under way. A considerable number of glossaries appeared in different countries. These efforts are of paramount importance, the present state of linguistic terminology being quite inadequate creating a good deal of ambiguity and misunderstanding.

The terminology of a branch of science is not simply a sum total of its terms but a definite system reflecting the system of its notions. Terminological systems may be regarded as intersecting sets, because some terms belong simultaneously to several terminological systems. There is no harm in this if the meaning of the terms and their definitions remain constant, or if the respective branches of knowledge do not meet; where this is not so, much ambiguity can arise. The opposite phenomenon, i.e. the synonymy of terms, is no less dangerous for very obvious reasons. Scholars are apt to suspect that their colleagues who use terms different from those favoured by themselves are either talking nonsense or else are confused in their thinking. An interesting way out is offered by one of the most modern developments in world science, by cybernetics. It offers a single vocabulary and a single set of concepts suitable for representing the most diverse types of systems: in linguistics and biological aspects of communication no less than in various engineering professions. This is of paramount importance, as it has been repeatedly found in science that the discovery of analogy or relation between two fields leads to each field helping the development of the other.

Such notions and terms as *quantity of information, redundancy, enthropy, feedback* and many more are used in various disciplines. Today linguists, no less than other scholars, must know what is going on in other fields of learning and keep abreast of general progress.

Up till now we have been dealing with problems of linguistic terminology. These are only a part of the whole complex of the linguistic problems concerning terminology. It goes without saying that there are terms for all the different specialities. Their variety is very great, e. g. *amplitude* (physics), *antibiotic* (medicine), *arabesque* (ballet), *feedback* (cybernetics), *fission* (chemistry), *frame* (cinema). Many of the terms that in the first period of their existence are known to a few specialists, later become used by wide circles of laymen. Some of these are of comparatively recent origin. Here are a few of them, with the year of their first appearance given in brackets: *stratosphere* (1908), *gene* (1909), *quantum* (1910), *vitamin* (1912), *isotope* (1913), *behaviourism* (1914), *penicillin* (1929), *cyclotron* (1932), *ionosphere* (1931), *radar* (1942), *transistor* (1952), *bionics* (1960), *white hole* (1972), *beam weapon* (1977).

The origin of terms shows several main channels, three of which are specific for terminology. These specific ways are:

1. Formation of terminological phrases with subsequent clipping, ellipsis, blending, abbreviation: *transistor receiver → transistor → trannie; television text → teletext; ecological architecture → ecotecture; extremely low frequency → ELF.*

2. The use of combining forms from Latin and Greek like *aerodrome, aerodynamics, cyclotron, microfilm, telegenic, telegraph, thermonuclear, telemechanics, supersonic.* The process is common to terminology in many languages.

3. Borrowing from another terminological system within the same language whenever there is any affinity between the respective fields. Sea terminology, for instance, lent many words to aviation vocabulary which in its turn made the starting point for the terminology adopted in the conquest of space. If we turn back to linguistics, we shall come across many terms borrowed from rhetoric: *metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche* and others.

The remaining two methods are common with other layers of the vocabulary. These are word-formation in which composition, semantic shift and derivation take the leading part, and borrowing from other languages. The character of the terms borrowed, the objects and ideas they denote are full of significance for the history of world culture. Since the process of borrowing is very marked in every field, all terminology has a tendency to become international. An important peculiarity of terms as compared to the rest of the vocabulary is that they are much more subject to purposeful control. There are special establishments busy with improving terminology. We must also pay attention to the fact that it is often possible to trace a term to its author. It is, for instance, known that the radio terms *anode* and *cathode* were coined by M. Faraday, the term *vitamin* by Dr. Funk in 1912, the term *bionics* was born at a symposium in Ohio (USA) in September of 1960. Those who coin a new term are always careful to provide it with a definition and also to give some reasons for their choice by explaining its motivation.

Terms are not separated from the rest of the vocabulary, and it is rather hard to say where the line should be drawn. With the development and growth of civilisation many special notions become known to the

layman and form part and parcel of everyday speech. Are we justified to call such words as *vitamin, inoculation* and *sedative* or *tranquilliser* terms? With radio and television sets in every home many radio terms — *antenna, teletype, transistor, short waves* — are well known to everybody and often used in everyday conversation. In this process, however, they may lose their specific terminological character and become similar to all ordinary words in the intentional part of their meaning. The constant interchange of elements goes both ways. The everyday English vocabulary, especially the part of it characterised by a high index of frequency and polysemy, constitutes a constant source for the creation of new terms.

Due to the expansion of popular interest in the achievements of science and technology new terms appear more and more frequently in newspapers and popular magazines and even in fiction. Much valuable material concerning this group of neologisms is given in two Barn-hart Dictionaries of New English from which we borrow the explanation of two astronomical terms *black hole* (1968) and *white hole* created on its pattern in 1971. Both terms play an important symbolic role in A. Voznesensky's first major prose work entitled "O". *A black hole* is a hypothetic drain in space which engulfs matter and energy, even massive stars. *A white hole* is a hypothetical source of matter and energy through which what was sucked in through black holes may reappear in other universes.

Dictionaries for the most part include terminological meanings into the entry for the head-word. The fact that one of the meanings is terminological is signalled by showing in brackets the field where it can be used. For example, the word *load* as an electrical term means 'the amount of current supplied by a generating station at any given time'; *power* in mathematics is 'the product obtained by multiplying the number into itself, and in mechanics 'capacity of doing work'; the optical term *power* denotes 'the magnifying capacity of a lens'.

The above survey of terms as a specific type of words was descriptive, the approach was strictly synchronic. Investigation need not stop at the descriptive stage. On the contrary, the study of changes occurring in a group of terms or a whole terminological subsystem, such as sea terms, building terms, etc. during a long period of time, can give very valuable data concerning the interdependence of the history of language and the history of society. The development of terminology is the most complete reflection of the history of science, culture and industry.

§ 1 1 5 THE OPPOSITION OF EMOTIONALLY COLOURED AND EMOTIONALLY NEUTRAL VOCABULARY

There are people who are apt to assume that speech is a sort of device for making statements. They forget its numerous other functions. Speech also expresses the speaker's attitude to what he is talking about, his emotional reaction, his relations with his audience. He may wish to warn, to influence people, to express his approval or disapproval or to make some

parts of what he says more emphatic. All these pragmatic factors introduce into the lexical meaning of words additional overtones. These again are apt to be confused. Using terms like "expressive", "emotive", "affective", "evaluative", "slang", some authors are inclined to treat them as synonyms, thinking, for instance, that an emotive word is of necessity also a stylistically coloured word, or considering all stylistically coloured words as emotional. We shall see that this is not always the case.

In what follows we shall understand by e m o t i v e s p e e c h any speech or utterance conveying or expressing emotion. This emotive quality of discourse is due to syntactical, intonational and lexical peculiarities. By lexical peculiarities we mean the presence of emotionally coloured words. The emotional colouring of the word may be permanent or occasional. We shall concentrate our attention on the first. *A* word acquires its emotional colouring, otherwise called its affective c o n n o t a t i o n s , its power to evoke or directly express feelings as a result of its history in emotional contexts reflecting emotional situations. The character of denotata corresponding to the root of the word may be wrought with emotion. Thus, in the emotive phrases: *be beastly mean about something, a glorious idea, a lovely drink, a rotten business,* etc., the emotional quality is based upon associations brought about by such notions as 'beast', 'glory', 'love' and 'rot' and the objects they stand for.

The best studied type of emotional words are interjections. They express emotions without naming them: *Ah! Alas! Bother! Boy! Fiddlesticks! Hear, hear! Heavens! Hell! Humbug! Nonsense! Pooh!* etc. Some of them are primary interjections, others are derived from other parts of speech. On the latter opinions differ. Some say that *Cornel* and *Hark!* are not interjections at all, but complete sentences with their subject not expressed. We shall not go into this controversy and keep to our main theme.

A word may have some morphological features signalling its emotional force. These may be either morphemes or patterns. Diminutive and derogatory affixes, though not so numerous and variegated as in Russian, still play an important role. The examples are *daddy, kiddykins, dearie, babykins, blackie, oldie.* The scarcity of emotional suffixes favours the appearance of such combinations as: *little chap, old chap, old fellow, poor devil* where the emotional effect results from the interaction of elements. The derogatory group of suffixes may be exemplified by *bastard, drunkard, dullard, trustard, princeling, weakling, gangster, hipster* (now with a diminutive *hippie), mobster, youngster.* It must be noted that the suffix *-ster* is derogatory only with nouns denoting persons, and neutral otherwise, cf. *roadster* 'an open automobile'.

There is a disparaging semi-affix *-monger: panicmonger, scandalmonger, scaremonger, warmonger.*

A very interesting problem, so far investigated but little, concerns the relationship between the morphological pattern of a word and its emotional possibilities. Thus, for example, personal nouns formed by composition from complete sentences or phrases are derogatory:

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also-ran, never-do-well, sit-by-the-fire, stick-in-the-mud, die-hard. This goes only for names of persons. There is nothing objectionable in *a forget-me-not.* Compare also*: I suppose your friends, if you have any, don't mean much to you unless ... they are great-something-or-other* (Fair-child).

There are several groups expressing censure by their morphological structure. There are personal nouns formed by conversion: *a bore, a swell* and by combined composition and conversion from verbs with post positives: *a come-back* 'a person reinstated in his former position', *a stand-in* 'a substitute', *a stuck-up = an upstart* 'a person who assumes arrogant tone' (also one who has risen from insignificance), *a washout* 'a failure'.

To express emotion the utterance must be something not quite ordinary. Syntactically this is reflected in inversion contrasted to the usual word order. Its counterpart in vocabulary is coinage of nonce-words. Very often it is a kind of echo-conversion, as in the following: *Lucas: Well? Hans: Don't well me, you feeble old ninny* (Osborne).

Emotional nonce-words are created in angry or jocular back-chat by transforming whole phrases into verbs to express irritation or mockery. For example: *"Now well!" "Don't now-well-me!" "How on earth!?" "Don't begin how-on-earthing!" "Oh, bloody hell!*[fn] *"You don't bloody-hell here."*

The type is definitely on the increase in English speech of today.

Often the muscular feeling of the emotional word or phrase is more important than its denotational meaning. Its function is to release pent-up emotions, pent-up tension. This may explain why *hell* and *heaven* have such rich possibilities, while *paradise* has practically none.

It must be noted that emotional words only indicate the presence of emotion but very seldom are capable of specifying its exact character.

The emotionally coloured words are contrasted to the emotionally neutral ones. The words of this latter group express notions but do not say anything about the state of the speaker or his mood: *copy, report, impatient, reach, say, well* are all emotionally neutral. The difference between the sets is not very clear-cut, there are numerous boundary cases. The sets may be said to intersect and contain elements that belong to both, because many words are neutral in their direct meaning and emotional under special conditions of context. Having been used for some time with an occasionally emotional effect, they may acquire some permanent features in their semantic structure that justify referring them into the other subset.

It is also difficult to draw a line of demarcation between emotional and emphatic or intensifying words; therefore we shall consider the latter a specific group of the emotional words subset. I n t e n s i f i e r s convey special intensity to what is said, they indicate the special importance of the thing expressed. The simplest and most often used of these are such words as *ever, even, all, so.* The first of them, due to its incessant use, has become a kind of semi-affix, as seen from the solid spelling of such combinations as *whatever, whenever,* etc. If we compare:

Whyever didn't you go? and *Why didn't you go?* we shall see at once how much more expressive and emphatic the first variant is. There is also a big incessantly developing and changing group of intensifying adverbs: *awfully, capitally, dreadfully, fiercely, frightfully, marvellously, terribly, tremendously, wonderfully* and very many others. The fashion for them changes, so that every generation has its favourite intensifiers and feels those used by their elders trite and inexpressive. The denotative meaning of intensifying adverbs may be almost completely suppressed by their emphatic function, so that in spite of the contradiction of combinations like *awfully glad, frightfully beautiful* or *terribly important,* they are very frequent. E.g.: *How are you, Helene? You're looking frightfully well* (Amis).

Very little is known so far about limitations imposed upon the combining possibilities of intensifiers. It is, for instance, quite usual to say *stark naked* or *stark mad,* where *stark* means 'wholly', but not **stark deaf;* we say *stone deaf* instead. The fact is very little studied from the synchronic point of view. Compare also the fixed character of such combinations as *flat denial, sheer nonsense, paramount importance, dead tired, bored stiff.* All such purely linguistic constraints concerning the valency of words are of great theoretical interest.

Sometimes it is very difficult to tell an intensifier from an emotionally coloured word, because in many cases both functions are fulfilled by one and the same word, as in the following example: "*You think I know damn nothing,*" *he said indignantly.* "*Actually I know damn all*" (Priestley).

An intensifying function may be also given to sound-imitative interjections, as in the following: *I was an athlete, you see, one of those strong-as-a-horse boys. And never a day's illness — until bang, comes a coronary, or whoosh, go the kidneys!* (Huxley)

A third group which together with emotional and intensifying words could be opposed to the neutral vocabulary may be called e v a l u a t o r y w o r d s . Words which, when used in a sentence, pass a value judgment differ from other emotional words in that they can not only indicate the presence of emotion but specify it.

