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A COURSE IN MODERN ENGLISH LEXICOLOGY

SECOND EDITION
Revised and Enlarged

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Л 43 **Лексикология** английского языка: Учебник для ин-тов и фак. иностр. яз./Р. З. Гинзбург, С. С. Хидекель, Г. Ю. Князева и А. А. Санкин. — 2-е изд., испр. и доп. — М.: Высш. школа, 1979. — 269 с, ил., табл. Список рек. лит. **В пер.: 1 р. 00 к.**

Данная книга является вторым изданием учебника по лексикологии тех же авторов, вышедшего впервые в 1966 г.

В учебнике нашли отражение такие вопросы лексикологии, как семасиология, структура слова, словосложение и словообразование, словосочетания и фразеологические единицы, этимология словарного состава английского языка, основы английской лексикографии и др.

Второе издание дополнено разделом «Методы лексикологического исследования», значительно расширен раздел «Лексикография» и др.

Учебник предназначается для студентов институтов и факультетов иностранных языков.

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

This book makes no pretension to deal with the whole vast field of English Lexicology. It has a more limited aim, to assist the students of foreign language institutes and departments in their study of the fundamentals of Modern English Lexicology. Post-graduates specialising in English and teachers of English may also find it useful.

This book is, as its title implies, concerned only with the vocabulary of English as it exists and functions at the present time. The authors* major concern is, therefore, with the treatment of the problems inherent in a course of Lexicology mainly from the synchronic angle. The diachronic approach which is, in the authors' opinion, indispensable in any study of vocabulary occupies its due place in the book too.

The book is based on the course of lectures in English Lexicology delivered by the authors for a number of years at the Moscow Maurice Thorez State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages. The subject matter corresponds to the programme on English Lexicology issued by the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education.

In preparing this work the authors have tried to take into consideration the latest achievements in linguistic science made in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. The authors' indebtedness to various books and studies will be readily perceived from List of Books Extensively Used as well as from the authors quoted or referred to in the foot-notes. The factual material collected in some of the best graduation papers compiled under the authors' guidance has also been made use of.

The work of preparing the separate parts of the course has been distributed among the authors as follows:

1. Introduction — A. A. Sankin
2. Varieties of English — G. Y. Knyaseva
3. Semasiology — R. S. Ginzburg
4. Word-Groups and Phraseological Units — R. S. Ginzburg
5. Word-Structure — S. S. Khidekel and A. A. Sankin
6. Word-Formation: affixation, conversion, shortening of words and minor ways of word-forming — A. A. Sankin
   Word-Composition — S. S. Khidekel
7. Etymological Survey of English Vocabulary — G. Y. Knyazeva
8. Conclusion — R. S. Ginzburg and S. S. Khidekel

9. Fundamentals of English Lexicography:

Number of Vocabulary Units in English — R. S. Ginzburg Main
Types of English Dictionaries — G. Y. Knyazeva

The authors owe a great debt to a number of their colleagues from the Chair of English Lexicology and Stylistics who offered them advice on one or another portion of the book. The authors are highly indebted to E. M. Mednikova who read an earlier version in its entirety and made many extremely valuable suggestions aimed at improving the treatment of the subject and the arrangement of the material. Warm thanks are also due to E. M. Lebedinskaya who was especially helpful during later stages of the work.

But, of course, no helpers, named or unnamed, are responsible for **the** blemishes that nevertheless remain. The authors will welcome any comment **and** criticism that will help to improve the book.

The Authors

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The first edition of this book has been used in the classroom for over ten years.

Since the first publication of "A Course in Modern English Lexicology" there has been considerable progress in linguistic studies and the authors' ideas about some points have changed. So some chapters had to be revised or modified. The authors also found it necessary to introduce a special chapter on the procedures and methods of lexicological analysis written by R. S. Ginzburg, replace Conclusion by the chapter Various Aspects of Vocabulary Units and Replenishment of Modern English Word-Stock written by R. S. Ginzburg and S. S. Khidekel and also to enlarge the chapter on lexicography.

The work of preparing the separate parts of the present edition has been distributed among the authors as follows:

I. Introduction — A. A. Sankin II. Semasiology — R. S. Ginzburg
III. Word-Groups and Phraseological Units — R. S. Ginzburg
IV. Word-Structure — S. S. Khidekel and A. A. Sankin V. Word-Formation — A. A. Sankin
Word-Composition — S. S. Khidekel
VI. Etymological Survey of the English Word-Stock — G. Y. Knyazeva
VIL Various Aspects of Vocabulary Units and Replenishment of Modern English Word-Stock — R. S. Ginzburg, S. S. Khidekel VIII. Variants and dialects of the English Language — G. Y. Knyazeva IX. Fundamentals of English Lexicography — G. Y. Knyazeva X. Methods and Procedures of Lexicological Analysis — R. S. Ginzburg

Besides some rearrangements have been made for the sake of greater clarity and simplicity of presentation.

The authors owe a great debt to a number of their colleagues who offered them advice on this or that part of the book. Special thanks are due to Professor V. A. Kunin who has supplied the authors with the scheme of his conception of phraseology and to Professor I. V. Arnold whose criticism was of invaluable help to the authors.

The authors are greatly indebted to Mr. Mark White for going over the text of the first edition and making valuable suggestions as to the English wording.

The Authors

OF ABBREVIATIONS

AE — American English
Am. — American
AS. — Anglo-Saxon
AuE — Australian English
BE — British English
Br. — British
cf. — compare
Chin. — Chinese
CnE — Canadian English
colloq. — colloquial
Fr. — French
G. — German
gen. E. — general English
Gr. — Greek
It. — Italian
L. — Latin
ME. — Middle English
MnE. — Modern English
OE. — Old English
OFr. — Old French
ON. — Old Norse
Russ. — Russian
Scand. — Scandinavian
Scot. — Scottish
sl. — slang
U.S. — American

I. Introduction

§ 1. Definition. Links with Other Branches of Linguistics

Lexicology is a branch of linguistics, the science of language. The term Lexi c o l o g y is composed of two Greek morphemes: **lexis** meaning 'word, phrase' (hence **lexicos '**having to do with words') and **logos** which denotes 'learning, a department of knowledge'. Thus, the literal meaning of the term L e x i c o l o g y is 'the science of the word'. The literal meaning, however, gives only a general notion of the aims and the subject-matter of this branch of linguistic science, since all its other branches also take account of words in one way or another approaching them from different angles. Phonetics, for instance, investigating the phonetic structure of language, i.e. its system of phonemes and intonation patterns, is concerned with the study of the outer sound form of the word. Grammar, which is inseparably bound up with Lexicology, is the study of the grammatical structure of language. It is concerned with the various means of expressing grammatical relations between words and with the patterns after which words are combined into word-groups and sentences.

Lexicology as a branch of linguistics has its own aims and methods of scientific research, its basic task being a study and systematic description of vocabulary in respect to its origin, development and current use. Lexicology is concerned with words, variable word-groups, phraseological units, and with morphemes which make up words.

Distinction is naturally made between General Lexicology and Special Lexicology. General Lexicology is part of General Linguistics; it is concerned with the study of vocabulary irrespective of the specific features of any particular language. Special Lexicology is the Lexicology of a particular language (e.g. English, Russian, etc.), i.e. the study and description of its vocabulary and vocabulary units, primarily words as the main units of language. Needless to say that every Special Lexicology is based on the principles worked out and laid down by General Lexicology, a general theory of vocabulary.

There is also a close relationship between Lexicology and Stylistics or, to be more exact, L i n g u o - S t y l i s t i c s (Linguistic Stylistics). Linguo-Stylistics is concerned with the study of the nature, functions and structure of stylistic devices, on the one hand, and with the investigation of each style of language, on the other, i.e. with its aim, its structure, its characteristic features and the effect it produces as well as its interrelation with the other styles of language.

§ 2. Two Approaches to Language Study

There are two principal approaches in linguistic science to the study of language material, namely the synchronic *(Gr.* **syn** — 'together, with' and **chronos** — 'time') and the diachronic *(Gr.* **dia** — 'through') approach. With regard to S p e c i a l Lexicology the synchronic approach is concerned with the vocabulary of a language as it exists at a given time, for instance, at the present time. It is special

D e s c r i p t i v e L e x i c o l o g y that deals with the vocabulary and vocabulary units of a particular language at a certain time. A Course in Modern English Lexicology is therefore a course in Special Descriptive Lexicology, its object of study being the English vocabulary as it exists at the present time.

The diachronic approach in terms of Special Lexicology deals with the changes and the development of vocabulary in the course of time. It is special Historical Lexicology that deals with the evolution of the vocabulary units of a language as time goes by. An English Historical Lexicology would be concerned, therefore, with the origin of English vocabulary units, their change and development, the linguistic and extralinguistic factors modifying their structure, meaning and usage within the history of the English language.

It should be emphatically stressed that the distinction between the synchronic and the diachronic study is merely a difference of approach separating for the purposes of investigation what in real language is inseparable. The two approaches should not be contrasted, or set one against the other; in fact, they are intrinsically interconnected and interdependent: every linguistic structure and system actually exists in a state of constant development so that the synchronic state of a language system is a result of a long process of linguistic evolution, of its historical development.

A good example illustrating both the distinction between the two approaches and their interconnection is furnished by the words to beg and beggar.

Synchronically, the words to beg and beggar are related as a simple and a derived word, the noun beggar being the derived member of the pair, for the derivative correlation between the two is the same as in the case of to sing — singer, to teach — teacher, etc. When we approach the problem diachronically, however, we learn that the noun beggar was borrowed from Old French and only presumed to have been derived from a shorter word, namely the verb to beg, as in the English language agent nouns are commonly derived from verbs with the help of the agent suffix **-er**.

Closely connected with Historical Lexicology is Contrastive and Comparative Lexicology whose aims are to study the correlation between the vocabularies of two or more languages, and find out the correspondences between the vocabulary units of the languages under comparison. Needless to say, one can hardly overestimate the importance of Contrastive Lexicology as well as of Comparative Linguistics in general for the purpose of class-room teaching of foreign languages. Of primary importance in this respect is the comparison of the foreign language with the mother tongue.

§ 3. Lexicology and Sociolinguistics

It is a matter of common knowledge that the vocabulary of any language is never stable, never static, but is constantly changing, growing and decaying. The changes in the vocabulary of a language are due both to linguistic and extralinguistic causes or to a combination of both. The extralinguistic causes are determined by the social

nature of the language. In this respect there is a tremendous difference between Lexicology, on the one hand, and Phonology, Morphology and Syntax, on the other. Words, to a far greater degree than sounds, grammatical forms, or syntactical arrangements, are subject to change, for the word-stock of a language directly and immediately reacts to changes in social life, to whatever happens in the life of the speech community in question. To illustrate the immediate connection between the development of vocabulary and the extra-linguistic causes a few examples will suffice.

The intense development of science and technology has lately given birth to a great number of new words such as **computer, cyclotron, radar, psycholinguistics,** etc.; the conquest and research of outer space started by the Soviet people contributed words like **sputnik, lunokhod, babymoon, moon-car, spaceship,** etc. It is significant that the suffix **-nik** occurring in the noun **sputnik** is freely applied to new words of various kinds, e.g. **flopnik, mousenik, woofnik,** etc.[1]

The factor of the social need also manifests itself in the mechanism of word-formation. Among the adjectives with the suffix **-y** derived from noun stems denoting fabrics (cf. **silky, velvety, woolly,** etc.) the adjective **tweedy** stands out as meaning not merely resembling or like tweed but rather 'of sports style'. It is used to describe the type of appearance (or style of clothes) which is characteristic of a definite social group, namely people going in for country sports. Thus, the adjective **tweedy** in this meaning defines a notion which is specific for the speech community in question and is, therefore, sociolinguistically conditioned.

From the above-adduced examples it follows that in contrast with Phonology, Morphology and Syntax, Lexicology is essentially a sociolinguistic science. The lexicologist should always take into account correlations between purely linguistic facts and the underlying social facts which brought them into existence, his research should be based on establishing scientifically grounded interrelation and points of contact which have come into existence between the language and the social life of the speech community in question.

§ 4. Lexical Units

It was pointed out above that Lexicology studies various lexical units: morphemes, words, variable word-groups and phraseological units. We proceed from the assumption that the word is the basic unit of language system, the largest on the morphologic and the smallest on the syntactic plane of linguistic analysis. The word is a structural and semantic entity within the language system.

It should be pointed out that there is another approach to the concept of the basic language unit. The criticism of this viewpoint cannot be discussed within the framework of the present study. Suffice it to say that here we consistently proceed from the concept of the word as the basic unit in all the branches of Lexicology. Both words and phraseological units are names for things, namely the names of actions, objects, qualities, etc. Unlike words proper, however, phraseological units are word-

[1]See 'Various aspects...', § 6, p. 180

groups consisting of two or more words whose combination is integrated as a unit with a specialised meaning of the whole. To illustrate, the lexical or to be more exact the vocabulary units **tattle, wall, taxi** are words denoting various objects of the outer world; the vocabulary units **black frost, red tape, a skeleton in the cupboard** are phraseological units: each is a word-group with a specialised meaning of the whole, namely **black frost** is 'frost without snow or rime', **red tape** denotes bureaucratic methods, **a skeleton in the cupboard** refers to a fact of which a family is ashamed and which it tries to hide.

Varieties of Words

Although the ordinary 'speaker is acutely word-conscious and usually finds no difficulty either in isolating words from an utterance or in identifying them in the process of communication, the precise linguistic definition of a word is far from easy to state; no exhaustive definition of the word has yet been given by linguists.

The word as well as any linguistic sign is a two-facet unit possessing both form and content or, to be more exact, soundform and meaning. Neither can exist without the other. For example, [θimbl] is a word within the framework of the English language primarily because it has the lexical meaning — 'a small cap of metal, plastic, etc. worn on the finger in sewing.. .'[1] *(Russ. наперсток)* and the grammatical meaning of the Common case, singular. In other languages it is not a word, but a meaningless sound-cluster.

When used in actual speech the word undergoes certain modification and functions in one of its forms.

The system showing a word in all its word-forms is called its paradigm.[2] The lexical meaning of a word is the same throughout the paradigm, i.e. all the word-forms of one and the same word are lexically identical. The grammatical meaning varies from one form to another (cf. **to take, takes, took, taking** or **singer, singer's, singers, singers').** Therefore, when we speak of the word **singer** or the word **take** as used in actual utterances (cf., His brother is a well-known singer *or* I wonder who has taken my umbrella) we use the term w o r d conventionally, because what is manifested in the speech event is not the word as a whole but one of its forms which is identified as belonging to one definite paradigm.

There are two approaches to the paradigm: (a) as a system of forms of one word it reveals the differences and relationships between them; (b) in abstraction from concrete words it is treated as a pattern on which every word of one part of speech models its forms, thus serving to distin-

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[1] Here and elsewhere definitions of the meanings of words are borrowed from a number of English explanatory dictionaries, such as the *Concise Oxford Dictionary, Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English by* A. S. Hornby, L., 1974 and others.

[2] Each part of speech is characterised by a paradigm of its own. Nouns are declined, verbs conjugated, qualitative adjectives have degrees of comparison. Some adverbs also have degrees of comparison (e.g. **well, badly,** etc.), others are immutable (e.g. **here, there, never).** Word-forms constituting a paradigm may be both synthetic and analytic. Unlike synthetic forms an analytic form is composed of two separate components (cf. (he) takes ... and (he) has taken ...). In some cases the system of word-forms combines different roots (cf. **to go — went — gone; good — better — best).**

guish one part of speech from another. Cf. the noun paradigm — ( ), **-'s**, **-s**, **-s'** as distinct from that of the regular verb — ( ) ,**-s**, **-ed$_1$**, **-ed$_2$**, **-ing**, etc.[1]

Besides the grammatical forms of words, i.e. word-forms, some scholars distinguish lexical varieties which they term v a r i a n t s of w o r d s . Distinction is made between two basic groups of variants of words.

In actual speech a word or to be more exact a polysemantic word is used in, one of its meanings. Such a word in one of its meanings is described as lexico-semantic variant. Thus Group One comprises lexico-semantic variants, i.e. polysemantic words in each of their meanings, as exemplified by the meaning of the verb **to learn** in word-groups like **to learn at school,** cf. **to learn about (of) smth,** etc.

Group Two comprises phonetic and morphological variants. As examples of phonetic variants the pronouncing variants of the adverbs **often** and **again** can be given, cf. ['o:fn] and ['o:ftэn], [э'gein] and [э'gen]. The two variant forms of the past indefinite tense of verbs like **to learn** illustrate morphological variants, cf. **learned [-d]** and **learnt [-t].** Parallel formations of the **geologic — geological, phonetic — phonetical** type also enter the group of morphological variants.[2]

It may be easily observed that the most essential feature of variants of words of both groups is that a slight change in the morphemic or phonemic composition of a word is not connected with any modification of its meaning and, vice versa, a change in meaning is not followed by any structural changes, either morphemic or phonetic. Like word-forms variants of words are identified in the process of communication as making up one and the same word. Thus, within the language system the word exists as a system and unity of all its forms and variants.

§ 6. Course of Modern English Lexicology. Its Aims and Significance

Modern English Lexicology aims at giving a systematic description of the word-stock of Modern English. Words, their component parts — morphemes — and various types of word-groups, are subjected to structural and semantic analysis primarily from the synchronic angle. In other words, Modern English Lexicology investigates the problems of word-structure and word-formation in Modern English, the semantic structure of English words, the main principles underlying the classification of vocabulary units into various groupings the laws governing the replenishment of the vocabulary with new vocabulary units.

It also studies the relations existing between various lexical layers of the English vocabulary and the specific laws and regulations that govern its development at the present time. The source and growth of the English vocabulary, the changes it has undergone in its history are also dwelt upon, as the diachronic approach revealing the vocabulary in the making cannot but contribute to the understanding of its workings at the present time.

It has now become a tradition to include in a Course of Lexicology a

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[1] The symbol ( ) stands for the so-called zero-inflection, i. e. the significant absence of an inflectional affix.

[2] Pairs of vocabulary items like economic — economical, historic — historical differing in meaning cannot be regarded as morphological variants.

short section dealing with Lexicography, the science and art of dictionary-compiling, because Lexicography is a practical application of Lexicology so that the dictionary-maker is inevitably guided in his work by the principles laid down by the lexicologist as a result of his investigations. It is common knowledge that in his investigation the lexicologist makes use of various methods. An acquaintance with these methods is an indispensable part of a course of lexicology.

Modern English Lexicology as a subject of study forms part of the Theoretical Course of Modern English and as such is inseparable from its other component parts, i.e. Grammar, Phonetics, Stylistics, on the one hand, and the Course of History of the English Language, on the other.

The language learner will find the Course of Modern English Lexicology of great practical importance. He will obtain much valuable information concerning the English wordstock and the laws and regulations governing the formation and usage of English words and word-groups. Besides, the Course is aimed both at summarising the practical material already familiar to the students from foreign language classes and at helping the students to develop the skills and habits of generalising the linguistic phenomena observed. The knowledge the students gain from the Course of Modern English Lexicology will guide them in all their dealings with the English word-stock and help them apply this information to the solution of practical problems that may face them in class-room teaching. Teachers should always remember that practical command alone does not qualify a person to teach a language. •

This textbook treats the following basic problems:

1. Semasiology and semantic classifications of words;
2. Word-groups and phraseological units;
3. Word-structure;
4. Word-formation;
5. Etymological survey of the English word-stock;
6. Various aspects of vocabulary units and replenishment of Modern English word-stock;
7. Variants and dialects of Modern English;
8. Fundamentals of English Lexicography;
9. Methods and Procedures of Lexicological Analysis.

All sections end with a paragraph entitled “Summary and Conclusions". The aim of these paragraphs is to summarise in brief the contents of the preceding section, thus enabling the student to go over the chief points of the exposition of problem or problems under consideration. Material for Reference at the end of the book and the footnotes, though by no means exhaustive, may be helpful to those who wish to attain a more complete and thorough view of the lexicological problems.

II. Semasiology

By definition Lexicology deals with words, word-forming morphemes (derivational affixes) and word-groups or phrases.[1] All these linguistic units may be said to have meaning of some kind: they are all significant and therefore must be investigated both as to form and meaning. The branch of lexicology that is devoted to the study of meaning is known as S e m a s i o l o g y .[2]

It should be pointed out that just as lexicology is beginning to absorb a major part of the efforts of linguistic scientists [3] semasiology is coming to the fore as the central problem of linguistic investigation of all levels of language structure. It is suggested that semasiology has for its subject - matter not only the study of lexicon, but also of morphology, syntax and sentential semantics. Words, however, play such a crucial part in the structure of language that when we speak of semasiology without any qualification, we usually refer to the study of word-meaning proper, although it is in fact very common to explore the semantics of other elements, such as suffixes, prefixes, etc.

Meaning is one of the most controversial terms in the theory of language. At first sight the understanding of this term seems to present no difficulty at all — it is freely used in teaching, interpreting and translation. The scientific definition of meaning however just as the definition of some other basic linguistic terms, such as w o r d . s e n t e n c e , etc., has been the issue of interminable discussions. Since there is no universally accepted definition of meaning [4] we shall confine ourselves to a brief survey of the problem as it is viewed in modern linguistics both in our country and elsewhere.

WORD-MEANING

§ **1.** Referential Approach There are broadly speaking two schools to Meaning of thought in present-day linguistics representing the main lines of contemporary thinking on the problem: the referential approach, which seeks to formulate the essence of meaning by establishing the interdependence between words and the things or concepts they denote, and the functional approach, which studies the functions of a word in speech and is less concerned with what meaning is than with how it works.

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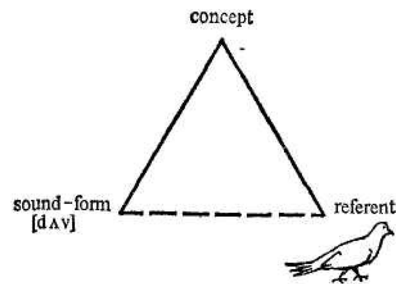
[1] See 'Introduction', § 1.

[2] Sometimes the term s e m a n t i c s is used too, but in Soviet linguistics preference is given to s e m a s i o l o g y as the word s e m a n t i c s is often used to designate one of the schools of modern idealistic philosophy and is also found as a synonym of m e a n i n g .

[3] *D. Bolinger*. Getting the Words In. Lexicography in English, N. Y., 1973.

[4] See, e. g., the discussion of various concepts of meaning in modern linguistics in: *Л. С. Бархударов*. Язык и перевод. М., 1975, с, 50 — 70.

All major works on semantic theory have so far been based on referential concepts of meaning. The essential feature of this approach is that it distinguishes between the three components closely connected with meaning: the sound-form of the linguistic sign, the concept underlying this sound-form, and the actual referent, i.e. that part or that aspect of reality to which the linguistic sign refers. The best known referential model of meaning is the so-called "basic triangle" which, with some variations, underlies the semantic systems of all the adherents of this school of thought. In a simplified form the triangle may be represented as shown below:



As can be seen from the diagram the sound-form of the linguistic sign, e.g. [dAv], is connected with our concept of the bird which it denotes and through it with the referent, i.e. the actual bird.[1] The common feature of any referential approach is the implication that meaning is in some form or other connected with the referent.

Let us now examine the place of meaning in this model. It is easily observed that the sound-form of the word is not identical with its meaning, e.g. [dAv] is the sound-form used to denote a peal-grey bird. There is no inherent connection, however, between this particular sound-cluster and the meaning of the word **dove.** The connection is conventional and arbitrary. This can be easily proved by comparing the sound-forms of different languages conveying one and the same meaning, e.g. English [dAv], Russian [golub'], German [taube] and so on. It can also be proved by comparing almost identical sound-forms that possess different meaning in different languages. The sound-cluster [kot], e.g. in the English language means 'a small, usually swinging bed for a child', but in the Russian language essentially the same sound-cluster possesses the meaning 'male cat'. -

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[1] As terminological confusion has caused much misunderstanding and often makes it difficult to grasp the semantic concept of different linguists we find it necessary to mention the most widespread terms used in modern linguistics to denote the three components described above:

sound-form — concept — referent
symbol — thought or reference — referent
sign — meaning — thing meant
sign — designatum — denotatum

For more convincing evidence of the conventional and arbitrary nature of the connection between sound-form and meaning all we have to do is to point to the homonyms. The word **seal** [si:l], e.g., means ‘a piece of wax, lead’, etc. stamped with a design; its homonym **seal** [si:l] possessing the same sound-form denotes ‘a sea animal’.

Besides, if meaning were inherently connected with the sound-form of a linguistic unit, it would follow that a change in sound-form would necessitate a change of meaning. We know, however, that even considerable changes in the sound-form of a word in the course of its historical development do not necessarily affect its meaning. The sound-form of the *OE.* word **lufian [**luvian] has undergone great changes, and has been transformed into **love** [lAv], yet the meaning ‘hold dear, bear love’, etc. has remained essentially unchanged.

When we examine a word we see that its meaning though closely connected with the underlying concept or concepts is not identical with them. To begin with, concept is a category of human cognition. Concept is the thought of the object that singles out its essential features. Our concepts abstract and reflect the most common and typical features of the different objects and phenomena of the world. Being the result of abstraction and generalisation all “concepts are thus intrinsically almost the same for the whole of humanity in one and the same period of its historical development. The meanings of words however are different in different languages. That is to say, words expressing identical concepts may have different meanings and different semantic structures in different languages. The concept of ‘a building for human habitation’ is expressed in English by the word **house,** in Russian by the word *дом,* but the meaning of the English word is not identical with that of the Russian as **house** does not possess the meaning of ‘fixed residence of family or household’ which is one of the meanings of the Russian word *дом*; it is expressed by another English polysemantic word, namely **home** which possesses a number of other meanings not to be found in the Russian word *дом.*

The difference between meaning and concept can also be observed by comparing synonymous words and word-groups expressing essentially the same concepts but possessing linguistic meaning which is felt as different in each of the units under consideration, e.g. **big, large; to, die, to pass away, to kick the bucket, to join the majority; child, baby, babe, infant.**

The precise definition of the content of a concept comes within the sphere of logic but it can be easily observed that the word-meaning is not identical with it. For instance, the content of the concept **six** can be expressed by ‘three plus three’, ‘five plus one’, or ‘ten minus four’, etc. Obviously, the meaning of the word **six** cannot be identified with the meaning of these word-groups.

To distinguish meaning from the referent, i.e. from the thing denoted by the linguistic sign is of the utmost importance, and at first sight does not seem to present difficulties. To begin with, meaning is linguistic whereas the denoted object or the referent is beyond the scope of language. We can denote one and the same object by more than one word of a different meaning. For instance, in a speech situation an apple can be denoted

by the words **apple, fruit, something, this,** etc. as all of these words may have the same referent. Meaning cannot be equated with the actual properties of the referent, e.g. the meaning of the word **water** cannot be regarded as identical with its chemical formula H_2O as **water** means essentially the same to all English speakers including those who have no idea of its chemical composition. Last but not least there are words that have distinct meaning but do not refer to any existing thing, e.g. **angel** or **phoenix.** Such words have meaning which is understood by the speaker-hearer, but the objects they denote do not exist.

Thus, meaning is not to be identified with any of the three points of the triangle.

§ 2. Meaning in the Referential Approach

It should be pointed out that among the adherents of the referential approach there are some who hold that the meaning of a linguistic sign is the concept underlying it, and consequently they substitute meaning for concept in the basic triangle. Others identify meaning with the referent. They argue that unless we have a scientifically accurate knowledge of the referent we cannot give a scientifically accurate definition of the meaning of a word. According to them the English word **salt,** e.g., means 'sodium chloride *(NaCl)'*. But how are we to define precisely the meanings of such words as **love** or **hate,** etc.? We must admit that the actual extent of human knowledge makes it impossible to define word-meanings accurately.[1] It logically follows that any study of meanings in linguistics along these lines must be given up as impossible.

Here we have sought to show that meaning is closely connected but not identical with sound-form, concept or referent. Yet even those who accept this view disagree as to the nature of meaning. Some linguists regard meaning as the interrelation of the three points of the triangle within the framework of the given language, i.e. as the interrelation of the sound-form, concept and referent, but not as an objectively existing part of the linguistic sign. Others and among them some outstanding Soviet linguists, proceed from the basic assumption of the objectivity of language and meaning and understand the linguistic sign as a two-facet unit. They view meaning as "a certain reflection in our mind of objects, phenomena or relations that makes part of the linguistic sign — its so-called inner facet, whereas the sound-form functions as its outer facet." [2] The outer facet of the linguistic sign is indispensable to meaning and intercommunication. Meaning is to be found in all linguistic units and together with their sound-form constitutes the linguistic signs studied by linguistic science.

The criticism of the referential theories of meaning may be briefly summarised as follows:

1. Meaning, as understood in the referential approach, comprises the interrelation of linguistic signs with categories and phenomena outside the scope of language. As neither referents (i.e. actual things, phenomena,

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[1] See, e. g., *L. Bloomfield.* Language. N. Y., 1933, p. 139.

[2] *А. И. Смирницкий.* Значение слова. — Вопр. языкознания, 1955, № 2. See also С. *И. Ожегов.* Лексикология, лексикография, культура речи. М., 1974, с. 197.

etc.) nor concepts belong to language, the analysis of meaning is confined either to the study of the interrelation of the linguistic sign and referent or that of the linguistic sign and concept, all of which, properly speaking, is not the object of linguistic study.

2. The great stumbling block in referential theories of meaning has always been that they operate with subjective and intangible mental processes. The results of semantic investigation therefore depend to a certain extent on "the feel of the language" and cannot be verified by another investigator analysing the same linguistic data. It follows that semasiology has to rely too much on linguistic intuition and unlike other fields of linguistic inquiry (e.g. phonetics, history of language) does not possess objective methods of investigation. Consequently it is argued, linguists should either give up the study of meaning and the attempts to define meaning altogether, or confine their efforts to the investigation of the function of linguistic signs in speech.

§ 3. Functional Approach to Meaning

In recent years a new and entirely different approach to meaning known as the functional approach has begun to take shape in linguistics and especially in structural linguistics. The functional approach maintains that the meaning of a linguistic unit may be studied only through its relation to other linguistic-units and not through its relation to either concept or referent. In a very simplified form this view may be illustrated by the following: we know, for instance, that the meaning of the two words **move** and **movement** is different because they function in speech differently. Comparing the contexts in which we find these words we cannot fail to observe that they occupy different positions in relation to other words. **(To) move,** e.g., can be followed by a noun **(move** the chair), preceded by a pronoun (we **move),** etc. The position occupied by the word **movement** is different: it may be followed by a preposition **(movement** of **smth),** preceded by an adjective (slow **movement),** and so on. As the distribution [1] of the two words is different, we are entitled to the conclusion that not only do they belong to different classes of words, but that their meanings are different too.

The same is true of the different meanings of one and the same word. Analysing the function of a word in linguistic contexts and comparing these contexts, we conclude that; meanings are different (or the same) and this fact can be proved by an objective investigation of linguistic data. For example we can observe the difference of the meanings of the word **take** if we examine its functions in different linguistic contexts, **take the tram (the taxi, the cab,,** etc.) as opposed to **to take to somebody.**

It follows that in the functional approach (1) semantic investigation is confined to the analysis of the difference or sameness of meaning; (2) meaning is understood essentially as the function of the use of linguistic units. As a matter of fact, this line of semantic investigation is the primary concern, implied or expressed, of all structural linguists.

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[1] By the term d i s t r i b u t i o n we understand the position of a linguistic unit in relation to other linguistic units.

§ 4. Relation between the Two Approaches

When comparing the two approaches described above in terms of methods of linguistic analysis we see that the functional approach should not be considered an alternative, but rather a valuable complement to the referential theory. It is only natural that linguistic investigation must start by collecting an adequate number of samples of contexts.[1] On examination the meaning or meanings of linguistic units will emerge from the contexts themselves. Once this phase had been completed it seems but logical to pass on to the referential phase and try to formulate the meaning thus identified. There is absolutely no need to set the two approaches against each other; each handles its own side of the problem and neither is complete without the other.

TYPES OF MEANING

It is more or less universally recognised that word-meaning is not homogeneous but is made up of various components the combination and the interrelation of which determine to a great extent the inner facet of the word. These components are usually described as types of meaning. The two main types of meaning that are readily observed are the grammatical and the lexical meanings to be found in words and word-forms.

§ 5. Grammatical Meaning

We notice, e.g., that word-forms, such as **girls, winters, joys, tables,** etc. though denoting widely different objects of reality have something in common. This common element is the grammatical meaning of plurality which can be found in all of them.

Thus grammatical meaning may be defined ,as the component of meaning recurrent in identical sets of individual forms of different words, as, e.g., the tense meaning in the word-forms of verbs **(asked, thought, walked,** etc.) or the case meaning in the word-forms of various nouns **(girl's, boy's, night's,** etc.).

In a broad sense it may be argued that linguists who make a distinction between lexical and grammatical meaning are, in fact, making a distinction between the functional (linguistic) meaning which operates at various levels as the interrelation of various linguistic units and referential (conceptual) meaning as the interrelation of linguistic units and referents (or concepts).

In modern linguistic science it is commonly held that some elements of grammatical meaning can be identified by the position of the linguistic unit in relation to other linguistic units, i.e. by its distribution. Word-forms **speaks, reads, writes** have one and the same grammatical meaning as they can all be found in identical distribution, e.g. only after the pronouns **he, she, it** and before adverbs like **well, badly, to-day,** etc.

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[1] It is of interest to note that the functional approach is sometimes described as contextual, as it is based on the analysis of various contexts. See, e. g., *St. Ullmann.* Semantics. Oxford, 1962, pp. 64-67.

It follows that a certain component of the meaning of a word is described when you identify it as a part of speech, since different parts of speech are distributionally different (cf. my work and I work).[1]

§ 6. Lexical Meaning Comparing word-forms of one and the same word we observe that besides grammatical meaning, there is another component of meaning to be found in them. Unlike the grammatical meaning this component is identical in all the forms of the word. Thus, e.g. the word-forms **go, goes, went, going, gone** possess different grammatical meanings of tense, person and so on, but in each of these forms we find one and the same semantic component denoting the process of movement. This is the lexical meaning of the word which may be described as the component of meaning proper to the word as a linguistic unit, i.e. recurrent in all the forms of this word.

The difference between the lexical and the grammatical components of meaning is not to be sought in the difference of the concepts underlying the two types of meaning, but rather in the way they are conveyed. The concept of plurality, e.g., may be expressed by the lexical meaning of the world **plurality;** it may also be expressed in the forms of various words irrespective of their lexical meaning, e.g. **boys, girls, joys,** etc. The concept of relation may be expressed by the lexical meaning of the word **relation** and also by any of the prepositions, e.g. **in, on, behind,** etc. **(cf. the book is** in/on, behind **the table). “**

It follows that by lexical meaning we designate the meaning proper to the given linguistic unit in all its forms and distributions, while by grammatical meaning we designate the meaning proper to sets of word-forms common to all words of a certain class. Both the lexical and the grammatical meaning make up the word-meaning as neither can exist without the other. That can be also observed in the semantic analysis of correlated words in different languages. E.g. the Russian word *сведения* is not semantically identical with the English equivalent **information** because unlike the Russian *сведения* the English word does not possess the grammatical meaning of plurality which is part of the semantic structure of the Russian word.

§ 7. Parf-of-Speech Meaning It is usual to classify lexical items into major word-classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs) and minor word-classes (articles, prepositions, conjunctions, etc.).

All members of a major word-class share a distinguishing semantic component which though very abstract may be viewed as the lexical component of part-of-speech meaning. For example, the meaning of ‘thingness’ or substantiality may be found in all the nouns e.g. **table, love, sugar,** though they possess different grammatical meanings of number, case, etc. It should be noted, however, that the grammatical aspect of the part-of-speech meanings is conveyed as a rule by a set of forms. If we describe the word as a noun we mean to say that it is bound to possess

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[1] For a more detailed discussion of the interrelation of the lexical and grammatical meaning in words see § 7 and also *А. И. Смирницкий.* Лексикология английского языка. М., 1956, с. 21 — 26.

a set of forms expressing the grammatical meaning of number (cf. **table — tables),** case (cf. **boy, boy's)** and so on. A verb is understood to possess sets of forms expressing, e.g., tense meaning **(worked — works),** mood meaning **(work! — (I) work),** etc.

The part-of-speech meaning of the words that possess only one form, e.g. prepositions, some adverbs, etc., is observed only in their distribution (cf. **to come in (here, there)** and **in (on, under)** the table).

One of the levels at which grammatical meaning operates is that of minor word classes like articles, pronouns, etc.

Members of these word classes are generally listed in dictionaries just as other vocabulary items, that belong to major word-classes of lexical items proper (e.g. nouns, verbs, etc.).

One criterion for distinguishing these grammatical items from lexical items is in terms of closed and open sets. Grammatical items form closed sets of units usually of small membership (e.g. the set of modern English pronouns, articles, etc.). New items are practically never added.

Lexical items proper belong to open sets which have indeterminately large membership; new lexical items which are constantly coined to fulfil the needs of the speech community are added to these open sets.

The interrelation of the lexical and the grammatical meaning and the role played by each varies in different word-classes and even in different groups of words within one and the same class. In some parts of speech the prevailing component is the grammatical type of meaning. The lexical meaning of prepositions for example is, as a rule, relatively vague **(independent of smb, one of the students, the roof of the house).** The lexical meaning of some prepositions, however, may be comparatively distinct (cf. **in/on, under the table).** In verbs the lexical meaning usually comes to the fore although in some of them, the verb **to be,** e.g., the grammatical meaning of a linking element prevails (cf. **he works as a teacher** and **he is a teacher).**

§ 8. Denotational and Connotational Meaning

Proceeding with the semantic analysis we observe that lexical meaning is not homogenous either and may be analysed as including denotational and connotational components.

As was mentioned above one of the functions of words is to denote things, concepts and so on. Users of a language cannot have any knowledge or thought of the objects or phenomena of the real world around them unless this knowledge is ultimately embodied in words which have essentially the same meaning for all speakers of that language. This is the d e n o t a t i o n a l m e a n i n g , i.e. that component of the lexical meaning which makes communication possible. There is no doubt that **a** physicist knows more about the atom than a singer does, or that an arctic explorer possesses a much deeper knowledge of what arctic ice is like than a man who has never been in the North. Nevertheless they use the words **atom, Arctic,** etc. and understand each other.

The second component of the lexical meaning is the c o n n o t a t i o n a l c o m p o n e n t , i.e. the emotive charge and the stylistic value of the word.

§ 9. Emotive Charge

Words contain an element of emotive evaluation as part of the connotational meaning; e.g. **a hovel** denotes 'a small house or cottage' and besides implies that it is a miserable dwelling place, dirty, in bad repair and in general unpleasant to live in. When examining synonyms **large, big, tremendous** and **like, love, worship** or words such as **girl, girlie; dear, dearie** we cannot fail to observe the difference in the emotive charge of the members of these sets. The emotive charge of the words **tremendous, worship** and **girlie** is heavier than that of the words **large, like** and **girl.** This does not depend on the "feeling" of the individual speaker but is true for all speakers of English. The emotive charge varies in different word-classes. In some of them, in interjections, e.g., the emotive element prevails, whereas in conjunctions the emotive charge is as a rule practically non-existent.

The e m o t i v e c h a r g e is one of the objective semantic features proper to words as linguistic units and forms part of the connotational component of meaning. It should not be confused with e m o t i v e i m p l i c a t i o n s that the words may acquire in speech. The emotive implication of the word is to a great extent subjective as it greatly depends of the personal experience of the speaker, the mental imagery the word evokes in him. Words seemingly devoid of any emotional element may possess in the case of individual speakers strong emotive implications as may be illustrated, e.g. by the word **hospital.** What is thought and felt when the word **hospital** is used will be different in the case of an architect who built it, the invalid staying there after an operation, or the man living across the road.

§ 10. Sfylistic Reference

Words differ not only in their emotive charge but also in their stylistic reference. Stylistically words can be roughly subdivided into literary, neutral and colloquial layers.[1]

The greater part of the l i t e r a r y l a y e r of Modern English vocabulary are words of general use, possessing no specific stylistic reference and known as n e u t r a l w o r d s . Against the background of neutral words we can distinguish two major subgroups — st a n d a r d c o l l o q u i a l words and l i t e r a r y or b o o k i s h words. This may be best illustrated by comparing words almost identical in their denotational meaning, e. g., **'parent — father — dad'.** In comparison with the word **father** which is stylistically neutral, **dad** stands out as colloquial and **parent** is felt as bookish. The stylistic reference of standard colloquial words is clearly observed when we compare them with their neutral synonyms, e.g. **chum — friend, rot — nonsense,** etc. This is also true of literary or bookish words, such as, e.g., **to presume (cf. to suppose), to anticipate (cf. to expect)** and others.

Literary (bookish) words are not stylistically homogeneous. Besides general-literary (bookish) words, e.g. **harmony, calamity, alacrity,** etc., we may single out various specific subgroups, namely: 1) terms **or**

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[1] See the stylistic classification of the English vocabulary in*: I. R. Galperin.* Stylistics. M., 1971, pp. 62-118.

scientific words such as, e g., **renaissance, genocide, teletype,** etc.; 2) poetic words and archaisms such as, e.g., **whilome** — 'formerly', **aught** — 'anything', **ere** — 'before', **albeit** — 'although', **fare** — 'walk', etc., **tarry** — 'remain', **nay** — 'no'; 3) barbarisms and foreign words, such as, e.g., **bon mot** — 'a clever or witty saying', **apropos, faux pas, bouquet,** etc. The colloquial words may be subdivided into:

1) Common colloquial words.

2) Slang, i.e. words which are often regarded as a violation of the norms of Standard English, e.g. **governor** for 'father', **missus** for 'wife', a **gag** for 'a joke', **dotty** for 'insane'.

3) Professionalisms, i.e. words used in narrow groups bound by the same occupation, such as, e.g., **lab** for 'laboratory', **hypo** for 'hypodermic syringe', **a buster** for 'a bomb', etc.

4) Jargonisms, i.e. words marked by their use within a particular social group and bearing a secret and cryptic character, e.g. **a sucker** — 'a person who is easily deceived', **a squiffer** — 'a concertina'.

5) Vulgarisms, i.e. coarse words that are not generally used in public, e.g. **bloody, hell, damn, shut up,** etc.

6) Dialectical words, e.g. **lass, kirk,** etc.

7) Colloquial coinages, e.g. **newspaperdom, allrightnik,** etc.

§ 11. Emotive Charge and Stylistic Reference

Stylistic reference and emotive charge of words are closely connected and to a certain degree interdependent.[1] As a rule stylistically coloured words, i.e. words belonging to all stylistic layers except the neutral style are observed to possess a considerable emotive charge. That can be proved by comparing stylistically labelled words with their neutral synonyms. The colloquial words **daddy, mammy** are more emotional than the neutral **father, mother;** the slang words **mum, bob** are undoubtedly more expressive than their neutral counterparts **silent, shilling,** the poetic **yon** and **steed** carry a noticeably heavier emotive charge than their neutral synonyms **there** and **horse.** Words of neutral style, however, may also differ in the degree of emotive charge. We see, e.g., that the words **large, big, tremendous,** though equally neutral as to their stylistic reference are not identical as far as their emotive charge is concerned.

§ 12. Summary and Conclusions

1. In the present book word-meaning is viewed as closely connected but not identical with either the sound-form of the word or with its referent.

Proceeding from the basic assumption of the objectivity of language and from the understanding of linguistic units as two-facet entities we regard meaning as the inner facet of the word, inseparable from its outer facet which is indispensable to the existence of meaning and to intercommunication.

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[1] It should be pointed out that the interdependence and interrelation of the emotive and stylistic component of meaning is one of the debatable problems in semasiology. Some linguists go so far as to claim that the stylistic reference of the word lies outside the scope of its meaning. (See, e. g., *В. А. Звягинцев.* Семасиология. М, 1957, с. 167 — 185).

2. The two main types of word-meaning are the grammatical and the lexical meanings found in all words. The interrelation of these two types of meaning may be different in different groups of words.

3. Lexical meaning is viewed as possessing denotational and connotational components.

The denotational component is actually what makes communication possible. The connotational component comprises the stylistic reference and the emotive charge proper to the word as a linguistic unit in the given language system. The subjective emotive implications acquired by words in speech lie outside the semantic structure of words as they may vary from speaker to speaker but are not proper to words as units of language.

WORD-MEANING AND MEANING IN MORPHEMES

In modern linguistics it is more or less universally recognised that the smallest two-facet language unit possessing both sound-form and meaning is the morpheme. Yet, whereas the phono-morphological structure of language has been subjected to a thorough linguistic analysis, the problem of types of meaning and semantic peculiarities of morphemes has not been properly investigated. A few points of interest, however, may be mentioned in connection with some recent observations in "this field.

§ 13. Lexical Meaning

It is generally assumed that one of the semantic features of some morphemes which distinguishes them from words is that they do not possess grammatical meaning. Comparing the word man, e.g., and the morpheme man-(in manful, manly, etc.) we see that we cannot find in this morpheme the grammatical meaning of case and number observed in the word **man.** Morphemes are consequently regarded as devoid of grammatical meaning.

Many English words consist of a single root-morpheme, so when we say that most morphemes possess lexical meaning we imply mainly the root-morphemes in such words. It may be easily observed that the lexical meaning of the word boy and the lexical meaning of the root-morpheme boy — in such words as **boyhood**, **boyish** and others is very much the same.

Just as in words lexical meaning in morphemes may also be analysed into denotational and connotational components. The connotational component of meaning may be found not only in root-morphemes but in affixational morphemes as well. Endearing and diminutive suffixes, e.g. -**ette (kitchenette), -ie(y) (dearie, girlie), -ling (duckling),** clearly bear a heavy emotive charge. Comparing the derivational morphemes with the same denotational meaning we see that they sometimes differ in connotation only. The morphemes, e.g. **-ly, -like, -ish,** have the denotational meaning of similarity in the words **womanly, womanlike, womanish**, the connotational component, however, differs and ranges from the positive evaluation in **-ly (womanly)** to the derogatory in **-ish (womanish):**[1] Stylistic reference may also be found in morphemes of differ-

[1] Compare the Russian equivalents: женственный — женский — женоподобный, бабий.

ent types. **The** stylistic value of such derivational morphemes as, **e.g. -ine (chlorine), -oid (rhomboid), -escence (effervescence)** is clearly perceived to be bookish or scientific.

§ 14. Functional (Parf-of-Speech) Meaning

The lexical meaning of the affixal morphemes is, as a rule, of a more generalising character. The suffix **-er**, e.g. carries the meaning 'the agent, the doer of the action', the suffix**-less** denotes lack or absence of something. It should also be noted that the root-morphemes do not "possess the part-of-speech meaning (cf. *manly, manliness,* to **man);** in derivational morphemes the lexical and the part-of-speech meaning may be so blended as to be almost inseparable. In the derivational morphemes **-er** and **-less** discussed above the lexical meaning is just as clearly perceived as their part-of-speech meaning. In some morphemes, however, for instance **-ment or -ous (as** in **movement or laborious),** it is the part-of-speech meaning that prevails, the lexical meaning is but vaguely felt.

In some cases the functional meaning predominates. The morpheme **-ice** in the word **justice,** e.g., seems to serve principally to transfer the part-of-speech meaning of the morpheme **just** — into another class and namely that of noun. It follows that some morphemes possess only the functional meaning, i.e. they are the carriers of part-of-speech meaning.

§ 15. Differential Meaning

Besides the types of meaning proper both to words and morphemes the latter may possess specific meanings of their own, namely the differential and the distributional meanings. D i f f e r e n t i a l m e a n i n g is the semantic component that serves to distinguish one word from all others containing identical morphemes. In words consisting of two or more morphemes, one of the constituent morphemes always has differential meaning. In such words as, e. g., **bookshelf,** the morpheme **-shelf** serves to distinguish the word from other words containing the morpheme **book-,** e.g. from **book-case, book-counter** and so on. In other compound words, e.g. **notebook,** the morpheme **note-** will be seen to possess the differential meaning which distinguishes **notebook** from **exercisebook, copybook,** etc. It should be clearly understood that denotational and differential meanings are not mutually exclusive. Naturally the morpheme **-shelf** in **bookshelf** possesses denotational meaning which is the dominant component of meaning. There are cases, however, when it is difficult or even impossible to assign any denotational meaning to the morpheme, e.g. **cran-** in **cranberry,** yet it clearly bears a relationship to the meaning of the word as a whole through the differential component (cf. **cranberry** and **blackberry, gooseberry)** which in this particular case comes to the fore. One of the disputable points of morphological analysis is whether such words as **deceive, receive, perceive** consist of two component morphemes.[1] If we assume, however, that the morpheme **-ceive** may be singled out it follows that the meaning of the morphemes **re-, per, de-** is exclusively differential, as, at least synchronically, there is no denotational meaning proper to them.

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[1] See 'Word-Structure', § 2, p. 90.

§ 16. Distributional

Distributional meaning is the meaning **of** the order and arrangement of morphemes making up the word. It is found in all words containing more than one morpheme. The word **singer,** e.g., is composed of two morphemes **sing-** and **-er** both of which possess the denotational meaning and namely 'to make musical sounds' **(sing-)** and 'the doer of the action' **(-er)**. There is one more element of meaning, however, that enables us to understand the word and that is the pattern of arrangement of the component morphemes. A different arrangement of the same morphemes, e.g. ***ersing,** would make the word meaningless. Compare also **boyishness** and ***nessishboy** in which a different pattern of arrangement of the three morphemes **boy-ish-ness** turns it into a meaningless string of sounds.[1]

WORD-MEANING AND MOTIVATION

From what was said about the distributional meaning in morphemes it follows that there are cases when we can observe a direct connection between the structural pattern of the word and its meaning. This relationship between morphemic structure and meaning is termed morphological motivation.

§ 17. Morphological Moti-

The main criterion in morphological motivation is the relationship between morphemes. Hence all one-morpheme words, e.g. **sing, tell, eat,** are by definition non-motivated. In words composed of more than one morpheme the carrier of the word-meaning is the combined meaning of the component morphemes and the meaning of the structural pattern of the word. This can be illustrated by the semantic analysis of different words composed of phonemically identical morphemes with identical lexical meaning. The words **finger-ring** and **ring-finger,** e.g., contain two morphemes, the combined lexical meaning of which is the same; the difference in the meaning of these words can be accounted **for** by the difference in the arrangement of the component morphemes.

If we can observe a direct connection between the structural pattern of the word and its meaning, we say that this word is motivated. Consequently words such as **singer, rewrite, eatable,** etc., are described as motivated. If the connection between the structure of the lexical unit and **its** meaning is completely arbitrary and conventional, we speak **of** non-motivated or idiomatic words, e.g. **matter, repeat.**

It should be noted in passing that morphological motivation is "relative", i.e. the degree of motivation may be different. Between the extremes of complete motivation and lack of motivation, there exist various grades of partial motivation. The word **endless,** e.g., is completely motivated as both the lexical meaning of the component morphemes and the meaning of the pattern is perfectly transparent. The word **cranberry is**

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[1] *А. И. Смирницкий.* Лексикология английского языка. М., 1956, с, 18 — 20.

only partially motivated because of the absence of the lexical meaning in the morpheme **cran-.**

One more point should be noted in connection with the problem in question. A synchronic approach to morphological motivation presupposes historical changeability of structural patterns and the ensuing degree of motivation. Some English place-names may serve as an illustration. Such place-names as **Newtowns** and **Wildwoods** are lexically and structurally motivated and may be easily analysed into component morphemes. Other place-names, e.g. **Essex, Norfolk, Sutton,** are non-motivated. To the average English speaker these names are non-analysable lexical units like **sing** or **tell.** However, upon examination the student of language history will perceive their components to be **East+Saxon, North+Folk and South+Town** which shows that in earlier days they .were just as completely motivated as **Newtowns** or **Wildwoods** are in Modern English.

§ 18. Phonetical Motivation Motivation is usually thought of as proceeding from form or structure to meaning. Morphological motivation as discussed above implies a direct connection between the morphological structure of the word and its meaning. Some linguists, however, argue that words can be motivated in more than one way and suggest another type of motivation which may be described as a direct connection between the phonetical structure of the word and its meaning. It is argued that speech sounds may suggest spatial and visual dimensions, shape, size, etc. Experiments carried out by a group of linguists showed that back open vowels are suggestive of big size, heavy weight, dark colour, etc. The experiments were repeated many times and the results were always the same. Native speakers of English were asked to listen to pairs of antonyms from an unfamiliar (or non-existent) language unrelated to English, e.g. **ching — chung** and then to try to find the English equivalents, e.g. **light — heavy, (big — small,** etc.), which foreign word translates which English word. About 90 per cent of English speakers felt that **ching** is the equivalent of the English **light** (small) and **chung** of its antonym **heavy** (large).

It is also pointed out that this type of phonetical motivation may be observed in the phonemic structure of some newly coined words. For example, the small transmitter that specialises in high frequencies is called 'a tweeter', the transmitter for low frequences 'a woofer'.

Another type of phonetical motivation is represented by such words as **swish, sizzle, boom, splash,** etc. These words may be defined as phonetically motivated because the soundclusters [swiʃ, sizl, bum, splæʃ] are a direct imitation of the sounds these words denote. It is also suggested that sounds themselves may be emotionally expressive which accounts for the phonetical motivation in certain words. Initial [f] and [p], e.g., are felt as expressing scorn, contempt, disapproval or disgust which can be illustrated by the words **pooh! fie! fiddle-sticks, flim-flam** and the like. The sound-cluster [iŋ] is imitative of sound or swift movement as can be seen in words **ring,** sing, **swing, fling,** etc. Thus, phonetically such words may be considered motivated.

This hypothesis seems to require verification. This of course is not to

deny that there are some words which involve phonetical symbolism: these are the onomatopoeic, imitative or echoic words such as the English **cuckoo, splash** and **whisper:** And even these are not completely motivated but seem to be conventional to quite a large extent (cf. *кукареку* and **cock-a-doodle-doo). In** any case words like these constitute only a small and untypical minority in the language. As to symbolic value of certain sounds, this too is disproved by the fact that identical sounds and sound-clusters may be found in words of widely different meaning, e.g. initial [p] and [f], are found in words expressing contempt and disapproval **(fie, pooh)** and also in such words as **ploughs fine,** and others. The sound-cluster [in] which is supposed to be imitative of sound or swift movement **(ring, swing)** is also observed in semantically different words, e.g. **thing, king,** and others.

§ 19. Semantic Motivation The term m o t i v a t i o n is also used by a number of linguists to denote the relationship between the central and the coexisting meaning or meanings of a word which are understood as a metaphorical extension of the central meaning. Metaphorical extension may be viewed as generalisation of the denotational meaning of a word permitting it to include new referents which are in some way like the original class of referents. Similarity of various aspects and/or functions of different classes of referents may account for the semantic motivation of a number of minor meanings. For example, a woman who has given birth is called **a mother;** by extension, any act that gives birth is associated with being **a mother, e.g.** in **Necessity is the mother of invention.** The same principle can be observed in other meanings: a mother looks after a child, so that we can say **She became a mother to her orphan nephew,** or **Romulus and Remus were supposedly mothered by a wolf.** Cf. also **mother country, a mother's mark (=a birthmark), mother tongue,** etc. Such metaphoric extension may be observed in the so-called trite metaphors, such as **burn with anger, break smb's heart, jump at a chance,** etc.

If metaphorical extension is observed in the relationship of the central and a minor word meaning it is often observed in the relationship between its synonymic or antonymic meanings. Thus, a few years ago the phrases a **meeting at the summit, a summit meeting** appeared in the newspapers.

Cartoonists portrayed the participants of such summit meetings sitting on mountain tops. Now when lesser diplomats confer the talks are called **foothill meetings. In** this way both **summit** and its antonym **foothill** undergo the process of metaphorical extension.

§ 20. Summary and Conclusions 1. Lexical meaning with its denotational and connotational components may be found in morphemes of different types. The denotational meaning in affixal morphemes may be rather vague and abstract, the lexical meaning and the part-of-speech meaning tending to blend.

2. It is suggested that in addition to lexical meaning morphemes may contain specific types of meaning: differential, functional and distributional.

3. Differential meaning in morphemes is the semantic component

which serves to distinguish one word from other words of similar morphemic structure. Differential and denotational meanings are not mutually exclusive.

4. Functional meaning is the semantic component that serves primarily to refer the word to a certain part of speech.

5. Distributional meaning is the meaning of the pattern of the arrangement of the morphemes making up the word. Distributional meaning is to be found in all words composed of more than one morpheme. It may be the dominant semantic component in words containing morphemes deprived of denotational meaning.

6. Morphological motivation implies a direct connection between the lexical meaning of the component morphemes, the pattern of their arrangement and the meaning of the word. The degree of morphological motivation may be different varying from the extreme of complete motivation to lack of motivation.

7. Phonetical motivation implies a direct connection between the phonetic structure of the word and its meaning. Phonetical motivation is not universally recognised in modern linguistic science.

8. Semantic motivation implies a direct connection between the central and marginal meanings of the word. This connection may be regarded as a metaphoric extension of the central meaning based on the similarity of different classes of referents denoted by the word.

CHANGE Of MEANING

Word-meaning is liable to change in the course of the historical development of language. Changes of lexical meaning may be illustrated by a diachronic semantic analysis of many commonly used English words. The word **fond** ***(OE.*** **fond)** used to mean 'foolish', 'foolishly credulous'; **glad** *(OE,* **glaed)** had the meaning of 'bright', 'shining' and so on.

Change of meaning has been thoroughly studied and as a matter of fact monopolised the attention of all semanticists whose work up to the early 1930's was centered almost exclusively on the description and classification of various changes of meaning. Abundant language data can be found in almost all the books dealing with semantics. Here we shall confine the discussion to a brief outline of the problem as it is viewed in modern linguistic science.

To avoid the ensuing confusion of terms and concepts it is necessary to discriminate between the causes of semantic change, the results and the nature of the process of change of meaning.[1] These are three closely bound up, but essentially different aspects of one and the same problem.

Discussing the causes of semantic change we concentrate on the factors bringing about -this change and attempt to find out w h y the word changed its meaning. Analysing the nature of semantic change we seek

i See *St. Ullmann.* The Principles of Semantics. Chapter 8, Oxford, 1963.

to clarify the process of this change and describe **how** various changes of meaning were brought about. Our aim in investigating the results of semantic change is to find out w h a t was changed, i.e. we compare the resultant and the original meanings and describe the difference between them mainly in terms of the changes of the denotational components.

§ 21. Causes of Semantic Chang

The factors accounting for semantic changes may be roughly subdivided into two groups: a) extra-linguistic and b) linguistic causes.

By extra-linguistic causes we mean various changes in the life of the speech community, changes in economic and social structure, changes in ideas, scientific concepts, way of life and other spheres of human activities as reflected in word meanings. Although objects, institutions, concepts, etc. change in the course of time in many cases the soundform of the words which denote them is retained but the meaning of the words is changed. The word **car,** e.g., ultimately goes back to Latin **carrus** which meant 'a four-wheeled wagon' *(ME.* **carre)** but now that other means of transport are used it denotes 'a motor-car', 'a railway carriage' (in the USA), 'that portion of an airship, or balloon which is intended to carry personnel, cargo or equipment'.

Some changes of meaning are due to what may be described as purely linguistic causes, i.e. factors acting within the language system. The commonest form which this influence takes is the so-called ellipsis. In a phrase made up of two words one of these is omitted and its meaning is transferred to its partner. The verb **to starve,** e.g., in Old English (OE. steorfan) had the meaning 'to die' and was habitually used in collocation with the word **hunger *(ME.* sterven of hunger).** Already in the 16th century the verb itself acquired the meaning 'to die of hunger'. Similar semantic changes may be observed in Modern English when the meaning of one word is transferred to another because they habitually occur together in speech.

Another linguistic cause is discrimination of synonyms which can be illustrated by the semantic development of a number of words. The word **land,** e.g., in Old English *(OE.* **land)** meant both 'solid part of earth's surface' and 'the territory of a nation'. When in the Middle English period the word **country** *(OFr.* **contree)** was borrowed as its synonym, the meaning of the word **land** was somewhat altered and 'the territory of **a** nation' came to be denoted mainly by the borrowed word **country.**

Some semantic changes may be accounted for by the influence of a peculiar factor usually referred to as linguistic analogy. It was found out, e.g., that if one of the members of a synonymic set acquires a new meaning other members of this set change their meanings too. It was observed, e.g., that all English adverbs which acquired the meaning 'rapidly' (in a certain period of time — before 1300) always develop the meaning 'immediately', similarly verbs synonymous with **catch, e.g. grasp, get,** etc., by semantic extension acquired another meaning — 'to understand'.[1]

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[1] See 'Semasiology', § 19, p. 27,

§ 22. Nature of Semantic Chang

Generally speaking, a necessary condition of any semantic change, no matter what its cause, is some connection, some association between the old meaning and the new. There are two kinds of association involved as a rule in various semantic changes namely: a) similarity of meanings, and b) contiguity of meanings.

S i m i l a r i t y of m e a n i n g s or metaphor may be described as a semantic process of associating two referents, one of which in some way resembles the other. The word **hand,** e.g., acquired in the 16th century the meaning of 'a pointer of a clock of a watch' because of the similarity of one of the functions performed by the hand (to point at something) and the function of the clockpointer. Since metaphor is based on the perception of similarities it is only natural that when an analogy is obvious, it should give rise to a metaphoric meaning. This can be observed in the wide currency of metaphoric meanings of words denoting parts of the human body in various languages (cf. 'the leg of the table', 'the foot of the hill', etc.). Sometimes it is similarity of form, outline, etc. that underlies the metaphor. The words **warm** and **cold** began to denote certain qualities of human voices because of some kind of similarity between these qualities and warm and cold temperature. It is also usual to perceive similarity between colours and emotions.

It has also been observed that in many speech communities colour terms, e.g. the words **black** and **white,** have metaphoric meanings in addition to the literal denotation of colours.

C o n t i g u i t y of meanings or metonymy may be described as the semantic process of associating two referents one of which makes part of the other or is closely connected with it.

, This can be perhaps best illustrated by the use of the word **tongue** — 'the organ of speech' in the meaning of 'language' (as in **mother tongue;** cf. also *L.* **lingua,** *Russ. язык).* The word **bench** acquired the meaning 'judges, magistrates' because it was on the **bench** that the judges used to sit in law courts, similarly **the House** acquired the meaning of 'members of the House' **(Parliament).**

It is generally held that metaphor plays a more important role in the change of meaning than metonymy. A more detailed analysis would show that there are some semantic changes that fit into more than the two groups discussed above. A change of meaning, e.g., may be brought about by the association between the sound-forms of two words. The word **boon,** e.g.", originally meant 'prayer, petition', 'request', but then came to denote 'a thing prayed or asked for'. Its current meaning is 'a blessing, an advantage, a thing to be thanked for.' The change of meaning was probably due to the similarity to the sound-form of the adjective **boon** (an Anglicised form of French **bon** denoting 'good, nice').

Within metaphoric and metonymic changes we can single out various subgroups. Here, however, we shall confine ourselves to a very general outline of the main types of semantic association as discussed above. A more detailed analysis of the changes of meaning and the nature of such changes belongs in the diachronic or historical lexicology and lies outside the scope of the present textbook.

§ 23. Results of Semantic Chang

Results of semantic change can be generally observed in the changes of the denotational meaning of the word (restriction and extension of meaning) or in the alteration of its connotational component (amelioration and deterioration of meaning).

C h a n g e s in t h e d e n o t a t i o n a l m e a n i n g may result in the restriction of the types **or** range of referents denoted by the word. This may be illustrated by the semantic development of the word **hound** ***(OE.*** **hund)** which used to denote 'a dog of any breed' but now denotes only 'a dog used in the chase'. This is also the case with the word **fowl** ***(OE.*** **fuzol, fuzel)** which in old English denoted 'any bird', but in Modern English denotes 'a domestic hen or cock'. This is generally described as "restriction of meaning" and if the word with the new meaning comes to be used in the specialised vocabulary of some limited group within the speech community it is usual to speak of s p e c i a l i s a t i o n of m e a n i n g . For example, we can observe restriction and specialisation of meaning in the case of the verb **to glide** ***(OE.*** **glidan)** which had the meaning 'to move gently and smoothly' and has now acquired a restricted and specialised meaning 'to fly with no engine' (cf. **a glider).**

Changes in the denotational meaning may also result in the application of the word to a wider variety of referents. This is commonly described as e x t e n s i o n of m e a n i n g and may be illustrated by the word **target** which originally meant 'a small round shield' (a diminutive of **targe, cf.** ***ON.*** **targa)** but now means 'anything that is fired at' and also figuratively 'any result aimed at'.

If the word with the extended meaning passes from the specialised vocabulary into common use, we describe the result of the semantic change as the g e n e r a l i s a t i o n of m e a n i n g . The word **camp,** e.g., which originally was used only as a military term and meant 'the place where troops are lodged in tents' (cf. *L.* campus — 'exercising ground for the army) extended and generalised its meaning and now denotes 'temporary quarters' (of travellers, nomads, etc.).

As can be seen from the examples discussed above it is mainly the denotational component of the lexical meaning that is affected while the connotational component remains unaltered. There are other cases, however, when the changes in the connotational meaning come to the fore. These changes, as a rule accompanied by a change in the denotational' component, may be subdivided into two main groups: a) p e j o r a t i v e d e v e l o p m e n t or the acquisition by the word of some derogatory emotive charge, and b) a m e l i o r a t i v e d e v e l o p m e n t or the improvement of the connotational component of meaning. The semantic change in the word **boor** may serve to illustrate the first group. This word was originally used to denote 'a villager, a peasant' (cf. *OE.* **zebur** 'dweller') and then acquired a derogatory, contemptuous connotational meaning and came to denote 'a clumsy or ill-bred fellow'. The ameliorative development of the connotational meaning may be observed in the change of the semantic structure of the word **minister** which in one of its meanings originally denoted 'a servant, an attendant',

but now — 'a civil servant of higher rank, a person administering a department of state or accredited by one state to another'.

It is of interest to note that in derivational clusters a change in the connotational meaning of one member doe's not necessarily affect a the others. This peculiarity can be observed in the words accident an accidental. The lexical meaning of the noun accident has undergone pejorative development and denotes not only 'something that happens by chance', but usually'something unfortunate'. The derived adjective accidental does not possess in its semantic structure this negative connotational meaning (cf. also fortune: bad fortune, good fortune and fortunate).

§ 24. Interrelation of Causes, Nature and Results of Semantic Change

As can be inferred from the analysis of various changes of word-meanings they can be classified according to the social causes that bring about change of meaning (socio-linguistic classification), the nature of these changes (psychological classification) and the results of semantic changes (logical classification). Here it is suggested that causes, nature and results of semantic changes should be viewed as three essentially different but inseparable aspects of one and the same linguistic phenomenon as a change of meaning may be investigated from the point of view of its cause, nature and its consequences.

Essentially the same causes may bring about different results, e.g the semantic development in the word knight *(OE.* cniht) from 'a boy servant' to 'a young warrior' and eventually to the meaning it possesses in Modern English is due to extra-linguistic causes just as the semantic change in the word boor, but the results are different. In the case of **book** we observe pejorative development whereas in the case of **knight** we observe amelioration of the connotational component. And conversely, different causes may lead to the same result. Restriction of meaning, for example, may be the result of the influence of extra-linguistic factors as in the case of glide (progress of science and technique) and also of purely linguistic causes (discrimination of synonyms) as is the case with the word **fowl**. Changes of essentially identical nature, e. g. similarity of referent as the basis of association, may bring about different results, e.g. extension of meaning as in target and also restriction of meaning as in the word **fowl**.

To avoid terminological confusion it is suggested that the terms r e s t r i c t i o n and e x t e n s i o n or a m e l i o r a t i o n and d e t e r i o r a t i o n of meaning should be used to describe only t h e r e s u l t s of semantic change irrespective of its nature or causes. When we discuss metaphoric or metonymic transfer of meaning we imply t h e n a t u r e of the semantic change whatever its results may be. It also follows that a change of meaning should be described so as to satisfy all the three criteria.

In the discussion of semantic changes we confined ourselves only to the type of change which results in the disappearance of the old meaning which is replaced by the new one. The term c h a n g e of meani n g however is also used to describe a change in the number (as a rule

an increase) and arrangement of word-meanings without a single meaning disappearing from its semantic structure.[1]

§ 25. Summary and Conclusions

1. Not only the sound-form but also the meaning of the word is changed in the course of the historical development of language. The factors causing semantic changes may be roughly subdivided into extra-linguistic and linguistic causes.

2. Change of meaning is effected through association between the existing meaning and the new. This association is generally based on the similarity of meaning (metaphor) or on the contiguity of meaning (metonymy).

3. Semantic changes in the denotational component may bring about the extension or the restriction of meaning. The change in the connotational component may result in the pejorative or ameliorative development of meaning.

4. Causes, nature and result of semantic changes should be regarded as three essentially different but closely connected aspects of the same linguistic phenomenon.

MEANING AND POLYSEMY

So far we have been discussing the concept of meaning, different types of word-meanings and the changes they undergo in the course of the historical development of the English language. When analysing the word-meaning we observe, however, that words as a rule are not units of a single meaning. Monosemantic words, i.e. words having only one meaning are comparatively few in number, these are mainly scientific terms, such -as **hydrogen, molecule** and the like. The bulk of English words are p o l y s e m a n t i c , that is to say possess more than one meaning. The actual number of meanings of the commonly used words ranges from five to about a hundred. In fact, the commoner the word the more meanings it has.

§ 26. Semantic Structure of Polysemantic Words

The word **table,** e.g., has at least nine meanings in Modern English: 1. a piece of furniture; 2. the persons seated at a table; 3. *sing.* the food put on a table, meals; 4. a thin flat piece of stone, metal, wood, etc.; 5. *pl.* slabs of stone; 6. words cut into them or written on them (the ten tables); [2] 7. an orderly arrangement of facts, figures, etc.; 8. part of a machine-tool on which the work is put to be operated on; 9. a level area, a plateau. Each of the individual meanings can be described in terms of the types of meanings discussed above. We may, e.g., analyse the eighth meaning of the word **table** into the part-of-speech meaning — that of the noun (which presupposes the grammatical meanings of number and case) combined with the lexical meaning made up of two components The denotational semantic component which can be interpreted

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[1] For details see 'Semasiology', §29, p. 36.

[2] десять заповедей *(библ.)*

as the dictionary definition (part of a machine-tool on which the work is put) and the connotational component which can be identified as a specific stylistic reference of this particular meaning of the word **table** (technical terminology). Cf. the Russian *планшайба, стол станка.*

In polysemantic words, however, we are faced not with the problem of analysis of individual meanings, but primarily with the problem of the interrelation and interdependence of the various meanings in the semantic structure of one and the same word.

§ 27. Diachronic Approach If polysemy is viewed diachronically, it is understood as the growth and development of or, in general, as a change in the semantic structure of the word.

Polysemy in diachronic terms implies that a word may retain its previous meaning or meanings and at the same time acquire one or several new ones. Then the problem of the interrelation and interdependence of individual meanings of a polysemantic word may be roughly formulated as follows: did the word always possess all its meanings or did some of them appear earlier than the others? are the new meanings dependent on the meanings already existing? and if so what is the nature of this dependence? can we observe any changes in the arrangement of the meanings? and so on.

In the course of a diachronic semantic analysis of the polysemantic word **table** we find that of all the meanings it has in Modern English, the primary meaning is 'a flat slab of stone or wood', which is proper to the word in the Old English period (*OE.* **tabule** from *L.* **tabula);** all other meanings are secondary as they are derived from the primary meaning of the word and appeared later than the primary meaning,

The terms s e c o n d a r y and d e r i v e d meaning are to a certain extent synonymous. When we describe the meaning of the word as "secondary" we imply that it could not have appeared before the primary meaning was in existence. When we refer to the meaning as "derived" we imply not only that, but also that it is dependent on the primary meaning and somehow subordinate to it. In the case of the word **table,** e.g., we may say that the meaning 'the food put on the table' is a secondary meaning as it is derived from the meaning 'a piece of furniture (on which meals are laid out)'.

It follows that the main source of polysemy is a change in the semantic structure of the word.

Polysemy may also arise from homonymy. When two words become identical in sound-form, the meanings of the two words are felt as making up one semantic structure. Thus, the human **ear** and the **ear** of corn are from the diachronic point of view two homonyms. One is etymologically related to *L.* **auris**, the other to *L.* **acus, aceris**. Synchronically, however, they are perceived as two meanings of one and the same word. The **ear** of **corn** is felt to be a metaphor of the usual type (cf. the eye of the needle, the foot of the mountain) and consequently as one of the derived or, synchronically, minor meanings of the polysemantic word **ear.**[1] Cases

[1] In dictionaries **ear** *(L.* **auris)** and **ear** ***(L.*** **acus, aceris)** are usually treated as **two** homonymous words as dictionary compilers as a rule go by etymological criterion.

of this type are comparatively rare and, as a rule, illustrative of the vagueness of the border-line between polysemy and homonymy.

Semantic changes result as a rule in new meanings being added to the ones already existing in the semantic structure of the word. Some of the old meanings may become obsolete or even disappear, but the bulk of English words tend to an increase in number of meanings.

§ 28. Synchronic. Approach

Synchronically we understand polysemy as the coexistence of various meanings of the same word at a certain historical period of the development of the English language. In this case the problem of the interrelation and interdependence of individual meanings making up the semantic structure of the word must be investigated along different lines.

In connection with the polysemantic word table discussed above we are mainly concerned with the following problems: are all the nine meanings equally representative of the semantic structure of this word? Is the order in which the meanings are enumerated (or recorded) in dictionaries purely arbitrary or does it reflect the comparative value of individual meanings, the place they occupy in the semantic structure of the word table? Intuitively we feel that the meaning that first occurs to us whenever we hear or see the word table, is ‘an article of furniture’. This emerges as the basic or the central meaning of the word and all other meanings are minor in comparison.[1]

It should be noted that whereas the basic meaning occurs in various and widely different contexts, minor meanings are observed only in certain contexts, e.g. ‘to keep- the table amused’, ‘table of contents’ and so on. Thus we can assume that the meaning ‘a piece of furniture’ occupies the central place in the semantic structure of the word table. As to other meanings of this word we find it hard to grade them in order of their comparative value. Some may, for example, consider the second and the third meanings (‘the persons seated at the table’ and ‘the food put on the table’) as equally “important”, some may argue that the meaning ‘food put on the table’ should be given priority. As synchronically there is no objective criterion to go by, we may find it difficult in some cases to single out even the basic meanings since two or more meanings of the word may be felt as equally “central” in its semantic structure. If we analyse the verb to get, e.g., which of the two meanings ‘to obtain’ (get a letter, knowledge, some sleep) or ‘to arrive’ (get to London, to get into bed) shall we regard as the basic meaning of this word?

A more objective criterion of the comparative value of individual meanings seems to be the frequency of their occurrence in speech. There is a tendency in modern linguistics to interpret the concept of the central meaning in terms of the frequency of occurrence of this meaning. In a study of five million words made by a group of linguistic scientists it was found that the frequency value of individual meanings is different. As far as the word table is concerned the meaning ‘a piece of furniture’ possesses

[1] There are several terms used to denote approximately the same concepts: basic (major) meaning as opposed to minor meanings or central as opposed to marginal meanings. Here the terms are used interchangeably.

the highest frequency value and makes up 52% of all the uses of this word, the meaning 'an orderly arrangement of facts' (table of contents) accounts for 35%, all other meanings between them make up just 13% of the uses of this word.[1]

Of great importance is the stylistic stratification of meanings of **a** polysemantic word as individual meanings may differ in their stylistic reference. Stylistic (or regional) status of monosemantic words is easily perceived. For instance the word **daddy** can be referred to the colloquial stylistic layer, the word **parent** to the bookish. The word **movie** is recognisably American and **barnie** is Scottish. Polysemantic words as a rule cannot be given any such restrictive labels. To do it we must state the meaning in which they are used. There is nothing colloquial or slangy or American about the words **yellow** denoting colour, **jerk** in the meaning 'a sudden movement or stopping of movement' as far as these particular meanings are concerned. But when **yellow** is used in the meaning of 'sensational' or when **jerk** is used in the meaning of 'an odd person' it is both slang and American.

Stylistically neutral meanings are naturally more frequent. The polysemantic words **worker** and **hand,** e.g., may both denote 'a man who does manual work', but whereas this is the most frequent and stylistically neutral meaning of the word **worker,** it is observed only in 2.8% of all occurrences of the word **hand,** in the semantic structure of which the meaning 'a man who does manual work' **(to hire factory hands)** is one of its marginal meanings characterised by colloquial stylistic reference.

It should also be noted that the meaning which has the highest frequency is the one representative of the whole semantic structure of the word. This can be illustrated by analysing the words under discussion. **For** example the meaning representative of the word **hand** which first occurs to us is 'the end of the arm beyond the wrist'. This meaning accounts for at least 77% of all occurrences of this word. This can also be observed by comparing the word **hand** with its Russian equivalents. We take it for granted that the English word **hand** is correlated with the Russian *рука,* but not with the Russian *рабочий* though this particular equivalent may also be found, e.g. in the case of **to hire factory hands.**

§ 29. Historical Changeability of Semantic Structure

From the discussion of the diachronic and synchronic approach to polysemy it follows that the interrelation and **the** interdependence of individual meanings of the word may be described from two different angles. These two approaches are not mutually exclusive but are viewed here as supplementing each other in the linguistic analysis of a polysemantic word.

It should be noted, however, that as the semantic structure is never static, the relationship between the diachronic and synchronic evaluation of individual meanings may be different in different periods of the historical development of language. This is perhaps best illustrated by

[1] All data concerning semantic frequencies are reproduced from *M. A. West.* General Service List of English Words. London, 1959.

the semantic analysis of the word **revolution.** Originally, when this word first appeared in *ME.* 1350 — 1450 it denoted 'the revolving motion of celestial bodies' and also 'the return or recurrence of a point or a period of time'. Later on the word acquired other meanings and among them that of 'a complete overthrow of the established government or regime' and also 'a complete change, a great reversal of conditions. The meaning 'revolving motion' in *ME.* was both primary (diachronically) and central' (synchronically). In Modern English, however, while we can still diachronically describe this meaning as primary it is no longer synchronically central as the arrangement of meanings in the semantic structure of the word revolution has considerably changed and its central and the most frequent meaning is 'a complete overthrow of the established government or the regime'. It follows that the primary meaning of the word may become synchronically one of its minor meanings and diachronically a secondary meaning may become the central meaning of the word. The actual arrangement of meanings in the semantic structure of any word in any historical period is the result of the semantic development of this word within the system of the given language.