In evaluatory words the denotative meaning is not superseded by the evaluative component, on the contrary they co-exist and support each other. For example: *Oh, you're not a spy. Germans are spies. British are agents* (Rattigan). A few more examples will not be amiss. The verb *fabricate* has not lost its original neutral meaning of 'manufacture', but added to it the meaning of 'invent falsely'. When using this word, the speaker is not indifferent to the fact but expresses his scorn, irony or disgust. *Scheming* is a derogatory word (cf. *planning),* it means 'planning secretly, by intrigue or for private ends'. For example: *"I wouldn't exaggerate that, Mildred," said Felix. "You're such a schemer yourself, you're a bit too ready to attribute schemes to other people" "Well, somebody's got to do some scheming," said Mildred. "Or let's call it planning, shall we? As you won't raise a finger to help yourself, dear boy, I have to try to help you. And then I am accused of scheming."* (Murdoch)

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When the emotional variant of the word or a separate emotional word is contrasted to its neutral variant the emotional word always turns out to be morphologically or semantically derived, not primary.

The names of animals, for instance, when used metaphorically, almost invariably have a strong evaluative force: "*Silly ass*," *said Dick. "He's jealous because he didn't win a prise."* (M. Dickens) Compare also *colt* 'a young male horse up to an age of four or five', which occurs in the figurative meaning of 'a young inexperienced person'. The same type of relationship is seen in the figurative meaning of the word *pup* as a contemptuous term for a conceited young man.

Emotional, emphatic and evaluative words should not be confused with words possessing some definite stylistic features although in actual discourse these properties may coincide, and we often come across words both emotionally and stylistically coloured. Style is, however, a different kind of opposition; it will be discussed in the next chapter. The distinction we are dealing with in the present paragraph is helpful, because it permits us to observe some peculiar phenomena and features of words in emotional speech.

The emotive effect is also attained by an interaction of syntactic and lexical means. The pattern $\mathbf{a+(A)^1+N_1+of+a+N_2}$ is often used to express emotion and emphasis. The precise character of the emotion is revealed by the meaning and connotations possible for $\mathbf{N_1}$ and $\mathbf{N_2}$, the denotata may be repulsive or pleasant, or give some image. Compare, for example: *a devil of a time, a deuce of a price, a hell of a success, a peach of a car, an absolute jewel of a report, a mere button of a nose.* The word *button* in the last example acquires expressiveness and becomes ironical, being used metaphorically, although used in its direct meaning it is emotionally neutral; it acquires its emotional colour only when transferred to a different sphere of notions. The adjectives *absolute* and *mere* serve as intensifiers.

Emotional words may be inserted into a syntactic chain without any formal or logical connection with what precedes or follows but influencing the whole and making it more forcible, as, for example, in the following: "*There was a rumour in the office," Wilson said, "about some diamonds." "Diamonds my eye," Father Rank said. "They'll never find any diamonds."* (Greene) It would be wrong to consider this use of *my eye* a figurative meaning, its relationship with the direct denotational meaning being different from what we observe in metaphorical or metonymical meanings. In this and similar cases the emotional component of meaning expressing in a very general way the speaker's feelings and his state of mind dominates over the denotational meaning: the latter is suppressed and has a tendency towards fading out.

Emotional words may even contradict the meaning of the words they formally modify, as, for example, in the following: *Everything was too bloody friendly, Damn good stuff this.* The emotional words in these two examples were considered unprintable in the 19th century and dashes were used to indicate the corresponding omissions in oaths:

The brackets show that this position is optional.

D--n. The word has kept its emotional colouring, but its stylistic status has improved.

Words expressing similar emotions may belong to different styles and the vulgar *Damn* that can be at best qualified as familiar colloquial can be compared with the lofty and poetical *Alas!* Each of them in its own way expresses vexation, so that their emotional colouring, though not identical, is similar; stylistically they are very different. The criteria by which words can be referred to the set in question are being at present investigated. A difficult problem is presented by words naming emotions: *love, hate, fear, fright, rage,* etc. or associated with emotions: *dead, death, dirt, mean* and the like. Some authors argue that they cannot be considered emotional, because emotion plays the part of denotatum, of something that is named, not expressed. Subsequent authors have shown that if the question is considered in purely linguistic terms of word-building and contextual ties, it may be proved that some of these words can express feeling.

Words belonging (on a synchronic level) to word-families containing interjections can be proved to possess the following properties: they can express emotions, they can lend emotional colouring to the whole sentence in which they occur, they occupy an optional position. Thus, the whole cluster of derivatives with *rot* are regularly emotional: *rot, rotten, to rot, rotter.* Emotionality is indubitable in the following: *Oh, get out! You don't really care, damn you! You asked her to marry you in your rotten cold-blooded way, but I loved her* (Christie).

Different positive emotions are rendered by *love* and its derivatives *lovely* a and *lovely* n (the latter is a synonym for *darling).*

In concluding the paragraph it is necessary to stress once more that as a rule emotional and emphatic words do not render emotions by themselves but impart these to the whole utterance in co-ordination with syntactic and intonation means. Only context permits one to judge whether the word serves as a mere intensifier or expresses emotion, and if so, to particularise the type of emotion.

§ 11.6 DIFFERENT TYPES OF NON-SEMANTIC GROUPING

The simplest, most obvious non-semantic grouping, extensively used in all branches of applied linguistics is the alphabetical organisation of written words, as represented in most dictionaries. It is of great practical value as the simplest and the most universal way of facilitating the search for the necessary word. Even in dictionaries arranged on some other principles (in "Roget's International Thesaurus", for example) we have an alphabetical index for the reader to refer to before searching the various categories. The theoretical value of alphabetical grouping is almost null, because no other property of the word can be predicted from the letter or letters the word begins with. We cannot infer anything about the word if the only thing we know is that it begins with a *p.* Only in exceptional cases some additional information can be obtained on a different, viz. the etymological, level. For instance, words beginning with a *w* are mostly native, and those beginning with a *ph* borrowed from Greek. But such cases are few and far between.

The rhyming, i.e. inverse, dictionary presents a similar non-semantic grouping of isolated written words differing from the first in that the sound is also taken into consideration and in that the grouping is done the other way round and the words are arranged according to the similarity of their ends. The practical value of this type is much more limited. These dictionaries are intended for poets. They may be also used, if but rarely, by teachers, when making up lists of words with similar suffixes.

A third type of non-semantic grouping of written words is based on their length, i.e. the number of letters they contain. This type, worked out with some additional details, may prove useful for communication engineering, for automatic reading of messages and correction of mistakes. It may prove useful for linguistic theory as well, although chiefly in its modified form, with length measured not in the number of letters but in the number of syllables. Important statistical correlations have been found to exist between the number of syllables, the frequency, the number of meanings and the stylistic characteristics a word possesses. The shorter words occur more frequently and accumulate a greater number of meanings.

Finally, a very important type of non-semantic grouping for isolated lexical units is based on a statistical analysis of their frequency. Frequency counts carried out for practical purposes of lexicography, language teaching and shorthand enable the lexicographer to attach to each word a number showing its importance and range of occurrence. Large figures are, of course, needed to bring out any inherent regularities, and these regularities are, naturally, statistical, not rigid. But even with these limitations the figures are fairly reliable and show important correlations between quantitative and qualitative characteristics of lexical units, the most frequent words being polysemantic and stylistically neutral.

variants of these vocabularies have received the derogatory names of o f f i - c i a l e s e and j o u r n a l e s e . Their chief drawback is their triteness: both are given to cliches.

§ 12.4 POETIC DICTION

Any word or set expression which is peculiar to a certain level of style or a certain type of environment and mood will become associated with it and will be able to call up its atmosphere when used in some other context. There is no such thing as one poetic style in the English language. The language a poet uses is closely bound with his outlook and experience, with his subject-matter and the message he wants to express. But there remains in English vocabulary a set of words which contrast with all other words, because, having been traditionally used only in poetry, they have poetic connotations. Their usage was typical of poetic conventions in the 18th century, but since the so-called Romantic Revolt in the first quarter of the 19th century poetic diction fell into disuse. These words are not only more lofty but also as a rule more abstract in their denotative meaning than their neutral synonyms. To illustrate this layer, suffice it to give some examples in oppositions with their stylistically neutral synonyms. Nouns: *array : : clothes; billow : : wave; brine : : salt water; brow : : forehead; gore : blood; main : : sea; steed : : horse; woe : : sorrow.* Verbs: *behold : : see; deem : : think; hearken : : hear; slay : : kill; trow : : believe.* Adjectives: *fair : : beautiful; hapless : : unhappy; lone : : lonely; murky : : grim; uncouth : : strange.* Adverbs: *anon : : presently; nigh : : almost; oft : : often; whilom : : formerly.* Pronouns: *thee : : thou; aught : : anything; naught : : nothing.* Conjunctions: *albeit : : although; ere : : before.*

Sometimes it is not the word as a whole that is poetic but only one of its variants. It may be semantic: the words *fair, hall, flood* and many others have among their meanings a poetical one. It may be also a phonetical variant: *e'en : : even; morn : : morning; oft : : often.*

In the 18th century the standards of poetic diction were rigorously observed and the archaic ingredient was considered not only appropriate but obligatory. This poetic diction specialised by generations of English poets was not only a matter of vocabulary, but also of phraseology, imagery, grammar and even spelling. Traces of this conservative tendency may be observed in the 19th century poetry. They may either heighten the emotional quality of the expression or create an ironical colouring by juxtaposing high style and trivial matter.

In the following stanza by G.G. Byron conventional features of poetic language can be interpreted both ways:

> *I've tried another's fetters too*
> *With charms perchance as fair to view*
> *And I would fain have loved as well,*
> *But some inconquerable spell*
> *Forbade my bleeding breast to own*
> *A kindred care for ought but one.*
>
> ("Stanzas to a Lady on Leaving England")

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§ 12.5 COLLOQUIAL WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS

The term c o l l o q u i a l is old enough: Dr Johnson, the great English lexicographer, used it. Yet with him it had a definitely derogatory ring. S. Johnson thought colloquial words inconsistent with good usage and, thinking it his duty to reform the English language, he advised "to clear it from colloquial barbarisms". By the end of the 19th century with Neogrammarians the description of colloquial speech came into its own, and linguists began to study the vocabulary that people actually use under various circumstances and not what they may be justified in using.

As employed in our time, the adjective c o l l o q u i a l does not necessarily mean 'slangy' or 'vulgar', although slang and vulgar vocabulary make part of colloquial vocabulary, or, in set-theoretical terminology, form subsets contained in the set we call colloquial vocabulary.

The term l i t e r a r y   c o l l o q u i a l is used to denote the vocabulary used by educated people in the course of ordinary conversation or when writing letters to intimate friends. A good sample may be found in works by a number of authors, such as J. Galsworthy, E.M. Forster, C.P. Snow, W.S. Maugham, J.B.Priestley, and others. For a modern reader it represents the speech of the elder generations. The younger generation of writers (M. Drabble for instance) adhere to f a m i l i a r   c o l l o - q u i a l . So it seems in a way to be a differentiation of generations. Familiar colloquial is more emotional and much more free and careless than literary colloquial. It is also characterised by a great number of jocular or ironical expressions and nonce-words.

Low c o l l o q u i a l is a term used for illiterate popular speech. It is very difficult to find hard and fast rules that help to establish the boundary between low colloquial and dialect, because in actual communication the two are often used together. Moreover, we have only the evidence of fiction to go by, and this may be not quite accurate in speech characterisation. The basis of distinction between low colloquial and the two other types of colloquial is purely social. Everybody remembers G.B. Shaw's "Pygmalion" where the problem of speech as a mark of one's social standing and of social inequalities is one of the central issues. Ample material for observation of this layer of vocabulary is provided by the novels of Alan Sillitoe, Sid Chaplin or Stan Barstow. The chief peculiarities of low colloquial concern grammar and pronunciation; as to the vocabulary, it is different from familiar colloquial in that it contains more vulgar words, and sometimes also elements of dialect.

Other vocabulary layers below the level of standard educated speech are, besides low colloquial, the so-called s l a n g and a r g o t . Unlike low colloquial, however, they have only lexical peculiarities. Argot should be distinguished from slang: the first term serves to denote a special vocabulary and idiom, used by a particular social or age group, especially by the so-called underworld (the criminal circles). Its main point is to be unintelligible to outsiders.

The boundaries between various layers of colloquial vocabulary not being very sharply defined, it is more convenient to characterise it on the whole. If we realise that gesture, tone and voice and situation are almost as important in an informal act of communication as words are, we shall be able to understand why a careful choice of words in everyday conversation plays a minor part as compared with public speech or literature, and consequently the vocabulary is much less variegated. The same pronouns, prop-words, auxiliaries, postpositives and the same most frequent and generic terms are used again and again, each conveying a great number of different meanings. Only a small fraction of English vocabulary is put to use, so that some words are definitely overworked. Words like *thing, business, do, get, go, fix, nice, really, well* and other words characterised by a very high rank of frequency are used in all types of informal intercourse conveying a great variety of denotative and emotional meanings and fulfilling no end of different functions. The utterances abound in imaginative phraseology, ready-made formulas of politeness and tags, standard expressions of assent, dissent, surprise, pleasure, gratitude, apology, etc.