§ 30. Polysemy and Arbitrariness of Semantic Structure

The words of different languages which are similar or identical in lexical meaning, especially in the denotational meaning are termed c o r r e l a t e d w o r d s. The wording of the habitual question of English learners, e.g. "What is the English for *стол?",* and the answer "The English for *стол* is 'table"' also shows that we take the words **table** *стол* to be correlated. Semantic correlation, however, is not to be interpreted as semantic identity. From what was said about the arbitrariness of the sound-form of words and complexity of their semantic structure, it can be inferred that one-to-one correspondence between the semantic structure of correlated polysemantic words in different languages is scarcely possible.[1]

Arbitrariness of linguistic signs implies that one cannot deduce from the sound-form of a word the meaning or meanings it possesses. Languages differ not only in the sound-form of words; their systems of meanings are also different. It follows that the semantic structures of correlated words of two different languages cannot be coextensive, i.e. can never "cover each other". A careful analysis invariably shows that semantic relationship between correlated words, especially polysemantic words is very complex.

The actual meanings of polysemantic words and their arrangement in the semantic structure of correlated words in different languages may be altogether different. This may be seen by comparing the semantic structure of correlated polysemantic words in English and in Russian. As a rule it is only the central meaning that is to a great extent identical, all other meanings or the majority of meanings usually differ. If we compare, e.g., the nine meanings of the English word **table** and the meanings of the Russian word *стол,* we shall easily observe not only the difference in the arrangement and the number of meanings making up their

[1] See 'Semasiology', § 1, p. 13,

respective semantic structures, but also the difference in the individual meanings that may, at first sight, appear similar.

table	**стол**
1. a piece of furniture	1. предмет обстановки (сидеть за столом)
2. the persons seated at a table	2. *Ср. арх.* застолица
3. the food put on a table, meals; cooking	3. пища (подаваемая на стол), еда
Note. This meaning is rare in Modern English. Usually the word **board** (or **cooking)** is used.	Note. Commonly used, stylistically neutral.
(Cf. **board and lodging, plain cooking.)**	(стол и квартира, простой, сытный, вегетарианский стол).
4. a flat slab of stone or board 5. slabs of stone (with words written on them or cut into them)	4. *Ср.* плита 5. *Ср.* скрижали
6. *Bibl.* Words cut into slabs of stone (the ten tables).	6. *Ср.* заповеди
7. an orderly arrangement of facts, figures, etc.	7. *Ср.* таблица
8. part of a machine-tool	8. *Ср.* планшайба
9. a level area, plateau	9. *Ср.* плато

As can be seen from the above, only one of the meanings and namely the central meaning 'a piece of furniture' may be described as identical. The denotational meaning 'the food put on the table' although existing in the words of both languages has different connotational components in each of them. The whole of the semantic structure of these words is altogether different. The difference is still more pronounced if we consider all the meanings of the Russian word *стол,* e.g. 'department, section, bureau' (cf. *адресный стол, стол заказов)* not to be found in the semantic structure of the word **table.**

§ 31. Summary and Conclusions

1. The problem of polysemy is mainly the problem of interrelation and interdependence of the various meanings of the same word. Polysemy viewed diachronically is a historical change in the semantic structure of the word resulting in disappearance of some meanings (or) and in new meanings being added to the ones already existing and also in the rearrangement of these meanings in its semantic structure. Polysemy viewed synchronically is understood as coexistence of the various meanings of the same word at a certain historical period and the arrangement of these meanings in the semantic structure of the word.

2. The concepts of central (basic) and marginal (minor) meanings may be interpreted in terms of their relative frequency in speech. The meaning having the highest frequency is usually the one representative of the

semantic structure of the word, i.e. synchronically its central (basic) meaning.

3. As the semantic structure is never static the relationship between the diachronic and synchronic evaluation of the individual meanings of the same word may be different in different periods of the historical development of language.

4. The semantic structure of polysemantic words is not homogeneous as far as the status of individual meanings is concerned. Some meaning (or meanings) is representative of the word in isolation, others are perceived only in certain contexts.

5. The whole of the semantic structure of correlated polysemantic words of different languages can never be identical. Words are felt as correlated if their basic (central) meanings coincide.

POLYSEMY AND HOMONYMY

Words identical in sound-form but different in meaning are traditionally termed homonyms.

Modern English is exceptionally rich in homonymous words and word-forms. It is held that languages where short words abound have more homonyms than those where longer words are prevalent. Therefore it is sometimes suggested that abundance of homonyms in Modern English is to be accounted for by the monosyllabic structure of the commonly used English words.[1]

§ 32. Homonymy of Words and Homonymy of Word-Forms

When analysing different cases of homonymy we find that some words are homonymous in all their forms, i.e. we observe f u l l homonymy of the paradigms of two or more different words, e.g., in **seal**$_1$ — 'a sea animal' and **seal**$_2$ — 'a design printed on paper by means of a stamp'. The paradigm "seal, seal's, seals, seals' " is identical for both of them and gives no indication of whether it is **seal**$_1$ or **seal**$_2$, that we are analysing. In other cases, e.g. **seal**$_1$ — 'a sea animal' and (to) seal, — 'to close tightly', we see that although some individual word- forms are homonymous, the whole of the paradigm is not identical. Compare, for instance, the paradigms:

seal$_1$	**(to) seal**$_3$
seal	seal
seal's	seals
seals	sealed
seals'	sealing, etc.

It is easily observed that only some of the word-forms (e.g. seal, seals, etc.) are homonymous, whereas others (e.g. sealed, sealing) are not. In such cases we cannot speak of homonymous words but only of

[1] Not only words but other linguistic units may be homonymous. Here, however, we are concerned with the homonymy of words and word-forms only, so we shall not touch upon the problem of homonymous affixes or homonymous phrases.

homonymy of individual word-forms or of p a r t i a l h o m o n y m y . This is true of a number of other cases, e.g. compare **find** [faind], **found** [faund], **found** [faund], and **found** [faund], **founded** ['faundid], **founded** ['faundid]; **know** [nou], **knows** [nouz], **knew** [nju:], and **no** [nou]; **nose** [nouz], noses ['nouzis]; **new** [nju:] in which partial homonymy is observed.

§ 33. Classification of Homonyms

Consequently all cases of homonymy may be classified into full and partial homonymy — i.e. homonymy of words and homonymy of individual word-forms.

The bulk of full homonyms are to be found within the same parts of speech (e.g. **seal**$_1$ *n* — **seal**$_2$ *n),* partial homonymy as a rule is observed in word-forms belonging to different parts of speech (e.g. **seal**$_1$ *n* — **seal**$_3$ *v).* This is not to say that partial homonymy is impossible within one part of speech. For instance in the case of the two verbs — **lie** [lai] — 'to be in a horizontal or resting position' and He [lai] — 'to make an untrue statement' — we also find partial homonymy as only two word-forms [lai], [laiz] are homonymous, all other forms of the two verbs are different. Cases of full homonymy may be found in different parts of speech too; e.g. **for** [fo:] — preposition, **for** [fo:] — conjunction and **four** [fo:] — numeral, as these parts of speech have no other word-forms.

Homonyms may be also classified by the type of meaning into lexical, lexico-grammatical and grammatical homonyms. In **seal**$_1$ *n* and **seal**$_2$ *n,* e.g., the part-of-speech meaning of the word and the grammatical meanings of all its forms are identical (cf. **seal** [si:l] Common Case Singular, seal's [si:lz] Possessive Case Singular for both **seal**$_1$ and **seal**$_2$**).** The difference is confined to the lexical meaning only: **seal**$_1$ denotes 'a sea animal', 'the fur of this animal', etc., **seal**$_2$ — 'a design printed on paper, the stamp by which the design is made', etc. So we can say that **seal**$_2$ and **seal**$_1$ are l e x i c a l h o m o n y m s because they differ in lexical meaning.

If we compare **seal**$_1$ — 'a sea animal', and (to) **seal**$_3$ — 'to close tightly, we shall observe not only a difference in the lexical meaning of their homonymous word-forms but a difference in their grammatical meanings as well. Identical sound-forms, i.e. **seals** [si:lz] (Common Case Plural of the noun) and (he) **seals** [si:lz] (third person Singular of the verb) possess each of them different grammatical meanings. As both grammatical and lexical meanings differ we describe these homonymous word-forms as l e x i c o - g r a m m a t i c a l .

Lexico-grammatical homonymy generally implies that the homonyms in question belong to different parts of speech as the part-of-speech meaning is a blend of the lexical and grammatical semantic components. There may be cases however when lexico-grammatical homonymy is observed within the same part of speech, e.g., in the verbs (to) **find** [faind] and (to) **found** [faund], where the homonymic word-forms: **found** [faund] — Past Tense of (to) **find** and **found** [faund] — Present Tense of **(to) found** differ both grammatically and lexically.

Modern English abounds in homonymic word-forms differing in grammatical meaning only. In the paradigms of the majority of verbs the form of the Past Tense is homonymous with the form of Participle II, e.g. **asked** [a:skt] — **asked** [a:skt]; in the paradigm of nouns we usually

find homonymous forms of the Possessive Case Singular and the Common Case Plural, e.g. brother's ['brʌðəz] — **brothers** ['brʌðəz]. It may be easily observed that grammatical homonymy is the homonymy of different word-forms of one and the same word.

The two classifications: full and partial homonymy and lexical, lexico-grammatical and grammatical homonymy are not mutually exclusive. All homonyms may be described on the basis of the two criteria — homonymy of all forms of the word or only some of the word-forms and also by the type of meaning in which homonymous words or word-forms differ. So we speak of the full lexical homonymy of **sea**$_1$ *n* and **seal**$_2$ *n,* of the partial lexical homonymy of **lie**$_1$ *v* and **lie**$_2$ ***v*,** and of the partial lexico-grammatical homonymy of **seal**$_1$ *n* and **seal**$_3$ *v*.

§ 34. Some Peculiarities of Lexico-Grammatical Homonymy

It should be pointed out that in the classification discussed above one of the groups, namely lexico-grammatical homonymy, is not homogeneous. This can be seen by analysing the relationship between two pairs of lexico-grammatical homonyms, e.g.

1. **seal**$_1$ *n* — 'a sea animal'; **seal**$_3$ *v* — 'to close tightly as with a seal';
2. **seal**$_2$ *n* — 'a piece of wax, lead'; **seal**$_3$ *v* — 'toclose tightly as with a seal'.

We can see that **seal**$_1$ *n* and **seal**$_3$ *v* actually differ in both grammatical and lexical meanings. We cannot establish any semantic connection between the meaning 'a sea animal' and 'to close tightly'. The lexical meanings of **seal**$_2$ *n* and **seal**$_3$ *v* are apprehended by speakers as closely related. The noun and the verb both denote something connected with "a piece of wax, lead, etc., a stamp by means of which a design is printed on paper and paper envelopes are tightly closed". Consequently the pair **seal**$_2$ *n* — **seal**$_3$ *v* does not answer the description of homonyms as words or word-forms that sound alike but differ in lexical meaning. This is true of a number of other cases of lexico-grammatical homonymy, e.g. **work** *n* — **(to) work** *v;* **paper** *n* — **(to) paper** *v;* **love** *n* — **(to) love** *v* and so on. As a matter of fact all homonyms arising from conversion have related meanings. As a rule however the whole of the semantic structure of such words is not identical. The noun **paper,** e.g., has at least five meanings (1. material in the form of sheets, 2. a newspaper, 3. a document, 4. an essay, 5. a set of printed examination questions) whereas the verb **(to) paper** possesses but one meaning 'to cover with wallpaper'.

Considering this peculiarity of lexico-grammatical homonyms we may subdivide them into two groups: A. identical in sound-form but different in their grammatical and lexical meanings (**seal**$_1$ *n* — **seal**$_3$ *v),* and B. identical in sound-form but different in their grammatical meanings and partly different in their lexical meaning, i.e. partly different in their semantic structure **(seal**$_3$ *n* — **seal**$_3$ ***v;*** **paper** *n* **— (to) paper** *v).* Thus the definition of homonyms as words possessing identical sound-form but different semantic structure seems to be more exact as it allows of a better understanding of complex cases of homonymy, e.g. **seal**$_1$ *n* — **seal**$_2$ *n;* **seal**$_3$ *v* — **seal**$_4$ *v* which can be analysed into homonymic pairs, e.g. **seal**$_1$ *n* — **seal**$_2$ *n* lexical homonyms; **seal**$_1$ *n* — **seal**$_3$ *v* — lexico-

grammatical homonyms, subgroup A; **seal**$_2$ *n* — **seal**$_3$ *v* — lexico-grammatical homonyms, subgroup B.

§ 35. Graphic and Sound-Form of Homonyms

In the discussion of the problem of homonymy we proceeded from the assumption that words are two-facet units possessing both sound-form and meaning, and we deliberately disregarded their graphic form. Some linguists, however, argue that the graphic form of words in Modern English is just as important as their sound-form and should be taken into consideration in the analysis and classification ■ of homonyms. Consequently they proceed from definition of homonyms as words identical in sound-form or spelling but different in meaning. It follows that in their classification of homonyms all the three aspects: sound-form, graphic form and meaning are taken into account. Accordingly they classify homonyms into h o m o g r a p h s, h o m o p h o n e s and p e r f e c t h o m o n y m s.

H o m o g r a p h s are words identical in spelling, but different both in their sound-form and meaning, e.g. **bow** *n* [bou] — 'a piece of wood curved by a string and used for shooting arrows' and **bow** *n* [bau] — 'the bending of the head or body'; **tear** *n* [tia] — 'a drop of water that comes from the eye' and **tear** *v* [tea] — 'to pull apart by force'.

H o m o p h o n e s are words identical in sound-form but different both in spelling and in meaning, e.g. **sea** *n* and **see** *v;* **son** *n* and **sun** *n.*

P e r f e c t h o m o n y m s are words identical both in spelling and in sound-form but different in meaning, e.g. **case**$_1$ *n* — 'something that has happened' and **case**$_2$ *n* — 'a box, a container'.

§ 36. Sources of Homonymy

The description of various types of homonyms in Modern English would be incomplete if we did not give a brief outline of the diachronic processes that account for their appearance.

The two main sources of homonymy are: 1) diverging meaning development of a polysemantic word, and 2) converging sound development of two or more different words. The process of d i v e r g i n g m e a n i n g d e v e l o p m e n t can be observed when different meanings of the same word move so far away from each other that they come to be regarded as two separate units. This happened, for example, in the case of Modern English **flower** and **flour** which originally were one word *(ME.* **flour,** cf. *OFr.* **flour, flor,** ***L.*** **flos — florem)** meaning 'the flower' and 'the finest part of wheat'. The difference in spelling underlines the fact that from the synchronic point of view they are two distinct words even though historically they have a common origin.

C o n v e r g e n t s o u n d d e v e l o p m e n t is the most potent factor in the creation of homonyms. The great majority of homonyms arise as a result of converging sound development which leads to the coincidence of two or more words which were phonetically distinct at an earlier date. For example, *OE.* ic and *OE.* eaze have become identical in pronunciation *(MnE.* I [ai] and **eye** [ai]). A number of lexico-grammatical homonyms appeared as a result of convergent sound development of the verb and the noun (cf. *MnE.* **love — (to) love** and ***OE.*** **lufu — lufian).**

Words borrowed from other languages may through phonetic convergence become homonymous. *ON.* **ras** and *Fr.* race are homonymous in Modern English (cf. **race$_1$** [reis] — 'running' and **race$_2$** [reis] — 'a distinct ethnical stock').

§ 37. Polysemy and Homonymy: Etymological and Semantic Criteria

One of the most debatable problems in semasiology is the demarcation line between homonymy and polysemy, i.e. between different meanings of one word and the meanings of two homonymous words.

If homonymy is viewed diachronically then all cases of sound convergence of two or more words may be safely regarded as cases of homonymy, as, e.g., **race$_1$** and **race$_2$** can be traced back to two etymologically different words. The cases of semantic divergence, however, are more doubtful. The transition from polysemy to homonymy is a gradual process, so it is hardly possible to point out the precise stage at which divergent semantic development tears asunder all ties between the meanings and results in the appearance of two separate words. In the case of **flower, flour,** e.g., it is mainly the resultant divergence of graphic forms that gives us grounds to assert that the two meanings which originally made up the semantic structure of o n e word are now apprehended as belonging to t w o different words.

S y n c h r o n i c a l l y the differentiation between homonymy and polysemy is as a rule wholly based on the semantic criterion. It is usually held that if a connection between the various meanings is apprehended by the speaker, these are to be considered as making up the semantic structure of a polysemantic word, otherwise it is a case of homonymy, not polysemy.

Thus the semantic criterion implies that the difference between polysemy and homonymy is actually reduced to the differentiation between related and unrelated meanings. This traditional semantic criterion does not seem to be reliable, firstly, because various meanings of the same word and the meanings of two or more different words may be equally apprehended by the speaker as synchronically unrelated. For instance, the meaning 'a change in the form of a noun or pronoun' which is usually listed in dictionaries as one of the meanings of **case$_1$** seems to be synchronically just as unrelated to the meanings of this word as 'something that has happened', or 'a question decided in the court of law' to the meaning of **case$_2$** — 'a box, a container', etc.

Secondly, in the discussion of lexico-grammatical homonymy it was pointed out that some of the meanings of homonyms arising from conversion (e.g. **seal$_2$** *n* — **seal$_3$** *v;* **paper** *n* — **paper** *v)* are related, so this criterion cannot be applied to a large group of homonymous word-forms in Modern English. This criterion proves insufficient in the synchronic analysis of a number of other borderline cases, e.g. **brother — brothers** — 'sons of the same parent' and **brethren** — 'fellow members of a religious society'. The meanings may be apprehended as related and then we can speak of polysemy pointing out that the difference in the morphological structure of the plural form reflects the difference of meaning. Otherwise we may regard this as a case of partial lexical homonymy.

It is sometimes argued that the difference between related and unrelated meanings may be observed in the manner in which the meanings of polysemantic words are as a rule relatable. It is observed that different meanings of one word have certain stable relationship which are not to be found ‘between the meanings of two homonymous words. A clearly perceptible connection, e.g., can be seen in all metaphoric or metonymic meanings of one word (cf., e.g., **foot** of **the** man — **foot** of the mountain, **loud** voice — **loud** colours, etc.,[1] cf. also **deep** well and **deep** knowledge, etc.).

Such semantic relationships are commonly found in the meanings of one word and are considered to be indicative of polysemy. It is also suggested that the semantic connection may be described in terms of such features as, e.g., form and function (cf. **horn** of an animal and **horn** as an instrument), or process and result (to **run** — ‘move with quick steps’ and a **run** — act of running).

Similar relationships, however, are observed between the meanings of two partially homonymic words, e.g. to **run** and a **run** in the stocking.

Moreover in the synchronic analysis of polysemantic words we often find meanings that cannot be related in any way, as, e.g. the meanings of the word **case** discussed above. Thus the semantic criterion proves not only untenable in theory but also rather vague and because of this impossible in practice as in many cases it cannot be used to discriminate between several meanings of one word and the meanings of two different words.

§ 38. Formal Criteria: Distribution and

The criterion of distribution suggested by some linguists is undoubtedly helpful, but mainly in cases of lexico-grammatical and grammatical homonymy. For example, in the homonymic pair **paper** « — **(to) paper** *v* the noun may be preceded by the article and followed by a verb; **(to) paper** can never be found in identical distribution. This formal criterion can be used to discriminate not only lexico-grammatical but also grammatical homonyms, but it often fails in cases of lexical homonymy, not differentiated by means of spelling.

Homonyms differing in graphic form, e.g. such lexical homonyms as **knight — night** or **flower — flour,** are easily perceived to be two different lexical units as any formal difference of words is felt as indicative of the existence of two separate lexical units. Conversely lexical homonyms identical both in pronunciation and spelling are often apprehended as different meanings of one word.

It is often argued that in general the context in which the words are used suffices to establish the borderline between homonymous words, e.g. the meaning of **case**$_1$ in **several cases of robbery** can be easily differentiated from the meaning of **case**$_2$ in a **jewel case, a glass case.** This however is true of different meanings of the same word as recorded in dictionaries, e.g. of case, as can be seen by comparing **the case will be tried in the law-court** and the possessive case of the noun.

[1] See ‘Semasiology’, § 23, p. 31. 44

Thus, the context serves to differentiate meanings but is of little help in distinguishing between homonymy and polysemy. Consequently we have to admit that no formal means have as yet been found to differentiate between several meanings of one word and the meanings of its homonyms.

In the discussion of the problems of polysemy and homonymy we proceeded from the assumption that the word is the basic unit of language.[1] Some linguists hold that the basic and elementary units at the semantic level of language are the lexico-semantic variants of the word, i.e. individual word-meanings. In that case, naturally, we can speak only of homonymy of individual lexico-semantic variants, as polysemy is by definition, at least on the synchronic plane, the coexistence of several meanings in the semantic structure of the word.

§ 39. Summary and Conclusions

1. Homonyms are words that sound alike but have different semantic structure. The problem of homonymy is mainly the problem of differentiation between two different semantic structures of identically sounding words.

2. Homonymy of words and homonymy of individual word-forms may be regarded as full and p a r t i a l homonymy. Cases of f u l l hom o n y m y are generally observed in words belonging to the same part of speech. P a r t i a l h o m o n y m y is usually to be found in word-forms of different parts of speech.

3. Homonymous words and word-forms may be classified by the type of meaning that serves to differentiate between identical sound-forms. L e x i c a l h o m o n y m s differ in lexical meaning, l e x i c o - g r a m m a t i c a l in both lexical and grammatical meanings, whereas g r a m m a t i c a l h o m o n y m s are those that differ in grammatical meaning only.

L e x i c o - g r a m m a t i c a l h o m o n y m s are not homogeneous. Homonyms arising from conversion have some related lexical meanings in their semantic structure. Though some individual meanings may be related the whole of the semantic structure of homonyms is essentially different.

5. If the graphic form of homonyms is taken into account, they are classified on the basis of the three aspects — sound-form, graphic form and meaning — into three big groups: h o m o g r a p h s (identical graphic form), h o m o p h o n e s ‘ (identical sound-form) and p e r - f e c t h o m o n y m s (identical sound-form and graphic form).

6. The two main sources of homonymy are: 1) diverging meaning development of a polysemantic word, and 2) convergent sound development of two or more different words. The latter is the most potent factor in the creation of homonyms.

7. The most debatable problem of homonymy is the demarcation line “between homonymy and polysemy, i.e. between different meanings of one word and the meanings of two or more phonemically different words.

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[1] See ‘Introduction’, § 2.

8. The criteria used in the synchronic analysis of homonymy are: 1) the semantic criterion of related or unrelated meanings; 2) the criterion of spelling; 3) the criterion of distribution.

There are cases of lexical homonymy when none of the criteria enumerated above is of any avail. In such cases the demarcation line between polysemy and homonymy is rather fluid.

9. The problem of discriminating between polysemy and homonymy in theoretical linguistics is closely connected with the problem of the basic unit at the semantic level of analysis.

WORD-MEANING IN SYNTAGMATICS AND PARADIGMATICS

It is more or less universally recognised that word-meaning can be perceived through intralinguistic relations that exist between words. This approach does not in any way deny that lexical items relate to concrete features of the real world but it is suggested that word-meaning is not comprehensible solely in terms of the referential approach.[1]

Intralinguistic relations of words are basically of two main types: s y n t a g m a t i c and p a r a d i g m a t i c .

S y n t a g m a t i c relations define the meaning the word possesses when it is used in combination with other words in the flow of speech. For example, compare the meaning of the verb **to get** in **He got a letter, He got tired, He got to London** and **He could not get the piano through the door.**

Paradigmatic relations are those that exist between individual lexical items which make up one of the subgroups of vocabulary items, e.g. sets of synonyms, lexico-semantic groups, etc.

P a r a d i g m a t i c relations define the word-meaning through its interrelation with other members of the subgroup in question. For example, the meaning of the verb **to get** can be fully understood only in comparison with other items of the synonymic set: get, obtain, receive, etc. Cf. He got a letter, he received a letter, he obtained a letter, etc. Comparing the sentences discussed above we may conclude that an item in a sentence can be usually substituted by one or more than one other items that have identical part-of-speech meaning and similar though not identical lexical meaning.

The difference in the type of subgroups the members of which are substitutable in the flow of speech is usually described as the difference between closed and open se,ts of lexical items. For example, any one of a number of personal pronouns may occur as the subject of a sentence and the overall sentence structure remains the same. These pronouns are strictly limited in number and therefore form a closed system in which to say he is to say **not** I, **not** you, etc. To some extent the meaning of **he** is defined by the other items in the system (cf., e.g., the English I, **you,** etc., and the Russian *я, ты, вы,* etc.).Thesets of items in which the choice

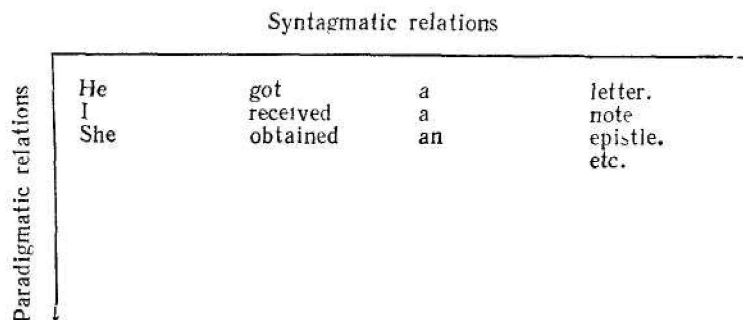
[1] See 'Semasiology', § 4, p. 18.

is limited to a finite number of alternatives as here are described as closed systems.

The members of closed systems are strictly limited in number and no addition of new items is possible.

The sets in which the number of alternatives is practically infinite as they are continually being adapted to new requirements by the addition of new lexical items are described as open systems. Closed systems are traditionally considered to be the subject matter of grammar, open systems such as lexico-semantic fields, hyponymic, synonymic sets, etc.[1] are studied by lexicology.

The distinction between syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations is conventionally indicated by horizontal and vertical presentation as is shown below.



§ 40. Polysemy and Context From the discussion of the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations it follows that a full understanding of the semantic structure of any lexical item can be gained only from the study of a variety of contexts in which the word is used, i.e. from the study of the intralinguistic relations of words in the flow of speech. This is of greatest importance in connection with the problem of the synchronic approach to polysemy.

It will be recalled that in analysing the semantic structure of the polysemantic word **table** we observed that some meanings are representative of the word in isolation, i.e. they invariably occur to us when we hear the word or see it written on paper. Other meanings come to the fore only when the word is used in certain contexts. This is true of all polysemantic words. The adjective **yellow,** e.g., when used in isolation is understood to denote a certain colour, whereas other meanings of this word, e.g. 'envious', 'suspicious' or 'sensational', 'corrupt', are perceived only in certain contexts, e.g. 'a yellow look', 'the yellow press', etc.

As can be seen from the examples discussed above we understand by the term c o n t e x t the minimal stretch of speech determining each individual meaning of the word. This is not to imply that polysemantic words have meanings only in the context. The semantic structure of the word has an objective existence as a dialectical entity which embodies

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[1] See 'Semasiology', §§ 45-50, pp. 51-61.

dialectical permanency and variability. The context individualises **the** meanings, brings them out. It is in this sense that we say that meaning **is** determined by context.

The meaning or meanings representative of the semantic structure of the word and least dependent on context are usually described as free **or** denominative meanings. Thus we assume that the meaning 'a piece of furniture' is the denominative meaning of the word **table,** the meaning 'construct, produce' is the free or denominative meaning of the verb **make.**

The meaning or meanings of polysemantic words observed only **in** certain contexts may be viewed as determined either by linguistic **(or** verbal) contexts or extra-linguistic (non-verbal) contexts.

The two more or less universally recognised main types of linguistic contexts which serve to determine individual meanings of words are the lexical context and the grammatical context. These types are differentiated depending on whether the lexical or the grammatical aspect is predominant in determining the meaning.

§ 41. Lexical Context

In lexical contexts of primary importance are the groups of lexical items combined *with* the polysemantic word under consideration. This can be illustrated by analysing different lexical contexts in which polysemantic words are used. The adjective **heavy,** e.g., in isolation is understood as meaning 'of great weight, weighty' **(heavy load, heavy table,** etc.). When combined with the lexical group of words denoting natural phenomena such as **wind, storm, snow,** etc., it means 'striking, falling with force, abundant' as can be seen from the contexts, e.g. **heavy rain, wind, snow, storm,** etc. In combination with the words **industry, arms, artillery** and the like, **heavy** has the meaning 'the larger kind of something' as in **heavy industry, heavy artillery,** etc.

The verb **take** in isolation has primarily the meaning 'lay hold of with the hands, grasp, seize', etc. When combined with the lexical group of words denoting some means of transportation (e.g. **to take the tram, the bus, the train,** etc.) it acquires the meaning synonymous with the meaning of the verb go.

It can be easily observed that the main factor in bringing out this or that individual meaning of the words is the lexical meaning of the words with which **heavy** and **take** are combined. This can be also proved by the fact that when we want to describe the individual meaning of a polysemantic word, we find it sufficient to use this word in combination with some members of a certain lexical group. To describe the meanings of the word **handsome,** for example, it is sufficient to combine it with the following words — a) **man, person, b) size, reward, sum.** The meanings 'good-looking' and 'considerable, ample' are adequately illustrated by the contexts.

The meanings determined by lexical contexts are sometimes referred to as lexically (or phraseologically) bound meanings which implies that such meanings are to be found only in certain lexical contexts.

Some linguists go so far as to assert that word-meaning in general can be analysed through its collocability with other words. They hold the view that if we know all the possible collocations (or word-groups) into

which a polysemantic word can enter, we know all its meanings. Thus, the meanings of the adjective **heavy,** for instance, may be analysed through its collocability with the words **weight, safe, table; snow, wind, rain; industry, artillery,** etc.

The meaning at the level of lexical contexts is sometimes described as meaning by collocation.[1]

§ 42. Grammatical Context

In grammatical contexts it is the grammatical (mainly the syntactic) structure of the context that serves to determine various individual meanings of a polysemantic word. One of the meanings of the verb **make,** e.g. 'to force, to enduce', is found only in the grammatical context possessing the structure to **make somebody do something** or in other terms this particular meaning occurs only if the verb **make** is followed by a noun and the infinitive of some other verb (to make smb. **laugh, go, work,** etc.). Another meaning of this verb 'to become', 'to turn out to be' is observed in the contexts of a different structure, i.e. **make** followed by an adjective and a noun **(to make a good wife, a good teacher,** etc.).

Such meanings are sometimes described as grammatically (or structurally) bound meanings. Cases of the type **she will make a good teacher** may be referred to as syntactically bound meanings, because the syntactic function of the verb **make** in this particular context (a link verb, part of the predicate) is indicative of its meaning 'to become, to turn out to be'. A different syntactic function of the verb, e.g. that of the predicate (to **make machines, tables,** etc.) excludes the possibility of the meaning 'to become, turn out to be'.

In a number of contexts, however, we find that both the lexical and the grammatical aspects should be taken into consideration. The grammatical structure of the context although indicative of the difference between the meaning of the word in this structure and the meaning of the same word in a different grammatical structure may be insufficient to indicate in w h i c h of its individual meanings the word in question is used. If we compare the contexts of different grammatical structures, e.g. **to** take+*nown* and **to take** *to+noun,* we can safely assume that they represent different meanings of the verb **to take,** but it is only when we specify the lexical context, i.e. the lexical group with which the verb is combined in the structure **to take +** *noun* **(to take coffee, tea; books, pencils; the bus, the tram)** that we can say that the context determines the meaning.

It is usual in modern linguistic science to use the terms p a t t e r n or s t r u c t u r e to denote grammatical contexts. Patterns may be represented in conventional symbols, e.g. **to take smth.** as **take**+*N.* **to take** to smb. as **take to+*N*.**[2] It is argued that difference in the distribution of the word is indicative of the difference in meaning. Sameness of

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[1] See also 'Methods and Procedures of Lexicological Analysis', § 4, p. 246.

[2] See 'Semasiology', § 3, p. 1-7. Conventional symbols habitually used in distributional patterns are as follows:

N — stands for nouns or their functional equivalents, e.g. personal pronouns. *V* — stands for verbs except auxiliary and modal verbs **(be, have, shall,** etc.). *A* — stands for adjectives or their functional equivalents, e.g. ordinal numerals. *D* — stands for adverbs or their functional equivalents, e.g. **at home.**

distributional pattern, however, does not imply sameness of meaning. As was shown above, the same pattern **to** take + *N* may represent different meanings of the verb **to take** dependent mainly on the lexical group of the nouns with which it is combined.

§ 43. Extra-Linguistic Context (Context of Situation)

Dealing with verbal contexts we consider only linguistic factors: lexical groups of words, syntactic structure of the context and so on. There are cases, however, when the meaning of the word is ultimately determined not by these linguistic factors, but by the actual speech situation in which this word is used. The meanings of the noun **ring, e.g.** in **to give somebody a ring,** or of the verb **get** in **I've got it** are determined not only by the grammatical or lexical context, but much more so by the actual speech situation.

The noun **ring** in such context may possess the meaning 'a circlet of precious metal' or 'a call on the telephone'; the meaning of the verb **to get** in this linguistic context may be interpreted as 'possess' or 'understand' depending on the actual situation in which these words are used. It should be pointed out however that such cases, though possible, are not actually very numerous. The linguistic context is by far a more potent factor in determining word-meaning.

It is of interest to note that not only the denotational but also the connotational component of meaning may be affected by the context. Any word which as a language unit is emotively neutral may in certain contexts acquire emotive implications. Compare, e.g., **fire** in **to insure one's property against fire** and **fire** as a call for help. A stylistically and emotively neutral noun, e.g. **wall,** acquires tangible emotive implication in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* (Act V, Scene 1) in the context "O wall, O sweet and lovely wall".[1]

Here we clearly perceive the combined effect of both the linguistic arid the extra-linguistic context. The word **wall** does not ordinarily occur in combination with the adjectives **sweet** and **lovely.** So the peculiar lexical context accounts for the possibility of emotive overtones which are made explicit by the context of situation.

§ 44. Common Contextual Associations. Thematic Groups

Another type of classification almost universally used in practical classroom teaching is known as thematic grouping. Classification of vocabulary items into thematic groups is based on the co-occurrence of words in certain repeatedly used contexts.

In linguistic contexts co-occurrence may be observed on different levels. On the level of word-groups the word **question,** for instance, is often found in collocation with the verbs **raise, put forward, discuss,** etc., with the adjectives **urgent, vital, disputable** and so on. The verb **accept** occurs in numerous contexts together with the nouns **proposal, invitation, plan** and others.

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[1] *St. Ullmann.* Semantics. Oxford, 1962, pp. 130, 131. See also 'Semasiology', *§* 8, p. 20.

As a rule, thematic groups deal with contexts on the level of the sentence. Words in thematic groups are joined together by common contextual associations within the framework of the sentence and reflect the interlinking of things or events. Common contextual association of the words, e.g. **tree — grow — green; journey — train — taxi — bags — ticket** or **sunshine — brightly — blue — sky,** is due to the regular co-occurrence of these words in a number of sentences. Words making up a thematic group belong to different parts of speech and do not possess any common denominator of meaning.

Contextual associations formed by the speaker of a language are usually conditioned by the context of situation which necessitates the use of certain words. When watching a play, for example, we naturally speak of the **actors** who **act** the main **parts,** of good (or bad) **staging** of the play, of the wonderful **scenery** and so on. When we **go shopping** it is usual to speak of the **prices,** of the **goods** we **buy,** of the **shops,** etc.[1]

MEANING RELATIONS IN PARADIGMATICS AND SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION OF WORDS

Modern English has a very extensive vocabulary. A question naturally arises whether this enormous word-stock is composed of separate independent lexical units, or it should perhaps be regarded as a certain structured system made up of numerous interdependent and interrelated sub-systems or groups of words. This problem may be viewed in terms of the possible ways of classifying vocabulary items.

Attempts to study the inner structure of the vocabulary revealed that in spite of its heterogeneity the English word-stock may be analysed into numerous sub-systems the members of which have some features in common, thus distinguishing them from the members of other lexical sub-systems. Words can be classified in various ways. Here, however, we are concerned only with the semantic classification of words. Classification into monosemantic and polysemantic words is based on the number of meanings the word possesses. More detailed semantic classifications are generally based on the semantic similarity (or polarity) of words or their component morphemes. The scope and the degree of similarity (polarity) may be different.

§ 45. Conceptual (or Semantic) Fields

Words may be classified according to the concepts underlying their meaning. This classification is closely connected with the theory of conceptual or semantic fields. By the term "semantic fields" we understand closely knit sectors of vocabulary each characterised by a common concept. For example, the words **blue, red, yellow, black,** etc. may be described as making up the semantic field of colours, the words **mother, father, brother, cousin,** etc. — as members of the semantic field

[1] In practical language learning thematic groups are often listed under various headings, e. g. "At the Theatre", "At School", "Shopping", and are often found in textbooks and courses of conversational English.

of kinship terms, the words **joy, happiness,** gaiety, enjoyment, etc. **as** belonging to the **field** of pleasurable emotions, and so on.

The members of the semantic fields are not synonyms but all of them are joined together by some common semantic component — the concept of colours or the concept of kinship, etc. This semantic component common to all the members of the field is sometimes described as the common denominator of meaning. All members of the field are semantically interdependent as each member helps to delimit and determine the meaning of its neighbours and is semantically delimited and determined by them. It follows that the word-meaning is to a great extent determined by the place it occupies in its semantic field.

Thus the semantic field may be viewed as a set of lexical items **in** which the meaning of each is determined by the co-presence of the others*

It is argued that we cannot possibly know the exact meaning of the word if we do not know the structure of the semantic field to which the word belongs, the number of the members and the concepts covered by them, etc. The meaning of the word **captain,** e.g., cannot be properly understood until we know the semantic field in which this *term* operates — **the army, the navy,** or **the merchant service.** It follows that the meaning of the word **captain** is determined by the place it occupies among the terms of the relevant rank system. In other words we know what **captain** means only if we know whether his subordinate is called **mate** or **first officer** (merchant service), **commander** ('navy') or **lieutenant** ('army').

Semantic dependence of the word on the structure of the field may be also illustrated by comparing members of analogous conceptual fields in different languages. Comparing, for example, kinship terms in Russian and in English we observe that the meaning of the English term **mother-in-law** is different from either the Russian *тёща* or *свекровь* as the English term covers the whole area which in Russian is divided between the two words. The same is true of the members of the semantic field of colours (cf. **blue** — *синий, голубой),* of human body (cf. **hand, arm** — *рука)* and others.

The theory of semantic field is severely criticised by Soviet linguists mainly on philosophical grounds since some of the proponents of the semantic-field theory hold the idealistic view that language is a kind of self-contained entity standing between man and the world of reality (Zwischenwelt). The followers of this theory argue that semantic fields reveal the fact that human experience is analysed and elaborated in a unique way, differing from one language to another. Broadly speaking they assert that people speaking different languages actually have different concepts, as it is through language that we '"see" the real world around us. In short, they deny the primacy of matter forgetting that our concepts are formed not only through linguistic experience, but primarily through our actual contact with the real world. We know what **hot** means not only because we know the word **hot,** but also because we burn our fingers when we touch something very hot. A detailed critical analysis of the theory of semantic fields is the subject-matter of general linguistics. Here we are concerned with this theory only as a means of semantic classification of vocabulary items.

Another point should be discussed in this connection. Lexical groups described above may be very extensive and may cover big conceptual areas, e g. **space, matter, intellect,** etc.[1]

Words making up such semantic fields may belong to different parts of speech. For example, in the semantic field of space we find nouns: expanse, **extent, surface,** etc.; verbs: **extend, spread, span,** etc.; adjectives' **spacious, roomy, vast, broad,** etc.

There may be comparatively'small lexical groups of words belonging to the same part of speech and linked by a common concept. The words **bread, cheese, milk, meat,** etc. make up a group with the concept of food as the common' denominator of meaning. Such smaller lexical groups consisting of words of the same part of speech are usually termed lexico-semantic groups. It is observed that the criterion for joining words together into semantic fields and lexico-semantic groups is the identity of one of the components of their meaning found in all the lexical units making up these lexical groups. Any of the semantic components may be chosen to represent the group. For example, the word **saleswoman** may be analysed into the semantic components 'human', 'female', 'professional'.[2] Consequently the word **saleswoman** may be included into a lexico-semantic group under the heading of **human** together with the words **man, woman, boy, girl,** etc. and under the heading **female** with the *words* **girl, wife, woman** and also together with the words **teacher, pilot, butcher,** etc., as **professionals.**

It should also be pointed out that different meanings of polysemantic words make it possible to refer the same word to different lexico-semantic groups. Thus, e.g. **make** in the meaning of 'construct' is naturally a member of the same lexico-semantic group as the verbs **produce, manufacture,** etc , whereas in the meaning of **compel** it is regarded as a member of a different lexico-semantic group made up by the verbs **force, induce,** etc.

Lexico-semantic groups seem to play a very important role in determining individual meanings of polysemantic words in lexical contexts. Analysing lexical contexts [3] we saw that the verb **take,** e.g,, in combination with any member of the lexical group denoting means of transportation is synonymous with the verb **go (take the tram, the bus,** etc.). When combined with members of another lexical group the same verb is synonymous with **to drink (to take tea, coffee,** etc.). Such word-groups are often used not only in scientific lexicological analysis, but also in practical class-room teaching. In a number of textbooks we find words with some common denominator of meaning listed under the headings **Flowers, Fruit, Domestic Animals,** and so on.

§ 46. Hyponymic (Hierarchical) Structures and Lexico-Semantic Groups

Another approach to the classification of vocabulary items into lexico-semantic groups is the study of hyponymic relations between words. By h y p o n y m y is meant a semantic relationship of inclusion. Thus, e.g., **vehicle** includes **car, bus, taxi** and so on; **oak** implies **tree;**

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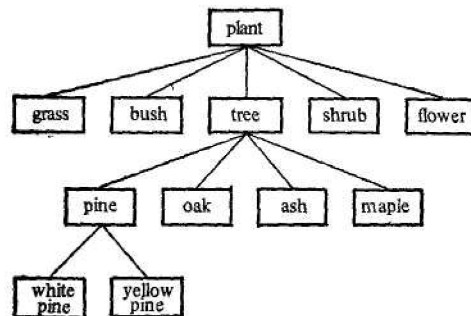
[1] See, e. g., *Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases,* London, 1973.
[2] See 'Methods ... ', § 6. p. 216.
[3] See 'Semasiology', § 41, p. 48.

horse entails **animal; table** entails **furniture.** Thus the hyponymic relationship may be viewed as the hierarchical relationship between the meaning of the general and the individual terms.

The general term **(vehicle,** tree, animal, etc.) is sometimes referred to as the classifier and serves to describe the lexico-semantic groups, e.g. Lexico-semantic groups (LSG) of vehicles, movement, emotions, etc.

The individual terms can be said to contain (or entail) the meaning of the general term in addition to their individual meanings which distinguish them from each other (cf. the classifier **move** and the members of the group **walk, run, saunter,** etc.).

It is of importance to *note* that in such hierarchical structures certain words may be both classifiers and members of the groups. This may be illustrated by the hyponymic structure represented below.



Another way to describe hyponymy is in terms of genus and differentia.

The more specific term is called the hyponym of the more general, and the more general is called the hyperonym or the classifier.

It is noteworthy that the principle of such hierarchical classification is widely used by scientists in various fields of research: botany, geology, etc. Hyponymic classification may be viewed as objectively reflecting the structure of vocabulary and is considered by many linguists as one of the most important principles for the description of meaning.

A general problem with this principle of classification (just as with lexico-semantic group criterion) is that there often exist overlapping classifications. For example, **persons** may be divided into **adults** (man, woman, husband, etc.) and **children** (boy, girl, lad, etc.) but also into **national groups** (American, Russian, Chinese, etc.), **professional groups** (teacher, butcher, baker, etc.), **social** and **economic groups,** and so on.

Another problem of great importance for linguists is the dependence of the hierarchical structures of lexical units not only on the structure of the corresponding group of referents in real world but also on the structure of vocabulary in this or that language.

This can be easily observed when we compare analogous groups in different languages. Thus, e.g., in English we may speak of the lexico-semantic group of meals which includes: **breakfast, lunch, dinner, supper,**

snack, etc. The word **meal** is the classifier whereas in Russian we have **no** word for meals in general and consequently no classifier though we have several words for different kinds of meals.

§ 47. Semantic Equivalence and Synonymy

Lexical units may also be classified by the criterion of semantic similarity and semantic contrasts. The terms generally used to denote these two types of semantic relatedness are s y n o n y m y and a n t o n y m y.

S y n o n y m y is often understood as semantic equivalence. Semantic equivalence however can exist between words and word-groups, word-groups and sentences, sentences and sentences. For example, **John is taller than Bill** is semantically equivalent to **Bill is shorter than John. John sold the book to Bill** and **Bill bought the book from John** may be considered semantically equivalent.

As can be seen from the above these sentences are paraphrases and denote the same event. Semantic equivalence may be observed on the level of word-groups, Thus we may say that **to win a victory** is synonymous with **to gain a victory,** etc.

Here we proceed from the assumption that the terms synonymy and synonyms should be confined to semantic relation between words only. Similar relations between word-groups and sentences are described as semantic equivalence.[1] Synonyms may be found in different parts of speech and both among notional and function words. For example, **though** and **albeit, on** and **upon, since** and **as** are synonymous because these phonemically different words are similar in their denotational meaning.

Synonyms are traditionally described as words different in sound-form but identical or similar in meaning. This definition has been severely criticised on many points. Firstly, it seems impossible to speak of identical or similar meaning of w o r d s as s u c h as this part of the definition cannot be applied to polysemantic words. It is inconceivable that polysemantic words could be synonymous in all their meanings. The verb look, e.g., is usually treated as a synonym of **see, watch, observe,** etc., but in another of its meanings it is not synonymous with this group of words but rather with the verbs **seem, appear (cf. to look at smb** and **to look pale).** The number of synonymic sets of a polysemantic word tends as a rule to be equal to the number of individual meanings the word possesses.

In the discussion of polysemy and context[2] we have seen that one of the ways of discriminating between different meanings of a word is the interpretation of these meanings in terms of their synonyms, e.g. the two meanings of the adjective **handsome** are synonymously interpreted as **handsome** — 'beautiful' (usually about men) and **handsome — '**considerable, ample' (about sums, sizes, etc.).

Secondly, it seems impossible to speak of identity or similarity of l e x i c a l m e a n i n g a s a w h o l e as it is only the denotational component that may be described as identical or similar. If we analyse

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[1] See also 'Methods . . . ' , § 5, p. 214.
[2] See 'Semasiology', §§ 40-42, p. 47-50.

words that are usually considered synonymous, e.g. **to die, to pass away; to begin, to commence,** etc., we find that the connotational component or, to be more exact, the stylistic reference of these words is entirely different and it is only the similarity of the denotational meaning that makes them synonymous. The words, e.g. **to die, to walk, to smile,** etc., may be considered identical as to their stylistic reference or emotive charge, but as there is no similarity of denotational meaning they are never felt as synonymous words.

Thirdly, it does not seem possible to speak of i d e n t i t y o f m e a n i n g as a criterion of synonymity since identity of meaning is very rare even among monosemantic words. In fact, cases of complete synonymy are very few and are, as a rule, confined to technical nomenclatures where we can find monosemantic terms completely identical in meaning as, for example, **spirant** and **fricative** in phonetics. Words in synonymic sets are in general differentiated because of some element of opposition in each member of the set. The word **handsome,** e.g., is distinguished from its synonym **beautiful** mainly because the former implies the beauty of a male person or broadly speaking only of human beings, whereas **beautiful** is opposed to it as having no such restrictions in its meaning.

Thus it seems necessary to modify the traditional definition and to formulate it as follows: synonyms are words different in sound-form but similar in their denotational meaning or meanings. Synonymous relationship is observed o n l y between similar denotational meanings of phonemically different words.

Differentiation of synonyms may be observed in different semantic components — de n o t a t i o n a l or c o n n o t a t i o n a l .

It should be noted, however, that the difference in denotational meaning cannot exceed certain limits, and is always combined with some common denotational component. The verbs **look, seem, appear,** e.g., are viewed as members of one synonymic set as all three of them possess a common denotational semantic component "to be in one's view, or judgement, but not necessarily in fact" and come into comparison in this meaning (cf. **he seems** (looks), (appears), **tired).** A more detailed analysis shows that there is a certain difference in the meaning of each verb: **seem** suggests a personal opinion based on evidence *(e.g.* nothing **seems right when one is out of sorts); look** implies that opinion is based on a visual impression (e.g. **the city looks its worst in March), appear** sometimes suggests a distorted impression (e.g. **the setting sun made the spires appear ablaze).** Thus similarity of denotational meaning of all members of the synonymic series is combined with a certain difference in the meaning of each member.

It follows that relationship of synonymity implies certain differences in the denotational meaning of synonyms. In this connection a few words should be said about the traditional classification of vocabulary units into ideographic and stylistic synonyms. This classification proceeds from the assumption that synonyms may differ e i t h e r in the denotational meaning (ideographic synonyms) or the connotational meaning, or to be more exact stylistic reference. This assumption cannot be accepted as synonymous words always differ in the denotational component

??? ??? ???e?e?. Thus **buy** and **purchase** are similar in meaning but differ in their stylistic reference and therefore are not completely interchangeable. That department of an institution which is concerned with acquisition of materials is normally the **Purchasing Department** rather than the **Buying Department.** A wife however would rarely ask her husband **to purchase** a pound of butter. It follows that practically no words are substitutable for one another in all contexts.

This fact may be explained as follows: firstly, words synonymous in some lexical contexts may display no synonymity in others. As one of the English scholars aptly remarks, the comparison of the sentences **the rainfall in April was abnormal** and **the rainfall in April was exceptional** may give us grounds for assuming that **exceptional** and **abnormal** are synonymous. The same adjectives in a different context are by no means synonymous, as we may see by comparing **my son is exceptional** and **my son is abnormal.**[1]

Secondly, it is evident that interchangeability alone cannot serve as a criterion of synonymity. We may safely assume that synonyms are words interchangeable in some contexts. But the reverse is certainly not true as semantically different words of the same part of speech are, as a rule, interchangeable in quite a number of contexts. For example, in the sentence **I saw a little girl playing in the garden** the adjective **little** may be formally replaced by a number of semantically different adjectives, e.g. **pretty, tall, English,** etc.

Thus a more acceptable definition of synonyms seems to be the following: synonyms are words different in their sound-form, but similar in their denotational meaning or meanings and interchangeable at least in some contexts.

§ 49. Patterns of Synonymic Sets in Modern English

The English word-stock is extremely rich in synonyms which can be largely accounted for by abundant borrowing. Quite a number of words in synonymic sets are usually of Latin or French origin. For instance, out of thirteen words making up the set **see, behold, descry, espy, view, survey, contemplate, observe, notice, remark, note, discern, perceive** only **see** and **behold** can be traced back to Old English *(OE.* **seon** and **behealdan),** all others are either French or Latin borrowings.

Thus a characteristic pattern of English synonymic sets is the pattern including the native and the borrowed words. Among the best investigated are the so-called double-scale patterns: native versus Latin (e.g. **bodily — corporal, brotherly — fraternal);** native versus Greek or French (e.g. **answer — reply, fiddle — violin).** In most cases the synonyms differ **in** their stylistic reference, too. The native word is usually colloquial (e.g. **bodily, brotherly),** whereas the borrowed word may as a rule be described as bookish or highly literary (e.g. **corporal, fraternal).**

Side by side with this pattern there exists in English a subsidiary one based on a triple-scale of synonyms; native — French, and Latin or

[1] *R. Quirk.* The Use of English. London, 1962, p. 129.

Greek (e.g. **begin (start) — commence** *(Fr.)* **— initiate (L.); rise — mount** *(Fr.)* — **ascend** (L.). In most of these sets the native synonym is felt as more colloquial, the Latin or Greek one is characterised by bookish stylistic reference, whereas the French stands between the two extremes.

There are some minor points of interest that should be discussed in connection with the problem of synonymy. It has often been found that subjects prominent in the interests of a community tend to attract a large number of synonyms. It is common knowledge that in "Beowulf" there are 37 synonyms for **hero** and at least a dozen for **battle** and **fight.** The same epic contains 17 expressions for **sea** to which 13 more may be added from other English poems of that period. In Modern American English there are at least twenty words used to denote money: **beans, bucks, the chips, do-re-mi, the needful, wherewithal,** etc. This linguistic phenomenon is usually described as t h e l a w of s y n o n y m i c a t t r a c t i o n.

It has also been observed that when a particular word is given a transferred meaning its synonyms tend to develop along parallel lines. We know that in early New English the verb **overlook** was employed in the meaning of 'look with an evil eye upon, cast a spell over' from which there developed the meaning 'deceive' first recorded in 1596. Exactly half a century later we find **oversee** a synonym of **overlook** employed in the meaning of 'deceive'.[1] This form of analogy active in the semantic development of synonyms is referred to as r a d i a t i o n of s y n o n y m s.

Another feature of synonymy is that the bulk of synonyms may be referred to stylistically marked words, i.e. they possess a peculiar connotational component of meaning. This can be observed by examining the synonyms for the stylistically neutral word **money** listed above. Another example is the set of synonyms for the word **girl** (young female): **doll, flame, skirt, tomato, broad, bag, dish,** etc. all of which are stylistically marked. Many synonyms seem to possess common emotive charge.

Thus it was found that according to Roget [2] 44 synonyms of the word **whiteness** imply something favourable and pleasing to contemplate **(purity, cleanness, immaculateness,** etc.).

§ 50. Semantic Contrasts and Antonymy

Antonymy in general shares many features typical of synonymy. Like synonyms, perfect or complete antonyms are fairly rare.

It is usual to find the relations of antonymy restricted to certain contexts. Thus **thick** is only one of the antonyms of **thin** (a thin slice—a thick slice), another is **fat (a thin man—a fat man).**

The definition of antonyms as words characterised by semantic polarity or opposite meaning is open to criticism on the points discussed already in connection with synonymy. It is also evident that the term o p p o s i t e m e a n i n g is rather vague and allows of essentially different interpretation.

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[1] In Modern English both words have lost this meaning. See also 'Semasiology', § 15, p. 24.

[2] *Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases.* London, 1962.

If we compare the meaning of the words **kind** — 'gentle, friendly, showing love, sympathy or thought for others' and **cruel** — 'taking pleasure in giving pain to others, without mercy', we see that they denote concepts that are felt as completely opposed to each other. Comparing the adjective **kind** and **unkind** we do not find any polarity of meaning as here semantic opposition is confined to simple negation. **Unkind** may be interpreted as **not kind** which does not necessarily mean **cruel,** just as **not beautiful** does not necessarily mean **ugly.**

It is more or less universally recognised that among the cases that are traditionally described as antonyms there are at least the following four groups.[1]

1. Con t r a d i c t o r i e s which represent the type of semantic relations that exist between pairs like **dead** and **alive, single** and **married, perfect** and **imperfect,** etc.

To use one of the terms is to contradict the other and to use **not** before one of them is to make it semantically equivalent to the other, cf. **not dead=alive, not single=married.**

Among contradictories we find a subgroup of words of the type **young — old, big — small,** and so on. The difference between these and the antonymic pairs described above lies in the fact that to say **not young** is not necessarily to say **old.** In fact terms like **young** and **old, big** and **small** or **few** and **many** do not represent absolute values. To use one of the terms is to imply comparison with some norm: **young** means 'relatively young'. We can say **She is young but she is older than her sister. To be older** does not mean 'to be old'.

It is also usual for one member of each pair to always function as the unmarked or generic term for the common quality involved in both members: **age,** size, etc.

This generalised denotational meaning comes to the fore in certain contexts. When we ask **How old is the baby?** we do not imply that the baby is old. The question **How big is it?** may be answered by **It is very big** or **It is very small.**

It is of interest to note that quality nouns such as **length, breadth, width, thickness,** etc. also are generic, i.e. they cover the entire measurement range while the corresponding antonymous nouns **shortness, narrowness, thinness** apply only to one of the extremes.

2. C o n t r a r i e s differ from contradictories mainly because contradictories admit of no possibility between them. One is either **single** or **married,** either **dead** or **alive,** etc. whereas contraries admit such possibilities. This may be observed in **cold — hot,** and **cool** and **warm** which seem to be intermediate members. Thus we may regard as antonyms not only **cold** and **hot** but also **cold** and **warm.**

Contraries may be opposed to each other by the absence or presence of one of the components of meaning like sex or age. This can be illustrated by such pairs as **man — woman, man — boy.**

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[1] See, e. g., *Webster's Dictionary of Synonyms.* Springfield, USA, 1961, Introductory Matter, Antonyms. Analysis and Definition.

3. I n c o m p a t i b l e s. Semantic relations of incompatibility exist among the antonyms with the common component of meaning and may be described as the reverse of hyponymy, i.e. as the relations of exclusion but not of contradiction. To say **morning** is to say **not afternoon, not evening, not night.** The negation of one member of this set however does not imply semantic equivalence with the other but excludes the possibility of the other words of this set. A relation of incompatibility may be observed between colour terms since the choice of **red,** e.g., entails the exclusion of **black, blue, yellow** and so on. Naturally not all colour terms are incompatible. Semantic relations between **scarlet** and **red** are those of hyponymy.

We know that polysemy may be analysed through synonymy. For example, different meaning of the polysemantic word **handsome** can be singled out by means of synonymic substitution a **handsome man—a beautiful man;** but a **handsome reward**—a **generous reward. In** some cases polysemy may be also analysed through antonymy (e.g. **a handsome man—an ugly man, a handsome reward—an insufficient reward,** etc.). This is naturally not to say that the number of meanings of a polysemantic word is equal to the number of its antonyms. Not all words or all meanings have antonyms (e.g. **table, book,** etc. have no antonyms). In some cases, however, antonymy and synonymy serve to differentiate the meanings as in the word **handsome** discussed above. Interchangeability in certain contexts analysed in connection with synonyms is typical of antonyms as well. In a context where one member of the antonymous pair can be used, it is, as a rule, interchangeable with the other member. For instance, if we take the words **dry** and **wet** to be antonymous, they must be interchangeable in the same context (e.g. **a wet shirt—a dry shirt).** This is not to imply that the same antonyms are interchangeable in all contexts. It was pointed out above that antonyms that belong to the group of contraries are found in various antonymic pairs. Thus, for instance there are many antonyms of **dry** — **damp, wet, moist,** etc.

The interchangeability of each of them with **dry** is confined to certain contexts. In contrast to **dry air** we select **damp air** and in contrast **to dry lips**—we would probably use **moist lips.**

It is therefore suggested that the term "antonyms" should be used as a general term to describe words different in sound-form and characterised by different types of semantic contrast of denotational meaning and interchangeability at least in some contexts.

§ 51. Semantic Similarity of Morphemes and Word-Families

Lexical groups composed of words with semantically and phonemically identical root-morphemes are usually defined as word-families or word-clusters. The term itself implies close links between the members of the group. Such are word-families of the type: **lead, leader, leadership; dark, darken, darkness; form, formal, formality** and others. It should be noted that members of a word-family as a rule belong to different parts of speech and are joined together only by the identity of root-morphemes. In the word-families discussed above the root-morphemes are identical not only in

meaning but also in sound-form. There are cases, however, when the sound-form of root-morphemes may be different, as for example in **sun, sunny, solar; mouth, oral, orally; brother, brotherly, fraternal,** etc.; their semantic similarity however, makes it possible to include them in a word-family. In such cases it is usual to speak of lexical suppletion, i.e. formation of related words of a word-family from phonemically different roots. As a rule in the word-families of this type we are likely to encounter etymologically different words, e.g. the words **brother** and **mouth** are of Germanic origin, whereas **fraternal** and **oral** can be easily traced back to Latin. We frequently find synonymic pairs of the type **fatherly— paternal, brotherly—fraternal.**

Semantic and phonemic identity of affixational morphemes can be observed in the lexical groups of the type **darkness, cleverness, calmness,** etc.; **teacher, reader, writer,** etc. In such word-groups as, e.g. **teacher, musician,** etc., only semantic similarity of derivational affixes is observed. As derivational affixes impart to the words a certain generalised meaning, we may single out lexical groups denoting the agent, the doer of the action (Nomina Agenti)—**teacher, reader,** etc. or lexical groups denoting actions (Nomina Acti)—**movement, transformation,** etc. and others.

§ 52. Summary and Conclusions

1. Paradigmatic (or selectional) and syntagmatic (or combinatory) axes of linguistic structure represent the way vocabulary is organised.

Syntagmatic relations define the word-meaning in the flow of speech in various contexts.

Paradigmatic relations define the word-meaning through its interrelation with other members within one of the subgroups of vocabulary units.

2. On the syntagmatic axis the word-meaning is dependent on different types of contexts. Linguistic context is the minimal stretch of speech necessary to determine individual meanings.

3. Linguistic (verbal) contexts comprise lexical and grammatical contexts and are opposed to extra-linguistic (non-verbal) contexts. In extra-linguistic contexts the meaning of the word is determined not only by linguistic factors but also by the actual speech situation in which the word is used.

4. The semantic structure of polysemantic words is not homogeneous as far as the status of individual meanings is concerned. A certain meaning (or meanings) is representative of the word taken in isolation, others are perceived only in various contexts.

5. Classification of vocabulary into thematic groups is based on common contextual associations. Contextual associations are formed as a result of regular co-occurrence of words in similar, repeatedly used contexts within the framework of sentences.

6. The main criterion underlying semantic classification of vocabulary items on the paradigmatic axis is the type of meaning relationship between words.

The criterion of common concept serves to classify words into semantic fields and lexico-semantic groups.

Semantic relationship of inclusion is the main feature of hyponymic hierarchical structure Semantic similarity and semantic contrast is the type of relationship which underlies the classification of lexical items into synonymic and antonymic series.

7. Synonymy and antonymy are correlative and sometimes overlapping notions. Synonymous relationship of the denotational meaning is in many cases combined with the difference in the connotational (mainly stylistic) component.

8. It is suggested that the term s y n o n y m s should be used to describe words different in sound-form but similar in their denotational meaning (or meanings) and interchangeable at least in some contexts.

The term a n t o n y m s is to be applied to words different in sound-form characterised by different types of semantic contrast of the denotational meaning and interchangeable at least in some contexts.

Words put together to form lexical units make phrases or word-groups. It will be recalled that lexicology deals with words, word-forming morphemes and word-groups. We assume that the word is the basic lexical unit.[1] The smallest two-facet unit to be found within the word is the morpheme which is studied on the morphological level of analysis. The largest two-facet lexical unit comprising more than one word is the word-group observed on the syntagmatic level of analysis of the various ways words are joined together to make up single self-contained lexical units.

The degree of structural and semantic cohesion of word-groups may vary. Some word-groups, e.g. **at least, point of view,** by **means of, take place,** seem to be functionally and semantically inseparable. Such word-groups are usually described as set-phrases, word-equivalents or phraseological units and are traditionally regarded as the subject matter of the branch of lexicological science that studies phraseology.

The component members in other word-groups, e.g. **a week ago, man of wisdom, take lessons, kind to people,** seem to possess greater semantic and structural independence. Word-groups of this type are defined as free or variable word-groups or phrases and are habitually studied in syntax.

Here, however, we proceed from the assumption that before touching on the problem of phraseology it is essential to briefly outline the features common to various types of word-groups viewed as self-contained lexical units irrespective of the degree of structural and semantic cohesion of the component words.

SOME BASIC FEATURES OF WORD-GROUPS

To get a better insight into the essentials of structure and meaning of word-groups we must begin with a brief survey of the main factors active in uniting words into word-groups. The two main linguistic factors to be considered in this connection are the lexical and the grammatical valency of words.

§ 1. Lexical Valency

It is an indisputable fact that words are used in certain lexical contexts, i.e. in combination with other words.[2] The noun **question,** e.g., is often combined with such adjectives as **vital, pressing, urgent, disputable, delicate,** etc. This noun is a component of a number of other word-groups, e.g. **to raise a question, a question of great importance, a question of the agenda, of the day,** and many others. The aptness of a word to appear in various combinations is described as its lexical valency or collocability.

[1] See 'Introduction', §§ 4, 5.

[2] See 'Semasiology', §41, p. 48.

The range of the lexical valency of words is linguistically restricted by the inner structure of the English word-stock. This can be easily observed in the selection of synonyms found in different word-groups. Though the verbs **lift** and **raise,** e.g., are usually treated as synonyms, it is only the latter that is collocated with the noun **question.** The verb **take** may be synonymically interpreted as 'grasp', 'seize', 'catch', 'lay hold of, etc. but it is only **take** that is found in collocation with the nouns **examination, measures, precautions,** etc., only **catch** in **catch smb. napping** and **grasp** in **grasp the truth.**

There is a certain norm of lexical valency for each word and any departure from this norm is felt as a literary or rather a stylistic device. Such word-groups as for example **a cigarette ago, shove a question** and the like are illustrative of the point under discussion. It is because we recognise that **shove** and **question** are not normally collocable that the junction of them can be effective.

Words habitually collocated in speech tend to constitute a cliché. We observe, for example, that the verb **put forward** and the noun **question** are habitually collocated and whenever we hear the verb **put forward** or see it written on paper it is natural that we should anticipate the word **question.** So we may conclude that **put forward a question** constitutes a habitual word-group, a kind of cliché. This is also true of a number of other word-groups, e.g. **to win (or gain) a victory, keen sight (or hearing).** Some linguists hold that most of the English in ordinary use is thoroughly saturated with cliches.[1]

The lexical valency of correlated words in different languages is not identical. Both the English word **flower** and its Russian counterpart — *цветок,* for example, may be combined with a number of other words all of which denote the place where the flowers are grown, e.g. **garden flowers, hot-house flowers,** etc. (cf. the Russian *садовые цветы, оранжерейные цветы,* etc.). The English word, however, cannot enter into combination with the word **room** to denote flowers growing in the rooms (cf. **pot flowers** — *комнатные цветы).*

One more point of importance should be discussed in connection with the problem of lexical valency — the interrelation of lexical valency and polysemy as found in word-groups.

Firstly, the restrictions of lexical valency of words may manifest themselves in the lexical meanings of the polysemantic members of word-groups. The adjective **heavy,** e.g., is combined with the words **food, meals, supper,** etc. in the meaning 'rich and difficult to digest'. But not all the words with more or less the same component of meaning can be combined with this adjective. One cannot say, for instance, **heavy cheese** or **heavy sausage** implying that the cheese or the sausage is difficult to digest."

Secondly, it is observed that different meanings of a word may be described through the possible types of lexical contexts, i.e. through the

[1] See, e. g., *R. Quirk,* op. cit., p. 206. 'It is self-evident that clichés are of great importance in practical language learning as speech is not so much the mastery of vocabulary as such, but acquisition of a set of speech habits in using word-groups in general and clichés in particular.'

lexical valency of the word, for example, the different meanings of the adjective **heavy** may be described through the word-groups **heavy weight (book, table,** etc.), **heavy snow (storm, rain,** etc.), **heavy drinker (eater, etc.), heavy sleep (disappointment, sorrow,** etc.), **heavy industry (tanks,** etc.), and so on.

From this point of view word-groups may be regarded as the characteristic minimal lexical sets that operate as distinguishing clues for each of the multiple meanings of the word.

§ 2. Grammatical Valency

Words are used also in grammatical contexts.[1] The minimal grammatical context in which words are used when brought together to form word-groups is usually described as the pattern of the word-group. For instance, the adjective **heavy** discussed above can be followed by a noun (e.g. heavy **storm** or by the infinitive of a verb (e.g. **heavy to lift),** etc. The aptness of a word to appear in specific grammatical (or rather syntactic) structures is termed g r a m m a t i c a l v a l e n c y .

The grammatical valency of words may be different. To begin with, the range of grammatical valency is delimited by the part of speech the word belongs to. It follows that the grammatical valency of each individual word is dependent on the grammatical structure of the language.

This is not to imply that grammatical valency of words belonging to the same part of speech is necessarily identical. This can be best illustrated by comparing the grammatical valency of any two words belonging to the same part of speech, e.g. of the two synonymous verbs **suggest** and **propose.** Both verbs can be followed by a noun **(to propose** or **suggest a plan, a resolution).** It is only **propose,** however, that can be followed by the infinitive of a verb **(to propose to do smth.);** The adjectives **clever** and **intelligent** are seen to possess different grammatical valency as **clever** can be used in word-groups having the pattern: *Adjective-Preposition at+Noun* **(clever at mathematics),** whereas **intelligent** can never be found in exactly the same word-group pattern.

Specific linguistic restrictions in the range of grammatical valency of individual words imposed on the lexical units by the inner structure of the language are also observed by comparing the grammatical valency of correlated words in different languages. The English verb **influence,** for example, can be followed only by a noun ***(to* influence a person, a decision, choice,** etc.). The grammatical valency of its Russian counterpart *влиять* is different. The Russian verb can be combined only with a prepositional group (cf. *влиять* на *человека,* на *выбор,* . . ., etc.).

No departure from the norm of grammatical valency is possible as this can make the word-group unintelligible to English speakers. Thus e.g. the word-group **mathematics at clever** is likely to be felt as a meaningless string of words because the grammatical valency of English nouns does not allow of the structure *Noun+at+Adjective.*

It should also be pointed out that the individual meanings of a polysemantic word may be described through its grammatical valency. Thus, different meanings of the adjective **keen** may be described in a general

[1] See 'Semasiology', § 42, p. 49.

way through different structures of the word-groups **keen+*N*, — keen sight (hearing,** etc.), **keen + on + *N* — keen on sports (on tennis, etc.), keen+V(*inf.*) — keen to know (to find out,** etc.).

From this point of view word-groups may be regarded as minimal syntactic (or syntagmatic) structures that operate as distinguishing clues for different meanings of a polysemantic word.

§ 3. Distribution as the Criterion of Classi-

Structurally word-groups may be approached in various ways. We know that word-groups may be described through the order and arrangement of the component members. The word-group **to see something** can be classified as a verbal — nominal group, **to see to smth** as verbal — prepositional — nominal, etc.

All word-groups may be also analysed by the criterion of distribution into two big classes. If the word-group has the same linguistic distribution as one of its members, it is described as endocentric, i.e. having one central member functionally equivalent to the whole word-group. The word-groups, e.g., **red flower, bravery of all kinds,** are distributionally identical with their central components **flower** and **bravery (cf., e.g.,-I saw a red flower — I saw a flower).**

If the distribution of the word-group is different from either of its members, it is regarded as exocentric, i.e. as having no such central member, for instance **side by side** or **grow smaller** and others where the component words are not syntactically substitutable for the whole word-group.

In endocentric word-groups the central component that has the same distribution as the whole group is clearly the dominant member or the head to which all other members of the group are subordinated. In the word-group **red flower,** e.g., the head is the noun **flower** and in the word-group **kind to people** the head is the adjective **kind,** etc.

It follows that word-groups may be classified according to their head-words into n o m i n a l groups or phrases (e.g. **red flower),** a d j e c - t i v a l, groups (e.g. **kind to people),** v e r b a l groups (e.g. **to speak well),** etc. The head is not necessarily the component that occurs first in the word-group. In such nominal word-groups as, e.g., **very great bravery, bravery in the struggle** the noun **bravery** is the head whether followed or preceded by other words.

Word-groups are also classified according to their syntactic pattern into predicative and non-predicative groups. Such word-groups as, e.g., **John works, he went** that have a syntactic structure similar to that of a sentence, are classified as predicative, and all others as non-predicative.[1] Non-predicative word-groups may be subdivided according to the type

[1] This classification was the issue of heated discussion in Soviet linguistics. It was argued that the so-called predicative word-groups actually comprise the subject and the predicate, i.e', the main components of the sentence and should be regarded as syntactical rather than lexical units. Here we are concerned only with non-predicative word-groups.

of syntactic relations between the components into subordinative and co-ordinative. Such word-groups as **red flower, a man of wisdom** and the like are termed s u b o r d i n a t i v e because the words **red** and **of wisdom** are subordinated to **flower** and **man** respectively and function as their attributes. Such phrases as **women and children, day and night, do or die** are classified as c o o r d i n a t i v e .

MEANING OF WORD-GROUPS

As with word-meaning, the meaning of word-groups may be analysed into l e x i c a l and g r a m m a t i c a l components.

§ 4. Lexical Meaning

The lexical meaning of the word-group may be defined as the combined lexical meaning of the component words. Thus the lexical meaning of the word-group **red** flower may be described denotationally as the combined meaning of the words **red** and **flower.** It should be pointed out, however, that the term c o m b i n e d l e x i c a l m e a n i n g is not to imply that the meaning of the word-group is a mere additive result of all the lexical meanings of the component members. As a rule, the meanings of the component words are mutually dependent and the meaning of the word-group naturally predominates over the lexical meaning of its constituents.

Even in word-groups made up of technical terms which are traditionally held to be monosemantic the meaning of the word-group cannot be described as the sum total of the meanings of its components. For example, though the same adjective **atomic** is a component of a number of terminological word-groups, e.g. **atomic weight, atomic warfare,** etc., the lexical meaning of the adjective is different and to a certain degree subordinated to the meaning of the noun in each individual word-group and consequently the meaning of the whole group is modified.

Interdependence of the lexical meanings of the constituent members of word-groups can be readily observed in word-groups made up of polysemantic words. For example, in the nominal group **blind man (cat, horse)** only one meaning of the adjective **blind,** i.e. 'unable to see', is combined with the lexical meaning of the noun man (cat, **horse)** and it is only one of the meanings of the noun **man** — 'human being' that is perceived in combination with the lexical meaning of this adjective. The meaning of the same adjective in **blind type (print, handwriting)** is different.

As can be seen from the above examples, polysemantic words are used in word-groups only in one of their meanings. These meanings of the component words in such word-groups are mutually interdependent and inseparable. Semantic inseparability of word-groups that allows us to treat them as self-contained lexical units is also clearly perceived in the analysis of the connotational component of their lexical meaning. Stylistic reference of word-groups, for example, may be essentially different from that of the words making up these groups. There is nothing colloquial or slangy about such words as **old, boy, bag, fun,** etc. when taken in isolation. The word-groups made up of these words, **e.g. old boy, bags of fun, are** recognisably colloquial.

§ 5. Structural Meaning As with polymorphemic words word-groups possess not only the lexical meaning, but also the meaning conveyed mainly by the pattern of arrangement of their constituents. A certain parallel can be drawn between the meaning conveyed by the arrangement of morphemes in words and the structural meaning of word-groups.[1] It will be recalled that two compound words made up of lexically identical stems may be different in meaning because of the difference in the pattern of arrangement of the stems. For example, the meaning of such words as **dog-house** and **house-dog** is different though the lexical meaning of the components is identical. This is also true of word-groups. Such word-groups as **school grammar** and **grammar school** are semantically different because of the difference in the pattern of arrangement of the component words. It is assumed that the structural pattern of word-groups is the carrier of a certain semantic component not necessarily dependent on the actual lexical meaning of its members. In the example discussed above **(school grammar)** the structural meaning of the word-group may be abstracted from the group and described as 'quality-substance' meaning. This is the meaning expressed by the pattern of the word-group but not by either the word **school** or the word **grammar. It** follows that we have to distinguish between the structural meaning of a given type of word-group as such and the lexical meaning of its constituents.

§ 6. Interrelation of Lexical and Structural Meaning in Word-Groups The lexical and structural components of meaning in word-groups are interdependent and inseparable. The inseparability of these two semantic components in word-groups can, perhaps, be best illustrated by the semantic analysis of individual word-groups in which the norms of conventional collocability of words seem to be deliberately overstepped. For instance, in the word-group **all the sun long** we observe a departure from the norm of lexical valency represented by such word-groups as **all the day long, all the night long, all the week long,** and a few others. The structural pattern of these word-groups in ordinary usage and the word-group **all the sun long** is identical. The generalised meaning of the pattern may be described as 'a unit of time'. Replacing **day, night, week** by another noun **the sun** we do not find any change in the structural meaning of the pattern. The group **all the sun long** functions semantically as a unit of time. The noun **sun,** however, included in the group continues to carry the semantic value or, to be more exact, the lexical meaning that it has in word-groups of other structural patterns (cf. **the sun rays, African sun,** etc.). This is also true of the word-group **a grief ago** made up by analogy with the patterns **a week ago, a year ago,** etc. It follows that the meaning of the word-group is derived from the combined lexical meanings of its constituents and is inseparable from the meaning of the pattern of their arrangement. Comparing two nominal phrases **a factory hand** — 'a factory worker' and **a hand bag** — 'a bag carried in the hand' we see that though the word **hand** makes part of both its lexical meaning and the role it plays

[1] See 'Semasiology', §§ 15, 16, p. p. 24, 25.

in the structure of word-groups is different which accounts for the difference in the lexical and structural meaning of the word-groups under discussion.

It is often argued that the meaning of word-groups is also dependent on some extra-linguistic factors, i.e. on the situation in which word-groups are habitually used by native speakers. For example, the meaning of the nominal group **wrong number** is linguistically defined by the combined lexical meaning of the component words and the structural meaning of the pattern. Proceeding from the linguistic meaning this group can denote any number that is wrong. Actually, however, it is habitually used by English speakers in answering telephone calls and, as a rule, denotes the wrong telephone number.

INTERDEPENDENCE OF STRUCTURE AND MEANING IN WORD-GROUPS

As both structure and meaning are parts of the word-group as a linguistic unit, the interdependence of these two facets is naturally the subject matter of lexicological analysis.

§ 7. Syntactic Structure (Formula) and Pattern of Word-Groups

In connection with the problem under discussion the term s y n t a c t i c (or s y n t a g m a t i c) s t r u c t u r e requires some clarification. We know that word-groups may be generally described through the pattern of arrangement of the constituent members. The term s y n t a c t i c s t r u c t u r e (formula) properly speaking implies the description of the order and arrangement of member-words as parts of speech. We may, for instance, describe the word-group as made up of *an Adjective* and *a Noun* **(clever man, red flower,** etc.), *a Verb — a Noun* **(take books, build houses,** etc.), or *a Noun, a Preposition* and *a Noun* **(a touch of colour, a matter of importance,** etc.). The syntactic structure (formula) of the nominal groups **clever man** and **red flower** may be represented as *A + N,* that of the verbal groups **take books** and **build houses** as *V + N,* and so on.

These formulas can be used to describe all the possible structures of English word-groups. We can say, e.g., that the verbal groups comprise the following structural formulas: *V+N* **(to build houses),** *V+prp+N* **(to rely on somebody),** *V+N+prp+N* **(to hold something against somebody),** *V+N+V(inf.)* **(to make somebody work),** *V+ V(inf.)* **(to get to know),** and so on.

The structure of word-groups may be also described in relation to the head-word, e.g. the structure of the same verbal groups **(to build houses, to rely on somebody)** is represented as **to build** + ***N*****, to rely** + **on** + *N.* In this case it is usual to speak of t h e p a t t e r n s of word-groups but not of formulas. The term p a t t e r n implies that we are speaking of the structure of the word-group in which a given word is used as its head.