The following extract from the play "An Inspector Calls" by J.B. Priestley can give ample material for observations:

> BIRLING (triumphantly): *There you are! Proof positive. The whole story's just a lot of moonshine. Nothing but an elaborate sell.* (He produces a huge sigh of relief.) *Nobody likes to be sold as badly as that — but — for all that – – – –* (He smiles at them all.) *Gerald, have a drink.*
>
> GERALD (smiling): *Thanks. I think I could just do with one now.*
>
> BIRLING (going to sideboard): *So could I.*
>
> Mrs BIRLING (smiling): *And I must say, Gerald, you've argued this very cleverly, and I'm most grateful.*
>
> GERALD (going for his drink): *Well, you see, while I was out of the house I'd time to cool off and think things out a little.*
>
> BIRLING (giving him a drink): *Yes, he didn't keep you on the run as he did the rest of us. I'll admit now he gave me a bit of a scare at the time. But I'd a special reason for not wanting any public scandal just now.* (Has his drink now, and raises his glass.) *Well, here's to us. Come on, Sheila, don't look like that. All over now.*

Among the colloquialisms occurring in this conversation one finds whole formulas, such as *there you are, you see, I'm most grateful, here's to us;* set expressions: *a lot of moonshine, keep sb on the run, for all that,* cases of semi-conversion or typical word-groups like *have a drink* (and not *drink)', give a scare* (and not *scare)',* verbs with postpositives: *cool off, think things out, come on;* particles like *just* and *well.* Every type of colloquial style is usually rich in figures of speech. There is no point in enumerating them all, and we shall only note the understatement: *a bit of a scare, I could just do with one.*

The above list shows that certain lexical patterns are particularly characteristic of colloquialisms. Some may be added to those already mentioned.

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Substantivised adjectives are very frequent in colloquial speech: *constitutional* 'a walk', *daily* 'a woman who comes daily to help with household chores', also *greens* for 'green leaf vegetables', such as spinach, cabbage, etc., and *woollies* 'woollen clothes'.

A large number of new formations is supplied by a process combining composition and conversion and having as prototypes verbs with postpositives: *carry-on* 'way of behaving', *let-down* 'an unexpected disappointment', *make-up* 'cosmetics'.

One of the most modern developments frequent in colloquial style are the compounds coined by back-formation: the type *to baby-sit* (from *baby-sitter)* is often resorted to.

It is common knowledge that colloquial English is very emotional.[1] Emotions find their lexical expression not only in emphatic adverbs and adjectives of the *awfully* and *divine* type, or interjections including swear words, but also in a great number of other lexical intensifiers. In the following example the feeling named by the novelist is expressed in direct speech by an understatement: *Gazing down with an expression that was loving, gratified and knowledgeable, she said, "Now I call that a bit of all right."* (Snow)

In all the groups of colloquialisms, and in familiar colloquial especially, words easily acquire new meanings and new valency. We have already observed it in the case of the verb *do* in *I could do with one* meaning 'I would like to have (a drink)' and originally used jokingly. *Make do* is a colloquialism also characterised by fixed context; it means 'to continue to use old things instead of buying new ones, to economise'. Other peculiarities of valency of the same verb are observed in such combinations as *do a museum,* or *do for sb,* meaning 'to act as a housekeeper'. Verbs with postpositives are used in preference to their polysyllabic synonyms.

Such intensifiers as *absolutely, fabulous/fab, grand, lovely, superb, terrific* and the like come readily to the speaker's lips. Getting hackneyed, they are apt to lose their denotational meaning and keep only their intensifying function. The loss of denotational meaning in intensifiers is also very obvious in various combinations with the word *dead,* such as *dead sure, dead easy, dead right, dead slow, dead straight.*

As these adverbs and adjectives become stale other expressive means may be used. Here is an example of heated argument in literary colloquial between the well-bred and educated personages of CP. Snow's "The Conscience of the Rich":

"If you're seriously proposing to print rumours without even a scrap of evidence, the paper isn't going to last very long, is it?"
"Why in God's name not?"
"What's going to stop a crop of libel actions'?"
"The trouble with you lawyers," said Seymour, jauntily once more, "is that you never know when a fact is a fact, and you never see an inch beyond your noses. I am prepared to bet any of you, or all three, if you like, an even hundred pounds that no one, no one brings an action against us over this business".

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[1] The subject has been dealt with in the previous chapter but a few additional examples will not come amiss.

Carefully observing the means of emphasis used in the passage above, one will notice that the words *a scrap, an inch, even* are used here only as intensifiers lending emphasis to what is being said; they are definitely colloquial. But they have these properties due to the context, and the reader will have no difficulty in finding examples where these words are neither emphatic nor stylistically coloured. The conclusion is that some words acquire these characteristics only under certain very definite conditions, and may be contrasted with words and expressions that are always emotional and always colloquial in all their meanings, whatever the context. *On earth* or *in God's name,* for instance, are colloquial and emotional only after some interrogative word: *Why in God's name ..., Why on earth ..., Where in God's name ..., Where on earth ..., What in God's name..., What on earth...,* etc. A typical context is seen in the following extract: *The man must be mad, sitting-out there on a freezing morning like this. What on earth he thinks he is doing I can't imagine* (Shaffer). On the other hand, there exist oaths, swear words and their euphemistic variations that function as emotional colloquialisms independent of the context. The examples are: *by God, Goodness gracious, for Goodness sake, good Lord* and many others. They occur very often and are highly differentiated socially. Not only is there a difference in expressions used by schoolboys and elderly ladies, sailors and farmers but even those chosen by students of different universities may show some local colour.

Many lexical expressions of modality may be also referred to colloquialisms, as they do not occur anywhere except informal everyday intercourse. Affirmative and negative answers, for instance, show a wide range of modality shades: *definitely, up to a point, in a way, exactly, right-o, by all means, I expect so, I should think so, rather,* and on the other hand*: I am afraid, not* or *not at all, not in the least, by no means,* etc. E. g.: *Mr Salter's side of the conversation was limited to expressions of assent. When Lord Copper was right he said, "Definitely, Lord Copper"; when he was wrong, "Up to a point."* (Waugh) The emotional words already mentioned are used as strong negatives in familiar or low colloquial: "*Have you done what he told you?" "Have I hell!"* The answer means 'Of course I have not and have no intention of doing it'. Or: "*So he died of natural causes, did he?" "Natural causes be damned."* The implication is that there is no point in pretending the man died of natural causes, because it is obvious that he was killed. A synonymous expression much used at present is *my foot.* The second answer could be substituted by *Natural causes my foot,* without any change in meaning.

Colloquialisms are a persistent feature of the conversation of at least 90% of the population. For a foreign student the first requirement is to be able to differentiate those idioms that belong to literature, and those that are peculiar to spoken language. It is necessary to pay attention to comments given in good dictionaries as to whether a word is colloquial (colloq.), slang (sl.) or vulgar (vulg.).

To use colloquialisms one must have an adequate fluency in English and a sufficient familiarity with the language, otherwise one may sound ridiculous, especially, perhaps, if one uses a mixture of British and American colloquialisms. The author has witnessed some occasions where a student used American slang words intermingled with idiomatic expressions learned from Ch. Dickens, with a kind of English public school accent; the result was that his speech sounded like nothing on earth.

§ 12.6 SLANG

Slang words are identified and distinguished by contrasting them to standard literary vocabulary. They are expressive, mostly ironical words serving to create fresh names for some things that are frequent topics of discourse. For the most part they sound somewhat vulgar, cynical and harsh, aiming to show the object of speech in the light of an off-hand contemptuous ridicule. Vivid examples can be furnished by various slang words for *money,* such as *beans, brass, dibs, dough, chink, oof, wads;* the slang synonyms for word *head* are *attic, brain-pan, hat peg, nut, upper storey,* compare also various synonyms for the adjective *drunk: boozy, cock-eyed, high, soaked, tight* and many more. Notions that for some reason or other are apt to excite an emotional reaction attract as a rule many synonyms: there are many slang words for food, alcohol drinks, stealing and other violations of the law, for jail, death, madness, drug use, etc.

Slang has often attracted the attention of lexicographers. The best-known English slang dictionary is compiled by E. Partridge.

The subject of slang has caused much controversy for many years. Very different opinions have been expressed concerning its nature, its boundaries and the attitude that should be adopted towards it. The question whether it should be considered a healthful source of vocabulary development or a manifestation of vocabulary decay has been often discussed.

It has been repeatedly stated by many authors that after a slang word has been used in speech for a certain period of time, people get accustomed to it and it ceases to produce that shocking effect for the sake of which it has been originally coined. The most vital among slang words are then accepted into literary vocabulary. The examples are *bet, bore, chap, donkey, fun, humbug, mob, odd, pinch, shabby, sham, snob, trip,* also some words from the American slang: *graft, hitch-hiker, sawbones,* etc.

These words were originally slang words but have now become part of literary vocabulary. The most prominent place among them is occupied by words or expressions having no synonyms and serving as expressive names for some specific notions. The word *teenager,* so very frequent now, is a good example. Also *blurb* — a publisher's eulogy of a book printed on its jacket or in advertisements elsewhere, which is originally American slang word.

The communicative value of these words ensures their stability. But they are rather the exception. The bulk of slang is formed by shortlived words. E. Partridge, one of the best known specialists in English

slang, gives as an example a series of vogue words designating a man of fashion that superseded one another in English slang. They are: *blood* (1550-1660), *macaroni* (1760), *buck* (1720-1840), *swell* (1811), *dandy* (1820-1870), *toff* (1851)[1].

It is convenient to group slang words according to their place in the vocabulary system, and more precisely, in the semantic system of the vocabulary. If they denote a new and necessary notion, they may prove an enrichment of the vocabulary and be accepted into standard English. If, on the other hand, they make just another addition to a cluster of synonyms, and have nothing but novelty to back them, they die out very quickly, constituting the most changeable part of the vocabulary.

Another type of classification suggests subdivision according to the sphere of usage, into g e n e r a l   s l a n g   and s p e c i a l   s l a n g. G e n e r a l   s l a n g includes words that are not specific for any social or professional group, whereas s p e c i a l   s l a n g is peculiar for some such group: teenager slang, university slang, public school slang, Air Force slang, football slang, sea slang, and so on. This second group is heterogeneous. Some authors, A.D. Schweitzer for instance, consider argot to belong here. It seems, however, more logical to differentiate slang and argot. The essential difference between them results from the fact that the first has an expressive function, whereas the second is primarily concerned with secrecy. Slang words are clearly motivated, cf. *cradle-snatcher* 'an old man who marries or courts a much younger woman'; *belly-robber* 'the head of a military canteen'; *window-shopping* 'feasting one's eyes on the goods displaced in the shops, without buying anything'. Argot words on the contrary do not show their motivation, cf. *rap* 'kill', *shin* 'knife', *book* 'a life sentence'.

Regarding professional words that are used by representatives of various trades in oral intercourse, it should be observed that when the word is the only name for some special notion it belongs not to slang but to terminology. If, on the other hand, it is a jocular name for something that can be described in some other way, it is slang.

There are cases, of course, when words originating as professional slang later on assume the dignity of special terms or pass on into general slang. The borderlines are not always sharp and distinct.

For example, the expression *be on the beam* was first used by pilots about the beam of the radio beacon indicating the proper course for the aircraft to follow. Then figuratively *be on the beam* came to mean 'to be right', whereas *be off the beam* came to mean 'to be wrong' or 'to be at a loss'.

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[1] To this list the 20th century words *masher* and *teddy-boy* could be added. There seems to be no new equivalent in today's English because such words as *mod* and *rocker* (like *beat* and *beatnik)* or *hippy* and *punk* imply not only, and not so much a certain way of dressing but other tastes and mental make-up as well. *Mods* (admirers of modern jazz music) and more sportive *rockers* were two groups of English youth inimical to one another. The words are formed by abbreviation and ellipsis: *mod< modern jazz; rocker < rock'n roll; beat, beatnik < beat generation', punk<punk rocker.*

A great deal of slang comes from the USA: *corny, cute, fuss-pot, teenager, swell,* etc. It would be, however, erroneous to suppose that slang is always American in its origin. On the contrary, American slang also contains elements coming from Great Britain, such as *cheerio* 'goodbye', *right-o* 'yes' > *Gerry* for 'a German soldier', and some, though not many, others.

Slang is a difficult problem and much yet remains to be done in elucidating it, but a more complete treatment of this layer of vocabulary would result in an undue swelling of the chapter. Therefore in concluding the discussion of slang we shall only emphasise that the most important peculiarities of slang concern not form but content. The lexical meaning of a slang word contains not only the denotational component but also an emotive component (most often it expresses irony) and all the other possible types of connotation — it is expressive, evaluative and stylistically coloured and is the marked member of a stylistic opposition. .

tions, the salesmen of these were *stationers* and what they sold — *stationery* (with the noun suffix *-ery* as in *grocery* or *bakery).*

Not all doublets come in pairs. Examples of groups are: *appreciate, appraise, apprise; astound, astonish, stun; kennel, channel, canal.*

The Latin word *discus* is the origin of a whole group of doublets:

dais<ME deis < OF deis < Lat discus dish < ME dish
< OE disc < Lat discus disc/disk < Lat discus discus
(in sport) < Lat *discus*

Other doublets that for the most part justify their names by coming in pairs show in their various ways the influence of the language or dialect systems which they passed before entering the English vocabulary.