The interdependence of the pattern and meaning of head-words can be easily perceived by comparing word-groups of different patterns in which the same head-word is used. For example, in verbal groups the head-

word mean is semantically different in the patterns mean+iV (mean something) and **mean** + *V(inf.)* (mean to do something). Three patterns with the verb get as the head-word represent three different meanings of this verb, e.g. get+*N* (**get a letter, information, money,** etc.), get+ +to +*N* (**get to Moscow, to the Institute,** etc.), *get+N+V(inf.)* (**get somebody to come, to do the work,** etc.). This is also true of adjectival word-groups, e.g. **clever**+*N* (**clever man**) and clever+at+*N* (**clever at arithmetic), keen**+*N* (**keen sight, hearing), keen+on**+*N* (**keen on sports, tennis).** Notional member-words in such patterns are habitually represented in conventional symbols whereas prepositions and other form-words are given in their usual graphic form. This is accounted for by the fact that individual form-words may modify or change the meaning of the word with which it is combined, as in, e.g., anxious+for+ *N* (**anxious for news**), anxious+about+*N* (**anxious about his health**). Broadly speaking we may conclude that as a rule the difference in the meaning of the head-word is conditioned by a difference in the pattern of the word-group in which this word is used.

§ 8. Polysemantic and Monosemantic Patterns

If the structure of word-groups is different, we have ample grounds to infer that the difference in the syntactic (or syntagmatic) structure is indicative of a difference in the meaning of the head-word of word-groups.

So we assume that verbal groups represented by d i f f e r e n t s t r u c t u r a l f o r m u l a s , e.g. *V+N* and *V+V(inf.)* are as a rule semantically different because of the difference in the grammatical component of meaning. This is also true of d i f f e r e n t p a t t e r n s of word-groups, e.g. get+*N* and get+V(*inf.*).

It should be pointed out,' however, that although difference in the pattern signals as a rule difference in the meaning of the head-word, identity of pattern cannot be regarded as a reliable criterion for identity of meaning.[1] Thus structurally identical patterns, e.g. heavy+*N*, may be representative of different meanings of the adjective heavy which is perceived in the word-groups **heavy rain (snow, storm), cf. heavy smoker (drinker), heavy weight (table),** etc. all of which have the same pattern — heavy+*N*. Structurally simple patterns are as a rule polysemantic, i.e. representative of several meanings of a polysemantic head-word, whereas structurally complex patterns are monosemantic and condition just one meaning of the head-member. The simplest verbal structure *V+N* and the corresponding pattern are as a rule polysemantic (compare, e.g. take+***N*** **(take tea, coffee); take the bus, the tram, take measures, precautions,** etc.), whereas a more complex pattern, e.g. take+to+*N* is monosemantic (e.g. **take to sports, to somebody**).

§ 9. Motivation in Word-Groups

Word-groups like words may also be analysed from the point of view of their motivation.[2] Word-groups may be described as l e x i c a l l y m o t i v a t e d if the combined lexical mean-

[1] See 'Semasiology', §§ 41-45, p. 48-53,
[2] See 'Semasiology', § 17, p. 25.

ing of the groups is deducible from the meaning of their components. The nominal groups, e.g. **red flower, heavy weight** and the verbal group, e.g. **take** lessons, are from this point of view motivated, whereas structurally identical word-groups **red tape** — 'official bureaucratic methods', **heavy father** — 'serious or solemn part in a theatrical play', and **take place** — 'occur' are l e x i c a l l y n o n - m o t i v a t e d . In these groups the constituents do not possess, at least synchronically, the denotational meaning found in the same words outside these groups or, to be more exact, do not possess any individual lexical meaning of their own, as the word-groups under discussion seem to represent single indivisible semantic entities. Word-groups are said to be s t r u c t u r a l l y m o t i v a t e d if the meaning of the pattern is deducible from the order and arrangement of the member-words of the group. **Red flower,** e.g., is motivated as the meaning of the pattern *quality — substance* can be deduced from the order and arrangement of the words **red** and **flower,** whereas the seemingly identical pattern **red tape** cannot be interpreted as *quality — substance.*

The degree of motivation may be different. Between the extremes of complete motivation and lack of motivation there are innumerable intermediate cases. For example, the degree of lexical motivation in the nominal group **black market** is higher than in **black death,** "but lower than in **black dress,** though none of the groups can be considered as completely non-motivated. This is also true of other word-groups, e.g. **old** man and **old boy** both of which may be regarded as lexically and structurally motivated though the degree of motivation in **old man** is noticeably higher. It is of interest to note that completely motivated word-groups are, as a rule, correlated with certain structural types of compound words. Verbal groups having the structure *V+N,* e.g. ***to*** **read books, to love music,** etc., are habitually correlated with the compounds of the pattern *N+(V+***er***)* **(book-reader, music-lover);** adjectival groups such as *A + +prp+N* (e.g. **rich in oil, shy before girls)** are correlated with the compounds of the pattern *N+A,* e.g. **oil-rich, girl-shy.**

It should also be noted that seemingly identical word-groups are sometimes found to be motivated or non-motivated depending on their semantic interpretation. Thus **apple sauce,** e.g., is lexically and structurally motivated when it means 'a sauce made of apples' but when used to denote 'nonsense' it is clearly non-motivated. In such cases we may even speak of homonymy of word-groups and not of polysemy.

It follows from the above discussion that word-groups may be also classified into motivated and non-motivated units. Non-motivated word-groups are habitually described as p h r a s e o l o g i c a l u n i t s or i d i o m s .

§ 10. Summary and Conclusions

1. Words put together to form lexical units make up phrases or word-groups. The main factors active in bringing words together are lexical and grammatical valency of the components of word-groups.

2. Lexical valency is the aptness of a word to appear in various collocations. All the words of the language possess a certain norm of lexical valency. Restrictions of lexical valency are to be accounted for by the inner structure of the vocabulary of the English language.

3. Lexical valency of polysemantic words is observed in various collocations in which these words are used. Different meanings of a polysemantic word may be described through its lexical valency.

4. Grammatical valency is the aptness of a word to appear in various grammatical structures. All words possess a certain norm of grammatical valency. Restrictions of grammatical valency are to be accounted for by the grammatical structure of the language. The range of grammatical valency of each individual word is essentially delimited by the part of speech the word belongs to and also by the specific norm of grammatical valency peculiar to individual words of Modern English.

5. The grammatical valency of a polysemantic word may be observed in the different structures in which the word is used. Individual meanings of a polysemantic word may be described through its grammatical valency.

6. Structurally, word-groups may be classified by the criterion of distribution into endocentric and exocentric.

Endocentric word-groups can be classified according to the head-word into nominal, adjectival, verbal and adverbial groups or phrases.

7. Semantically all word-groups may be classified into motivated and non-motivated. Non-motivated word-groups are usually described as phraseological units.

PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS

It has been repeatedly pointed out that word-groups viewed as functionally and semantically inseparable units are traditionally regarded as the subject matter of phraseology. It should be noted, however, that no proper scientific investigation of English phraseology has been attempted until quite recently. English and American linguists as a rule confine themselves to collecting various words, word-groups and sentences presenting some interest either from the point of view of origin, style, usage, or some other feature peculiar to them. These units are habitually described as i d i o m s but no attempt has been made to investigate these idioms as a separate class of linguistic units or a specific class of word-groups.

American and English dictionaries of unconventional English, slang and idioms and other highly valuable reference-books contain a wealth of proverbs, sayings, various lexical units of all kinds, but as a rule do not seek to lay down a reliable criterion to distinguish between variable word-groups and phraseological units. Paradoxical as it may seem the first dictionary in which theoretical principles for the selection of English phraseological units were elaborated was published in our country.[1]

[1] It should be recalled that the first attempt to place the study of various word-groups on a scientific basis was made by the outstanding Russian linguist A. A. Shakhmatov in his world-famous book Syntax. Shakhmatov's work was continued by Academician V. V. Vinogradov whose approach to phraseology is discussed below. Investigation of English phraseology was initiated in our country by prof. A. V. Kunin (А. В. *Кунин.* Англо-русский фразеологический словарь. М., 1955). See also *A. V. Kunin.* English Idioms. 3d ed. M., 1967.

The term itself p h r a s e o l o g i c a l u n i t s to denote a specific group of phrases was introduced by Soviet linguists and is generally accepted in our country.

§ 1 1 . Free Word-Groups Versus Set-Phrases. Phraseological Units, Idioms, Word-Equivalents

Attempts have been made to approach the problem of phraseology in different ways. Up till now, however, there is a certain divergence of opinion as to the essential feature of phraseological units as distinguished from other word-groups and the nature of phrases that can be properly termed p h r a s e o l o g i c a l u n i t s .

The complexity of the problem may be largely accounted for by the fact that the border-line between free or variable word-groups and phraseological units is not clearly defined. The so-called free word-groups are only relatively free as collocability of their member-words is fundamentally delimited by their lexical and grammatical valency which makes at least some of them very close to set-phrases. Phraseological units are comparatively stable and semantically inseparable. Between the extremes of complete motivation and variability of member-words on the one hand and lack of motivation combined with complete stability of the lexical components and grammatical structure on the other hand there are innumerable border-line ca'ses.

• However, the existing terms,[1] e.g. set-phrases, idioms, word-equivalents, reflect to a certain extent the main debatable issues of phraseology which centre on the divergent views concerning the nature and essential features of phraseological units as distinguished from the so-called free word-groups. The term s e t - p h r a s e implies that the basic criterion of differentiation is stability of the lexical components and grammatical structure of word-groups. The term i d i o m s generally implies that the essential feature of the linguistic units under consideration is idiomaticity or lack cf motivation. This term habitually used by English and American linguists is very often treated as synonymous with the term p h r a s e o l o g i c a l u n i t universally accepted in our country.[2] The term w o r d - e q u i v a l e n t stresses not only the semantic but also the functional inseparability of certain word-groups and their aptness to function in speech as single words.

Thus differences in terminology reflect certain differences in the main criteria used to distinguish between free word-groups and a specific type of linguistic units generally known as phraseology. These criteria and the ensuing classification are briefly discussed below.

§ 12. Criteria of Stability and Lack of Motivation (Idiomaticitv)

Phraseological units are habitually defined as non-motivated word-groups that cannot be freely made up in speech but are reproduced as ready-made units. This definition proceeds from the assumption that the essential features of

[1] Cf., e. g., the interpretation of these terms in the textbooks on lexicology by I. V. Arnold, A. I. Smirnitsky and in A. V. Kunin's Англо-русский фразеологический словарь. М., 1967.

[2] For a different interpretation of the term i d i o m see: *А. И. Смирницкий.* Лексикология английского языка. М., 1956,

phraseological units are stability of the lexical components and lack of motivation.[1] It is consequently assumed that unlike components of free word-groups which may vary according to the needs of communication, member-words of phraseological units are always reproduced as single unchangeable collocations.

Thus, for example, the constituent **red** in the free word-group **red flower** may, if necessary, be substituted for by any other adjective denoting colour **(blue, white,** etc.), without essentially changing the denotational meaning of the word-group under discussion (a flower of a certain colour). In the phraseological unit **red tape** (bureaucratic “methods) no such substitution is possible, as a change of the adjective would involve a complete change in the meaning of the whole group. A **blue (black, white,** etc.) **tape** would mean ‘a tape of a certain colour’. It follows that the phraseological unit **red tape** is semantically non-motivated, i.e. its meaning cannot be deduced from the meaning of its components and that it exists as a ready-made linguistic unit which does not allow of any variability of its lexical components.

It is also argued that non-variability of the phraseological unit is not confined to its lexical components. Grammatical structure of phraseological units is to a certain extent also stable. Thus, though the structural formula of the word-groups **red flower** and **red tape** is identical *(A + +N),* the noun flower may be used in the plural **(red flowers),** whereas no such change is possible in the phraseological unit **red tape; red tapes** would then denote ‘tapes of red colour’ but not ‘bureaucratic methods’. This is also true of other types of phraseological units, e.g. **what will Mrs. Grundy** say?, where the verbal component is invariably reproduced in the same grammatical form.

§ 13. Classification

Taking into account mainly the degree of idiomaticity phraseological units may be classified into three big groups: phraseological fusions, phraseological unities and phraseological collocations.[2]

Phraseological fusions are completely non-motivated word-groups, such as **red** tape — ‘bureaucratic methods’; **heavy father** — ’serious or solemn part in a theatrical play’; **kick the bucket** — ‘die’; and the like. The meaning of the components has no connections whatsoever, at least synchronically, with the meaning of the whole group. Idiomaticity is, as a rule, combined with complete stability of the lexical components and the grammatical structure of the fusion.

Phraseological unities are partially non-motivated as their meaning can usually be perceived through the metaphoric meaning of the whole phraseological unit. For example, **to show one’s teeth, to wash one’s dirty linen in public** if interpreted as semantically motivated through the combined lexical meaning of the component words would

[1] This approach to English phraseology is closely bound up with the research work carried out in the field of Russian phraseology by Academician V. V. Vinogradov. See Русский язык. Грамматическое учение о слове. Учпедгиз. Л., 1947.

[2] This classification was suggested by Academician V. V. Vinogradov.

naturally lead one to understand these in their literal meaning. The metaphoric meaning of the whole unit, however, readily suggests 'take a threatening tone' or 'show an intention to injure' for **show one's teeth** and 'discuss or make public one's quarrels' for **wash one's dirty linen in public.** Phraseological unities are as a rule marked by a comparatively high degree of stability of the lexical components.

P h r a s e o l o g i c a l   c o l l o c a t i o n s are motivated but they are made up of words possessing specific lexical valency which accounts for a certain degree of stability in such word-groups. In phraseological collocations variability of member-words is strictly limited. For instance, **bear a grudge** may be changed into **bear malice,** but not into **bear a fancy** or **liking. We** can say **take a liking (fancy)** but not **take hatred (disgust).** These habitual collocations tend to become kind of clichés[1] where the meaning of member-words is to some extent dominated by the meaning of the whole group. Due to this phraseological collocations are felt as possessing a certain degree of semantic inseparability.

§ 14. Some Debatable Points

The current definition of phraseological units as highly idiomatic word-groups which cannot be freely made up in speech, but are reproduced as ready-made units has been subject to severe criticism by linguists of different schools of thought. The main objections and debatable points may be briefly outlined as follows:

1. The definition is felt to be inadequate as the concept r e a d y - m a d e   u n i t s seems to be rather vague. In fact this term can be applied to a variety of heterogeneous linguistic phenomena ranging from word-groups to sentences (e.g. proverbs, sayings) and also quotations from poems, novels or scientific treatises all of which can be described as ready-made units.

2. Frequent discussions have also led to questioning this approach to phraseology from a purely semantic point of view as t h e   c r i t e r i o n of i d i o m a t i c i t y is found to be an inadequate guide in singling out phraseological units from other word-groups. Borderline cases between idiomatic and non-idiomatic word-groups are so numerous and confusing that the final decision seems to depend largely on one's "feeling of the language". This can be proved by the fact that the same word-groups are treated by some linguists as idiomatic phrases and by others as free word-groups. For example, such word-groups as **take the chair** — 'preside at a meeting', **take one's chance** — 'trust to luck or fortune', **take trouble** (to do smth) — 'to make efforts' and others are marked in some of the English dictionaries as idioms or phrases, whereas in others they are found as free word-groups illustrating one of the meanings of the verb **to take** or the nouns combined with this verb.[2]

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[1] See 'Word-Groups and Phraseological Units', § 1, p. 64. Here the terms phraseological c o l l o c a t i o n s and h a b i t u a l   c o l l o c a t i o n s are used synonymously.

[2] Cf., e.g., *The Advanced Learner's Dictionary* by A. Hornby, E. Gatenby, H. Wakefield; *The Universal English Dictionary* by H. Wyld and *A General Service List of English Words with Semantic Frequencies* by M. West.

The impracticability of the criterion of idiomaticity is also observed in the traditional classification of phraseological collocations. The extreme cases, i.e. phraseological fusions and collocations are easily differentiated but the borderline units, as for example phraseological fusions and phraseological unities or phraseological collocations and free word-groups, are very often doubtful and rather vaguely outlined. We may argue, e.g., that such word-groups as **high treason** or **show the white feather** are fusions because one finds it impossible to infer the meaning of the whole from the meaning of the individual components. Others may feel these word-groups as metaphorically motivated and refer them to phraseological unities.

The term i d i o m a t i c i t y is also regarded by some linguists as requiring clarification. As a matter of fact this term is habitually used to denote lack of motivation from the point of view of one's mother tongue. A word-group which defies word by word translation is consequently described as idiomatic. It follows that if idiomaticity is viewed as the main distinguishing feature of phraseological units, the same word-groups in the English language may be classified as idiomatic phraseological units by Russian speakers and as non-idiomatic word-groups by those whose mother tongue contains analogous collocations. Thus, e.g., from the point of view of Russian speakers such word-groups as **take tea,** take care, etc. are often referred to phraseology as the Russian translation equivalents of these word-groups *(пить чай, заботиться)* do not contain the habitual translation equivalents of the verb **take.** French speakers, however, are not likely to find anything idiomatic about these word-groups as there are similar lexical units in the French language (cf. **prendre du thé**, **prendre soin**). This approach to idiomaticity may **be** termed interlingual as it involves a comparison, explicit or implicit of two different languages.

The term i d i o m a t i c i t y is also understood as lack of motivation from the point of view of native speakers. As here we are concerned with the English language, this implies that only those word-groups are to be referred to phraseology which are felt as non-motivated, at least synchronically, by English speakers, e.g. **red tape, kick the bucket** and the like. This approach to idiomaticity may be termed intralingual. In other words the judgement as to idiomaticity is passed within' the framework of the language concerned, not from the outside. It is readily observed that classification of factual linguistic material into free wort-groups and phraseological units largely depends upon the particular meaning we attach to the term i d i o m a t i c i t y . It will be recalled, for example, that habitual collocations are word-groups whose component member or members possess specific and limited lexical valency, as a rule essentially different from the lexical valency of related words in the Russian language.[1] A number of habitual collocations, e.g. **heavy rain, bad mistake, take care** and others, may be felt by Russian speakers as p e c u l i a r l y E n g l i s h and therefore idiomatic, whereas they are not perceived as such by English speakers in whose mother tongue

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[1] See 'Word-Groups and Phraseological Units', § 1, p. 64.

the lexical valency of member words **heavy, bad, take** presupposes their collocability with **rain, mistake, care.**

3. The criterion of stability is also criticised as not very reliable in distinguishing phraseological units from other word-groups habitually referred to as phraseology. We observe regular substitution of at least one of the lexical components. **In to cast smth in smb's teeth,** e.g. the verb **cast** may be replaced by **fling; to take a decision** is found alongside with **to make a decision; not to care a twopenny** is just one of the possible variants of the phrase, whereas in others the noun **twopenny** may be replaced by a number of other nouns, e.g. **farthing, button, pin, sixpence, fig,** etc.

It is also argued that stability of lexical components does not presuppose lack of motivation. The word-group **shrug one's shoulders,** e.g., does not allow of the substitution of either **shrug** or **shoulders;** the meaning of the word-group, however, is easily deducible from the meanings of the member-words, hence the word-group is completely motivated, though stable. Idiomatic word-groups may be variable as far as their lexical components are concerned, or stable. It was observed that, e.g., **to cast smth in smb's teeth** is a highly idiomatic but variable word-group as the constituent member **cast** may be replaced by **fling** or **throw;** the word-group **red tape** is both highly idiomatic and stable.

It follows that stability and idiomaticity may be regarded as two different aspects of word-groups. Stability is an essential feature of set-phrases both motivated and non-motivated. Idiomaticity is a distinguishing feature of phraseological units or idioms which comprise both stable set-phrases and variable word-groups. The two features are not mutually exclusive and may be overlapping, but are not interdependent.

Stability of word-groups may be viewed in terms of predictability of occurrence of member-words. Thus, e.g., the verb **shrug** predicts the occurrence of the noun **shoulders** and the verb **clench** the occurrence of either **fists** or **teeth.** The degree of predictability or probability of occurrence of member-words is different in different word-groups. We may assume, e.g., that the verb **shrug** predicts with a hundred per cent probability the occurrence of the noun **shoulders,** as no other noun can follow this particular verb. The probability of occurrence of the noun **look** after the verb **cast** is not so high because **cast** may be followed not only by **look** but also by **glance, light, lots** and some other nouns. Stability of the word-group in **clench one's fists** is higher than in **cast a look,** but lower than in **shrug one's shoulders** as the verb **clench** predicts the occurrence of either **fists** or **teeth.**

It is argued that the stability of all word-groups may be statistically calculated and the word-groups where stability exceeds a certain limit (say 50%) may be classified as set-phrases.

Predictability of occurrence may be calculated in relation to one or, more than one constituent of the word-group. Thus, e.g., the degree of probability of occurrence of the noun **bull** after the verb **take** is very low and may practically be estimated at zero. The two member-words **take the bull,** however, predict the occurrence of **by the horns** with a very high degree of probability.

Stability viewed in terms of probability of occurrence seems a more reliable criterion in differentiating between set-phrases and variable or free word-groups, but cannot be relied upon to single out phraseological units. Besides, it is argued that it is practically impossible to calculate the stability of all the word-groups as that would necessitate investigation into the lexical valency of the whole vocabulary of the English language.

§ 15. Criterion of Function

Another angle from which the problem of phraseology is viewed is the so-called functional approach. This approach assumes that phraseological units may be defined as specify word-groups functioning as word-equivalents.[1] The fundamental features of phraseological units thus understood are their semantic and grammatical inseparability which are regarded as distinguishing features of isolated words.

It will be recalled that when we compare a free word-group, e.g, **heavy weight,** and a phraseological unit, e.g. **heavy father,** we observe that in the case of the free wordgroup each of the member-words has its own denotational meaning. So the lexical meaning of the word-group can be adequately described as the combined lexical meaning of its constituents.[2] In the case of the phraseological unit, however, the denotational meaning belongs to the word-group as a single semantically inseparable unit. The individual member-words do not seem to possess any lexical meaning outside the meaning of the group. The meanings of the member-words **heavy** and **father** taken in isolation are in no way connected with the meaning of the phrase **heavy father** — 'serious or solemn part in a theatrical play'.

The same is true of the stylistic reference and emotive charge of phraseological units. In free word-groups each of the components preserves as a rule its own stylistic reference. This can be readily observed in the stylistic effect produced by free word-groups made up of words of widely different stylistic value, e.g. **to commence to scrub, valiant chap** and the like.

A certain humorous effect is attained because one of the member-words **(commence, valiant)** is felt as belonging to the bookish stylistic layer, whereas the other **(scrub, chap)** is felt as stylistically neutral or colloquial. When we say, however, that **kick the bucket** is highly colloquial or **heavy father** is a professional term, we do not refer to the stylistic value of the component words of these phraseological units **kick, bucket, heavy** or **father,** but the stylistic value of the word-group as a single whole. Taken in isolation the words are stylistically neutral. It follows that phraseological units are characterised by a single stylistic reference irrespective of the number and nature of their component words. Semantic inseparability of phraseological units is viewed as one of the aspects of idiomaticity [3] which enables us to regard them as semantically equivalent to single words.

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[1] This approach and the ensuing classification were suggested by Prof. A. I. Smirnitsky in his monograph "Лексикология английского языка". M., 1956.

[2] See 'Word-Groups and Phraseological Units', § 4, p. 68.

[3] Idiomaticity in the functional approach is understood as intralingual phenomenon.

The term grammatical inseparability implies that the grammatical meaning or, to be more exact, the part-of-speech meaning of phraseological units is felt as belonging to the word-group as a whole irrespective of the part-of-speech meaning of the component words. Comparing the free word-group, e.g. **a long day,** and the phraseological unit, e.g. **in the long run,** we observe that in the free word-group the noun **day** and the adjective **long** preserve the part-of-speech meaning proper to these words taken in isolation. The whole group is viewed as composed of two independent units (adjective and noun). In the phraseological unit **in the long run** the part-of-speech meaning belongs to the group as a single whole. **In the long run** is grammatically equivalent to single adverbs, e.g. **finally, ultimately, firstly,** etc. **In** the case of the phraseological unit under discussion there is no connection between the part-of-speech meaning of the member-words (in — preposition, **long** — adjective, **run** — noun) and the part-of-speech meaning of the whole word-group. Grammatical inseparability of phraseological units viewed as one of the aspects of idiomaticity enables us to regard them as grammatically equivalent to single words.

It is argued that the final test of the semantic and grammatical inseparability of phrases is their functional unity, i.e. their aptness to function in speech as single syntactic units.

It will be observed that in the free word-groups, e.g. **heavy weight, long time,** the adjectives **heavy** and **long** function as attributes to other members of the sentence **(weight, time),** whereas the phraseological units **heavy father** and **in the long run** are functionally inseparable and are always viewed as making up one and only one member of the sentence (the subject or the object, etc.), i.e. they are functionally equivalent to single words.

Proceeding from the assumption that phraseological units are non-motivated word-groups functioning as word-equivalents by virtue of their semantic and grammatical inseparability, we may classify them into noun equivalents (e.g. **heavy father),** verb equivalents (e.g. **take place, break the news),** adverb equivalents (e.g. **in the long run),** etc.

As far as their structure is concerned these groups are not homogeneous and may be subdivided into the same groups as variable phrases. Among verb equivalents, for example, we may find verb-noun units **(take place)** and verb-adverb units **(give** up), [1] adverb equivalents comprise preposition-noun groups (e.g **by heart, at length),** adverb-conjunction-adverb groups (e.g. **far and wide),** etc.

§ 16. Phraseological Units and Idioms Proper

As can be inferred from the above discussion, the functional approach does not discard idiomaticity as the main feature distinguishing phraseological units from free word-groups, but seeks to establish formal criteria of idiomaticity by analysing the syntactic function of phraseological units in speech.

[1] It should be noted that the status of **give up** and structurally similar groups as phraseological units is doubted by some linguists who regard up in give up as a particle but not as a word, and consequently the whole is viewed not as a word-group but as a single composite verb. See, e.g., *I. V. Arnold.* The English Word. M., 1973, pp. 144, 145.

An attempt is also made to distinguish phraseological units as word-equivalents from idioms proper, i.e. idiomatic units such as **that's where the shoe pinches, the cat is out of the bag, what will Mrs Grundy** say?, etc. Unlike phraseological units, proverbs, sayings and quotations do not always function as word-equivalents. They exist as ready-made expressions with a specialised meaning of their own which cannot be inferred from the meaning of their components taken singly. Due to this the linguists who rely mainly on the criterion of idiomaticity classify proverbs and sayings as phraseological units.

The proponents of the functional criterion argue that proverbs and sayings lie outside the province of phraseology. It is pointed out, firstly, that the lack of motivation in such linguistic units is of an essentially different nature. Idioms are mostly based on metaphors which makes the transferred meaning of the whole expression more or less transparent. If we analyse such idioms, as, e.g., **to carry coals to Newcastle, to fall between two stools,** or **fine feathers make fine birds,** we observe that though their meaning cannot be inferred from the literal meaning of the member-words making up these expressions, they are still metaphorically motivated as the literal meaning of the whole expression readily suggests its meaning as an idiom, i.e. 'to do something that is absurdly superfluous', 'fail through taking an intermediate course' and 'to be well dressed to give one an impressive appearance' respectively.[1] The meaning of the phraseological units, e.g. **red tape, heavy father, in the long run,** etc., cannot be deduced either from the meaning of the component words or from the metaphorical meaning of the word-group as a whole.

Secondly, the bulk of idioms never function in speech as word-equivalents which is a proof of their semantic and grammatical separability.

It is also suggested that idioms in general have very much in common with quotations from literary sources, some of which also exist as idiomatic ready-made units with a specialised meaning of their own. Such quotations which have acquired specialised meaning and idiomatic value, as, e.g., **to** be **or not to** be (Shakespeare), **to cleanse the Augean stables** (mythology), **a voice crying out in the wilderness** (the Bible), etc. differ little from proverbs and sayings which may also be regarded as quotations from English folklore and are part of this particular branch of literary studies.

§ 17. Some Debatable Points

The definition of phraseological units as idiomatic word-groups functioning as word-equivalents has also been subject to criticism. The main disputable points are as follows:

1. The criterion of function is regarded as not quite reliable when used with a view to singling out phraseological units from among other more or less idiomatic word-groups. The same word-groups may function in some utterances as an inseparable group and in others as a separable group with each component performing its own syntactic function. This

[1] Definitions are reproduced from *V. H. Collins.* A Book of English Idioms. London, 1960.

seems largely to be accounted for by the structure of the sentence in which the word-group is used. Thus, for example, in the sentence **She took care of everything — take care** is perceived as a single unit functioning as the predicate, whereas in the sentence **great care was taken to keep the children happy — take care** is undoubtedly separable into two components: the verb **take** functions as the predicate and the noun **care** as the object. The functional unity of the word-group seems to be broken.

2. It is also argued that the criterion of function serves to single out **a** comparatively small group of phraseological units comparable with phraseological fusions in the traditional semantic classification but does not provide for an objective criterion for the bulk of word-groups occupying an intermediate position between free word-groups and highly idiomatic phraseological units.

§ 18. Criterion of Context

Phraseological units in Modern English are also approached from the contextual point of view.[1] Proceeding from the assumption that individual meanings of polysemantic words can be observed in certain contexts and may be viewed as dependent on those contexts, it is argued that phraseological units are to be defined through specific types of context. Free word-groups make up variable contexts whereas the essential feature of phraseological units is a non-variable or f i x e d context.‘

Non-variability is understood as the stability of the word-group. In variable contexts which include polysemantic words substitution of one of the components is possible within the limits of the lexical valency of the word under consideration. It is observed, e.g., that in such word-groups as **a small town** the word **town** may be substituted for by a number of other nouns, e.g. **room, audience,** etc., the adjective **small** by a number of other adjectives, e.g. **large, big,** etc. The substitution of nouns does not change the meaning of **small** which denotes in all word-groups -'not large’. The substitution of adjectives does not likewise affect the meaning of **town.** Thus variability of the lexical components is the distinguishing feature of the so-called free word-groups. In other word-groups such as **small business, a small farmer** the variable members serve as a clue to the meaning of the adjective **small.** It may be observed that when combined with the words **town, room,** etc. **a small** denotes ‘not large’, whereas it is only in combination with the nouns business, farmer, etc. that **small** denotes ‘of limited size’ or ‘having limited capital’. Word-groups of this type are sometimes described as t r a d i t i o n a l c o l l o c a t i o n s .[2]

Unlike word-groups with variable members phraseological units allow of no substitution. For example, in the phraseological unit **small hours** — ‘the early hours of the morning from about 1 a.m. to 4 a.m.' —

[1] This approach is suggested by Prof. N. N. Amosova in her book Основы английской фразеологии. ЛГУ, 1963, and later on elaborated in “English Contextology”, L., 1968.

[2] See проф. *А. И. Смирницкий.* Лексикология английского языка. М., 1956, §§ 254, 255.

there is no variable member as **small** denotes ‘early’ only in collocation with **hours.** In the phraseological unit **small beer small** has the meaning ‘weak’ only in this fixed non-variable context. As can be seen from the above, a non-variable context is indicative of a specialised meaning of one of the member-words. The specialised meaning of one of the lexical components is understood as the meaning of the word only in the given phrase (e. g. **small hours),** i.e. this particular meaning cannot be found in the word taken in isolation or in any of the variable word-groups in which the word is used. It follows that specialised meaning and stability of lexical components are regarded as interdependent features of phraseological units whose semantic structure is unique, i.e. no other word-groups can be created on this semantic pattern.

The two criteria of phraseological units — specialised meaning of the components and non-variability of context — display unilateral dependence. Specialised meaning presupposes complete stability of the lexical components, as specialised meaning of the member-words or idiomatic meaning of the whole word-group is never observed outside fixed contexts.

Phraseological units may be subdivided into p h r a s e m e s and i d i o m s according to whether or not one of the components of the whole word-group possesses specialised meaning.

P h r a s e m e s are, as a rule, two-member word-groups in which one of the members has specialised meaning dependent on the second component as, e.g., in **small hours;** the second component **(hours)** serves as the only clue to this particular meaning of the first component as it is found only in the given context **(small hours).** The word that serves as the clue to the specialised meaning of one of the components is habitually used in its central meaning (cf., for example, **small hours,** and **three hours, pleasant hours,** etc.).

I d i o m s are distinguished from p h r a s e m e s by the idiomaticity of the whole word-group (e.g. **red tape** — ‘bureaucratic methods’) and the impossibility of attaching meaning to the members of the group taken in isolation. Idioms are semantically and grammatically inseparable units. They may comprise unusual combinations of words which when understood in their literal meaning are normally unallocable as, e.g. **mare’s nest (a mare** — ‘a female horse’, a **mare’s nest** — ‘a hoax, a discovery which proves false or worthless’). Unusualness of collocability, or logical incompatibility of member-words is indicative of the idiomaticity of the phrase.

Idioms made up of words normally brought together are homonymous with corresponding variable word-groups, e.g. **to let the cat out** of **the bag** — ‘to divulge a secret’, and the clue to the idiomatic meaning is to be found in a wider context outside the phrase itself.

§ 19. Some Debatable Points

The main objections to the contextual approach, are as follows: 1. Non-variability of context does not necessarily imply specialised meaning of the component or the components of the word-group. In some cases complete stability of the lexical components is found in word-groups including words of a narrow or specific range of lexical valency as, e.g., **shrug one’s shoulders.**

2. Some word-groups possessing a certain degree of idiomaticity are referred to traditional collocations. The criterion of traditional collocations, however, is different from that of phraseological units. In the contextual approach traditional collocations are understood as word-groups with partially variable members; the degree of idiomaticity is disregarded. Consequently such word-groups as, e.g., **clench fists (teeth)** and **cast (throw, fling) something in somebody's teeth** may both be referred to traditional collocations on the ground of substitutability of one of the member-words in spite of a tangible difference in the degree of idiomatic meaning.

§ 20. Phraseology as a Subsystem of Language

Comparing the three approaches discussed above (semantic, functional, and contextual) we have ample ground to conclude that they have very much in common as the main criteria of phraseological units appear to be essentially the same, i.e. stability and idiomaticity or lack of motivation. It should be noted however that these criteria as elaborated in the three approaches are sufficient mainly to single out extreme cases: highly idiomatic non-variable and free (or variable) word-groups.

Thus **red tape, mare's nest,** etc. according to the semantic approach belong to phraseology and are described as fusions as they are completely non-motivated. According to the functional approach they are also regarded as phraseological units because of their grammatical (syntactic) inseparability and because they function in speech as word-equivalents. According to the contextual approach **red tape, mare's nest,** etc. make up a group of phraseological units referred to as idioms because of the impossibility of any change in the 'fixed context' and their semantic inseparability.

The status of the bulk of word-groups however cannot be decided with certainty with the help of these criteria because as a rule we have to deal not with c o m p l e t e idiomaticity and stability but with a certain degree of these distinguishing features of phraseological units. No objective criteria of the d e g r e e of idiomaticity and stability have as yet been suggested. Thus, e.g., **to win a victory** according to the semantic approach is a phraseological combination because it is almost completely motivated and allows of certain variability **to win, to gain** a **victory.** According to the functional approach it is not a phraseological unit as the degree of semantic and grammatical inseparability is insufficient for the word-group to function as a word-equivalent. **Small hours** according to the contextual approach is a phraseme because one of the components is used in its literal meaning. If however we classify it proceeding from the functional approach it is a phraseological unit because it is syntactically inseparable and therefore functions as a word-equivalent. As can be seen from the above the status of the word-groups which are partially motivated is decided differently depending on which of the criteria of phraseological units is applied.

There is still another approach to the problem of phraseology in which an attempt is made to overcome the shortcomings of the phraseological theories discussed above. The main features of this new approach which

is now more or less universally accepted by Soviet linguists are as follows: [1]

1. Phraseology is regarded as a self-contained branch of linguistics and not as a part of lexicology.

2. Phraseology deals with a phraseological subsystem of language and not with isolated phraseological units.

3. Phraseology is concerned with all types of set expressions.

4. Set expressions are divided into three classes: phraseological units (e.g. **red tape, mare's nest,** etc.), phraseomatic units (e.g. **win a victory, launch a campaign,** etc.) and border-line cases belonging to the mixed class. The main distinction between the first and the second classes is semantic: phraseological units have fully or partially transferred meanings while components of phraseomatic units are used in their literal meanings.

5. Phraseological and phraseomatic units are not regarded as word-equivalents but some of them are treated as word correlates.

6. Phraseological and phraseomatic units are set expressions and their phraseological stability distinguishes them from free phrases and compound words.

7. Phraseological and phraseomatic units are made up of words of different degree of wordness depending on the type of set expressions they are used in. (Cf. e.g. **small hours** and **red tape.)** Their structural separateness, an important factor of their stability, distinguishes them from compound words (cf. e.g. **blackbird** and **black market).**

Other aspects of their stability are: stability of use, lexical stability and semantic stability.

8. S t a b i l i t y of use means that set expressions are reproduced ready-made and not created in speech. They are not elements of individual style of speech but language units.

9. L e x i c a l s t a b i l i t y means that the components of set expressions are either irreplaceable (e.g. **red tape, mare's nest)** or partly replaceable within the bounds of phraseological or phraseomatic variance: lexical (e.g. **a skeleton in the cupboard — a skeleton in the closet),** grammatical (e.g. **to be in deep water — to be in deep waters),** positional (e.g. **head over ears — over head and ears),** quantitative (e.g. **to lead smb a dance — to lead smb a pretty dance),** mixed variants (e.g. **raise (stir up) a hornets' nest about one's ears — arouse (stir up) the nest of hornets).**

10. S e m a n t i c s t a b i l i t y is based on the lexical stability of set expressions. Even when occasional changes 'are introduced the meaning of set expression is preserved. It may only be specified, made more precise, weakened or strengthened. In other words in spite of all occasional changes phraseological and phraseomatic units, as distinguished from free phrases, remain semantically invariant or are destroyed. For example, the substitution of the verbal component in the free phrase **to raise a question** by the verb **to settle (to settle a question)** changes

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[1] This approach is suggested and worked out by Prof. A. V. Kunin. — See: *А. В. Кунин.* Английская фразеология. М., 1970.

the meaning of the phrase, no such change occurs in **to raise (stir up) a hornets' nest about one's** ears.

11. An integral part of this approach is a method of phraseological identification which helps to single out set expressions in Modern English.

§ 21. Some Problems of the Diachronic Approach

The diachronic aspect of phraseology has scarcely been investigated. Just a few points of interest may be briefly reviewed in connection with the origin of phraseological units and the ways they appear in language. It is assumed that almost all phrases can be traced back to free word-groups which in the course of the historical development of the English language have acquired semantic and grammatical inseparability. It is observed that free word-groups may undergo the process of grammaticalisation or lexicalisation.

Cases of g r a m m a t i c a l i s a t i o n may be illustrated by the transformation of free word-groups composed of the verb **have,** a noun (pronoun) and Participle II of some other verb (e.g. *OE.* **hē** haefde **hine zeslaegenne**) into the grammatical form — the Present Perfect in Modern English. The degree of semantic and grammatical inseparability in this analytical word-form is so high that the component **have** seems to possess no lexical meaning of its own.