Compare words borrowed in Middle English from Parisian French: *chase, chieftain, chattels, guard, gage* with their doublets of Norman French origin: *catch, captain, cattle, ward, wage.*

§ 13.4 INTERNATIONAL WORDS

As the process of borrowing is mostly connected with the appearance of new notions which the loan words serve to express, it is natural that the borrowing is seldom limited to one language. Words of identical origin that occur in several languages as a result of simultaneous or successive borrowings from one ultimate source are called international words.

Expanding global contacts result in the considerable growth of international vocabulary. All languages depend for their changes upon the cultural and social matrix in which they operate and various contacts between nations are part of this matrix reflected in vocabulary.

International words play an especially prominent part in various terminological systems including the vocabulary of science, industry and art. The etymological sources of this vocabulary reflect the history of world culture. Thus, for example, the mankind's cultural debt to Italy is reflected in the great number of Italian words connected with architecture, painting and especially music that are borrowed into most European languages: *allegro, andante, aria, arioso, barcarole, baritone* (and other names for voices), *concert, duet, opera* (and other names for pieces of music), *piano* and many many more.

The rate of change in technology, political, social and artistic life has been greatly accelerated in the 20th century and so has the rate of growth of international wordstock. A few examples of comparatively new words due to the progress of science will suffice to illustrate the importance of international vocabulary: *algorithm, antenna, antibiotic, automation, bionics, cybernetics, entropy, gene, genetic code, graph, microelectronics, microminiaturisation, quant, quasars, pulsars, ribosome,* etc. All these show sufficient likeness in English, French, Russian and several other languages.

The international wordstock is also growing due to the influx of exotic borrowed words like *anaconda, bungalow, kraal, orang-outang, sari,* etc. These come from many different sources.

International words should not be mixed with words of the common Indo-European stock that also comprise a sort of common fund of the European languages.

This layer is of great importance for the foreign language teacher not only because many words denoting abstract notions are international but also because he must know the most efficient ways of showing the points of similarity and difference between such words as *control* : : *контроль;* *general* : : *генерал; industry* : : *индустрия* or *magazine* : : *магазин,* etc. usually called 'translator's false friends'.

The treatment of international words at English lessons would be one-sided if the teacher did not draw his pupils' attention to the spread of the English vocabulary into other languages. We find numerous English words in the field of sport: *football, out, match, tennis, time.* A large number of English words are to be found in the vocabulary pertaining to clothes: *jersey, pullover, sweater, nylon, tweed,* etc. Cinema and different forms of entertainment are also a source of many international words of English origin: *film, club, cocktail, jazz.*

At least some of the Russian words borrowed into English and many other languages and thus international should also be mentioned: *balalaika, bolshevik, cosmonaut, czar, intelligentsia, Kremlin, mammoth, rouble, sambo, soviet, sputnik, steppe, vodka.*

To sum up this brief treatment of loan words it is necessary to stress that in studying loan words a linguist cannot be content with establishing the source, the date of penetration, the semantic sphere to which the word belonged and the circumstances of the process of borrowing. All these are very important, but one should also be concerned with the changes the new language system into which the loan word penetrates causes in the word itself, and, on the other hand, look for the changes occasioned by the newcomer in the English vocabulary, when in finding its way into the new language it pushed some of its lexical neighbours aside. In the discussion above we have tried to show the importance of the problem of conformity with the patterns typical of the receiving language and its semantic needs.

Chapter 14
REGIONAL VARIETIES OF THE ENGLISH VOCABULARY

§ 14.1 STANDARD ENGLISH VARIANTS AND DIALECTS

S t a n d a r d   E n g l i s h — the official language of Great Britain taught at schools and universities, used by the press, the radio and the television and spoken by educated people may be defined as that form of English which is current and literary, substantially uniform and recognised as acceptable wherever English is spoken or understood. Its vocabulary is contrasted to dialect words or dialecticisms. L o c a l dialects are varieties of the English language peculiar to some districts and having no normalised literary form. Regional varieties possessing a literary form are called v a r i a n t s . In Great Britain there are two variants, Scottish English and Irish English, and five main groups of dialects: Northern, Midland, Eastern, Western and Southern. Every group contains several (up to ten) dialects.

One of the best known Southern dialects is C o c k n e y , the regional dialect of London. According to E. Partridge and H.C. Wylde, this dialect exists on two levels. As spoken by the educated lower middle classes it is a regional dialect marked by some deviations in pronunciation but few in vocabulary and syntax. As spoken by the uneducated, Cockney differs from Standard English not only in pronunciation but also in vocabulary, morphology and syntax. G.B. Shaw's play "Pygmalion" clearly renders this level of Cockney as spoken at the time when the play was written and reveals the handicap Cockney obviously presents in competition with speakers of standard English. Professor Henry Higgins, the main character of the play, speaking about Eliza Doolittie, the flower girl, says: *You see this creature with her kerbstone English: the English that will keep her in the gutter to the end of her days. Well, sir, in three months I could pass this girl off as a duchess ... even get her a place as lady's maid or shop assistant which requires better English.*

"The Encyclopaedia Britannica" treats Cockney as an accent, not acknowledging it the status of dialect.

Cockney has attracted much literary attention, and so we can judge of its past and present on the evidence of literature. As recorded by Ch. Dickens over a century ago, Cockney was phonetically characterised by the interchange of the labial and labio-dental consonants [w] and [v]: *wery* for *very* and *vell* for *well*. This trait was lost by the end of the 19th century. The voiceless and voiced dental spirants [θ] and [∂] are still replaced — though not very consistently — by [f] and [v] respectively: *fing* for *thing* and *farver* for *father* (inserting the letter *r* indicates vowel

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length). This variation is not exclusively characteristic of Cockney and may be found in several dialects. Another trait not limited to Cockney is the interchange of the aspirated and non-aspirated initial vowels: *hart* for *art* and '*eart* for *heart*. The most marked feature in vowel sounds is the substitution of the diphthong [ai] for standard [ei] in such words as *day, face, rain, way* pronounced: [dai], [fais], [rain], [wai].

There are some specifically Cockney words and set expressions such as *up the pole* 'drunk', *you'll get yourself disliked* (a remonstrance to a person behaving very badly).

Cockney is lively and witty and its vocabulary imaginative and colourful. Its specific feature not occurring anywhere else is the so-called rhyming slang, in which some words are substituted by other words rhyming with them. *Boots,* for instance, are called *daisy roots, hat* is *tit for tat, head* is sarcastically called *loaf of bread,* and *wife — trouble and strife.* It has set expressions of its own. Here is an example of a rather crude euphemistic phrase for being dead: "*She may have pulled me through me operation,*" *said Mrs Fisher, "but 'streuth I'm not sure I wouldn't be better off pushing up the daisies, after all."* (M. Dickens)

The study of dialects has been made on the basis of information obtained with the help of special techniques: interviews, questionnaires, recording by phonograph and tape-recorder, etc. Data collected in this way show the territorial distribution of certain key words and pronunciations which vary from region to region.

Dialects are now chiefly preserved in rural communities, in the speech of elderly people. Their boundaries have become less stable than they used to be; the distinctive features are tending to disappear with the shifting of population due to the migration of working-class families in search of employment and the growing influence of urban life over the countryside. Dialects are said to undergo rapid changes under the pressure of Standard English taught at schools and the speech habits cultivated by radio, television and cinema.

For the most part dialect in literature has been limited to speech characterisation of personages in books otherwise composed in Standard English. There are Yorkshire passages in "Wuthering Heights" by Emily Brontë, and Lancashire passages in "Mary Barton" by E. Gaskell. A Southern dialect (that of Dorset) is sometimes introduced by Th. Hardy, A. Tennyson used Lancashire dialect in two of his poems reproducing peasant speech ("Northern Farmer: Old Style" and "Northern Farmer: New Style").

"The Northern Farmer: Old Style" is the monologue of a dying old man. He knows that his death is near and is resigned to it*: "If I must die I must die."* He wants his nurse to bring him ale, although doctor has forbidden it. The last stanza runs as follows: "*What atta stannin' theer for, an' doesn bring ma the yaäle? Doctor's a 'tattier, lass, an a's hallus V the owd taäle; I weänt break rules for Doctor, a knows now moor nora floy, Git ma my yaäle I tell tha, an gin I mun doy I mun doy."* (Tennyson)

The dialect vocabulary is remarkable for its conservatism: many words that have become obsolete in standard English are still kept in dialects, e. g. *to and* 'envy' < OE *andian; barge* 'pig' < OE *berg; bysen* 'blind' < OE *bisene* and others.

According to O. Jespersen, however, dialect study suffered from too much attention being concentrated on the "archaic" traits. "Every survival of an old form, every trace of old sounds that have been dropped in standard speech, was greeted with enthusiasm, and the significance of these old characteristics greatly exaggerated, the general impression being that popular dialects were always much more conservative than the speech of educated people. It was reserved for a much later time to prove that this view is completely erroneous, and that popular dialects in spite of many archaic details are on the whole further developed than the various standard languages with their stronger tradition and literary reminiscences."[1]

The standard work of reference in dialect study is Joseph Wright's "English Dialect Dictionary".

After this brief review of dialects we shall now proceed to the discussion of variants.

The Scottish Tongue and the Irish English have a special linguistic status as compared with dialects because of the literature composed in them. The name of Robert Burns, the great national poet of Scotland, is known all over the world. There is a whole group of modern poets including Hugh MacDiarmid writing in this variant of the English language.

A few lines from R. Burns's poem dedicated to his friend James Smith will illustrate the general character of Scottish:

To James Smith

1

Dear Smith, the *slee'st, pawkie* thief
That e'er attempted stealth or *rief!*
Ye surely hae some *warlock-brief*
    Owre human hearts;
For ne'er a bosom yet was *prief*
    Against your arts.

2

For me, I swear by sun and moon,
And every star that blinks *aboon,*
Ye've cost me twenty pair *o'shoon*
    Just *gaun* to see you;
And *ev'ry ither* pair that's done
    Mair taen I'm wi' you...

Here *slee'st* meant 'slyest', *pawkie* 'cunning', 'sly', *rief* 'robbery', *warlock-brief* 'wizard's contract' (with the devil), *prief* 'proof', *aboon*

[1] *Jespersen O.* Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin. London, 1949. P. 68.

'above', *shoon* 'shoes'. The other dialect words differing only in pronunciation from their English counterparts *(owre* : : *over; mair* : : *more)* are readily understood.

The poetic features of Anglo-Irish may be seen in the plays by J.M. Synge and Sean O'Casey. The latter's name is worth an explanation in this connection. *O'* is Gaelic and means 'of the clan of'. Cf. *Mac* — the Gaelic for 'son' found in both Scottish and Irish names.[1] *Sean,* also spelled *Shawn* and pronounced [So:n], is the Irish for *John.*

Some traits of Anglo-Irish may be observed in the following lines from "The Playboy of the Western World" by J.M. Synge: *I've told my story no place till this night, Pegeen Mike, and it's foolish I was here, maybe, to be talking free, but you're decent people, I'm thinking, and yourself a kindly woman, the way I was not fearing you at all.*

Pegeen exemplifies the diminutive suffix found in Standard English only in loan-words. The emphatic personal pronoun *yourself* appears in a non-appositional construction. Cf. also *It was yourself started it* (O'Casey). The main peculiarities concern syntax, and they are reflected in some form words. The concrete connective word *the way* substitutes the abstract conjunction so *that.* Cf. also *the time that, the while* for *when,* and *all times* for *always.* E . g . : *I'd hear himself snoring out — a loud, lonesome snore he'd be making all times, the while he was sleeping', and he a man'd be raging all times the while he was waking* (Synge). The Anglo-Irish of J.M. Synge, however, should not be taken as a faithful reproduction of real speech, as it is imbued with many romantic poetic archaisms.

Words from dialects and variants may penetrate into Standard English. The Irish English gave, for instance, *blarney* n 'flattery', *bog* n 'a spongy, usually peaty ground of marsh'. This word in its turn gave rise to many derivatives and compounds, among them *bog-trotter,* the ironical nickname for Irishman. *Shamrock* (a trifoliate plant, the national emblem of Ireland) is a word used quite often, and so is the noun *whiskey.*

The contribution of the Scottish dialect is very considerable. Some of the most frequently used Scotticisms are: *bairn* 'child', *billy* 'chum', *bonny* 'handsome', *brogue* 'a stout shoe', *glamour* 'charm', *laddie, lassie, kilt, raid, slogan, tartan, wee,* etc.

A great deal in this process is due to Robert Burns who wrote his poems in Scottish English, and to Walter Scott who introduced many Scottish words into his novels.