The term l e x i c a l i s a t i o n implies that the word-group under discussion develops into a word-equivalent, i.e. a phraseological unit or a compound word. These two parallel lines of lexicalisation of free word-groups can be illustrated by the diachronic analysis of, e.g., the compound word **instead** and the phraseological unit **in spite (of).** Both of them can be traced back to structurally identical free phrases.[1] (Cf. *OE.* **in stede** and ***ME.*** **in despit.)**

There are some grounds to suppose that there exists a kind of interdependence between these two ways of lexicalisation of free word-groups which makes them mutually exclusive. It is observed, for example, that compounds are more abundant in certain parts of speech, whereas phraseological units are numerically predominant in others. Thus, e.g., phraseological units are found in great numbers as verb-equivalents whereas compound verbs are comparatively few. This leads us to assume that lexicalisation of free word-groups and their transformation into words or phraseological units is governed by the general line of interdependence peculiar to each individual part of speech, i.e. the more compounds we find in a certain part of speech the fewer phraseological units we are likely to encounter in this class of words.

Very little is known of the factors active in the process of lexicalisation of free word-groups which results in the appearance of phraseological units. This problem may be viewed in terms of the degree of motivation. We may safely assume that a free word-group is transformed into a phraseological unit when it acquires semantic inseparability and becomes synchronically non-motivated.

[1] The process of lexicalisation may be observed in Modern English too. The noun yesterday, e.g., in the novels by Thomas Hardy occurs as a free word-group and is spelled with a break **yester day.**

The following may be perceived as the main causes accounting for the loss of motivation of free word-groups:

a) When one of the components of a word-group becomes archaic or drops out of the language altogether the whole word-group may become completely or partially non-motivated. For example, lack of motivation in the word-group **kith and kin** may be accounted for by the fact that the member-word **kith** ***(OE.*** **cÿth)** dropped out of the language altogether except as the component of the phraseological unit under discussion. This is also observed in the phraseological unit **to and fro,** and some others.

b) When as a result of a change in the semantic structure of a polysemantic word some of its meanings disappear and can be found only in certain collocations. The noun **mind,** e.g., once meant 'purpose' or 'intention' and this meaning survives in the phrases **to have a mind to do smth., to change one's mind,** etc.

c) When a free word-group used in professional speech penetrates into general literary usage, it is often felt as non-motivated. **To pull (the) strings** (wires), e.g., was originally used as a free word-group in its direct meaning by professional actors in puppet shows. In Modern English, however, it has lost all connection with puppet-shows and therefore cannot be described as metaphorically motivated. Lack of motivation can also be observed in the phraseological unit **to stick to one's guns** which can be traced back to military English, etc.

Sometimes extra-linguistic factors may account for the loss of motivation, **to show the white feather** — 'to act as a coward', e.g., can be traced back to the days when cock-fighting was popular. A white feather in a gamecock's plumage denoted bad breeding and was regarded as a sign of cowardice. Now that cock-fighting is no longer a popular sport, the phrase is felt as non-motivated.[1]

d) When a word-group making up part of a proverb or saying begins to be used as a self-contained unit it may gradually become non-motivated if its connection with the corresponding proverb or saying is not clearly perceived. **A new broom,** e.g., originates as a component of the saying **new brooms sweep clean. New broom** as a phraseological unit may be viewed as non-motivated because the meaning of the whole is not deducible from the meaning of the components. Moreover, it seems grammatically and functionally self-contained and inseparable too. In the saying quoted above the noun **broom** is always used in the plural; as a member- word of the phraseological unit it is mostly used in the singular. The phraseological unit **a new broom** is characterised by functional inseparability. In the saying **new brooms sweep clean** the adjective **new** functions as an attribute to the noun **brooms,** in the phraseological unit **a new broom (e.g. Well, he is a new broom!)** the whole word-group is functionally inseparable.

e) When part of a quotation from literary sources, mythology or the Bible begins to be used as a self-contained unit, it may also lose all connection with the original context and as a result of this become non- motivated. The phraseological unit **the green-eyed monster** (jealousy)

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[1] See sources of English idioms in: *Logan Smith.* Words and Idioms. London, 1928.

can be easily found as a part of the quotation from Shakespeare "It is the green-eyed monster which doth mock the meat it feeds on" *(Othello,* II, i. 165). In Modern English, however, it functions as a non-motivated self-contained phraseological unit and is also used to denote the T.V. set. **Achilles heel** — 'the weak spot in a man's circumstances or character' can be traced back to mythology, but it seems that in Modern English this word-group functions as a phraseological unit largely because most English speakers do not connect it with the myth from which it was extracted.

§ 22. Summary and Conclusions

1. The final criterion in the semantic approach is idiomaticity whereas in the functional approach syntactic inseparability is viewed as the final test, and in the contextual approach it is stability of context combined with idiomaticity of word-groups.

2.. The concept of idiomaticity is not strictly defined. The judgement as to idiomaticity is passed sometimes within the framework of the English language and sometimes from the outside — from the point of view of the mother tongue of the investigator.

It is suggested here that the term i d i o m a t i c i t y should be interpreted as an intralingual notion and also that the degree of idiomaticity should be taken into consideration since between the extreme of complete motivation and lack of motivation there are numerous intermediate groups.

3. Each of the three approaches has its merits and demerits. The traditional semantic approach points out the essential features of all kinds of idiomatic phrases as opposed to completely motivated free word- groups. The functional approach puts forward an objective criterion for singling out a small group of word-equivalents possessing all the basic features of words as lexical items. The contextual approach makes the criterion of stability more exact.

4. All the three approaches are sufficient to single out the extreme cases: highly idiomatic phraseological units and free word-groups. The status of the bulk of word-groups possessing different degrees of idiomaticity cannot be decided with certainty by applying the criteria available in linguistic science.

5. The distinguishing feature of the new approach is that phraseology is regarded as a self-contained branch of linguistics and not as a part of lexicology. According to this approach phraseology deals with all types of set expressions which are divided into three classes: phraseological units, phraseomatic units and border-line cases.

§ 1. Segmentation of Words into

Close observation and comparison of words clearly shows that a great many words have a composite nature and are made up of smaller units, each possessing sound-form and meaning. These are generally referred to as m o r p h e m e s defined as the smallest indivisible two-facet language units. For instance, words like **boiler, driller** fall into the morphemes **boil-, drill-** and **-er** by virtue of the recurrence of the morpheme **-er** in these and other similar words and of the morphemes **boil-** and **drill-** in **to boil, a boil, boiling** and **to drill, a drill, drilling, a drill-press,** etc. Likewise, words like **flower-pot** and **shoe-lace** are segmented into the morphemes **flower-, pot-, shoe-** and **lace- (cf. flower-show, flowerful,** etc., **shoe-brush, shoeless,** etc., on the one hand; and **pot-lid, pottery,** etc., **lace-boots, lacing,** etc., on the other).

Like a word a morpheme is a two-facet language unit, an association of a certain meaning with a certain sound-pattern. Unlike a word a morpheme is not an autonomous unit and can occur in speech only as a constituent part of the word.

Morphemes cannot be segmented into smaller units without losing their constitutive essence, i.e. two-facetedness, association of a certain meaning with a given sound-pattern, cf. the morpheme **lace-** denoting 'a string or cord put through small holes in shoes', etc.; 'to draw edges together' and the constituent phonemes [l], [ei], [s] entirely without meaning.

Identification of morphemes in various texts shows that morphemes may have different phonemic shapes.

In the word-cluster **please, pleasing, pleasure, pleasant** the root-morpheme is represented by phonemic shapes: [pli:z] in **please, pleasing,** [plez] in **pleasure** and [plez] in **pleasant.** In such cases we say that the phonemic shapes of the word stand in complementary distribution or in alternation with each other. All the representations of the given morpheme that manifest alteration are called allomorphs of that morpheme or m o r p h e m e v a r i a n t s . Thus [pli:z, plez] and [pleз] are allomorphs of оде and the same morpheme. The root-morphemes in the word-cluster **duke, ducal, duchess, duchy** or **poor, poverty** may also serve as examples of the allomorphs of one morpheme.

§ 2. Principles of Morphemic Analysis. Types of Word Segmentability

As far as the complexity of the morphemic structure of the word is concerned all English words fall into two large classes. To Class I belong segmentable words, i.e. those allowing of segmentation into morphemes, e.g. **agreement, information, fearless, quickly, door-handle,** etc. To Class II belong non-segmentable words, i.e. those not allowing of such segmentation, e.g. **house, girl, woman, husband,** etc.

The operation of breaking a segmentable word into the constituent morphemes is referred to in present-day linguistic literature as the

analysis of word-structure on t h e m o r p h e m i c l e v e l. The morphemic analysis aims at splitting a segmentable word into its constituent morphemes — the basic units at this level of word-structure analysis — and at determining their number and types. The degree of morphemic segment-ability is not the same for different words.

Three types of morphemic segmentability of words are distinguished: c o m p l e t e, c o n d i t i o n a l and d e f e c t i v e.[1]

C o m p l e t e segmentability is characteristic of a great many words the morphemic structure of which is transparent enough, as their individual morphemes clearly stand out within the word lending themselves easily to isolation.

As can be easily seen from the examples analysed above, the transparent morphemic structure of a segmentable word is conditioned by the fact that its constituent morphemes recur with the same meaning in a number of other words. There are, however, numerous words in the English vocabulary the morphemic structure of which is not so transparent and easy to establish as in the cases mentioned above.

C o n d i t i o n a l morphemic segmentability characterises words whose segmentation into the constituent morphemes is doubtful for semantic reasons. In words like **retain, contain, detain** or **receive, deceive, conceive, perceive** the sound-clusters [ri-], [di-], [кэn-] seem, on the one hand, to be singled out quite easily due to their recurrence in a number of words, on the other hand, they undoubtedly have nothing in common with the phonetically identical morphemes **re-, de-** as found in words like **rewrite, re-organise, deorganise, decode;** neither the sound-clusters [ri-] or [di-] nor the [-tern] or [-si:v] possess any lexical or functional meaning of their own. The type of meaning that can be ascribed to them is only a differential and a certain distributional meaning: [2] the [ri-] distinguishes **retain** from **detain** and the [-tern] distinguishes **retain** from **receive,** whereas their order and arrangement point to the status of the **re-, de-, con-, per-** as different from that of the **-tain** and **-ceive** within the structure of the words. The morphemes making up words of conditional segmentability thus differ from morphemes making up words of complete segmentability in that the former do not rise to the full status of morphemes for semantic reasons and that is why a special term is applied to them in linguistic literature: such morphemes are called pseudo-morphemes or quasi-morphemes. It should be mentioned that there is no unanimity on the question and there are two different approaches to the problem. Those linguists who recognise pseudo-morphemes, i.e. consider it sufficient for a morpheme to have only a differential and distributional meaning to be isolated from a word regard words like **retain, deceive,** etc. as segmentable; those who deem it necessary for a morpheme to have some denotational meaning qualify them as non-segmentable words.

D e f e c t i v e morphemic segmentability is the property of words whose component morphemes seldom or never recur in other words. One

[1] The Russian terms are: живое, условное и дефектное морфологическое членение слов.

[2] See 'Semasiology', §§ 13-16, pp. 23-25.

of the component morphemes is a unique morpheme in the sense that it does not, as a rule, recur in a different linguistic environment.

A unique morpheme is isolated and understood as meaningful because the constituent morphemes display a more or less clear denotational meaning. There is no doubt that in the nouns **streamlet, ringlet, leaflet,** etc. the morpheme **-let** has the denotational meaning of diminutiveness and is combined with the morphemes **stream-, ring-, leaf-,** etc. each having a clear denotational meaning. Things are entirely different with the word **hamlet.** The morpheme **-let** retains the same meaning of diminutive-ness, but the sound-cluster [hæm] that is left after the isolation of the morpheme **-let** does not recur in any other English word with anything like the meaning it has in the word **hamlet.**[1] It is likewise evident that the denotational and the differential meaning of [hæm] which distinguishes **hamlet** from **streamlet, ringlet,** etc. is upheld by the denotational meaning of **-let.** The same is exemplified by the word **pocket** which may seem at first sight non-segmentable. However, comparison with such words as **locket, hogget, lionet, cellaret,** etc. leads one to the isolation of the morpheme **-et** having a diminutive meaning, the more so that the morphemes **lock-, hog-, lion-, cellar-,** etc. recur in other words (cf. **lock, locky; hog, hoggery; lion, lioness; cellar, cellarage).** At the same time the isolation of the morpheme **-et** leaves in the word **pocket** the sound-cluster [pok] that does not occur in any other word of Modern English but obviously has a status of a morpheme with a denotational meaning as it is the lexical nucleus of the word. The morpheme [pok] clearly carries a differential and distributional meaning as it distinguishes **pocket** from the words mentioned above and thus must be qualified as a u n i q u e m o r p h e m e .

The morphemic analysis of words like **cranberry, gooseberry, strawberry** shows that they also possess defective morphemic segmentability: the morphemes **cran-, goose-, straw-** are unique morphemes.

The oppositions that the different types of morphemic segmentability are involved in hardly require any comments with the exception of complete and conditional segmentability versus defective segmentability. This opposition is based on the ability of the constituent morphemes to occur in a unique or a non-unique environment. In the former case the linguist deals with defective, in the latter with complete and conditional segmentability. The distinction between complete and conditional segmentability is based on semantic features of m o r p h e m e s p r o p e r and p s e u d o - m o r p h e m e s .

Thus on the level of morphemic analysis the linguist has to operate with two types of elementary units, namely full morphemes and pseudo-(quasi-)morphemes. It is only full morphemes that are genuine structural elements of the language system so that the linguist must primarily focus his attention on words of complete morphemic segmentability. On the other hand, a considerable percentage of words of conditional and

[1] Needless to say that the noun ham denoting ‘a smoked and salted upper part of a pig’s leg’ is irrelevant to the **ham-** in **hamlet.**

defective segmentability signals **a** relatively complex character of the morphological system of the language in question, reveals the existence of various heterogeneous layers in its vocabulary.

§ 3. Classification of Morphemes

Morphemes may be classified:

a) from the semantic point of view,

b) from the structural point of view.

a) Semantically morphemes fall into two classes: root-morphemes and non-root or affixational morphemes. Roots and affixes make two distinct classes of morphemes due to the different roles they play in word-structure.

Roots and affixational morphemes are generally easily distinguished and the difference between them is clearly felt as, e.g., in the words **help-less, handy, blackness, Londoner, refill,** etc.: the root-morphemes **help-, hand-, black-, London-, -fill** are understood as the lexical centres of the words, as the basic constituent part of a word without which the word is inconceivable.

The root-morpheme is the lexical nucleus of a ward, it has an individual lexical meaning shared by no other morpheme of the language. Besides it may also possess all other types of meaning proper to morphemes[1] except the part-of-speech meaning which is not found in roots. The root-morpheme is isolated as the morpheme common to a set of words making up a word-cluster, for example the morpheme **teach-**in to **teach, teacher, teaching, theor-** in **theory, theorist, theoretical,** etc.

Non-root morphemes include inflectional morphemes or inflections and affixational morphemes or affixes. Inflections carry only grammatical meaning and are thus relevant only for the formation of word-forms, whereas affixes are relevant for building various types of stems — the part of a word that remains unchanged throughout its paradigm. Lexicology is concerned only with affixational morphemes.

Affixes are classified into prefixes and suffixes: a prefix precedes the root-morpheme, a suffix follows it. Affixes besides the meaning proper to root-morphemes possess the part-of-speech meaning and a generalised lexical meaning.

b) Structurally morphemes fall into three types: free morphemes, bound morphemes, semi-free (semi-bound) morphemes.

A free morpheme is defined as one that coincides with the stem [2] or a word-form. A great many root-morphemes are free morphemes, for example, the root-morpheme **friend** — of the noun **friendship** is naturally qualified as a free morpheme because it coincides with one of the forms of the noun **friend.**

A bound morpheme occurs only as a constituent part of a word. Affixes are, naturally, bound morphemes, for they always make part of a word, e.g. the suffixes **-ness, -ship, -ise (-ize),** etc., the prefixes **un-,**

[1] See 'Semasiology', §§ 13-16, pp. 23-25.

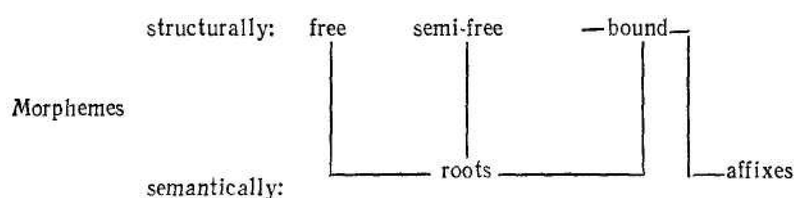
[2] See 'Word-Structure', § 8, p. 97.

dis-, de-, etc. **(e.g. readiness, comradeship, to activise; unnatural, to displease, to decipher).**

Many root-morphemes also belong to the class of bound morphemes which always occur in morphemic sequences, i.e. in combinations with ‘ roots or affixes. All unique roots and pseudo-roots are-bound morphemes. Such are the root-morphemes **theor-** in **theory, theoretical,** etc., **barbar-**in **barbarism, barbarian,** etc., **-ceive** in conceive, **perceive,** etc.

Semi-bound (semi-free) morphemes [1] are morphemes that can function in a morphemic sequence both as an affix and as a free morpheme. For example, the morpheme **well** and **half** on the one hand occur as free morphemes that coincide with the stem and the word-form in utterances like **sleep well, half an hour,”** on the other hand they occur as bound morphemes in words like **well-known, half-eaten, half-done.**

The relationship between the two classifications of morphemes discussed above can be graphically presented in the following diagram:



Speaking of word-structure on the morphemic level two groups of morphemes should be specially mentioned.

To the first group belong morphemes of Greek and Latin origin often called combining forms, e.g. **telephone, telegraph, phonoscope, microscope,** etc. The morphemes **tele-, graph-, scope-, micro-, phone-** are characterised by a definite lexical meaning and peculiar stylistic reference: **tele-** means ‘far’, **graph-** means ‘writing’, **scope** — ’seeing’, **micro-** implies smallness, **phone-** means ’sound.’ Comparing words with **tele-** as their first constituent, such as **telegraph, telephone, telegram** one may conclude that **tele-** is a prefix and **graph-, phone-, gram-**are root-morphemes. On the other hand, words like **phonograph, seismograph, autograph** may create the impression that the second morpheme **graph** is a suffix and the first — a root-morpheme. This undoubtedly would lead to the absurd conclusion that words of this group contain no root-morpheme and are composed of a suffix and a prefix which runs counter to the fundamental principle of word-structure. Therefore, there is only one solution to this problem; these morphemes are all bound root-morphemes of a special kind and such words belong to words made up of bound roots. The fact that these morphemes do not possess the part-of-speech meaning typical of affixational morphemes evidences their status as roots.[2]

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[1] The Russian term is относительно связанные (относительно свободные).

[2] See ‘Semasiology’, §§ 15, 16, p. 24, 25.

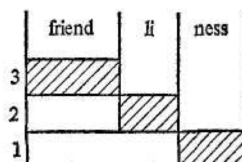
T h e s e c o n d g r o u p embraces morphemes occupying a kind of intermediate position, morphemes that are changing their class membership.

The root-morpheme **man-** found in numerous words like **postman** ['poustmən], **fisherman** [fiʃəmən], **gentleman** ['dʒentlmən] in comparison with the same root used in the words **man-made** ['mænmeid] and **man-servant** ['mæn,sə:vənt] is, as is well-known, pronounced, differently, the [æ] of the root-morpheme becomes [э] and sometimes disappears altogether. The phonetic reduction of the root vowel is obviously due to the decreasing semantic value of the morpheme and some linguists argue that in words like **cabman, gentleman, chairman** it is now felt as denoting an agent rather than a male adult, becoming synonymous with the agent suffix **-er**. However, we still recognise the identity of [man] in **postman, cabman** and [mæn] in **man-made, man-servant.** Abrasion has not yet completely disassociated the two, and we can hardly regard [man] as having completely lost the status of a root-morpheme. Besides it is impossible to say **she is an Englishman (or a gentleman)** and the lexical opposition of **man** and **woman** is still felt in most of these compounds (cf. though **Madam Chairman** in cases when a woman chairs a sitting and even **all women are tradesmen).** It follows from all this that the morpheme **-man** as the last component may be qualified as semi-free.

§ 4. Procedure of Morphemic Analysis

The procedure generally employed for the purposes of segmenting words into the constituent morphemes is the method of I m m e d i a t e and U l t i m a t e C o n s t i t u e n t s . This method is based on a binary principle, i.e. each stage of the procedure involves two components the word immediately breaks into. At each stage these two components are referred to as the Immediate Constituents (ICs). Each IC at the next stage of analysis is in turn broken into two smaller meaningful elements. The analysis is completed when we arrive at constituents incapable of further division, i.e. morphemes. In terms of the method employed these are referred to as the Ultimate Constituents (UCs). For example the noun **friendliness** is first segmented into the IC **friendly** recurring in the adjectives **friendly-looking** and **friendly** and the **-ness** found in a countless number of nouns, such as **happiness, darkness, unselfishness,** etc. The IC **-ness** is at the same time a UC of the noun, as it cannot be broken into any smaller elements possessing both sound-form and meaning. The IC **friendly** is next broken into the ICs **friend-**and **-ly** recurring in **friendship, unfriendly,** etc. on the one hand, and **wifely, brotherly,** etc., on the other. Needless to say that the ICs **friend-**and **-ly** are both UCs of the word under analysis.

The procedure of segmenting a word into its Ultimate Constituent morphemes, may be conveniently presented with the help of a box-like diagram



In the diagram showing the segmentation of the noun **friendliness** the lower layer contains the ICs resulting from the first cut, the upper one those from the second, the shaded boxes representing the ICs which are at the same time the UCs of the noun.

The morphemic analysis according to the IC and UC may be carried out on the basis of two principles: the so-called r o o t p r i n c i p l e and the a f f i x p r i n c i p l e . According to the affix principle the segmentation of the word into its constituent morphemes is based on the identification of an affixational morpheme within a set of words; for example, the identification of the suffixational morpheme **-less** leads to the segmentation of words like **useless, hopeless, merciless,** etc., into the suffixational morpheme -less and the root-morphemes within a word-cluster; the identification of the root-morpheme agree- in the words **agreeable, agreement, disagree** makes it possible to split these words into the root **-agree-** and the affixational morphemes **-able, -ment, dis-.** As a rule, the application of one of these principles is sufficient for the morphemic segmentation of words.

§ 5. Morphemic Types of Words

According to the number of morphemes words are classified into monomorphic and polymorphic. M o n o m o r p h i c or root-words consist of only one root-morpheme, e.g. **small, dog, make, give,** etc. All p o l y m o r p h i c words according to the number of root-morphemes are classified into two subgroups: m o n o r a d i c a l (or one-root words) and p o l y r a d i c a l words, i.e. words which consist of two or more roots. M o n o r a d i c a l words fall into two subtypes: 1) r a d i c a l - s u f f i x a l words, i.e. words that consist of one root-morpheme and one or more suffixal morphemes, e.g. **acceptable, acceptability, blackish,** etc.; 2) r a d i c a l - p r e f i x a l words, i.e. words that consist of one root-morpheme and a prefixal morpheme, e.g. **outdo, rearrange, unbutton,** etc. and 3) p r e f i x o - r a d i c a l - s u f f i x a l , i.e. words which consist of one root, a prefixal and suffixal morphemes, e.g. **disagreeable, misinterpretation,** etc.

P o l y r a d i c a l words fall into two types: 1) p o l y r a d i c a l words which consist of two or more roots with no affixational morphemes, e.g. **book-stand, eye-ball, lamp-shade,** etc. and 2) words which cont a i n a t l e a s t t w o r o o t s and o n e or m o r e a f f i x a - t i o n a l m o r p h e m e s , e.g. **safety-pin, wedding-pie, class-consciousness, light-mindedness, pen-holder,** etc.

§ 6. Derivative Structure

The analysis of the morphemic composition of words defines the ultimate meaningful constituents (UCs), their typical sequence and arrangement, but it does not reveal the hierarchy of morphemes making up the word, neither does it reveal the way a word is constructed, nor how a new word of similar structure should be understood. The morphemic analysis does not aim at finding out the nature and arrangement of ICs which underlie the structural and the semantic type of the word, e.g. words **unmanly** and **discouragement** morphemically are referred to the same type as both are segmented into three UCs representing one root, one prefixational and one suffixational morpheme. However the arrangement and the nature

of ICs and hence the relationship of morphemes in these words is different — in **unmanly** the prefixational morpheme makes one of the ICs, the other IC is represented by a sequence of the root and the suffixational morpheme and thus the meaning of the word is derived from the relations between the ICs **un-** and **manly-** ('not manly'), whereas **discouragement** rests on the relations of the IC **discourage-** made up by the combination of the. prefixational and the root-morphemes and the suffixational morpheme **-ment** for its second IC ('smth that discourages'). Hence we may infer that these three-morpheme words should be referred to different derivational types: **unmanly** to a prefixational and **discouragement** to a suffixational derivative.

The nature, type and arrangement of the ICs of the word is known as its d e r i v a t i v e s t r u c t u r e . Though the derivative structure of the word is closely connected with its morphemic or morphological structure and often coincides with it, it differs from it in principle.

§ 7. Derivative Relations

According to the derivative structure all words fall into two big classes: simplexes or simple, non-derived words and complexes or derivatives. Simplexes are words which derivationally cannot' be segmented into ICs. The morphological stem of simple words, i.e. the part of the word which takes on the system of grammatical inflections is semantically non-motivated [1] and independent of other words, e.g. **hand, come, blue,** etc. Morphemically it may be monomorphic in which case its stem coincides with the free root-morpheme as in, e.g., **hand, come, blue,** etc. or polymorphic in which case it is a sequence of bound morphemes as in, e.g., **anxious, theory, public,** etc.

D e r i v a t i v e s are words which depend on some other simpler lexical items that motivate them structurally and semantically, i.e. the meaning and the structure of the derivative is understood through the comparison with the meaning and the structure of the source word. Hence derivatives are secondary, motivated units, made up as a rule of two ICs, i.e. binary units, e.g. words like **friendliness, unwifely, school-masterish,** etc. are made up of the ICs **friendly + -ness, un- + wifely, schoolmaster+-ish.** The ICs are brought together according to specific rules of order and arrangement preconditioned by the system of the language. It follows that all derivatives are marked by the fixed order of their ICs.

The basic elementary units of the derivative structure of words are: d e r i v a t i o n a l b a s e s, d e r i v a t i o n a l a f f i x e s and d e r i v a t i o n a l p a t t e r n s which differ from the units of the morphemic structure of words (different types of morphemes). The relations between words with a common root but of different derivative structure are known as d e r i v a t i v e r e l a t i o n s . The derivative and derivative relations make the subject of study at t h e d e r i v a t i o n al l e v e l of a n a l y s i s ; it aims at establishing correlations between different types of words, the structural and semantic patterns

[1] See 'Semasiology', § 17, p. 25.

words are built on, the study also enables one to understand how new words appear in the language.

The constituents of the derivative structure are functional units, i.e. units whose function is to indicate relationship between different classes of words or differently-behaving words of the same class and to signal the formation of new words. It follows that derivational functions are proper to different linguistic units which thus serve as ICs of a derivative. It must be also noted that the difference between classes of words is signalled by both the derivative structure of the word, or to be more exact by the stem it shapes, and by the set of paradigmatic inflections that this structure presupposes. For example, the nominal class of words to which derivatives like historian, teacher, lobbyist are referred is signalled by both the derivative structure, i.e. the unity of their ICs history+-ian, teach+ + **-er** lobby + **-ist** shaping the stems of these words — and the nominal set of paradigmatic inflections which these stems precondition, i.e. *histori-an(O), historian*(**s**)*, historian*('s)*, historian*(**s'**). The class of words like enrich, enlarge is likewise signalled by their derivative structure (en- + +rich, en-+large) and the verbal set of paradigmatic inflexions. Hence the paradigmatic systems of different classes of words have, among their functions, the function of distinguishing the formal make-up of word classes. It follows that the paradigmatic system of inflections in cases of meaningful absence of the 1C which determines the class membership of the motivated stem functions as the sole indication of its derived nature.[1]

§ 8. Derivational Bases

A derivational base as a functional unit is defined as the constituent to which a rule of word-formation is applied. It is the part of the word which establishes connection with the lexical unit that motivates the derivative and determines its individual lexical meaning describing the difference between words in one and the same derivative set, for example the individual lexical meaning of words like **singer, rebuilder, whitewasher,** etc. which all denote active doers of action, is signalled by the lexical meaning of the derivational bases **sing-, rebuild-, whitewash-** which establish connection with the motivating source verb.

Structurally derivational bases fall into three classes: 1) bases that c o i n c i d e w i t h m o r p h o l o g i c a l s t e m s of different degrees of complexity, e.g. **duti***ful,* **dutiful***ly;* **day-dream, to day-dream, daydream***er*; 2) bases that coincide w i t h w o r d - f o r m s ; e.g. *paper-***bound***, un***smiling**, *un***known**; 3) bases that coincide w i t h word-groups of different degrees of stability, e ,g. **second-rate***ness*, **flat-waist***ed*, etc.

1. Bases built on stems of different degree of complexity make the largest 'and commonest group of components of derivatives of various classes, e.g. *un*-**button**, **girl**-*ish*; **girlish**-ness, **colour-blind**-*ness*, *ex*-**filmstar**, etc. Bases of this class are functionally and semantically distinct from all kinds of stems. Functionally, the m o r p h o l o g i c a l s t e m is the part of the word which is the starting point for its forms, it is the

[1] See 'Word-Formation', § 16, p. 127, 4 № 2775

part which semantically presents a unity of lexical and functional meanings thus predicting the entire grammatical paradigm. The stem remains unchanged throughout all word-forms, it keeps them together preserving the identity cf the word. Thus the stems in the above-given words are **ex-filmstar, unbutton** which remain unchanged in all the forms of each word as, e.g., *ex-filmstar*(O)*, ex-filmstar*(s)*, ex-filmstar***('s)***, ex-filmstar***(s)**. Stems are characterised by a phonetic identity with the word-form that habitually represents the word as a whole (the common case singular, the infinitive, etc.).

A derivational base unlike a stem does not predict' the part of speech of the derivative, it only outlines a possible range and nature of the second IC and it is only the unity of both that determines the lexical-grammatical class of the derivative. A derivational base is the starting-point for different words and its derivational potential outlines the type and scope of existing words and new creations. The nominal base for example, **hand-** gives rise to nouns, e.g. **hand-rail, hand-bag, short-hand, handful,** to adjectives, e.g. **handy,** or verbs, e.g. **to hand.** Similarly the base **rich-** may be one of the ICs of the noun **richness,** the adjective **gold-rich,** or the verb **to enrich.**

Semantically the stem stands for the whole semantic structure of the word, it represents all its lexical meanings. A base, semantically, is also different in that it represents, as a rule, only one meaning of the source word or its stem. The derivatives **glassful** and **glassy,** e.g., though connected with the stem of the same source word are built on different derivational bases,, as **glassful** is the result of the application of the word-formation rule to the meaning of the source word 'drinking vessel or its contents', whereas **glassy** — to the meaning 'hard, transparent, easily-broken substance'. Derivatives **fiery, fire-place, to fire, fire-escape, fire-arm,** all have bases built on the stem of the same source noun **fire,** but the words like **fire-escape fire-engine** and **fire-alarm** are semantically motivated by the meaning 'destructive burning', the words **firearms, ceasefire, (to) fire** are motivated by another meaning 'shooting', whereas the word **fiery** (as in **fiery speech, eyes)** is motivated by the meaning 'strong emotion, excited feeling'. The same difference can be exemplified by the words **starlet, starry, starlike, starless** which are all motivated by the derivational base meaning 'a heavenly body seen in the night as distant point of light', as compared to **stardom, starlet, to star** motivated by the base meaning 'a person famous as actor, singer' though both represent the same morphological stem of the word **star.**

Stems that serve as this class of bases may themselves be different morphemically and derivationally thus forming derivational bases of different degrees of complexity which affects the range and scope of their collocability and their derivational capacity. Derivationally the stems may be:

a) simple, which consist of only one, semantically nonmotivated constituent. The most characteristic feature of simple stems in Modern English is the phonetic and graphic identity with the root-morpheme and the word-form that habitually represents the word as a whole.

As has been mentioned elsewhere[1] simple stems may be both monomorphic units and morphemic sequences made up of bound and pseudo-morphemes, hence morphemically segmentable stems in such words as **pocket, motion, retain, horrible,** etc. should be regarded as derivationally simple.

b) d e r i v e d stems are semantically and structurally motivated, and are the results of the application of word-formation rules; it follows that they are as a rule binary, i.e. made up of two ICs, and polymorphic, e.g. the derived stem of the word **girlish** is understood on the basis of derivative relations between **girl** and **girlish;** the derived stem of a greater complexity **girlishness** is based on the derivative relations between **girlish** and girlishness. This is also seen in **to weekend, to daydream** which are derived from the nouns **week-end** and **day-dream** and are motivated by the derivative relations between the noun and the verb.[2]

Derived stems, however, are not necessarily polymorphic.

It especially concerns derivatives with a zero IC, i.e. meaningful absence of the derivational means in which case the distinction between the stem of the source word and the motivated stem of the derivative is signalled by the difference in paradigmatic sets of inflections which they take.[3]

For example, the stem of the verb **(to) parrot,** though it consists of one overt constituent and is a one-morpheme word, should be considered derived as it is felt by a native speaker as structurally and semantically dependent on the simple stem of the noun **parrot** and because it conveys a r e g u l a r relationship between these two classes of words — verbs and nouns [4]. The same is true of the stems in such words as **(to) winter, a cut, a drive,** etc.

c) c o m p o u n d stems are always binary and semantically motivated, but unlike the derived stems both ICs of compound stems are stems themselves. The derivative structure and morphemic composition of each IC may be of different degree of complexity, for example, the compound stem of the noun **match-box** consists of two simple stems, the stem of the noun **letter-writer** — of one simple and one derived stem, and the stem aircraft-carrier — of a compound and derived stem.

The structural complexity of the derivational bases built on derived and compound stems is a heavy constraint imposed on the collocability and semantic freedom of these bases and consequently on their derivative potential. Compare, for example, the derivational capacity of the simple stem **girl,** which can give rise to **girly, girlish, girlless, girl-friend,** and the limited capacity of girlish which gives only **girlishness** and **girlishly.**

2. The second class of derivational bases is made up of word-forms. It is obvious that word-forms functioning as parts of the word lose all syntactic properties they possess in independent use. This class of bases is confined to verbal word-forms — the present and the past participles — which regularly function as ICs of non-simple adjectives, adverbs and nouns. The collocability of this class of derivational bases is confined to

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[1] See 'Word-Structure', § 7, p. 96.
[2] See 'Word-Formation', §§ 16,'p. 127.
[3] See 'Word-Structure', § 7, p. 96.
[4] See 'Word-Formation', § 18, p. 131.

just a few derivational affixes such as the prefix **un-**, the suffix **-ly, in** e.g. **unnamed, unknown, unwrapped,** etc., **smilingly, knowingly,** etc. The derivational bases in question may be also collocated with other bases which coincide only with nominal and adjectival stems, e.g. **mockingbird, dancing-girl, ice-bound, time-consuming, ocean-going, easy-going,** etc.

3. The third class of derivational bases is made up of word-groups. Free word-groups make up the greater part of this class of bases. Like word-forms, word-groups serving as derivational bases lose their morphological and syntactic properties proper to them as self-contained lexical units. Bases of this class also allow of a rather limited range of collocability, they are most active with derivational affixes in the class of adjectives and nouns, e.g. in words like **blue-eyed, long-fingered, old-worldish, dogooder, second-rateness,** etc.

Thus, we may conclude that each class of bases, though it makes use of one of the structural units of vocabulary, is distinct from it and differs from it both in form and meaning. The greater the degree of structural complexity of the base the more limited its derivative potential.

§ 9. Derivational Affixes Derivational affixes are ICs of numerous derivatives in all parts of speech. Derivational affixes differ from affixational morphemes in their function within the word, in their distribution and in their meaning. Derivational affixes possess two basic functions: 1) that of s t e m - b u i l d i n g which is common to all affixational morphemes: derivational and non-derivational. It is the function of shaping a morphemic sequence, or a word-form or a phrase into the part of the word capable of taking a set of grammatical inflections and is conditioned by the part-of-speech meaning these morphemes possess; [1] 2) that of w o r d - b u i l d i n g which is the function of repatterning a derivational base and building a lexical unit of a structural and semantic type different from the one represented by the source unit. The repatterning results in either transferring it into the stem of another part of speech or transferring it into another subset within the same part of speech. For example, the d e r i v a t i o n a l s u f f i x **-ness** applied to bases of different classes shapes d e r i v e d stems thus making new words. In **kindliness, girlishness,** etc. it repatterns the adjectival stems **kindly-, girlish-,** in **second-rate-ness, allatonceness** it turns the phrases **second rate, all at once** into stems and consequently forms new nouns. In most cases derivational affixes perform b o t h functions simultaneously shaping derived stems and marking the relationship between different classes of lexical items. However, certain derivational affixes may in individual sets of words perform only one function that of stem-building. The derivational suffix **-ic** for example performs **both** functions in words like **historic, economic, classic** as it is applied to bases **history-, economy-, class-** and forms stems of words of a different part of speech. But the same suffix **-ic** in **public, comic, music** performs only its stem-building function shaping in this case a s i m p l e

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[1] See 'Semasiology', § 17, p. 25, 100

stem.[1] The same is true of the suffix **-ous** in such words as **joyous, courageous, famous** as compared with **anxious, conscious, curious.** Stem-building is the common function shared by both derivational and non-derivational morphemes, but with the non-derivational morphemes it is the only structural function. Besides, the non-derivational affixes shape o n l y simple stems, for example, the morpheme **-id** in **stupid, rapid, acid, humid;** the morpheme **-ish** in **publish, distinguish, languish.** It follows that non-derivational morphemes are not applied to stems, but only to root-morphemes or morpheme sequences.

Semantically derivational affixes are characterised by a unity of part-of-speech meaning, lexical meaning and other types of morphemic meanings[2] unlike non-derivational morphemes which, as a rule, lack the lexical type of meaning. It is true that the part-of-speech meaning is proper in different degrees to the derivational suffixes and prefixes. It stands out clearly in derivational suffixes but it is less evident in prefixes; some prefixes lack it altogether, in others it is very vague and in this case it finds expression in the fact that these prefixes tend to function in either nominal or verbal parts of speech. Prefixes like **en-, un-, de-, out-, be-,** unmistakably possess the part-of-speech meaning and function as verb classifiers when they make an independent IC of the derivative, e.g. **deice, unhook, enslave;** derivational prefixes **a-, un-**possess the adjectival part-of-speech meaning, e.g. **unhesitating, unknown, unkind,** etc., **amoral, asynthetic, asymmetric,** etc. In prefixes **co-, under-, mis-** this type of meaning is vague but they tend to be active in one part of speech only:' **co-** in nominal parts of speech (i.e. nouns and adjectives), e.g. **copilot, co-star, co-president; mis-** and **under-** are largely verbal prefixes, e.g. **underwork, underdo, underfeed,** etc. The prefix **over-**evidently lacks the part-of-speech meaning and is freely used both for verbs and adjectives, the same may be said about **non-, pre-, post-.** The lexical meaning in derivational affixes also has its peculiarities and may be viewed at different levels.[3]

1) T h e l e x i c a l (denotational) m e a n i n g of a g e n e r i c t y p e proper mostly not to an individual affix but to a set **of** affixes, forming a semantic subset such as, for example, the meaning of resemblance found in suffixes **-ish, -like, -y, -ly (spiderish, spiderlike, spidery);** the causative meaning proper to the prefix **en- (enslave, enrich),** the suffixes **–ise (-ize), -(i)fy (brutalise, formalise, beautify, simplify,** etc.); the meaning of absence conveyed by the prefix **un-** and the suffix **-less;** the meaning of abstract quality conveyed by the suffixes **-ness, -ity,** etc.