§ 14.2 AMERICAN ENGLISH

The variety of English spoken in the USA has received the name of American English. The term v a r i a n t or v a r i e t y appears most appropriate for several reasons. American English cannot be called a dialect although it is a regional variety, because it has a literary

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[1] Cf. *fitz* (ultimately from Latin *filius),* which is used in the same way in the Anglo-Norman names: *Fitzgerald* 'son of Gerald'.

normalised form called Standard American (or American National Standard), whereas by definition given above a dialect has no literary form. Neither is it a separate language, as some American authors, like H.L. Mencken, claimed, because it has neither grammar nor vocabulary of its own. From the lexical point of view we shall have to deal only with a heterogeneous set of Americanisms.

An A m e r i c a n i s m may be defined as a word or a set expression peculiar to the English language as spoken in the USA. E. g. *cookie* 'a biscuit'; *frame-up* 'a staged or preconcerted law case'; *guess* 'think'; *mail* 'post'; *store* 'shop'.

A general and comprehensive description of the American variant is given in Professor A.D. Schweitzer's monograph. An important aspect of his treatment is the distinction made between Americanisms belonging to the literary norm and those existing in low colloquial and slang. The difference between the American and British literary norm is not systematic.

The American variant of the English language differs from British English[1] in pronunciation, some minor features of grammar, but chiefly in vocabulary, and this paragraph will deal with the latter. Our treatment will be mainly diachronic.

Speaking about the historic causes of these deviations it is necessary to mention that American English is based on the language imported to the new continent at the time of the first settlements, that is on the English of the 17th century. The first colonies were founded in 1607, so that the first colonisers were contemporaries of W. Shakespeare, E. Spenser and J. Milton. Words which have died out in Britain, or changed their meaning may survive in the USA. Thus*, I guess,* was used by G. Chaucer for *I think.* For more than three centuries the American vocabulary developed more or less independently of the British stock and was influenced by the new surroundings. The early Americans had to coin words for the unfamiliar fauna and flora. Hence *bullfrog* 'a large frog', *moose* (the American elk), *opossum, raccoon* (an American animal related to the bears) for animals; and *corn, hickory,* etc. for plants.

The opposition of any two lexical systems among the variants described is of great linguistic and heuristic[2] value, because it furnishes ample data for observing the influence of extra-linguistic factors upon vocabulary. American political vocabulary shows this point very definitely: *absentee voting* 'voting by mail', *dark horse* 'a candidate nominated unexpectedly and not known to his voters', *gerrymander* 'to arrange and falsify the electoral process to produce a favourable result in the interests of a particular party or candidate', *all-outer* 'an adept of decisive measures'.

Both in the USA and Great Britain the meaning of *leftist* is 'an adherent of the left wing of a party'. In the USA it also means a left-handed person and *lefty* in the USA is only 'a left-handed person' while in Great Britain it is a colloquial variant of *leftist* and has a specific sense of a communist or socialist.

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[1] It must be noted that an Englishman does not accept the term "British English".
[2] *Heuristic* means 'serving to discover'.

Many of the foreign elements borrowed into American English from the Indian languages or from Spanish penetrated very soon not only into British English but also into several other languages, Russian not excluded, and so became international due to the popularity of J.F. Cooper and H. Longfellow. They are: *canoe, moccasin, squaw, tomahawk, wigwam,* etc. and translation loans: *pipe of peace, pale-face* and the like, taken from Indian languages. The Spanish borrowings like *cafeteria, mustang, ranch, sombrero,* etc. are very familiar to the speakers of many European languages. It is only by force of habit that linguists still include these words among the specific features of American English.

As to the toponyms, for instance *Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Missouri, Utah* (all names of Indian tribes), or other names of towns, rivers and states named by Indian words, it must be borne in mind that in all countries of the world towns, rivers and the like show in their names traces of the earlier inhabitants of the land in question.

Another big group of peculiarities as compared with the English of Great Britain is caused by some specific features of pronunciation, stress or spelling standards, such as [æ] for [a:] in *ask, dance, path,* etc., or [e] for [ei] in *made, day* and some other.

The American spelling is in some respects simpler than its British counterpart, in other respects just different. The suffix *-our* is spelled *-or,* so that *armor* and *humor* are the American variants of *armour* and *humour. Altho* stands for *although* and *thru* for *through*. The table below illustrates some of the other differences but it is by no means exhaustive. For a more complete treatment the reader is referred to the monograph by A.D. Schweitzer.

British spelling	American spelling
cosy	*cozy*
offence	*offense*
practice	*practise*
jewellery	*jewelry*
travelling	*traveling*
thraldom	*thralldom*
encase	*incase*

In the course of time with the development of the modern means of communication the lexical differences between the two variants show a tendency to decrease. Americanisms penetrate into Standard English and Britishisms come to be widely used in American speech. Americanisms mentioned as specific in manuals issued a few decades ago are now used on both sides of the Atlantic or substituted by terms formerly considered as specifically British. It was, for instance, customary to contrast the English word *autumn* with the American *fall*. In reality both words are used in both countries, only *autumn* is somewhat more elevated, while in England the word *fall* is now rare in literary use, though found in some dialects and surviving in set

expressions: *spring and fait, the fall of the year* are still in fairly common use.

Cinema and TV are probably the most important channels for the passage of Americanisms into the language of Britain and other languages as well: the Germans adopted the word *teenager* and the French speak of *l'automatisation.* The influence of American advertising is also a vehicle of Americanisms. This is how the British term *wireless* is replaced by the Americanism *radio.*

The personal visits of British writers and scholars to the USA and all forms of other personal contacts bring back Americanisms.

The existing cases of difference between the two variants are conveniently classified into:

l) Cases where there are no equivalents in British English: *drive-in* 'a cinema where you can see the film without getting out of your car' or 'a shop where motorists buy things staying in the car'; *dude ranch* 'a sham ranch used as a summer residence for holiday-makers from the cities'.

2) Cases where different words are used for the same denotatum, such as *can, candy, mailbox, movies, suspenders, truck* in the USA and *tin, sweets, pillar-box* (or *letter-box), pictures* or *flicks, braces* and *lorry* in England.

3) Cases where the semantic structure of a partially equivalent word is different. The word *pavement,* for example, means in the first place 'covering of the street or the floor and the like made of asphalt, stones or some other material'. In England the derived meaning is 'the footway at the side of the road'. The Americans use the noun *sidewalk* for this, while *pavement* with them means 'the roadway'.

4) Cases where otherwise equivalent words are different in distribution. The verb *ride* in Standard English is mostly combined with such nouns as *a horse, a bicycle,* more seldom they say *ride on a bus.* In American English combinations like *a ride on the train, ride in a boat* are quite usual.

5) It sometimes happens that the same word is used in American English with some difference in emotional and stylistic colouring. *Nasty,* for example, is a much milder expression of disapproval in England than in the States, where it was even considered obscene in the 19th century. *Politician* in England means 'someone in polities', and is derogatory in the USA. Professor A.D. Schweitzer pays special attention to phenomena differing in social norms of usage. For example *balance* in its lexico-semantic variant 'the remainder of anything' is substandard in British English and quite literary in America.

6) Last but not least, there may be a marked difference in frequency characteristics. Thus, *time-table* which occurs in American English very rarely, yielded its place to *schedule.*

This question of different frequency distribution is also of paramount importance if we wish to investigate the morphological peculiarities of the American variant.

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Practically speaking the same patterns and means of word-formation are used in coining neologisms in both variants. Only the frequency observed in both cases may be different. Some of the suffixes more frequently used in American English are: *-ee (draftee* n 'a young man about to be enlisted'), *-ette (tambour-majorette* 'one of the girl drummers in front of a procession'), *-dom* and *-ster,* as in *roadster* 'motorcar for long journeys by road' or *gangsterdom.*

American slang uses alongside the traditional ones also a few specific models, such as **verb** stem+*-er*+adverb **stem+***-er,* e. g. *opener-upper* 'the first item on the programme' and *winder-upper* 'the last item'. It also possesses some specific affixes and semi-affixes not used in literary colloquial: *-o, -eroo, -aroo, -sie, -sy,* as in *coppo* 'policeman', *fatso* 'a fat man', *bossaroo* 'boss', *chapsie* 'fellow'.

The trend to shorten words and to use initial abbreviations in American English is even more pronounced than in the British variant. New coinages are incessantly introduced in advertisements, in the press, in everyday conversation; soon they fade out and are replaced by the newest creations. Ring Lardner, very popular in the 30s, makes one of his characters, a hospital nurse, repeatedly use two enigmatic abbreviations: G.F. and B.F.; at last the patient asks her to clear the mystery.

"What about Roy Stewart?" asked the man in bed.

"Oh, he's the fella I was telling you about," said Miss Lyons. "He's my G.F.'s B.F."

"Maybe I'm a D.F. not to know, but would you tell me what a B.F. and G.F. are?"

"Well, you are dumb, aren't you!" said Miss Lyons. "A G.F. that's a girl friend, and a B.F. is a boy friend. I thought everybody knew that."

The phrases *boy friend* and *girl friend,* now widely used everywhere, originated in the USA. So it is an Americanism in the wider meaning of the term, i.e. an Americanism "by right of birth", whereas in the above definition we have defined Americanisms synchronically as lexical units peculiar to the English language as spoken in the USA.

Particularly common in American English are verbs with the hanging postpositive. They say that in Hollywood you never *meet* a man: you *meet up* with him, you do not *study* a subject but *study up* on it. In British English similar constructions serve to add a new meaning.

With words possessing several structural variants it may happen that some are more frequent in one country and the others in another. Thus, *amid* and *toward,* for example, are more often used in the United States and *amidst* and *towards* in Great Britain.

The lexical peculiarities of American English are an easy target for ironical outbursts on the part of some writers. John Updike is mildly humorous. His short poem "Philological" runs as follows:

The British puss demurely mews;
His transatlantic kin meow,
The kine in Minnesota moo;
Not so the gentle Devon cows:
They low,
As every schoolchild ought to know.

A well-known humourist G. Mikes goes as far as to say: "It was decided almost two hundred years ago that English should be the language spoken in the United States. It is not known, however, why this decision has not been carried out." In his book "How to Scrape Skies" he gives numerous examples to illustrate this proposition: "You must be extremely careful concerning the names of certain articles. If you ask for suspenders in a man's shop, you receive a pair of braces, if you ask for a pair of pants, you receive a pair of trousers, and should you ask for a pair of braces, you receive a queer look.

I should like to mention that although a lift is called an elevator in the United States, when hitch-hiking, you do not ask for an elevator, you ask for a lift.

There is some confusion about the word *flat*. A flat in America is called an apartment; what t h e y call a flat is a puncture in your tyre (or as they spell it, tire). Consequently the notice: FLATS FIXED does not indicate an estate agent where they are going to fix you up with a flat, but a garage where they are equipped to mend a puncture."

Disputing the common statement that there is no such thing as the American nation, he says: "They do indeed exist. They have produced the American constitution, the American way of life, the comic strips in their newspapers: they have their national game, baseball — which is cricket played with a strong American accent — and they have a national language, entirely their own, unlike any other language."

This is of course an exaggeration, but a very significant one. It confirms the fact that there is a difference between the two variants to be reckoned with. Although not sufficiently great to warrant American English the status of an independent language, it is considerable enough to make a mixture of variants sound unnatural and be called Mid-Atlantic. Students of English should be warned against this danger.

§ 14.3 CANADIAN, AUSTRALIAN AND INDIAN VARIANTS

It should of course be noted that American English is not the only existing variant. There are several other variants where difference from the British standard is normalised. Besides the Irish and Scottish variants that have been mentioned in the preceding paragraph, there are Australian English, Canadian English, Indian English. Each of these has developed a literature of its own, and is characterised by peculiarities in phonetics, spelling, grammar and vocabulary.

Canadian English is influenced both by British and American English but it also has some specific features of its own. Specifically Canadian words are called C a n a d i a n i s m s . They are not very frequent outside Canada, except *shack* 'a hut' and *fathom out* 'to explain'.

The vocabulary of all the variants is characterised by a high percentage of borrowings from the language of the people who inhabited the land before the English colonisers came. Many of them denote some specific realia of the new country: local animals, plants or weather conditions, new social relations, new trades and conditions of labour. The local words for new notions penetrate into the English language and later on may become international, if they are of sufficient interest and importance for people speaking other languages.

International words coming through the English of India are for instance: *bungalow* n, *jute* n, *khaki* a, *mango* n, *nabob* n, *pyjamas, sahib, sari.*

Similar examples, though perhaps fewer in number, such as *boomerang, dingo, kangaroo,* are all adopted into the English language through its Australian variant and became international. They denote the new phenomena found by English immigrants on the new continent. A high percentage of words borrowed from the native inhabitants of Australia will be noticed in the sonorous Australian place names. [1]

It has been noticed by a number of linguists that the British attitude to this phenomenon is somewhat peculiar. When anyone other than an Englishman uses English, the natives of Great Britain, often half-consciously, perhaps, feel that they have a special right to criticise his usage because it is "their" language. It is, however, unreasonable with respect to people in the United States, Canada, Australia and some other areas for whom English is their mother tongue. At present there is no single "correct" English and the American, Canadian and Australian English have developed standards of their own. It would therefore have been impossible to attempt a lexicological description of all the variants simultaneously: the aim of this book was to describe mainly the vocabulary of British English, as it is the British variant that is received and studied in Soviet schools.