2) On the other hand derivational affixes possess another type of lexical meaning — an i n d i v i d u a l m e a n i n g shared **by no** other affix and thus distinguishing this particular affix from all other members, of the same semantic group. For example, suffixes **-ish, -like,** -y all have the meaning of resemblance, but **-like** conveys an overall resemblance,

[1] See 'Word-Structure', § 8, p. 97.
[2] See 'Semasiology', §§ 13-16, pp. 23-25.
[3] See also 'Methods . . . , § § 3, 4, p. 245, 246.

-ish conveys likeness to the inner, most typical qualities of the object, -y in most cases conveys likeness to outer shape, form, size of the object. Suffixes **-er, -ist** both possess the meaning of the agent, but the distinguishing feature of the suffix -er is that it conveys the meaning of the active doer (animate or inanimate), whereas **-ist** conveys the meaning of profession **(flutist, biologist)** and followers of principles and beliefs **(socialist, leftist)** and thus has the meaning only of human beings. Derivational affixes semantically may be both mono- and p o l y s e m a n t i c .

Derivational affixes are highly selective and each is applied to a specific set of bases which is due to the distributional type of meaning found in all affixes. All affixes are selective as to the structural peculiarities of bases (their morphemic, derivational, phonological and etymological features), some in addition are highly responsive to the lexical-semantic properties of the bases they are collocated with. For example, the adjectival suffix **-able** is collocated with verbal bases with practically no semantic constraints imposed on them. On the other hand the adjective-forming suffix **-ful**$_1$ is restricted in its collocability to nominal bases of abstract meaning **(useful, beautiful),** while its homonym the noun-forming **-ful**$_2$ also collocating with nominal bases chooses bases of concrete meaning and within this class only nouns which have in their semantic structure a semantic component 'container' **(chestful, lungful, bagful).**

§ 10. Semi-Affixes

There is a specific group of morphemes whose derivational function does not allow one to refer them unhesitatingly either to the derivational affixes or bases. In words like **half-done, half-broken, half-eaten** and **ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-dressed** the ICs **half-** and **ill-** are given in linguistic literature different interpretations: they are described both as bases and as derivational prefixes. The comparison of these ICs with the phonetically identical stems in independent words **ill** and **half** as used in such phrases as **to speak ill of smb, half an hour ago** makes it obvious that in words like **ill-fed, ill-mannered, half-done** the ICs **ill-** and **half-** are losing both their semantic and structural identity with the stems of the independent words. They are all marked by a different distributional meaning which is clearly revealed through the difference of their collocability as compared with the collocability of the stems of the independently functioning words. As to their lexical meaning they have become more indicative of a generalising meaning of incompleteness and poor quality than the individual meaning proper to the stems of independent words and thus they function more as affixational morphemes similar to the prefixes **out-, over-, under-, semi-, mis-** regularly forming whole classes of words. Besides, the high frequency of these morphemes in the above-mentioned generalised meaning in combination with the numerous bases built on past participles indicates their closer ties with derivational affixes than bases. Yet these morphemes retain certain lexical ties with the root-morphemes in the stems of independent words and that is why are felt as occupying an intermediate position,[1] as morphemes that are changing their

[1] See also 'Word-Structure', § 3, p. 92.

class membership regularly functioning as derivational prefixes but still retaining certain features of root-morphemes. That is why they are sometimes referred to as semi-affixes. To this group we should also refer **well-** and **self- (well-fed, well-done, self-made), -man** in words like **postman, cabman, chairman, -looking** in words like **foreign-looking, alive-looking, strange-looking,** etc.

§ 1 1 . Derivational Patterns Neither bases nor affixes alone can predict all the structural and semantic properties of words the ICs of which they may be. It is the combination of bases and affixes that makes up derivatives of different structural and semantic classes. Both bases and affixes due to the distributional meaning they possess show a high degree of consistency in their selection and are collocated according to a set of rules known as derivational patterns. A d e r i v a t i o n a l p a t t e r n is a r e g u l a r meaningful arrangement, a structure that imposes rigid rules on the order and the nature of the derivational bases and affixes that may be brought together. A pattern is a generalisation, a scheme indicative of the type of ICs, their order and arrangement which signals the part of speech, the structural and semantic peculiarities common to all the individual words for which the pattern holds true. Hence the derivational patterns *(DP)* may be viewed as classifiers of non-simple words into structural types and within them into semantic sets and subsets. DPs are studied with the help of distributional analysis at different levels. Patterns of derivative structures are usually represented in a generalised way in terms of conventional symbols: small letters *v, n, a, d, num* stand for the bases which coincide with the stems of the respective parts of speech: verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, numerals; v_{ed}, v_{ing} stand for the bases which are the past and present participles respectively. In words of the **long-fingered** or **sit-inner** type the derivational bases are represented by bracketed symbols of the parts of speech making up the corresponding collocations, for example *(a+n)+* +-ed), *(v+d)* + ***er***.

DPs may represent derivative structure at different levels of generalisation:

a) at the level of structural types specifying only the class membership of ICs and the direction of motivation, such as *a+-sf -> N, prf-* + +n -> V, *prf- n -> N, n + -sf -> N, n + -sf -> V,* etc. In terms of patterns of this type, known as structural formulas,[1] all words may be classified into four classes: suffixal derivatives, e.g. **friendship, glorified, blackness, skyward;** prefixal derivatives, e.g. **rewrite, exboxer, non-smoker, unhappy,** etc.; conversions, e.g. **a cut, to parrot, to winter,** etc.; compound words **key-ring, music-lover, wind-driven,** etc. But derivational formulas are not indicative either of any one lexical-grammatical or lexical class of words, as, for example, the formula a + *-sf* may equally represent suffixal nouns as in **blackness, possibility** and verbs, as in **sharpen, widen,** or adjectives as in **blackish.**

b) derivative structure and hence derivative types of words may be represented at the level of structural patterns which specify the base

[1] See 'Word-Group', § 7, p. 70.

classes and individual affixes thus indicating the lexical-grammatical and lexical classes of derivatives within certain structural classes of words. DPs of this level are based on the mutual interdependence of individual affixes and base classes and may be viewed in terms of each. The suffixes refer derivatives to specific parts of speech and lexical subsets as, for example, *v + -er -> N* signals that the derivatives built on this pattern are deverbal nouns which represent a semantic set of active agents, denoting both animate and inanimate objects, e.g. **reader, runner, singer,** unlike, for example, denominal nouns with the underlying pattern *n+ -er -> N* which stands for agents denoting residents or occupations, e.g. **Londoner, villager, gardener.** The DP *n+-ish -> A* signals a set of adjectives with the lexical meaning of resemblance, whereas *a + -ish -> A* signals adjectives meaning a small degree of quality, etc.

c) DPs may be specified as to the lexical-semantic features of both ICs. DPs of this level specify the semantic constraints imposed upon the set of derivatives for which the pattern is true and hence the semantic range of the pattern. For example, the nominal bases in the pattern *n+-ess -> N* are confined to nouns having in their semantic structures a component ‘a male animate being’, e.g. **lioness, traitress, stewardess,** etc.; the nominal bases in n+-ful_2 -> *N* are limited by nouns having a semantic component ‘container’, e.g. **lungful, carful, mouthful,** whereas in n+ -ful_1 -> *A* the nominal bases are confined to nouns of abstract meaning. The same is true of the pattern *n + -y -> A* which represents different semantic sets of derivatives specified by semantic constraints imposed on both the bases and the suffix: nominal bases denoting living beings are collocated with the suffix -y meaning ‘resemblance’, e.g. **birdy, spidery, catty,** etc., but nominal bases denoting material, parts of the body attract another meaning of the suffix -y that of ‘considerable amount, size’ resulting in the adjectives like **powdery, grassy, leggy, starry,** etc.

It follows that derivational patterns may be classified into two types — structural pattern (see b, above) and structural-semantic pattern (see c).

§ 12. Derivational Types of Words

According to their derivational structure words fall into two large classes: simple, non-derived words or simplexes and derivatives or complexes. Complexes are classified according to the type of the underlying derivational pattern into: derived and compound words. Derived words fall into affixational words, which in their turn must be classified into suffixal and prefixal derivatives, and conversions. Each derivational type of words is unequally represented in different parts of speech.

Comparing the role each of these structural type of words plays in the language we can easily perceive that the clue to the correct understanding of their comparative value lies in a careful consideration of 1) the importance of each type in the existing word-stock and 2) their frequency value in actual speech. Of the two factors frequency is by far the most important. According to the available word counts in different parts of speech, we find that derived words numerically constitute the largest class of words in the existing word-stock, derived nouns comprise approximately 67% of the total number and adjectives about 86%, whereas

compound nouns make about 15% and adjectives only about 4%. Simple words come to 18% in nouns, i.e. a trifle more than the number of compound words; in adjectives simple words come to approximately 12%.[1] But if we now consider the frequency value of these types of words in actual speech, we cannot fail to see that simple words occupy a predominant place in English. According to recent frequency counts, about 60% of the total number of nouns and 62% of the total number of adjectives in current use are simple words. Of the total number of adjectives and nouns, derived words comprise about 38% and 37% respectively while compound words comprise an insignificant 2% in nouns and 0.2% in adjectives.[2] Thus it is the simple, non-derived words that constitute the foundation and the backbone of the vocabulary and that are of paramount importance in speech. It should also be mentioned that non-derived words are characterised by a high degree of collocability and a complex variety of meanings in contrast with words of other structural types whose semantic structures are much poorer. Simple words also serve as basic parent forms motivating all types of derived and compound words. At the same time it should be pointed out that new words that appear in the vocabulary are mostly words of derived and compound structure.

§ 13. Historical Changeability of Word-

Neither the morphemic nor the derivational structure of the word remains the same but is subject to various changes in the course of time. Changes in the phonetic and semantic structure and in the stress pattern of polymorphic words may bring about a number of changes in the morphemic and derivational structure. Certain morphemes may become fused together or may be lost altogether. As a result of this process, known as the process of simplification, radical changes in the structure of the word may take place: root-morphemes may turn into affixational or semi-affixational morphemes, polymorphic words may become monomorphic, compound words may be transformed into derived or even simple words. There is no doubt, for instance, that the Modern English derived noun **friendship** goes back to the Old English compound **frēōndscipe** in which the component **scipe** was a root-morpheme and a stem of the independently functioning word. The present-day English suffixes **-hood, -dom, -like** are also known to have developed from root-morphemes. The noun **husband** is a simple monomorphic word in Modern English, whereas in Old English it was a compound word consisting of two bases built on two stems **hus-bond-a.**

Sometimes the spelling of some Modern English words as compared with their sound-form reflects the changes these words have undergone. The Modern English word **cupboard** judging by its sound-form ['kAbəd] is a monomorphic non-motivated simple word. Yet its spelling betrays its earlier history. It consisted of two bases represented by two monomorphic stems [kAp] and [bo:d] and was pronounced ['kAp,bod]; it signified

[1] Though no figures for verbs are available we have every reason to believe that they present a similar relation.

[2] We may presume that a similar if not a more striking difference is true of verbs, adverbs and all form words.

'a board to put cups on'; nowadays, however, having been structurally transformed into a simple word, it denotes neither **cup** nor **board** as may be seen from the phrases like* **boot cupboard, a clothes cupboard.** A similar course of development is observed in the words **blackguard** ['blæg-a:d] traced to ['blæk,ga:d], **handkerchief** ['hæŋkətʃif] that once was ['hænd,kɜ:tʃif], etc.

In the process of historical development some word-structures underwent reinterpretation without radical changes in their phonemic shape; there are cases when simple root-words came to be understood as derived consisting of two ICs represented by two individual items, e.g. **beggar, chauffeur, editor.** The reinterpretation of such words led to the formation of simple verbs like **to edit, to beg,** etc.

§ 14. Summary and Conclusions

1. There are two levels of approach to the study of word-structure: the level of morphemic analysis and the level of derivational or word-formation analysis.

2. The basic unit of the morphemic level is the morpheme defined as the smallest indivisible two-facet language unit.

3. Three types of morphemic segmentability of words are distinguished in linguistic literature: complete, conditional and defective. Words of conditional and defective segmentability are made up of full morphemes and pseudo (quasi) morphemes. The latter do not rise to the status of full morphemes either for semantic reasons or because of their unique distribution.

4. Semantically morphemes fall into root-morphemes and affixational morphemes (prefixes and suffixes); structurally into free, bound and semi-free (semi-bound) morphemes.

5. The structural types of words at the morphemic level are described in terms of the number and type of their ICs as monomorphic and polymorphic words.

6. Derivational level of analysis aims at finding out the derivative types of words, the interrelation between them and at finding out how different types of derivatives are constructed.

7. Derivationally all words form two structural classes: simplexes, i.e. simple, non-derived words and complexes, or derivatives. Derivatives fall into: suffixal derivatives, prefixal derivatives, conversions and compounds. The relative importance of each structural type is conditioned by its frequency value in actual speech and its importance in the existing word-stock.

Each structural type of complexes shows preference for one or another part of speech. Within each part of speech derivative structures are characterised by a set of derivational patterns.

8. The basic elementary units of the derivative structure are: derivational bases, derivational affixes, derivational patterns.

9. Derivational bases differ from stems both structurally and semantically. Derivational bases are built on the following language units: a) stems of various structure, b) word-forms, c) word-groups or phrases. Each class and subset of bases has its own range of collocability and shows peculiar ties with different parts of speech.

10. Derivational affixes form derived stems by repatterning derivational bases. Semantically derivational affixes present a unity of lexical meaning and other types of meaning: functional, distributional and differential unlike non-derivational affixes which lack lexical meaning.

11. Derivational patterns (DP) are meaningful arrangements of various types of ICs that can be observed in a set of words based on their mutual interdependence. DPs can be viewed in terms of collocability of each IC. There are two types of DPs — structural that specify base classes and individual affixes, and structural-semantic that specify semantic peculiarities of bases and the individual meaning of the affix. DPs of different levels of generalisation signal: 1) the class of source unit that motivates the derivative and the direction of motivation between different classes of words; 2) the part of speech of the derivative; 3) the lexical sets and semantic features of derivatives.

VARIOUS WAYS OF FORMING WORDS

§ 1. Various Types and Ways of Forming Words

The available linguistic literature on the subject cites various types and ways of forming words. Earlier books, articles and monographs on word-formation and vocabulary growth in general both in the Russian language and in foreign languages, in the English language in particular, used to mention morphological, syntactic and lexico-semantic types of word-formation. At present the classifications of the types of word-formation do not, as a rule, include lexico-semantic word-building. Of interest is the classification of word-formation means based on the number of motivating bases which many scholars follow. A distinction is made between two large classes of word-building means:

To Class I belong the means of building words having one motivating base. To give an English example, the noun **catcher** is composed of the base **catch-** and the suffix -er, through the combination of which it is morphologically and semantically motivated.[1]

Class II includes the means of building words containing more than “ one motivating base. Needless to say, they are all based on compounding (cf. the English compounds **country-club, door-handle, bottle-opener,** etc., all having two bases through which they are motivated).

Most linguists in special chapters and manuals devoted to English word-formation consider as the chief processes of English word-formation affixation, conversion and compounding.

Apart from these a number of minor ways of forming words such as back-formation, sound interchange, distinctive stress, sound imitation, blending, clipping and acronymy are traditionally referred to Word-Formation.

Another classification of the types of word-formation worked out by H. Marchand is also of interest. Proceeding from the distinction between full linguistic signs and pseudo signs [2] he considers two major groups: 1) words formed as grammatical syntagmas, i.e. combinations of full linguistic signs which are characterised by morphological motivation such as **do-er, un-do, rain-bow;** and 2) words which are not grammatical syntagmas, i.e. which are not made up of full linguistic signs. To the ‘ first group belong Compounding, Suffixation, Prefixation, Derivation by a Zero Morpheme[3] and Back-Derivation, to the second — Expressive Symbolism, Blending, Clipping, Rime and Ablaut Gemination,* Word-Manufacturing.[5] It is characteristic of both groups that a new coining is based on a synchronic relationship between morphemes.

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[1] See ‘Semasiology’, §§ 17, 22, pp. 25-30.

[2] See also ‘Word-Structure’, § 3, p. 92.

[3] Another term for “conversion."

[4] These are based on the principle of coming words in phonetically variated rhythmic twin forms, e. g. bibble-babble, shilly shally, boogie-woogie, claptrap, etc.

[5] This is the coining of artificial new words by welding more or less arbitrary parts of given words into a unit, e. g. **Pluto** (‘pipeline under the ocean’), **Cominch** (‘Commander- in-chief), etc.

§ 2. Word-Formation. Definition. In the present book we proceed from the understanding of Word-Formation and the classification of word-formation types as found in A. I. Smirnitsky's book on English Lexicology.

Word-Formation is the system of derivative types of words and the process of creating new words from the material available in the language after certain structural and semantic formulas and patterns. For instance, the noun **driver** is formed after the pattern *v+-er,* i.e. a verbal stem +-the noun-forming suffix -er. The meaning of the derived noun **driver** is related to the meaning of the stem **drive-** '**to direct the course of a vehicle' and the suffix **-er** meaning 'an active agent': a **driver** is 'one who drives' (a carriage, motorcar, railway engine, etc.). Likewise compounds resulting from two or more stems joined together to form a new word are also built on quite definite structural and semantic patterns and formulas, for instance adjectives of the **snow-white** type are built according to the formula *n+a,* etc. It can easily be observed that the meaning of the whole compound is also related to the meanings of the component parts. The structural patterns with the semantic relations they signal give rise to regular new creations of derivatives, e.g. **sleeper, giver, smiler or soat-black, tax-free,** etc.

In conformity with structural types of words described above[1] the following two types of word-formation may be distinguished, word-derivation and word-composition (or compounding). Words created by word-derivation have in terms of word-formation analysis only one derivational base and one derivational affix, e.g. cleanness (from **clean), to overestimate** (from **to estimate), chairmanship** (from **chairman), openhandedness** (from **openhanded),** etc. Some derived words have no derivational affixes, because derivation is achieved through conversion [2], e.g. **to paper** (from **paper),** a **fall** (from **to fall),** etc. Words created by word-composition have at least two bases, e.g. **lamp-shade, ice-cold, looking-glass," daydream, hotbed, speedometer,** etc.

Within the types, further distinction may be made between the ways of forming words. The basic ways of forming words in word-derivation, for instance, are affixation and conversion. It should be noted that the understanding of word-formation as expounded here excludes semantic word-building as well as shortening, sound- and stress-interchange which traditionally are referred, as has been mentioned above, to minor ways of word-formation. By semantic word-building some linguists understand any change in word-meaning, e.g. **stock** — 'the lower part of the trunk of a tree'; 'something lifeless or stupid'; 'the part of an instrument that serves as a base', etc.; **bench — '**a long seat of wood or stone'; 'a carpenter's table', etc. The majority of linguists, however, understand this process only as a change in the meaning [3] of a word that may result in the appearance of homonyms, as is the

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[1] See 'Word-Structure', § 11, p. 103.
[2] See 'Conversion', § 16,'p. 127, see also 'Word-Structure', § 7, p. 96.
[3] See also 'Semasiology', § 22, p. 30; §§ 25, 26, 39, pp. 34-47.

case with **flower** — 'a blossom' and **flour** — 'the fine meal', 'powder made from wheat and used for making bread'; magazine — 'a publication' and **magazine** — 'the chamber for cartridges in a gun or rifle', etc. The application of the term w o r d - f o r m a t i o n to the process of semantic change and to the appearance of homonyms due to the development of polysemy seems to be debatable for the following reasons:

As semantic change does not, as a rule, lead to the introduction of a new word into the vocabulary, it can scarcely be regarded as a wordbuilding means. Neither can we consider the process a word-building means even when an actual enlargement of the vocabulary does come about through the appearance of a pair of homonyms. Actually, the appearance of homonyms is not a means of creating new words, but it is the final result of a long and labourious process of sense-development. Furthermore, there are no patterns after which homonyms can be made in the language. Finally, diverging sense-development results in a semantic isolation of two or more meanings of a word, whereas the process of word-formation proper is characterised by a certain semantic connection between the new word and the source lexical unit. For these reasons diverging sense-development leading to the appearance of two or more homonyms should be regarded as a specific channel through which the vocabulary of a language is replenished with new words and should not be treated on a par with the processes of word-formation, such as affixation, conversion and composition.

The shortening of words also stands apart from the above two-fold division of word-formation. It cannot be regarded as part of either word-derivation or word-composition for the simple reason that neither the derivational base nor the derivational affix can be singled out from the shortened word (e. g. **lab, exam, Euratom, V-day,** etc.).

Nor are there any derivational patterns new shortened words could be farmed on by the speaker. Consequently, the shortening of words should not be regarded as a way of word-formation on a par with derivation and compounding.

For the same reasons, such ways of coining words as acronymy, blending, lexicalisation and some others should not be treated as means of word-formation. Strictly speaking they are all, together with word-shortening, specific means of replenishing the vocabulary different in principle from affixation, conversion and compounding.

What is said above is especially true of sound- and stress-interchange (also referred to as distinctive stress). Both sound- and stress-interchange may be regarded as ways of forming words only diachronically, because in Modern English not a single word can be coined by changing the root-vowel of a word or by shifting the place of the stress. Sound-interchange as well as stress-interchange in fact has turned into a means of distinguishing primarily between words of different parts of speech and as such is rather wide-spread in Modern English, e.g. **to sing — song, to live — life, strong — strength,** etc. It also distinguishes between different word-forms, e.g. **man — men, wife — wives, to know — knew, to leave — left,** etc.

Sound-interchange falls into two groups: vowel-interchange and consonant-interchange.

By means of vowel-interchange we distinguish different parts of speech, e.g. **full — to fill, food — to feed, blood — to bleed,** etc. **In** some cases vowel-interchange is combined with affixation, e.g. **long — length, strong — strength, broad — breadth,** etc. Intransitive verbs and the corresponding transitive ones with a causative meaning also display vowel-interchange, e. g. **to rise — to raise, to sit — to set, to lie — to lay, to fall — to fell.**

The type of consonant-interchange typical of Modern English is the interchange of a voiceless fricative consonant in a noun and the corresponding voiced consonant in the corresponding verb, e.g. **use — to use, mouth — to mouth, house — to house, advice — to advise,** etc.

There are some particular cases of consonant-interchange: [k] — **[tʃ]: to speak — speech, to break — breach;** [s] — [d]: **defence — to defend; offence — to offend;** [s] — [t]: **evidence — evident, importance — important,** etc. Consonant-interchange may be combined with vowel-interchange, e.g. **bath — to bathe, breath — to breathe, life — to live,** etc.

Many English verbs of Latin-French origin are distinguished from the corresponding nouns by the position of stress. Here are some well-known examples of such pairs of words: ′export *n* — to ex′port *v;* ′import *n* — to im′port *v;* ‘conduct *n* — to con'duct *v;* ‘present *n* — to pre’sent *v;* ′contrast *n* — to con′trast *v;* ′increase *n* — to in′crease *v,* etc.

Stress-interchange is not restricted to pairs of words consisting of a noun and a verb. It may also occur between other parts of speech, for instance, between adjective and verb, e.g. **′frequent** *a* **— to fre′quent** ***v;*** **′absent a — to ab′sent** *v,* etc.

§ 3. Word-Formation as the Subject of Study

W o r d - f o r m a t i o n is that branch of Lexicology which studies the derivative structure of existing words and the patterns on which a language, ‘in this case the English language, builds new words. It is self-evident that word-formation proper can deal only with words which are analysable both structurally and semantically, i.e. with all types of Complexes.[1] The study of the simple word as such has no place in it. Simple words however are very closely connected with word-formation because they serve as the foundation, the basic source of the parent units motivating all types of derived and compound words. Therefore, words like **writer, displease, atom-free,** etc. make the subject matter of study in word-formation, but words like **to write, to please, atom, free** are not irrelevant to it.

Like any other linguistic phenomenon word-formation may be studied from two angles — synchronically and diachronically. It is necessary to distinguish between these two approaches, for synchronically the linguist investigates the existing system of the types of word-formation while diachronically he is concerned with the history of word-building. To illustrate the difference of approach we shall consider affixation. Diachronically it is the chronological order of formation of one word from some other word that is relevant. On the synchronic plane a derived word is regarded as having a more complex structure than its correlated word

[1] See ‘Word-Structure’, § 12, p. 104.

regardless of the fact whether it was derived from a simpler base or **a** more complex base. There are cases in the history of the English language when a word structurally more complex served as the original element from which a simpler word was derived. Those are cases of the process called back-formation (or back-derivation) [1], cf. **beggar — to beg; editor — to edit; chauffeur — to chauff** and some others. The fact that historically the verbs **to beg, to edit,** etc. were derived from the corresponding agent-nouns is of no synchronous relevance.

While analysing and describing word-formation synchronically it is not enough to extract the relevant structural elements from a word, describe its structure in terms of derivational bases, derivational affixes and the type of derivative patterns, it is absolutely necessary to determine the position of these patterns and their constituents within the structural-semantic system of the language as a whole. Productivity of a derivative type therefore cannot be overlooked in this description.

§ 4. Productivity of Word-Formation

Some of the ways of forming words in present-day English can be resorted to for the creation of new words whenever the occasion demands — these are called productive ways of forming words, other ways of forming words cannot now produce new words, and these are commonly termed non-productive or unproductive. For instance, affixation has been a productive way of forming words ever since the Old English period; on the other hand, sound-interchange must have been at one time a word-building means but in Modern English, as has been mentioned above, its function is actually only to distinguish between different classes and forms of words.

It follows that productivity of word-building ways, individual derivational patterns and derivational affixes is understood as their ability of making new words which all who speak English find no difficulty in understanding, in particular their ability to create what are called occasional words or nonce-words.[2] The term suggests that a speaker coins such words when he needs them; if on another occasion the same word is needed again, he coins it afresh. Nonce-words are built from familiar language material after familiar patterns.[3] Needless to say dictionaries do not as a rule record occasional words. The following words may serve as illustration: (his) **collarless** (appearance), a **lungful** (of smoke), a **Dickensish** (office), **to unlearn** (the rules), etc.

The delimitation between productive and non-productive ways and means of word-formation as stated above is not, however, accepted by all linguists without reserve. Some linguists consider it necessary to define the term productivity of a word-building means more accurately. They hold the view that productive ways and means of word-formation are only those that can be used for the formation of an unlimited number of new words in the modern language, i.e. such means that “know no bounds"

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[1] See ‘Introduction’, § 2.

[2] Prof. A. I. Smirnitsky calls them «потенциальные слова» (potential words) in us book on English Lexicology (p. 18).

[3] See” also ‘Various Aspects ...’, § 8, p. 184.

and easily form occasional words. This divergence of opinion is responsible for the difference in the lists of derivational affixes considered productive in various books on English Lexicology.

Recent investigations seem to prove however that productivity of derivational means is relative in many respects. Moreover there are no absolutely productive means; derivational patterns and derivational affixes possess different degrees of productivity. Therefore it is important that conditions favouring productivity and the degree of productivity of **a** particular pattern or affix should be established. All derivational patterns experience both structural and semantic constraints. The fewer are the constraints the higher is the degree of productivity, the greater is the number of new words built on it. The two general constraints imposed on all derivational patterns are — the part of speech in which the pattern functions and the meaning attached to it which conveys the regular semantic correlation between the two classes of words. It follows that each part of speech is characterised by a set of productive derivational patterns peculiar to it. Three degrees of productivity are distinguished for derivational patterns and individual derivational affixes: 1) highly-productive, 2) productive or semi-productive and 3) non-productive.

Productivity of derivational patterns and affixes should not be identified with frequency of occurrence in speech, although there may be some interrelation between them. Frequency of occurrence is characterised by the fact that a great number of words containing a given derivational affix are often used in speech, in particular in various texts. Productivity is characterised by the ability of a given suffix to make new words.

In linguistic literature there is another interpretation of derivational productivity based on a quantitative approach.[1] A derivational pattern or a derivational affix are qualified as productive provided there are in the word-stock dozens and hundreds of derived words built on the pattern or with the help of the suffix in question. Thus interpreted, derivational productivity is distinguished from word-formation activity by which is meant the ability of an affix to produce new words, in particular occasional words or nonce-words. To give a few illustrations. The agent suffix **-er** is to be qualified both as a productive and as an active suffix: on the one hand, the English word-stock possesses hundreds of nouns containing this suffix (e.g. **driver, reaper, teacher, speaker,** etc.), on the other hand, the suffix **-er** in the pattern *v+-er -> N* is freely used to coin an unlimited number of nonce-words denoting active agents (e.g., **interrupter, respecter, laugher, breakfaster,** etc.).

The adjective suffix **-ful** is described as a productive but not as an active one, for there are hundreds of adjectives with this suffix (e.g. **beautiful, hopeful, useful,** etc.), but no new words seem to be built with its help.

For obvious reasons, the noun-suffix **-th** in terms of this approach is to be regarded both as a non-productive and a non-active one.

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[1] See *Е. С. Кубрякова.* Что такое словообразование. М., 1965, с. 21.

§ 5. Summary and Conclusions

1. Word-formation is the process of creating words from the material available in the language after certain structural and semantic formulas and patterns.

2. As a subject of study English word-formation is that branch of English Lexicology which studies the derivative structure of words and the patterns on which the English language builds new words. Like any other linguistic phenomenon, word-formation may be studied synchronically and diachronically.

3. There are two types of word-formation in Modern English: word-derivation and word-composition. Within the types further distinction is made between the various ways and means of word-formation.

4. There is every reason to exclude the shortening of words, lexicalisation, blending, acronymy from the system of word-formation and regard them and other word-forming processes as specific means of vocabulary replenishment.

5. Sound- and stress-interchange in Modern English are a means of distinguishing between different words, primarily between words of different parts of speech.

6. The degree of productivity and factors favouring it make an important aspect of synchronic description of every derivational pattern within the two types of word-formation.

Three degrees of productivity are distinguished for derivational patterns and individual derivational affixes: 1) highly-productive, 2) productive or semi-productive and 3) non-productive.

Affixation

§ 6. Definition. Degree of Derivation. Prefixal and Suffixal Derivatives

Affixation is generally defined as the formation of words by adding derivational affixes to different types of bases. Derived words formed by affixation may be the result of one or several applications of word-formation rule and thus the stems of words making up a word-cluster enter into derivational relations of different degrees. The zero degree of derivation is ascribed to simple words, i.e. words whose stem is homonymous with a word-form and often with a root-morpheme, e.g. **atom, haste, devote, anxious, horror,** etc. Derived words whose bases are built on simple stems and thus are formed by the application of one derivational affix are described as having the first degree of derivation, e.g. **atomic, hasty, devotion,** etc. Derived words formed by two consecutive stages of coining possess the second degree of derivation, etc., e.g. **atomical, hastily, devotional,** etc.

In conformity with the division of derivational affixes into suffixes and prefixes affixation is subdivided into suffixation and prefixation. Distinction is naturally made between prefixal and suffixal derivatives according to the last stage of derivation, which determines the nature of the ICs of the pattern that signals the relationship of the derived word with its motivating source unit, cf. **unjust** ***(un-****+just),* **justify,** *(just+*

+ -ify), **arrangement** *(arrange* + **-ment), non-smoker (non-** + *smoker).* Words like **reappearance, unreasonable, denationalise,** are often qualified as prefixal-suffixal derivatives. The reader should clearly realise that this qualification is relevant only in terms of the constituent morphemes such words are made up of, i.e. from the angle of morphemic analysis. From the point of view of derivational analysis such words are mostly either suffixal or prefixal derivatives, e.g. **sub-atomic** = **sub-** + *(atom* + + *-ic),* **unreasonable** = **un-** + *(reason* + *-able),* **denationalise** = **de-** + + *(national* + *-ize),* **discouragement** = *(dis-* + *courage)* + **-ment.**

A careful study of a great many suffixal and prefixal derivatives has revealed an essential difference between them. In Modern English suffixation is mostly characteristic of noun and adjective formation, while prefixation is mostly typical of verb formation. The distinction also rests on the role different types of meaning play in the semantic structure of the suffix and the prefix.[1] The part-of-speech meaning has a much greater significance in suffixes as compared to prefixes which possess it in a lesser degree. Due to it a prefix may be confined to one part of speech as, e.g., **enslave, encage, unbutton** or may function in more than one part of speech as, e.g., **over-** in **overkind** *a,* **to overfeed** *v,* **overestimation** *n;* unlike prefixes, suffixes as a rule function in any o n e part of speech often forming a derived stem of a different part of speech as compared with that of the base, e.g. **careless** *a* — cf. **care** *n;* **suitable** *a* — cf. **suit** *v,* etc. Furthermore, it is necessary to point out that a suffix closely knit together with a base forms a fusion retaining less of its independence than a prefix which is as a general rule more independent semantically, cf. **reading** — 'the act of one who reads'; 'ability to read'; and **to re-read** — 'to read again.'

§ 7. Prefixation. Some Debatable Problems

P r e f i x a t i o n is the formation of words with the help of prefixes. The interpretation of the terms prefix and prefixation now firmly rooted in linguistic literature has undergone a certain evolution. For instance, some time ago there were linguists who treated prefixation as part of word-composition (or compounding). The greater semantic independence of prefixes as compared with suffixes led the linguists to identify prefixes with the first component part of a compound word.[2]

At present the majority of scholars treat prefixation as an integral part of word-derivation regarding prefixes as derivational affixes which differ essentially both from root-morphemes and non-derivational prepositive morphemes. Opinion sometimes differs concerning the interpretation of the functional status of certain individual groups of morphemes which commonly occur as first component parts of words. H. Marchand, for instance, analyses words like **to overdo, to underestimate** as compound verbs, the first components of which are locative particles, not prefixes. In a similar way he interprets words like **income, onlooker, outhouse** qualifying them as compounds with locative particles as first elements.

There are about 51 prefixes in the system of Modern English word-formation.

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[1] See 'Word-Structure', § 9, p. 100.

[2] See, for instance, *E. Kruisinga.* A Handbook of Present-Day English, pt. II, 1939.

According to the available word-counts of prefixal derivatives [1] the greatest number are verbs — 42.4%, adjectives comprise 33,5% and nouns make up 22.4%. To give some examples.-

prefixal verbs: to enrich, to coexist, to disagree, to undergo, etc.;

prefixal adjectives: anti-war, biannual, uneasy, super-human, etc.;

prefixal nouns: ex-champion, co-author, disharmony, subcommittee, etc.

It is of interest to mention that the number of prefixal derivatives within a certain part of speech is in inverse proportion to the actual number of prefixes: 22 form verbs, 41 prefixes make adjectives and 42 — nouns.

Proceeding from the three types of morphemes that the structural classification involves [2] two types of prefixes are to be distinguished:

1) those not correlated with any independent word (either notional or functional), e.g. **un-, dis-, re-, pre-, post-**, etc.; and

2) those correlated with functional words (prepositions or preposition like adverbs), e.g. **out-, over-, up-, under-,** etc.

Prefixes of the second type are qualified as s e m i b o u n d m o r p h e m e s , which implies that they occur in speech in various utterances both as independent words and as derivational affixes, e.g. '**over** one's head', '**over** the river' (cf. to **over***lap,* to **over***pass*); 'to run **out**', 'to take smb **out**' (cf. to **out***grow,* to **out***line); '*to look **up**', 'hands **up**' (cf. *upstairs,* to **up***set); '***under** the same roof, 'to go **under**' (cf. to **under***estimate*, **under***current),* etc.

It should be mentioned that English prefixes of the second type essentially differ from the functional words they are correlated with:

a) like any other derivational affixes they have a more generalised meaning in comparison with the more concrete meanings of the correlated words (see the examples given above); they are characterised by a unity of different denotational components of meaning — a generalised component common to a set of prefixes and individual semantic component distinguishing the given prefix within the set.

b) they are deprived of all grammatical features peculiar to the independent words they are correlated with;

c) they tend to develop a meaning not found in the correlated words;

d) they form regular sets of words of the same semantic type.

Of late some new investigations into the problem of prefixation in English have yielded interesting results. It appears that the traditional opinion, current among linguists, that prefixes modify only the lexical meaning of words without changing the part of speech is not quite correct with regard to the English language. In English there are about 25 prefixes which can transfer words to a different part of speech in comparison with their original stems. Such prefixes should perhaps be called conversive prefixes, e.g. **to begulf** (cf. gulf *n),* **to debus** (cf. bus *n);* **to embronze** (cf. bronze *n),* etc. If further investigation of English prefixation gives

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[1] The figures are borrowed from: *К. В. Пиоттух.* Система префиксации в современном английском языке. Канд. дисс. М., 1971.

[2] See 'Word-Structure', § 3, p. 92.

more proofs of the conversive ability of prefixes, it will then be possible to draw the conclusion that in this respect there is no functional difference between suffixes and prefixes, for suffixes in English are also both conversive (cf. **hand — handless)** and non-conversive (cf. **father — fatherhood, horseman — horsemanship,** etc.).

Some recent investigations in the field of English affixation have revealed a close interdependence between the meanings of a polysemantic affix and the lexico-semantic group to which belongs the base it is affixed to, which results in the difference between structural and structural-semantic derivational patterns the prefix forms. A good illustration in point is the prefix **en-**.

When within the same structural pattern **en-**+*n* —> *V,* the prefix is combined with noun bases denoting articles of clothing, things of luxury, etc. it forms derived verbs expressing an action of putting or placing on, e.g. **enrobe** (cf. robe), **enjewel** (cf. jewel), **enlace** (cf. lace), etc.

When added to noun bases referring to various land forms, means of transportation, containers and notions of geometry it builds derived verbs denoting an action of putting or placing in or into, e.g. **embed (cf.** bed), **entrap** (cf. trap), **embark** (cf. bark), **entrain** (cf. train), **encircle** (cf. circle), etc.

In combination with noun bases denoting an agent or an abstract notion the prefix **en-** produces causative verbs, e.g. **enslave** (cf. slave), **endanger** (cf. danger), **encourage** (cf. courage), etc.

§ 8. Classification of Prefixes

Unlike suffixation, which is usually more closely bound up with the paradigm of a certain part of speech, prefixation is considered to be more neutral in this respect. It is significant that in linguistic literature derivational suffixes are always divided into noun-forming, adjective-forming, etc. Prefixes, however, are treated differently. They are described either in alphabetical order or subdivided into several classes in accordance with their origin, meaning or function and never according to the part of speech.

Prefixes may be classified on different principles. Diachronically distinction is made between prefixes of native and foreign origin.[1] Synchronically prefixes may be classified:

1) according to the class of words they preferably form. Recent investigations, as has been mentioned above, allow one to classify prefixes according to this principle. It must be noted that most of the 51 prefixes of Modern English function in more than one part of speech forming different structural and structural-semantic patterns. A small group of 5 prefixes may be referred to exclusively verb-forming (**en-, be-, un-,** etc.).

The majority of prefixes (in their various denotational meanings) tend to function either in nominal parts of speech (41 patterns in adjectives, 42 in nouns) or in verbs (22 patterns);

2) as to the type of lexical-grammatical character of the base they are added to into: a) deverbal, e. g. **rewrite, outstay, overdo,** etc.; b) denominal, e.g. **unbutton, detrain, ex-president,** etc. and c) deadjectival, e.g.