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[1] S.J. Baker quotes a poem consisting of geographical names only:

I like the native names as Paratta
And Illawarra, and Wooloomooloo, Nan-
dowra, Woogarora, Bulkomatta, Tenah,
Toongabbie, Mittagong, Merroo...

Chapter 15
LEXICOGRAPHY

§ 15.1 TYPES OF DICTIONARIES

L e x i c o g r a p h y , that is the theory and practice of compiling dictionaries, is an important branch of applied linguistics. The fundamental paper in lexicographic theory was written by L.V. Shcherba as far back as 1940. A complete bibliography of the subject may be found in L.P. Stupin's works. Lexicography has a common object of study with lexicology, both describe the vocabulary of a language. The essential difference between the two lies in the degree of systematisation and completeness each of them is able to achieve. Lexicology aims at systematisation revealing characteristic features of words. It cannot, however, claim any completeness as regards the units themselves, because the number of these units being very great, systematisation and completeness could not be achieved simultaneously. The province of lexicography, on the other hand, is the semantic, formal, and functional description of all individual words. Dictionaries aim at a more or less complete description, but in so doing cannot attain systematic treatment, so that every dictionary entry presents, as it were, an independent problem. Lexicologists sort and present their material in a sequence depending upon their views concerning the vocabulary system, whereas lexicographers have to arrange it most often according to a purely external characteristic, namely alphabetically.

It goes without saying that neither of these branches of linguistics could develop successfully without the other, their relationship being essentially that of theory and practice dealing with the same objects of reality. The term d i c t i o n a r y is used to denote a book listing words of a language with their meanings and often with data regarding pronunciation, usage and/or origin. There are also dictionaries that concentrate their attention upon only one of these aspects: pronouncing (phonetical) dictionaries (by Daniel Jones) and etymological dictionaries (by Walter Skeat, by Erik Partridge, "The Oxford English Dictionary").

For dictionaries in which the words and their definitions belong to the same language the term u n i l i n g u a l or e x p l a n a t o r y is used, whereas b i l i n g u a l or t r a n s l a t i o n dictionaries are those that explain words by giving their equivalents in another language.[1] M u l t i l i n g u a l or p o l y g l o t

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[1] The most important unilingual dictionaries of the English language are "The Oxford English Dictionary", A.S. Hornby's dictionary, Webster's, Funk and Wagnells, Random House and many more (see Recommended Reading at the end of the book).

dictionaries are not numerous, they serve chiefly the purpose of comparing synonyms and terminology in various languages. [1]

Unilingual dictionaries are further subdivided with regard to the time. Diachronic dictionaries, of which "The Oxford English Dictionary" is the main example, reflect the development of the English vocabulary by recording the history of form and meaning for every word registered. They may be contrasted to synchronic or descriptive dictionaries of current English concerned with present-day meaning and usage of words. [2] The boundary between the two is, however, not very rigid: that is to say, few dictionaries are consistently synchronic, chiefly, perhaps, because their methodology is not developed as yet, so that in many cases the two principles are blended. [3] Some synchronic dictionaries are at the same time historical when they represent the state of vocabulary at some past stage of its development. [4]

Both bilingual and unilingual dictionaries can be general and special. General dictionaries represent the vocabulary as a whole with a degree of completeness depending upon the scope and bulk of the book in question. The group includes the thirteen volumes of "The Oxford English Dictionary" alongside with any miniature pocket dictionary. Some general dictionaries may have very specific aims and still be considered general due to their coverage. They include, for instance, frequency dictionaries, i.e. lists of words, each of which is followed by a record of its frequency of occurrence in one or several sets of reading matter. [5] A rhyming dictionary is also a general dictionary, though arranged in inverse order, and so is a thesaurus in spite of its unusual arrangement. General dictionaries are contrasted to special dictionaries whose stated aim is to cover only a certain specific part of the vocabulary.

Special dictionaries may be further subdivided depending on whether the words are chosen according to the sphere of human activity in which they are used (technical dictionaries), the type of the units themselves (e. g. phraseological dictionaries) or the relationships existing between them (e. g. dictionaries of synonyms).

The first subgroup embraces highly specialised dictionaries of limited scope which may appeal to a particular kind of reader. They register and explain technical terms for various branches of knowledge, art and trade: linguistic, medical, technical, economical terms, etc. Unilingual books of this type giving definitions of terms are called

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[1] See, for example: *Buck, Carl Darling.* A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages. Chicago, 1949.

[2] Such as: *Hornby A.S., Gatenby E.V., Wakefield H.* The Advance Learner's Dictionary of Current English. Oxford, 1948.

[3] Cf.: The Concise Oxford Dictionary/Ed. by H.W. Fowler. Oxford, 1944.

[4] *Bosworth J. and Toller T.* An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. Oxford, 1882-1898; *Kurath, Hans and Kuhn, Sherman M.* Middle English Dictionary. Univ. of Michigan Press, 1952.

[5] See, for instance: *Thorndike E.L. and Lorge I.* The Teacher's Word-Book of 30,000 Words; *West Michael.* A General Service List of English Words. London, 1959; *Eaton, Helen S.* Semantic Frequency List of English, French, German and Spanish. Chicago, 1940; *Kuccra, Henry] and Francis, W. Nelson.* Computational Analysis of Present-Day American English. Brown Univ. Press, Providence, 1967.

glossaries. They are often prepared by boards or commissions specially appointed for the task of improving technical terminology and nomenclature.

The second subgroup deals with specific language units, i.e. with phraseology, abbreviations, neologisms, borrowings, surnames, toponyms, proverbs and. sayings, etc.

The third subgroup contains a formidable array of synonymic dictionaries that have been mentioned in the chapter on synonyms. Dictionaries recording the complete vocabulary of some author are called concordances,[1] they should be distinguished from those that deal only with difficult words, i.e. glossaries. Taking up territorial considerations one comes across dialect dictionaries and dictionaries of Americanisms. The main types of dictionaries are classified in the accompanying table.

Types of Dictionaries

		Unilingual	Bilingual or multilingual	
General		Explanatory dictionaries irrespective of their bulk	English-Russian, Russian-English, etc. and multilingual dictionaries	Concentrated on one of the distinctive features of the word
General		Etymological, frequency, phonetical, rhyming and thesaurus type dictionaries		Concentrated on one of the distinctive features of the word
Special		Glossaries of scientific and other special terms; concordances[1] Dictionaries of abbreviations, antonyms, borrowings, new words, proverbs, synonyms, surnames, toponyms, etc.[2]	Dictionaries of scientific and other special terms[1] Dictionaries of abbreviations, phraseology, proverbs, synonyms, etc.[2]	Concentrated on one of the distinctive features of the word
Special		Dictionaries of American English, dialect and slang dictionaries	Dictionaries of Old English and Middle English with explanations in Modern English	Concentrated on one of the distinctive features of the word

[1] Dictionary entries are chosen according to the sphere of communication or the corpus in which they occur.

[2] Dictionary entries are selected according to the type of relationships between words.

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[1] For instance: *Schmidt, Alex.* Shakespeare Lexicon. A Complete Dictionary of All the English Words: In 2 vols. Berlin, 1923. There are concordances to the works of G. Chaucer, E. Spenser, W. Shakespeare, J. Milton, W. Wordsworth, P.B. Shelley and other writers.

Finally, dictionaries may be classified into linguistic and non-linguistic. The latter are dictionaries giving information on all branches of knowledge, the encyclopaedias. They deal not with words, but with facts and concepts. The best known encyclopaedias of the English-speaking world are "The Encyclopaedia Britannica"[1] and "The Encyclopaedia Americana".[2] There exist also biographical dictionaries and many minor encyclopaedias.

English lexicography is probably the richest in the world with respect to variety and scope of the dictionaries published. The demand for dictionaries is very great. One of the duties of school teachers of native language is to instil in their pupils the "dictionary habit". Boys and girls are required by their teachers to obtain a dictionary and regularly consult it. There is a great variety of unilingual dictionaries for children. They help children to learn the meaning, spelling and pronunciation of words. An interesting example is the Thorndike dictionary.[3] Its basic principle is that the words and meanings included should be only those which schoolchildren are likely to hear or to encounter in reading. The selection of words is therefore determined statistically by counts of the actual occurrence of words in reading matter of importance to boys and girls between 10 and 15. Definitions are also made specially to meet the needs of readers of that age, and this accounts for the ample use of illustrative sentences and pictures as well as for the encyclopaedic bias of the book.

A dictionary is the most widely used reference book in English homes and business offices. Correct pronunciation and correct spelling are of great social importance, because they are necessary for efficient communication.

A bilingual dictionary is useful to several kinds of people: to those who study foreign languages, to specialists reading foreign literature, to translators, to travellers, and to linguists. It may have two principal purposes: reference for translation and guidance for expression. It must provide an adequate translation in the target language of every word and expression in the source language. It is also supposed to contain all the inflectional, derivational, semantic and syntactic information that its reader might ever need, and also information on spelling and pronunciation. Data on the levels of usage are also considered necessary, including special warnings about the word being rare or poetical or slangy and unfit to be used in the presence of "one's betters". The number of special bilingual dictionaries for various branches of knowledge and engineering is ever increasing. A completely new type are the m a c h i n e   t r a n s l a t i o n   d i c t i o n a r i e s which present their own specific problems, naturally differing from those presented by bilingual dictionaries for human translation. It is highly probable, however, that their

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[1] The Encyclopaedia Britannica: In 24 vols. 10th ed. London — Chicago — Toronto, 1961.

[2] The Encyclopaedia Americana. The International Reference Work: In 30 vols. 9th ed. N.Y., 1957.

[3] *Thorndike E.L.* The Thorndike Century Junior Dictionary. Scott Foresmann Co.. Chicago — Atlanta — Dallas — New York, 1935.

development will eventually lead to improving dictionaries for general use.

The entries of a dictionary are usually arranged in alphabetical order, except that derivatives and compounds are given under the same head-word. In the ideographic dictionaries the main body is arranged according to a logical classification of notions expressed.[1] But dictionaries of this type always have an alphabetical index attached to facilitate the search for the necessary word.[2]

The ideographic type of dictionary is in a way the converse of the usual type: the purpose of the latter is to explain the meaning when the word is given. The Thesaurus, on the contrary, supplies the word or words by which a given idea may be expressed. Sometimes the grouping is in parallel columns with the opposite notions. The book is meant only for readers (either native or foreign) having a good knowledge of English, and enables them to pick up an adequate expression and avoid overuse of the same words. The Latin word *thesaurus* means 'treasury'. P. Roget's book gave the word a new figurative meaning, namely, 'a store of knowledge', and hence 'a dictionary containing all the words of a language'. A consistent classification of notions presents almost insuperable difficulties. Only relatively few "semantic fields", such as kinship terms, colour terms, names for parts of human body and some others fit into a neat scheme. For the most part, however, there is no one-to-one correlation between notions and words, and the classification of notions, even if it were feasible, is a very poor help for classification of meanings and their systematic presentation. The system of meanings stands in a very complex relationship to the system of notions because of the polysemantic character of most words. The semantic structure of words and the semantic system of vocabulary depend on many linguistic, historical and cultural factors.

§ 15.2 SOME OF THE MAIN PROBLEMS OF LEXICOLOGY

The most burning issues of lexicography are connected with the selection of head-words, the arrangement and contents of the vocabulary entry, the principles of sense definitions and the semantic and functional classification of words.

In the first place it is the problem of how far a general descriptive dictionary, whether unilingual or bilingual, should admit the historical element. In fact, the term "current usage" is disconcertingly elastic, it may, for instance, be stretched to include all words and senses used by W. Shakespeare, as he is commonly read, or include only those of the fossilised words that are kept in some set expressions or familiar quotations, e. g. *shuffled off this mortal coil* ("Hamlet"), where *coil* means 'turmoil' (of life). For the purpose of a dictionary, which must not be too bulky, selection between

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[1] "Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases" was first published in 1852. About 90 succeeding revised editions have appeared since.

[2] An American version of Thesaurus is rearranged alphabetically, with the ideographic classification shown by means of cross-references. See: The New Roget's Thesaurus in Dictionary Form/Ed. by Norman Lewis. 1961.

scientific and technical terms is also a very important task. It is a debatable point whether a unilingual explanatory dictionary should strive to cover all the words of the language, including neologisms, nonce-words, slang, etc. and note with impartial accuracy all the words actually used by English people; or whether, as the great English lexicographer of the 18th century Samuel Johnson used to think, it should be preceptive, and (viewed from the other side) prohibitive. Dictionary-makers should attempt to improve and stabilise the English vocabulary according to the best classical samples and advise the readers on preferable usage. A distinctly modern criterion in selection of entries is the frequency of the words to be included. This is especially important for certain lines of practical work in preparing graded elementary textbooks.

When the problem of selection is settled, there is the question as to which of the selected units have the right to a separate entry and which are to be included under one common head-word. These are, in other words, the questions of separateness and sameness of words. The first deals with syntagmatic boundaries of word-units and has to solve such questions as whether *each other* is a group of two separate words to be treated separately under the head-words *each* and *other,* or whether *each other* is a unit deserving a special entry (compare also: *one another).* Need such combinations as *boiling point, carbon paper, department store, phone box* be sub-entered under their constituents? If so, under which of them? Or, perhaps, it will be more convenient for those who use the dictionary if these were placed as separate main entries consisting of a nominal compound or a phrase.

As to the sameness, this deals with paradigmatic boundaries. How many entries are justified for *hound'?* COD has two — one for the noun, and the other for the verb: 'to chase (as) with hounds'; the verb and the noun are thus treated as homonyms. "Chambers's Twentieth Century Dictionary" combines them under one head-word, i.e. it takes them as variants of the same word (hence the term "sameness"). The problem is even more complicated with variants belonging to the same part of speech.

This problem is best illustrated by the pun that has already been discussed elsewhere in this book: *Mind you, I don't mind minding the children if the children mind me* (Understand, I don't object to taking care of the children if the children obey me).

Here the dictionary-maker is confronted with the problem of sameness. Should *mind* be considered one word with several semantic variants, and take one entry? Or is it more convenient to represent it as several words?

The difference in the number of entries for an equal bulk of vocabulary may also depend on a different approach to the regularly formed derivatives, like those with *-er, -ing, -ness,* and *-ly.* These are similar to grammatical endings in their combining possibilities and semantic regularity. The derivation is so regular, and the meaning and class of these derivatives are so easily deduced that they are sometimes sidered not worth an entry.

That is why the definition of the scope of a dictionary is not quite as simple as it might appear at first sight. There exist almost unsurmountable difficulties to a neat statistical evaluation. Some publishers state the number of entries in a subtitle, others even claim for the total coverage with the exception of very special terms. It must be remembered, however, that without a generally accepted standard for settling the problems of sameness and separateness no meaningful evaluation of the scope of any particular dictionary is possible. Besides in the case of a living language the vocabulary is not stable, and the attitude of lexicographers to archaisms and neologisms varies.

The arrangement of the vocabulary entry presents many problems, of which the most important are the differentiation and the sequence of various meanings of a polysemantic word. A historical dictionary (the Oxford Dictionary, for instance) is primarily concerned with the development of the English vocabulary. It arranges various senses chronologically, first comes the etymology, then the earliest meanings marked by the label *obs. — obsolete*. The etymologies are either comparative or confined to a single language. The development is documented by illustrative quotations, ranging from the oldest to recent appearances of the word in question.

A descriptive dictionary dealing with current usage has to face its own specific problems. It has to apply a structural point of view and give precedence to the most important meanings. But how is the most important meaning determined upon? So far each compiler was guided by his own personal preference. An objective procedure would be to obtain data of statistical counts. But counting the frequency of different meanings of the same word is far more difficult than counting the frequency of its forms. It is therefore not by chance that up to now many counts have been undertaken only for word forms, irrespective of meaning. Also, the interdependence of meanings and their relative importance within the semantic structure of the word do not remain the same. They change almost incessantly, so that the task of establishing their relative frequency would have to be repeated very often. The constant revisions necessary would make the publication of dictionaries very expensive. It may also be argued that an arrangement of meanings according to frequency would sometimes conceal the ties and relationship between various elements of the semantic structure.

Nevertheless some semantic counts have been achieved and the lexicographers profited by them. Thus, in preparing high-school English dictionaries the staff under chief editor C.L. Barnhart was aided by semantic counts which Dr E.L. Thorndike had made of current standard literature, from children's books to "The Encyclopaedia Britannica". The count according to C.L. Barnhart was of enormous importance in compiling their dictionaries, but the lexicographer admits that counts are only one of the criteria necessary for selecting meanings and entries, and that more dictionary evidence is needed, namely typical quotations for each meaning. Dictionary evidence normally exists in the form of quotation slips constituting raw material for word treatment and filed under their appropriate head-words.

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In editing new dictionaries the lexicographers cannot depend only on the scholarly editions such as OED. In order to meet the demands of their readers, they have to sample the reading of the public for whom the dictionary is meant. This textual reference has to be scrupulously examined, *so* as to account for new words and meanings making their way into the language. Here again some quantitative criteria must be established. If a word or meaning occurs in several different sources over a wide range of magazines and books during a considerable period of time, it may be worth including even into a college dictionary.

The preface to "The Concise Oxford Dictionary", for instance, states that its authors find that sense development cannot be presented in every word, because obsolete words are as a rule omitted. Only occasionally do they place at the beginning a rare but still current sense, if it can throw light on the more common senses that follow, or forms the connecting link with the etymology. The etymologies are given throughout, but otherwise the compilers do not seem to keep to any consistent principle and are guided by what they think is the order of logical connection, familiarity or importance. E.L. Thorndike formulates the following principles: "Other things being equal, literal uses come before figurative, general uses before special, common uses before rare, and easily understandable uses before difficult, and to sum up: that arrangement is best for any word which helps the learner most."

A synchronic dictionary should also show the distribution of every word. It has been traditionally done by labelling words as belonging to a certain part of speech, and by noting some special cases of grammatically or lexically bound meanings. Thus, the word *spin* is labelled in "The Concise Oxford Dictionary" as v.t. & i., which gives a general idea of its distribution; its various senses are shown in connection with words that may serve as subject or object, e. g.: "2. (of spider, silkworm, etc.) *make* (web, gossamer, cocoon, or abs.) by extrusion of fine viscous thread ... 10. *spun glass* (spun when heated into filaments that remain pliant when cold); *spun gold, silver* (gold, silver thread prepared for weaving ...)." This technique is gradually being improved upon, and compilers strive to provide more detailed information on these points. "The Advanced Learner's Dictionary ..." by A.S. Hornby, E.V. Gatenby and H. Wakefield supplies information on the syntactical distribution of each verb. In their "Notes on Syntax" the compilers state that one who is learning English as a foreign language is apt to form sentences by analogy, which at times may lead him into error. For instance, the student must be warned against taking the use of the verb *tell* in the sentence *Please tell me the meaning* as a model for the word *explain,* because **Please, explain me the meaning* would be ungrammatical. For this purpose they provide a table of 25 verb patterns and supply the numerical indications in each verb entry. This gives the student the necessary guidance. Indications are also supplied as to which nouns and which semantic varieties of nouns may be used in the plural. This helps the student to avoid mistakes like **interesting informations.*

Many dictionaries indicate the different stylistic levels to which the words belong: colloquial, technical, poetical, rhetorical, archaic, familiar, vulgar or slang, and their expressive colouring: emphatic, ironical,

diminutive, facetious. This is important, because a mere definition does not show these data. There is always a difference in style between the dictionary word and its definition. The word *digs* is a slang word but its definition 'lodgings' is not. Giving these data modern dictionary-makers strive to indicate the nature of the context in which the word may occur. The problem is also relevant for bilingual dictionaries and is carefully presented in the "New English-Russian Dictionary" edited by I.R. Galperin.

A third group of lexicographic problems is the problem of definitions in a unilingual dictionary. The explanation of meaning may be achieved by a group of synonyms which together give a fairly general idea; but one synonym is never sufficient for the purpose, because no absolute synonyms exist. Besides, if synonyms are the only type of explanation used, the reader will be placed in a vicious circle of synonymic references, with not a single word actually explained. Definitions serve the purpose much better. These are of two main types. If they are only concerned with words as speech material, the definition is called l i n g u i s t i c. If they are concerned with things for which the words are names, they are termed e n c y c l o p a e d i c. American dictionaries are for the most part traditionally encyclopaedic, which accounts for so much attention paid to graphic illustration. They furnish their readers with far more information about facts and things than their British counterparts, which are more linguistic and more fundamentally occupied with purely lexical data (as contrasted to r e a l i a), with the grammatical properties of words, their components, their stylistic features, etc. Opinions differ upon the optimum proportion of linguistic and encyclopaedic material. Very interesting considerations on this subject are due to Alf Sommerfeldt. He thinks that definitions must be based on the fact that the meanings of words render complex notions which may be analysed (cf. componental analysis) into several elements rendered by other words. He emphasises, for instance, that the word *pedestrian* is more aptly defined as 'a person who goes or travels on foot' than as 'one who goes or travels on foot'. The remark appears valuable, because a definition of this type shows the lexico-grammatical type to which the word belongs and consequently its distribution. It also helps to reveal the system of the vocabulary. Much too often, however, one sees in dictionaries no attention paid to the difference in distribution between the defined and the defining word.

The meaning of the word may be also explained by examples, i.e. contextually. The term and its definition are here fused. For example, *diagonal* is explained by the following context where only this term can occur: *A square has two diagonals, and each of them divides the square into two right-angled isosceles triangles.* Very often this type can be changed into a standard form, i.e. *A diagonal is one of the two lines ...*, etc.

One more problem is the problem of whether all entries should be defined or whether it is possible to have the so-called "run-ons" for derivative words in which the root-form is readily recognised (such as *absolutely* or *resolutely)*. In fact, whereas *resolutely* may be conveniently given as a *-ly* run-on after *resolute,* there is a meaning problem for *absolutely*. One must take into consideration that in colloquial speech *absolutely* means 'quite so', 'yes' which cannot be deduced from the meaning of the corresponding adjective.

Although, as we have seen from the preceding paragraph, there is as yet no coherent doctrine in English lexicography, its richness and variety are everywhere admitted and appreciated. Its history is in its way one of the most remarkable developments in linguistics, and is therefore worthy of special attention. In the following pages a short outline of its various phases is given.

A need for a dictionary or glossary has been felt in the cultural growth of many civilised peoples at a fairly early period. The history of dictionary-making for the English language goes as far back as the Old English period where its first traces are found in the form of glosses of religious books with interlinear translation from Latin. Regular bilingual English-Latin dictionaries were already in existence in the 15th century.

The unilingual dictionary is a comparatively recent type. The first unilingual English dictionary, explaining words by English equivalents, appeared in 1604. It was meant to explain difficult words occurring in books. Its title was "A Table Alphabeticall, containing and teaching the true writing and understanding of hard usuall English words borrowed from the Hebrew, Greeke, Latine or French". The little volume of 120 pages explaining about 3000 words was compiled by one Robert Cawdrey, a schoolmaster. Other books followed, each longer than the preceding one. The first attempt at a dictionary including all the words of the language, not only the difficult ones, was made by Nathaniel Bailey who in 1721 published the first edition of his "Universal Etymological English Dictionary". He was the first to include pronunciation and etymology.

Big explanatory dictionaries were created in France and Italy before they appeared for the English language. Learned academies on the continent had been established to preserve the purity of their respective languages. This was also the purpose of Dr Samuel Johnson's famous Dictionary published in 1755.[1] The idea of purity involved a tendency to oppose change, and S. Johnson's Dictionary was meant to establish the English language in its classical form, to preserve it in all its glory as used by J. Dryden, A. Pope, J. Addison and their contemporaries. In conformity with the social order of his time, S. Johnson attempted to "fix" and regulate English. This was the period of much discussion about the necessity of "purifying" and "fixing" English, and S. Johnson wrote that every change was undesirable, even a change for the best. When his work was accomplished, however, he had to admit he had been wrong and confessed in his preface that "no dictionary of a living tongue can ever be perfect, since while it is hastening to publication, some

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[1] *Johnson, Samuel.* A Dictionary of the English Language in Which the Words are Deduced from Their Originals and Illustrated in Their General Significations by Examples from the Best Writers: In 2 vols. London, 1775.

words are budding and some falling away". The most important innovation of S. Johnson's Dictionary was the introduction of illustrations of the meanings of the words "by examples from the best writers", as had been done before him in the dictionary of the French Academy. Since then such illustrations have become a "sine qua non" in lexicography; S. Johnson, however, only mentioned the authors and never gave any specific references for his quotations. Most probably he reproduced some of his quotations from memory, not always very exactly, which would have been unthinkable in modern lexicology. The definitions he gave were often very ingenious. He was called "a skilful definer", but sometimes he preferred to give way to sarcasm or humour and did not hesitate to be partial in his definitions. The epithet he gave to *lexicographer,* for instance, is famous even in our time: *a lexicographer* was 'a writer of dictionaries, a harmless drudge ...'. The dictionary dealt with separate words only, almost no set expressions were entered. Pronunciation was not marked, because S. Johnson was keenly aware of the wide variety of the English pronunciation and thought it impossible to set up a standard there; he paid attention only to those aspects of vocabulary where he believed he could improve linguistic usage. S. Johnson's influence was tremendous. He remained the unquestionable authority on style and diction for more than 75 years. The result was a lofty bookish style which received the name of "Johnsonian" or "Johnsonese".

As to pronunciation, attention was turned to it somewhat later. A pronouncing dictionary that must be mentioned first was published in 1780 by Thomas Sheridan, grandfather of the great dramatist. In 1791 appeared "The Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English Language" by John Walker, an actor. The vogue of this second dictionary was very great, and in later publications Walker's pronunciations were inserted into S. Johnson's text — a further step to a unilingual dictionary in its present-day form.

The Golden Age of English lexicography began in the last quarter of the 19th century when the English Philological Society started work on compiling what is now known as "The Oxford English Dictionary" (OED), but was originally named "New English Dictionary on Historical Principles". It is still occasionally referred to as NED.

The purpose of this monumental work is to trace the development of English words from their form in Old English, and if they were not found in Old English, to show when they were introduced into the language, and also to show the development of each meaning and its historical relation to other meanings of the same word. For words and meanings which have become obsolete the date of the latest occurrence is given. All this is done by means of dated quotations ranging from the oldest to recent appearances of the words in question. The English of G. Chaucer, of the "Bible" and of W. Shakespeare is given as much attention as that of the most modern authors. The dictionary includes spellings, pronunciations and detailed etymologies. The completion of the work required more than 75 years. The result is a kind of encyclopaedia of language used not only for reference purposes but also as a basis for lexicological research.

The lexicographic concept here is very different from the prescriptive tradition of Dr S. Johnson: the lexicographer is the objective recorder of the language. The purpose of OED, as stated by its editors, has nothing to do with prescription or proscription of any kind.

The conception of this new type of dictionary was born in a discussion at the English Philological Society. It was suggested by Frederick Furnivall, later its second titular editor, to Richard Trench, the author of the first book on lexicology of the English language. Richard Trench read before the society his paper "On Some Deficiencies in our English Dictionaries", and that was how the big enterprise was started. At once the Philological Society set to work to gather the material, volunteers offered to help by collecting quotations. Dictionary-making became a sort of national enterprise. A special committee prepared a list of books to be read and assigned them to the volunteers, sending them also special standard slips for quotations. By 1881 the number of readers was 800, and they sent in many thousands of slips. The tremendous amount of work done by these volunteers testifies to the keen interest the English take in their language.

The first part of the Dictionary appeared in 1884 and the last in 1928. Later it was issued in twelve volumes and in order to accommodate new words a three volume Supplement was issued in 1933. These volumes were revised in the seventies. Nearly all the material of the original Supplement was retained and a large body of the most recent accessions to the English language added.

The principles, structure and scope of "The Oxford English Dictionary", its merits and demerits are discussed in the most comprehensive treaty by L.V. Malakhovsky. Its prestige is enormous. It is considered superior to corresponding major dictionaries for other languages. The Oxford University Press published different abridged versions. "The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles" formerly appeared in two volumes, now printed on thinner paper it is bound in one volume of 2,538 pages. It differs from the complete edition in that it contains a smaller number of quotations. It keeps to all the main principles of historical presentation and covers not only the current literary and colloquial English but also its previous stages. Words are defined and illustrated with key quotations.

"The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English" was first published in 1911, i.e. before the work on the main version was completed. It is not a historical dictionary but one of current usage. A still shorter form is "The Pocket Oxford Dictionary".

Another big dictionary, also created by joined effort of enthusiasts, is Joseph Wright's "English Dialect Dictionary". Before this dictionary could be started upon, a thorough study of English dialects had to be completed. With this aim in view W.W. Skeat, famous for his "Etymological English Dictionary" founded the English Dialect Society as far back as 1873. Dialects are of great importance for the historical study of the language. In the 19th century they were very pronounced though now they are almost disappearing. The Society existed till 1896 and issued 80 publications, mostly monographs.

Curiously enough, the first American dictionary of the English language was compiled by a man whose name was also Samuel Johnson. Samuel Johnson Jr., a Connecticut schoolmaster, published in 1798 a small book entitled "A School Dictionary". This book was followed in 1800 by another dictionary by the same author, which showed already some signs of Americanisation. It included, for instance, words like *tomahawk* and *wampum,* borrowed into English from the Indian languages. It was Noah Webster, universally considered to be the father of American lexicography, who emphatically broke away from English idiom, and embodied in his book the specifically American usage of his time. His great work, "The American Dictionary of the English Language", appeared in two volumes in 1828 and later sustained numerous revised and enlarged editions. In many respects N. Webster follows the lead of Dr S. Johnson (the British lexicographer). But he has also improved and corrected many of S. Johnson's etymologies and his definitions are often more exact. N. Webster attempted to simplify the spelling and pronunciation that were current in the USA of the period. He devoted many years to the collection of words and the preparation of more accurate definitions.

N. Webster realised the importance of language for the development of a nation, and devoted his energy to giving the American English the status of an independent language, distinct from British English. At that time the idea was progressive as it helped the unification of separate states into one federation. The tendency became reactionary later on, when some modern linguists like H. Mencken shaped it into the theory of a separate American language, not only different from British English, but surpassing it in efficiency and therefore deserving to dominate and supersede all the languages of the world. Even if we keep within purely linguistic or purely lexical concepts, we shall readily see that the difference is not so great as to warrant American English the rank of a separate language, not a variant of English (see p. 265).

The set of morphemes is the same. Some words have acquired a new meaning on American soil and this meaning has or has not penetrated into British English. Other words kept their earlier meanings that are obsolete and not used in Great Britain. As civilisation progressed different names were given to new inventions on either side of the Atlantic. Words were borrowed from different Indian languages and from Spanish. All these had to be recorded in a dictionary and so accounted for the existence of specific American lexicography. The world of today with its ever-growing efficiency and intensity of communication and personal contacts, with its press, radio and television creates conditions which tend to foster not an isolation of dialects and variants but, on the contrary, their mutual penetration and integration.

Later on, the title "International Dictionary of the English Language" was adopted, and in the latest edition not Americanisms but words not used in America (Britishisms) are marked off.

N. Webster's dictionary enjoyed great popularity from its first editions. This popularity was due not only to the accuracy and clarity of definitions but also to the richness of additional information of encyclopaedic

character, which had become a tradition in American lexicography. As a dictionary N. Webster's book aims to treat the entire vocabulary of the language providing definitions, pronunciation and etymology. As an encyclopaedia it gives explanations about things named, including scientific and technical subjects. It does so more concisely than a full-scale encyclopaedia, but it is worthy of note that the definitions are as a rule up-to-date and rigorous scientifically.

Soon after N. Webster's death two printers and booksellers of Massachusetts, George and Charles Merriam, secured the rights of his dictionary from his family and started the publication of revised single volume editions under the name "Merriam-Webster". The staff working for the modern editions is a big institution numbering hundreds of specialists in different branches of human activity.

It is important to note that the name "Webster" may be attached for publicity's sake by anyone to any dictionary. Many publishers concerned with their profits have taken this opportunity to issue dictionaries called "Webster's". Some of the books so named are cheaply-made reprints of old editions, others are said to be entirely new works. The practice of advertising by coupling N. Webster's name to a dictionary which has no connection with him, continues up to the present day.

A complete revision of N. Webster's dictionary is achieved with a certain degree of regularity. The recent "Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language" has called forth much comment, both favourable and unfavourable. It has been greatly changed as compared with the previous edition, in word selection as well as in other matters. The emphasis is on the present-day state of the language. The number of illustrative quotations is increased. To accommodate the great number of new words and meanings without increasing the bulk of the volume, the editors excluded much encyclopaedic material.

The other great American dictionaries are the "Century Dictionary", first completed in 1891; "Funk and Wagnalls New Standard Dictionary", first completed in 1895; the "Random House Dictionary of the English Language", completed in 1967; "The Heritage Illustrated Dictionary of the English Language", first published in 1969, and C.L. Barnhart's et al. "The World Book Dictionary" presenting a synchronic review of the language in the 20th century. The first three continue to appear in variously named subsequent editions including abridged versions. Many small handy popular dictionaries for office, school and home use are prepared to meet the demand in reference books on spelling, pronunciation, meaning and usage.

An adequate idea of the dictionaries cannot be formed from a mere description and it is no substitute for actually using them. To conclude we would like to mention that for a specialist in linguistics and a teacher of foreign languages systematic work with a good dictionary in conjunction with his reading is an absolute necessity.

CONCLUSION

The present book has treated the specific features of the English word as a structure, both on the morphemic and semantic levels, and dealt with the English vocabulary as an adaptive system of contrasting and interrelated elements. The presentation of these is conceived on the basis of the theory of oppositions as initiated by N.S. Trubetzkoy and is described, partly at least, in set-theoretical terms.

The classical book on the theory of oppositions is the posthumous treatise by N.S. Trubetzkoy "Grundzuge der Phonologie". The full significance and value of this work are now being realised and appreciated both in Soviet linguistics and abroad. Nevertheless, application of the theory of oppositions to linguistic analysis on levels other than that of phonology is far from being complete. One need hardly say that the present volume does not attempt to be definitive in its treatment of oppositions for lexicological description: quite considerable amount of research has already been done in some directions and very little in many others. Many points remain to be elucidated by future patient study and by collecting reliable factual evidence on which more general conclusions may then be built.

The special interest of contemporary science in methods of linguistic research extends over a period of about thirty years. The present status of principles and techniques in lexicology, although still far from satisfactory, shows considerable progress and an intense development.

The main procedures in use have been described in connection with the subject-matter they serve to investigate. They are the componential analysis, the contextological and valency analysis, analysis into immediate constituents, explanatory transformations based on dictionary definitions and different types of semantic oppositions helping to describe the vocabulary system.

Each of these techniques viewed separately has its limitations but taken together they complete one another, so that each successive procedure may prove helpful where the previous one has failed. We have considered these devices time and again in discussing separate aspects of the vocabulary system. All these are formalised methods in the sense that they replace the original words in the linguistic material sampled for analysis by symbols that can be discussed without reference to the particular elements they stand for, and then state precise rules for the combination and transformation of formulas thus obtained.

It must be emphatically stressed that although the synchronic and diachronic treatments are set apart, and the focal point of interest is the present state of the English vocabulary, these two aspects are not divorced, and the constant development of the whole system is always kept in mind. It must be fully realised that the separation of the two aspects is only an abstraction necessary for heuristic purposes. Secondly, structural methods demand a rigorous separation of levels and a study of language as an autonomous system. This dogmatic thesis placed a burden upon research. In present-day Soviet linguistics the interrelation between different levels as well as between language and extralinguistic reality is taken as all-important.

Finally, what is especially important, language is a social phenomenon, the language of any society is an integral part of the culture and social life of this society, words recognised within the vocabulary of the language are that part of the language on which the influence of extra-linguistic factors tells in the first place. Much of the semantic incommensurability that exists between languages can be accounted for in terms of social and cultural differences.

Sociolinguistics which is now making great progress is concerned with linguistic differences and with the actual performances of individuals as members of specific speech communities. It concentrates on the correlation of linguistic features with values and attitudes in social life with the status of speakers and listeners in social network. It deals with coexistence in the same individual or the same group of speakers of several linguistic codes, resorted to according to language-use conventions of society, i.e. a more prestigious formal and conservative code is used for official purposes, the other for spontaneous informal conversation. As sociolinguistics is still in its infancy it was possible to include in the present book only a few glimpses of this new branch.

Recent years in" Soviet linguistics have undoubtedly seen great progress in lexicology coming from various schools with various aims and methods. It is outside the scope of the present book to reflect them all, it is to be hoped, however, that the student will watch current literature and retrieve the necessary information on points that will interest him.

The modern methods of vocabulary study have emerged from practical concerns, especially those of foreign language teaching, dictionary-making, and recently, from the needs of machine translation and information retrieval. Improvements and expansion in foreign language teaching called forth a new co-operation between didactics and linguistics. In this connection it is well to remember that many eminent linguists devoted a great deal of attention to problems of teaching languages: L.V. Shcherba, L. Bloomfield, Ch. Fries, O. Jespersen, E. Nida wrote monographs on these problems.

There has been a considerable growth of activity in the field of mathematical linguistics. Much of this is connected with computer-aided linguistics. We have attempted to show the usefulness of set-theoretical concepts for the study of vocabulary. We must be on our guard, however, against the idea that an attachment of mathematical symbols and

operations to linguistics material will by itself make the statements about it more scientific. The introduction of mathematical apparatus into linguistics is justified only when it is based on a thorough comprehension of linguistic problems involved. Otherwise an indiscriminate introduction of mathematical procedures will be purely ornamental and may even lead to the generation of meaningless results. Even more important and promising, perhaps, is the fact that the penetration of mathematical methods, whether from the theory of sets, adaptive system theory, symbolic logic or mathematical statistics, leads to a more rigorous general approach. We are now hopeful that with the help of cautious and responsible application of some developments in system theory a genuinely scientific lexicology can come into being that will be useful in different branches of applied linguistics.

A fresh departure in the study of language including its vocabulary is the communicative linguistics in which the pragmatic rather than structural approach is used. This new trend relates vocabulary characteristics not only to meanings but to uses and situations and the degree of their formality. Pragmatics concerned with the relations between signs and expressions and their users is steadily gathering momentum penetrating all branches of linguistics. At present, however, this promising trend has hardly begun to take shape.

In more than ten years that have passed since the second edition of this book went to press, the problems of English lexicology have been investigated in a tremendous number of publications. Bringing the bibliography up to date keeping the same degree of comprehensiveness without a great increase in bulk proved impossible. Our debt to numerous works of scholarship had been acknowledged in copious notes and references of the previous editions. Here a basically different approach was chosen: bibliographical footnotes were drastically reduced and the selective list gathered below includes books especially recommended as further reading. An attempt is made to take account of modern lexicological theory as developed in the last decade and also to show the survival of basic studies translated, updated and published many years after their first edition. (See, for instance, works by K. Baldinger, M. Bréal, O. Jespersen.)

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