[1] See ‘Word-Formation’, § 14, p. 125.

uneasy, biannual, etc. It is of interest to note that the most productive prefixal pattern for adjectives is the one made up of the prefix **un-** and the base built either on adjectival stems or present and past participle, e.g. **unknown, unsmiling, unseen,** etc.;

3) semantically prefixes fall into mono- and polysemantic [1];

4) as to the generic denotational meaning there are different groups that are distinguished in linguistic literature:

a) negative prefixes, such as: **un_1-, non-, in-, dis_1-, a-,** e.g. **ungrateful** (cf. grateful), **unemployment** (cf. employment), **non-politician (cf.** politician), **non-scientific** (cf. scientific), **incorrect (cf.** correct), **disloyal** (cf. loyal), **disadvantage** (cf. advantage), **amoral** (cf. moral), **asymmetry** (cf. symmetry), etc.

It may be mentioned in passing that the prefix **in-** occurs in different phonetic shapes depending on the initial sound of the base it is affixed to; in other words, the prefixal morpheme in question has several allomporphs, namely **il-** (before [l]), **im-** (before [p, m],) **ir-** (before [r]), **in-** in all other cases, e.g. **illegal, improbable, immaterial, irreligious, inactive,** etc.;

b) reversative or privative prefixes, such as **un_2-, de-, dis_2-,** e.g. **untie (cf. tie), unleash** (cf. leash), **decentralise** (cf. centralise), **disconnect** (cf. connect), etc.;

c) pejorative prefixes, such as **mis-, mal-, pseudo-, e.g. miscalculate** (cf. calculate), **misinform** (cf. inform), **maltreat** (cf. treat), **pseudo-classicism** (cf. classicism), **pseudo-scientific** (cf. scientific), etc.;

d) prefixes of time and order, such as **fore-, pre-, post-, ex-,** e.g. **foretell (cf.** tell), **foreknowledge** (cf. knowledge), **pre-war (cf.** war), **post-war** (cf. war), **post-classical** (cf. classical), **ex-president** (cf. president);

e) prefix of repetition **re-,** e.g. **rebuild** (cf. build), **re-write** (cf. write), etc;

f) locative prefixes, such as **super-, sub-, inter-, trans-, e.g. superstructure** (cf. structure), **subway** (cf. way), **inter-continental** (cf. continental), **trans-atlantic** (cf. Atlantic), etc. and some other groups;

5) when viewed from the angle of their stylistic reference English prefixes fall into those characterised by n e u t r a l s t y l i s t i c r e f e r e n c e and those p o s s e s s i n g q u i t e a d e f i n i t e s t y l i s t i c v a l u e . As no exhaustive lexico-stylistic classification of English prefixes has yet been suggested, a few examples can only be adduced here. There is no doubt, for instance, that prefixes like **un_1-, un_2-, out-, over-, re-, under-** and some others can be qualified as neutral prefixes, e.g., **unnatural, unknown, unlace, outnumber, oversee, resell, underestimate,** etc. On the other hand, one can hardly fail to perceive the literary-bookish character of such prefixes as **pseudo-, super-, ultra-, uni-, bi-** and some others, e.g. **pseudo-classical, superstructure, ultra-violet, unilateral, bifocal,** etc.

Sometimes one comes across pairs of prefixes one of which is neutral, the other is stylistically coloured/One example will suffice here: the

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[1] For more details see ‘Word-Formation’, § 11, p. 121. 18

prefix **over-** occurs in all functional styles, the prefix **super-** is peculiar to the style of scientific prose.

6) prefixes may be also classified as to the degree of productivity into highly-productive, productive and non-productive.[1]

§ 9. Suffixation. Peculiarities of Some Suffixes

Suffixation is the formation of words with the help of suffixes. Suffixes usually modify the lexical meaning of the base and transfer words to a, different part of speech. There are suffixes however, which do not shift words from one part of speech into another; a suffix of this kind usually transfers a word into a different semantic group, e.g. a concrete noun becomes an abstract one, as is the case with **child — childhood, friend — friendship,** etc.

Chains of suffixes occurring in derived words having two and more suffixal morphemes are sometimes referred to in lexicography as compound suffixes: **-ably = -able + -ly (e.g. profitably, unreasonably); -ically = -ic + -al + -ly (e.g. musically, critically); -ation** = **-ate** + **-ion** (e.g. **fascination, isolation)** and some others. Compound suffixes do not always present a mere succession of two or more suffixes arising out of several consecutive stages of derivation. Some of them acquire a new quality operating as a whole unit. Let us examine from this point of view the suffix **-ation** in words like **fascination, translation, adaptation** and the like. **Adaptation** looks at first sight like a parallel to **fascination, translation.** The latter however are first-degree derivatives built with the suffix **-ion** on the bases **fascinate-, translate-.** But there is no base **adaptate-,** only the shorter base **adapt-.** Likewise **damnation, condemnation, formation, information** and many others are not matched by shorter bases ending in -ate, but only by still shorter ones **damn-, condemn-, form-, inform-.** Thus, the suffix **-ation** is a specific suffix of a composite nature. It consists of two suffixes **-ate** and -ion, but in many cases functions as a single unit in first-degree derivatives. It is referred to in linguistic literature as a coalescent suffix or a group suffix. **Adaptation** is then a derivative of the first degree of derivation built with the coalescent suffix on the base **adapt-.**

Of interest is also the group-suffix **-manship** consisting of the suffixes **-man** [2] and **-ship.** It denotes a superior quality, ability of doing something to perfection, e.g. **authormanship, quotemanship, Upmanship,** etc. **(cf. statesmanship,** or **chairmanship** built by adding the suffix **-ship** to the compound base **statesman-** and **chairman-** respectively).

It also seems appropriate to make several remarks about the morphological changes that sometimes accompany the process of combining derivational morphemes with bases. Although this problem has been so far insufficiently investigated, some observations have been made and some data collected. For instance, the noun-forming suffix **-ess** for names of female beings brings about a certain change in the phonetic shape of the correlative male noun provided the latter ends in **-er, -or,** e.g. **actress**

[1] See 'Word-Formation', § 13, p. 123.
[2] See 'Word-Structure', § 3, p. 92.

(cf. actor), **sculptress** (cf. sculptor), **tigress** (cf. tiger), etc. It may be easily, observed that in such cases the sound [9] is contracted in the feminine nouns.

Further, there are suffixes due to which the primary stress is shifted to the syllable immediately preceding them, e.g. **courageous** (cf. courage), **stability** (cf. stable), **investigation** (cf. investigate), **peculiarity** (cf. peculiar), etc. When added to a base having the suffix **-able/-ible** as its component, the suffix **-ity** brings about a change in its phonetic shape, namely the vowel [i] is inserted between [b] and [1], e.g. **possible — possibility, changeable — changeability,** etc. Some suffixes attract the primary stress on to themselves, there is a secondary stress on the first syllable in words with such suffixes, e.g. **`employ´ee** (cf. em´ploy), **`govern´mental** (cf. govern), **`pictu´resque** (cf. picture).

§ 10. Main Principles of Classi-

There are different classifications of suffixes in linguistic literature, as suffixes may be divided into several groups according to different principles:

1) The first principle of classification that, one might say, suggests itself is t h e p a r t of s p e e c h f o r m e d . Within the scope of the part-of-speech classification suffixes naturally fall into several groups such as:

a) noun-suffixes, i.e. those forming or occurring in nouns, e.g. **-er, -dom, -ness, -ation,** etc. **(teacher, Londoner, freedom, brightness, justification,** etc.);

b) adjective-suffixes, i.e. those forming or occurring in adjectives, e.g. **-able, -less, -ful, -ic, -ous,** etc. **(agreeable, careless, doubtful, poetic, courageous,** etc.);

c) verb-suffixes, i.e. those forming or occurring in verbs, e.g. **-en, -fy, -ise (-ize) (darken, satisfy, harmonise,** etc.);

d) adverb-suffixes, i.e. those forming or occurring in adverbs, e.g. **-ly, -ward (quickly, eastward,** etc.).

2) Suffixes may also be classified into various groups according to the lexico-grammatical character of the base the affix is usually added to. Proceeding from this principle one may divide suffixes into:

a) deverbal suffixes (those added to the verbal base), e.g. **-er, -ing, -ment, -able,** etc. **(speaker, reading, agreement, suitable,** etc.);

b) denominal suffixes (those added to the noun base), e.g. **-less, -ish, -ful, -ist, -some,** etc. **(handless, childish, mouthful, violinist, troublesome,** etc.);

c) de-adjectival suffixes (those affixed to the adjective base), e.g. **-en, -ly, -ish, -ness,** etc. **(blacken, slowly, reddish, brightness,** etc.).

3) A classification of suffixes may also be based on the criterion of sense expressed by a set of suffixes. Proceeding from this principle suffixes are classified into various groups within the bounds of a certain part of speech. For instance, noun-suffixes fall into those denoting:

a) the agent of an action, e.g. **-er, -ant (baker, dancer, defendant, etc.);**

b) appurtenance, e.g. **-an, -ian, -ese**, etc. **(Arabian, Elizabethan, Russian, Chinese, Japanese,** etc.);

c) collectivity, e.g. **-age, -dom, -ery (-ry),** etc. **(freightage, officialdom, peasantry,** etc.);

d) diminutiveness, e.g. **-ie, -let, -ling,** etc. **(birdie, girlie, cloudlet, squireling, wolfling,** etc.).

4) Still another classification of suffixes may be worked out if one examines them from the angle of stylistic reference. Just like prefixes, suffixes are also characterised by quite a definite stylistic reference falling into two basic classes:

a) those characterised by neutral stylistic reference such as **-able,** -er, -ing, etc.;

b) those having a certain stylistic value such as **-oid, -i/form, -aceous, -tron,** etc.

Suffixes with neutral stylistic reference may occur in words of different lexico-stylistic layers e.g. **agreeable,** cf. **steerable (steerable spaceship); dancer,** cf. **transmitter, squealer;** [1] **meeting,** cf. **monitoring (the monitoring of digestive processes in the body),** etc. As for suffixes of the second class they are restricted in use to quite definite lexico-stylistic layers of words, in particular to terms, e.g. **rhomboid, asteroid, cruciform, cyclotron, synchrophasotron,** etc.

5) Suffixes are also classified as to the degree of their productivity.

§ 1 1 . Polysemy and Homonymy

As is known, language is never stable: sounds, constructions, grammatical elements, word-forms and word-meanings are all exposed to alteration. Derivational affixes are no exception in this respect, they also undergo semantic change. Consequently many commonly used derivational affixes are polysemantic in Modern English. The following two may well serve as illustrations. The noun-suffix **-er** is used to coin words denoting 1) persons following some special trade or profession, e.g. **baker, driver, hunter,** etc.; 2) persons doing a certain action at the moment in question, e.g. **packer, chooser, giver,** etc.; 3) a device, tool, implement, e.g. **blotter, atomiser, boiler, eraser, transmitter, trailer,** etc.

The adjective-suffix **-y** also has several meanings, such as 1) composed of, full of, e.g. **bony, stony;** 2) characterised by, e.g. **rainy, cloudy;** 3) having the character of, resembling what the base denotes, e.g. **inky, bushy.**

The various changes that the English language has undergone in the course of time have led to chance coincidence in form of two or more derivational affixes. As a consequence, and this is characteristic of Modern English, many homonymic derivational affixes can be found among those forming both different parts of speech and different semantic groupings within the same part of speech. For instance, the adverb-suffix **-ly** added to adjectival bases is homonymous to the adjective-suffix **-ly** affixed to noun-bases, cf. **quickly, slowly** and **lovely, friendly;** the verb-suffix -en attached to noun- and adjectival bases is homonymous to the adjective-suffix **-en** tacked on to noun-bases, cf. **to strengthen, to soften** and **wooden, golden;** the verb-prefix -un$_1$ added to noun- and verb-bases

[1] 'informer, complainer' *(sl.)*

is homonymous to the adjective-prefix **-un**$_2$ affixed to adjectival **bases,** cf. **to unbind, to unshoe** and **unfair, untrue,** etc.

On the other hand, there are two homonymous adjective-suffixes **-ish**$_1$ and **-ish**$_2$ occurring in words like **bluish, greenish,** and **girlish, boyish.** In some books on English Lexicology the suffix **-ish** in these two groups of words is regarded as one suffix having two different meanings. If We probe deeper into the matter, however, we shall inevitably arrive at the conclusion that we are dealing with two different homonymous suffixes: one in **bluish,** the other in **girlish.** The reasons are as follows: the suffix **-ish,** in **bluish, reddish,** etc. only modifies the lexical meaning of the adjective-base it is affixed to without changing the part of speech. The suffix **-ish**$_2$ in **bookish, girlish, womanish,** etc. is added to a noun-base to form an adjective. Besides, the suffixes **-ish**$_1$ and **-ish**$_2$ differ considerably in the denotational meaning so that no semantic connection may be traced between them: the suffix **-ish**$_1$ means 'somewhat like' corresponding to the Russian suffix **-оват-** in such adjectives as *голубоватый, красноватый,* etc.; the suffix **-ish**$_2$ means 'of the nature of, resembling', often derogatory in force, e. g. **childish** — *ребяческий, несерьезный* (cf. **childlike** — *детский, простой, невинный;* hoggish — *свинский, жадный,* etc.)

§ 12. Synonymy

In the course of its long history the English language has adopted a great many words from foreign languages all over the world. One of the consequences of extensive borrowing was the appearance of numerous derivational affixes in the English language. Under certain circumstances some of them came to overlap semantically to a certain extent both with one another and with the native affixes. For instance, the suffix -er of native origin denoting the agent is synonymous to the suffix **-ist** of Greek origin which came into the English language through Latin in the 16th century. Both suffixes occur in nouns denoting the agent, e.g. **teacher, driller; journalist, botanist, economist,** etc. Being synonymous these suffixes naturally differ from each other in some respects. Unlike the suffix -er, the suffix **-ist** is:

1) mostly combined with noun-bases, e.g. **violinist, receptionist,** etc.;

2) as a rule, added to bases of non-Germanic origin and very seldom to bases of Germanic origin, e.g. **walkist, rightist;**

3) used to form nouns denoting those who adhere to a doctrine or system, a political party, an ideology or the like, e.g. **communist, Leninist, Marxist, chartist, Darwinist,** etc. Words in **-ist** denoting 'the upholder of a principle' are usually matched by an abstract noun in **-ism** denoting 'the respective theory' (e.g. **Communism, Socialism,** etc.).

Sometimes synonymous suffixes differ in emotive charge. For instance, the suffix **-eer** also denoting the agent is characterised, in particular, by its derogative force, e.g. **sonneteer** — *стихоплет,* **profiteer —** *спекулянт,* etc.

There is also a considerable number of synonymous prefixes in the English language. Recent research has revealed certain rules concerning correlation between words with synonymous prefixes of native and

foreign origin. It appears, for instance, that in prefixal-suffixal derivatives the general tendency is to use a prefix of Romanic origin if the suffix is also of Romanic origin and a native prefix in the case of a native suffix, cf. **unrecognised — irrecognisable; unlimited — illimitable; unformed — informal; undecided — indecisive,** etc. Though adequately reflecting the general tendency observed in similar cases this rule has many exceptions. The basic exception is the suffix **-able** which may often occur together with the native prefix **un-,** e.g. **unbearable, unfavourable, unreasonable,** etc. In fact, the pattern *un- +(v + -able)* -> A is wide-spread and productive in Modern English.

§ 13. Productivity

Distinction is usually made between d e a d and l i v i n g a f f i x e s . Dead affixes are described as those which are no longer felt in Modern English as component parts of words; they have so fused with the base of the word as to lose their independence completely. It is only by special etymological analysis that they may be singled out, e.g. **-d** in **dead, seed, -le, -1, -el** in **bundle, sail, hovel; -ock** in **hillock; -lock** in **wedlock; -t** in **flight, gift, height.** It is quite clear that dead suffixes are irrelevant to present-day English word-formation, they belong in its diachronic study.

Living affixes may be easily singled out from a word, e.g. the noun-forming suffixes **-ness, -dom, -hood, -age, -ance,** as in **darkness, freedom, childhood, marriage, assistance,** etc. or the adjective-forming suffixes **-en, -ous, -ive, -ful, -y** as in **wooden, poisonous, active, hopeful, Stony,** etc.

However, not all living derivational affixes of Modern English possess the ability to coin new words. Some of them may be employed to coin new words on the spur of the moment, others cannot, so that they are different from the point of view of their productivity. Accordingly they fall into two basic classes — productive and non-productive word-building affixes.

It has been pointed out that linguists disagree as to what is meant by the productivity of derivational affixes.[1]

Following the first approach all living affixes should be considered productive in varying degrees from highly-productive (e.g. **-er, -ish, -less, re-,** etc.) to non-productive (e.g. **-ard, -cy, -ive,** etc.).

Consequently it becomes important to describe the constraints imposed on and the factors favouring the productivity of affixational patterns and individual affixes. The degree of productivity of affixational patterns very much depends on the structural, lexico-grammatical and semantic nature of bases and the meaning of the affix. For instance, the analysis of the bases from which the suffix **-ise** (**-ize**) can derive verbs reveals that it is most productive with noun-stems, adjective-stems also favour its productivity, whereas verb-stems and adverb-stems do not, e.g. **criticise (cf. critic), organise (cf. organ), itemise (cf. item), mobilise (cf. mobile), localise (cf. local),** etc. Comparison of the semantic structure of a verb in **-ise (-ize)** with that of the base it is built on shows that the number of meanings of the stem usually exceeds that of the verb and that its basic

[1] See 'Word-Formation', § 4, p. 112.

meaning favours **the** productivity of the suffix **-ise (-ize)** to a greater degree than its marginal meanings, cf. **to characterise — character, to moralise — moral, to dramatise — drama,** etc.

The treatment of pertain affixes as non-productive naturally also depends on the concept of productivity. The current definition of n o n - p r o d u c t i v e derivational affixes as those which cannot be used in Modern English for the coining of new words is rather vague and may be interpreted in different ways. Following the definition the term non-productive refers only to the affixes unlikely to be used for the formation of new words, e.g. **-ous, -th, fore-** and some others (cf. **famous, depth, to foresee).**

If one accepts the other concept of productivity mentioned above, ■then non-productive affixes must be defined as those that cannot be used for the formation of occasional words and, consequently, such affixes as **-dom, -ship, -ful, -en, -ify, -ate** and many others are to be regarded as non-productive.

The degree of productivity of a suffix or, to be more exact, of a derivational affix in general may be established on a statistical basis as the ratio of the number of newly-formed words with the given suffix to the number of words with the same suffix already operating in the language. To give an illustration, we shall take the suffix **–ise (-ize).** The dictionaries of new words compiled by P. Berg (1953) and M. Reifer (1958) as well as the Addenda section of *Webster's New International Dictionary* (1958) contain 40 new verbs built up with the help of the suffix **–ise (-ize).** On the other **hand,** *The Thorndike Century Junior Dictionary* (1941) has 127 verbs derived by means of the same suffix. Consequently, the productivity measure of the suffix **–ise (-ize)** is 40: 127=0.315. A similar examination of the verb-suffixes **-ate, -en**, **-ify** yields the following results characterising the productivity measure of each of the verbs: the suffix **-ate** — 0.034, the suffix **-en** — 0.018 and the suffix **-ify** — 0.017. Thus, these figures lead one to the conclusion that the suffix **–ise (-ize)** is the most productive of the four under investigation and that the suffix **-ate** is more productive than **-en** and **-ify.**

The theory of relative productivity of derivational affixes is also corroborated by some other observations made on English word-formation. For instance, different productive affixes are found in different periods of the history of the language. It is extremely significant, for example, that out of the seven verb-forming suffixes of the Old English period only one has survived up to the present time with a very low degree of productivity, namely the suffix **-en** (cf. **to soften, to darken, to whiten).**

A derivational affix may become productive in just one meaning because thai meaning is specially needed by the community at a particular phase in its history. This may be well illustrated by the prefix **de-**in the sense of 'undo what has been done, reverse an action or process', E.g., **deacidify** (paint spray), **decasualise** (dock labour), **decentralise** (government or management), **deration** (eggs and butter), **de-reserve** (medical students), **desegregate** (coloured, children), and so on.

Furthermore, there are cases when a derivational affix being nonproductive in the non-specialised section of the vocabulary is used to

coin scientific or technical terms. This is the case, for instance, with the suffix **-ance** which has been used to form some terms in Electrical Engineering, e.g. **capacitance, impedance, reactance.** The same is true of the suffix **-ity** which has been used to form terms in physics and chemistry such as **alkalinity, luminosity, emissivity** and some others.-

§ 14. Origin of Derivational Affixes

While examining the stock of derivational affixes in Modern English from the point of view of their origin distinction should first of all be made between n a t i v e and f o r e i g n a f f i x e s , e.g. the suffixes **-ness, -ish, -dom** and the prefixes **be-, mis-, un-** are of native origin, whereas such suffixes as **-ation, -ment, -able** and prefixes like **dis-, ex-, re-** are of foreign origin.

Many of the suffices and prefixes of native origin were originally independent words. In the course of time they have gradually lost their independence and turned into derivational affixes. For instance, such noun-suffixes as **-dom, -hood, -ship** may be traced back to words: **-dom** represents the Old English noun **dom** which meant 'judgement'; 'sentence'. The suffix **-hood** goes back to the *OE,* noun **had,** which meant 'state', 'condition'; the adjective suffix **-ly** (e.g. **manly, friendly)** is also traced back to the *OE.* noun **līc** — 'body', 'shape'. Some suffixes are known to have originated as a result of secretion. An instance of the case is the suffix **-ling** occurring in words like **duckling, yearling, hireling,** etc. The suffix is simply the extended form of the Old English suffix **-ing** and has sprung from words in which **-ing** was tacked on to a stem ending in [1] as **lȳtling.** Many suffixes, however, have always been known as derivational affixes within the history of the English language, for instance **-ish, -less-, -ness,** etc.

The same is true of prefixes: some have developed out of independent words, e.g. **out-, under-, over-,** ethers have always functioned as derivational affixes, e.g. **mis-, un-**.

In the course of its historical development the English language has adopted a great many suffixes and prefixes from foreign languages. This process does not consist in borrowing derivational affixes as such. It is words that the language borrows from a foreign language and the borrowed words bring with them their derivatives formed after word-building patterns of this language. When such pairs of words as **derive** and **derivation, esteem** and **estimation, laud** and **laudation** found their way into the English vocabulary, it was natural that the suffix **-ation** should be recognised by English speakers as an allowable means of forming nouns of action out of verbs. In this way a great many suffixes and prefixes of foreign origin have become an integral part of the system of word-formation in English. Among borrowed derivational affixes we find both suffixes, e.g. **-able, -ible, -al, -age, -ance, -ist, -ism, -ess,** etc., and prefixes, e.g. **dis-, en[em]-, inter-, re-, non-** and many others.

It is to be marked that quite a number of borrowed derivational affixes are of international currency. For instance, the suffix **-ist** of Greek origin is used in many European languages to form a noun denoting 'one who adheres to a given doctrine or system, a political party, an ideology' or 'one, who makes a practice of a given action' (cf. **socialist, communist,**

Marxist; artist, scenarist, realist and their Russian equivalents). Of international currency is also the suffix **-ism** of Greek origin used to form abstract nouns denoting 'philosophical doctrines, political and 'scientific theories,' etc. (e.g. **materialism, realism, Darwinism).** Such prefixes as **anti-, pre-, extra-, ultra-** are also used to coin new words in many languages, especially in political and scientific terminology (e.g. **anti-fascist, pro-German, extra-territorial, transatlantic, ultra-violet).**

The adoption of countless foreign words exercised a great influence upon the system of English word-formation, one of the result being the appearance of many hybrid words in the English vocabulary. The term h y b r i d w o r d s is, needless to say, of diachronic relevance only. Here distinction should be made between two basic groups:

1) Cases when a foreign stem is combined with a native affix, as in **colourless, uncertain.** After complete adoption the foreign stem is subject to the same treatment as native stems and new words are derived from it at a very early stage. For instance, such suffixes as **-ful, -less, -ness** were used with French words as early as 1300;

2) Cases when native stems are combined with foreign affixes, such as **drinkable, joyous, shepherdess.** Here the assimilation of a structural pattern is involved, therefore some time must pass before a foreign affix comes to be recognised by speakers as a derivational morpheme that can be tacked on to native words. Therefore such formations are found much later than those of the first type and are less numerous. The early assimilation of **-able** is an exception. Some foreign affixes, as **-ance,** -al, **-ity,** have never become productive with native stems.

Reinterpretation of borrowed words gave rise to affixes which may not have been regarded as such in the source language. For instance, **-scape** occurring in such words as **seascape, cloudscape, mountainscape, moonscape,** etc. resulted from **landscape** of Dutch origin. The suffix **-ade** developed from **lemonade** of French origin, giving rise to **fruitade, orangeade, gingerade, pineappleade, etc.; the** noun **electron** of Greek origin contributed the suffix **-tron** very widely used in coining scientific and technical terms, e.g. **cyclotron, magnetron, synchrophasotron, thyratron,** etc.

§ 15. Summary and Conclusions

1. Affixation (prefixation and suffixation) is the formation of words by adding derivational affixes (prefixes and suffixes) to bases. One distinguishes between derived words of different degrees of derivation.

2. There are quite a number of polysemantic, homonymous and synonymous derivational affixes in Modern English.

3. Classifications of derivational affixes are based on different principles such as: 1) the part of speech formed, 2) the lexico-grammatical character of the stem the affix is added to, 3) its meaning, 4) its stylistic reference, 5) the degree of productivity, 6) the origin of the affix (native or borrowed),[1] etc.

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[1] Lists of all derivational affixes of Modern English containing detailed information of the kind necessary for the practical analysis just referred to may be found in various handbooks and manuals such as *L. Bankevich.* English Word-Buiding. L., 1961;

4. The productivity of derivational affixes is relative and conditioned by various factors.

5. Many of the Modern English derivational affixes were at one time independent words. Others have always been known as suffixes or prefixes within the history of the English vocabulary. Some of them are of international currency.

Conversion

§ 16. Definition

Conversion, one of the principal ways of forming words in Modern English is highly productive in replenishing the English word-stock with new words. The term c o n v e r s i o n , which some linguists find inadequate, refers to the numerous cases of phonetic identity of word-forms, primarily the so-called initial forms, of two words belonging to different parts of speech. This may be illustrated by the following cases: **work — to work; love — to love; paper — to paper; brief — to brief,** etc. As a rule we deal with simple words, although there are a few exceptions, e.g. **wireless — to wireless.**

It is fairly obvious that in the case of a noun and a verb not only are the so-called initial forms (i.e. the infinitive and the common case singular) phonetically identical, but all the other noun forms have their homonyms within the verb paradigm, cf. **(my) work [wɔ:k]) — (I)work [wɔ:k]; (the) dog's [dogz] (head) — (many) dogs [dogz] — (he) dogs [dogz],** etc.

It will be recalled that, although inflectional categories have been greatly reduced in English in the last eight or nine centuries, there is a certain difference on the morphological level between various parts of speech, primarily between nouns and verbs. For instance, there is a clear-cut difference in Modern English between the noun **doctor** and the verb to **doctor** — each exists in the language as a unity of its word-forms and variants, not as one form **doctor.** It is true that some of the forms are identical in sound, i.e. homonymous, but there is a great distinction between them, as they are both grammatically and semantically different.

If we regard such word-pairs as **doctor — to doctor; water — to water; brief — to brief** from the angle of their morphemic structure, we see that they are all root-words. On the derivational level, however, one of them should be referred to derived words, as it belongs to a different part of speech and is understood through semantic and structural relations with the other, i.e. is motivated by it. Consequently, the question arises: what serves as a word-building means in these cases? It would appear that the noun is formed from the verb (or vice versa) without any morphological change, but if we probe deeper into the matter, we inevitably come to the conclusion that the two words differ in the paradigm. Thus it is the paradigm that is used as a word-building means. Hence, we may define conversion as the formation of a new word through changes in its paradigm.[1]

M. Rayevskaya, English Lexicology. Kiev, 1957; *D. Vesnik, S. Khidekel.* Exercises in Modern English Word-Building. M., 1964; *О. Д. Мешков.* Словообразование английского языка. М., 1976.

[1] See also 'Word-Structure', § 7, p. 96.

It is necessary to call attention to the fact that the paradigm plays a significant role in the process of word-formation in general and not only in the case of conversion. Thus, the noun cooker (in gas-cooker) is formed from the word to cook not only by the addition of the suffix -er, but also by the change in its paradigm. However, in this case, the role played by the paradigm as a word-building means is less obvious, as the word-building suffix -er comes to the fore. Therefore, conversion is characterised not simply by the use of the paradigm as a word-building means, but by the formation of a new word s o l e l y by means of changing its paradigm. Hence, the change of paradigm is the only word-building means of conversion. As a paradigm is a morphological category conversion can be described as a morphological way of forming words. The following indisputable cases of conversion have been discussed in linguistic literature:

1) formation of verbs from nouns and more rarely from other parts of speech, and

2) formation of nouns from verbs and rarely from other parts of speech.

Opinion differs on the possibility of creating adjectives from nouns through conversion. In the so-called "stone wall" complexes the first members are regarded by some linguists as adjectives formed from the corresponding noun-stems by conversion, or as nouns in an attributive function by others, or as substantival stems by still others so that the whole combination is treated as a compound word. In our treatment of conversion on the pages that follow we shall be mainly concerned with the indisputable cases, i.e. deverbal substantives and denominal verbs.

Conversion has been the subject of a great many linguistic discussions since 1891 when H. Sweet first used the term in his *New English Grammar.* Various opinions have been expressed on the nature and character of conversion in the English language and different conceptions of conversion have been put forward.

The treatment of conversion as a morphological way of forming words accepted in the present book was suggested by the late Prof. A. I. Smirnitsky in his works on the English language.

Other linguists sharing, on the whole, the conception of conversion as a morphological way of forming words disagree, however, as to what serves here as a word-building means. Some of them define conversion as a non-affixal way of forming words pointing out that the characteristic feature is that a certain stem is used for the formation of a different word of a different part of speech without a derivational affix being added. Others hold the view that conversion is the formation of new words with the help of a zero-morpheme.

The treatment of conversion as a non-affixal word-formation process calls forth some criticism, it can hardly be accepted as adequate, for it fails to bring out the specific means making it possible to form, for instance, a verb from a noun without adding a derivational affix to the base. Besides, the term a non-affixal word-formation process does not help to distinguish between cases of conversion and those of sound-

interchange, e.g. **to sing — song; to feed — food; full — to fill,** etc. which lie outside the scope of word-formation in Modern English.

The conception of conversion as derivation with a zero-morpheme, however, merits attention. The propounders of this interpretation of conversion rightly refer to some points of analogy between affixation and conversion. Among them is similarity of semantic relations between a derived word and its underlying base, on the one hand, and between words within a conversion pair,

e.g. 1. action — doer of the action: **to walk — a walker** *(affixation)* **to tramp — a tramp** *(conversion);*

2. action — result of the action: **to agree — agreement** *(affixation)*, **to find — a find** *(conversion),* etc.

They also argue that as the derivational complexity of a derived word involves a more complex semantic structure as compared with that of the base, it is but logical to assume that the semantic complexity of a converted word should manifest itself in its derivational structure, even though in the form of a zero derivational affix.

There are also some other arguments in favour of this interpretation of conversion, which for lack of space cannot be considered here.

If one accepts this conception of conversion, then one will have to distinguish between two types of derivation in Modern English: one effected by employing suffixes and prefixes, the other by using a zero derivational affix.

There is also a point of view on conversion as a morphological-syntactic word-building means,[1] for it involves, as the linguists sharing this conception maintain, both a change of the paradigm and a change of the syntactic function of the word, e.g. **I need some good paper for my rooms** and **He is papering his room.** It may be argued, however, that as the creation of a word through conversion necessarily involves the formation of a new word-stem, a purely morphological unit, the syntactic factor is irrelevant to the processes of word-formation proper, including conversion.

Besides, there is also a purely syntactic approach commonly known as a functional approach to conversion. Certain linguists and lexicographers especially those in Great Britain and the USA are inclined to regard conversion in Modern English as a kind of functional change. They define conversion as a shift from one part of speech to another contending that in Modern English a word may function as two different parts of speech at the same time. If we accept this point of view, we should logically arrive at the conclusion that in Modern English we no longer distinguish between parts of speech, i.e. between noun and verb, noun and adjective, etc., for one and the same word cannot simultaneously belong to different parts of speech. It is common knowledge, however, that the English word-stock is subdivided into big word classes each having its own

[1] See, for instance, *I. V. Arnold.* The English Word. L. — M., 1973.

semantic and formal features. The distinct difference between nouns **and** verbs, for instance, as in the case of **doctor — to doctor** discussed above, consists in the number and character of the categories reflected in their paradigms. Thus, the functional approach to conversion cannot be justified and should be rejected as inadequate.

§ 17. Synchronic Approach

Conversion pairs are distinguished by the structural identity of the root and phonetic identity of the stem of each of the two words. Synchronically we deal with pairs of words related through conversion that coexist in contemporary English. The two words, e.g. **to break** and **a break,** being phonetically identical, the question arises whether they have the same or identical stems, as some linguists are inclined to believe.[1] It will be recalled that the stem carries quite a definite part-of-speech meaning; for instance, within the word-cluster **to dress — dress — dresser — dressing — dressy,** the stem **dresser** — carries not only the lexical meaning of the root-morpheme **dress-,** but also the meaning of substantivity, the stem **dressy-** the meaning of quality, etc. These two ingredients — the lexical meaning of the root-morpheme and the part-of-speech meaning of the stem — form part of the meaning of the whole word. It is the stem that requires a definite paradigm; for instance, the word **dresser** is a noun primarily because it has a noun-stem and not only because of the noun paradigm; likewise, the word **materialise** is a verb, because first and foremost it has a verbal stem possessing the lexico-grammatical meaning of process or action and requiring a verb paradigm.

What is true of words whose root and stem do not coincide is also true of words with roots and stems that coincide: for instance, the word **atom** is a noun because of the substantival character of the stem requiring the noun paradigm. The word **sell** is a verb because of the verbal character of its stem requiring the verb paradigm, etc. It logically follows that the stems of two words making up a conversion pair cannot be regarded as being the same or identical: the stem **hand-** of the noun **hand,** for instance, carries a substantival meaning together with the system of its meanings, such as: 1) the end of the arm beyond the wrist; 2) pointer on a watch or clock; 3) worker in a factory; 4) source of information, etc.; the stem **hand-** of the verb **hand** has a different part-of-speech meaning, namely that of the verb, and a different system of meanings: 1) give or help with the hand, 2) pass, etc. Thus, the stems of word-pairs related through conversion have different part-of-speech and denotational meanings. Being phonetically identical they can be regarded as homonymous stems.

A careful examination of the relationship between the lexical meaning of the root-morpheme and the part-of-speech meaning of the stem within a conversion pair reveals that in one of the two words the former does not correspond to the latter. For instance, the lexical meaning of the root-morpheme of the noun **hand** corresponds to the part-of-speech meaning of

[1] See, for instance, *А. И. Смирницкий.* Лексикология английского языка. М., 1956, с. 71 — 72, also *О. С. Ахманова.* Некоторые вопросы семантического анализа слов. — Вестн. МГУ, 1957, № 2, с. 70.

its stem: they are both of a substantival character; the lexical meaning of the root-morpheme of the verb **hand,** however, does not correspond to the part-of-speech meaning of the stem: the root-morpheme denotes an object, whereas the part-of-speech meaning of the stem is that of a process. The same is true of the noun **fall** whose stem is of a substantival character (which is proved by the noun paradigm **fall — falls — fall's — falls',** whereas the root-morpheme denotes a certain process.

It will be recalled that the same kind of non-correspondence is typical of the derived word in general. To give but two examples, the part-of-speech meaning of the stem **blackness** — is that of substantivity, whereas the root-morpheme black-denotes a quality; the part-of-speech meaning of the stem **eatable-** (that of qualitativeness) does not correspond to the lexical meaning of the root-morpheme denoting a process. It should also be pointed out here that in simple words the lexical meaning of the root corresponds to the part-of-speech meaning of the stem, cf. the two types of meaning of simple words like **black *a,* eat *v,* chair** *n,* etc. Thus, by analogy with the derivational character of the stem of a derived word it is natural to regard the stem of one of the two words making up a conversion pair as being of a derivational character as well. The essential difference between affixation and conversion is that affixation is characterised by both semantic and structural derivation (e.g. **friend — friendless, dark** — **darkness,** etc.), whereas conversion displays only semantic derivation, i.e. **hand — to hand, fall — to fall, taxi — to taxi,** etc.; the difference between the two classes of words in affixation is marked both by a special derivational affix and a paradigm, whereas in conversion it is marked only by paradigmatic forms.

§ 18. Typical Semantic Rela-

As one of the two words within a conversion pair is semantically derived from the other, it is of great theoretical and practical importance to determine the semantic relations between words related through conversion. Summing up the findings of the linguists who have done research in this field we can enumerate the following typical semantic relations.

I. Verbs converted from nouns (denominal verbs).

This is the largest group of words related through conversion. The semantic relations between the nouns and verbs vary greatly. If the noun refers to some object of reality (both animate and inanimate) the converted verb may denote:

1) action characteristic of the object, e.g. **ape** *n* — **ape** *v* — 'imitate in a foolish way'; **butcher** *n* — **butcher** *v* — 'kill animals for food, cut up a killed animal';

2) instrumental use of the object, e.g. **screw** *n* — **screw** *v* — 'fasten with a screw'; **whip** *n* — **whip** *v* — 'strike with a whip';

3) acquisition or addition of the object, e.g. **fish** *n* — **fish** *v* — 'catch or try to catch fish'; **coat** *n* — 'covering of paint' — **coat** *v* — 'put a coat of paint on';

4) deprivation of the object, e.g. **dust** *n* — **dust** *v* — 'remove dust from something'; **skin** *n* — skin *v* — 'strip off the skin from'; etc.

II. Nouns converted from verbs (deverbal substantives).

The verb generally referring to an action, the converted noun may denote:

1) instance of the action, e.g. **jump** *v* — **jump** *n* — 'sudden spring from the ground'; **move** *v* — **move** *n* — 'a change of position';

2) agent of the action, e.g. **help** *v* — **help** *n* — '*a* person who helps'; it is of interest to mention that the deverbal personal nouns denoting the doer are mostly derogatory, e.g. **bore** *v* — **bore** *n* — 'a person that bores'; **cheat** *v* — **cheat** *n* — 'a person who cheats';

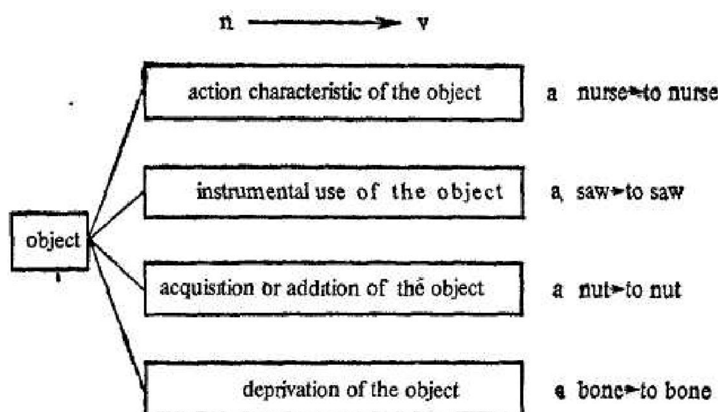
3) place of the action, e.g. **drive** *v* — **drive** *n* — '*a* path or road along which one drives'; **walk** *v* — **walk** *n* — 'a place for walking';

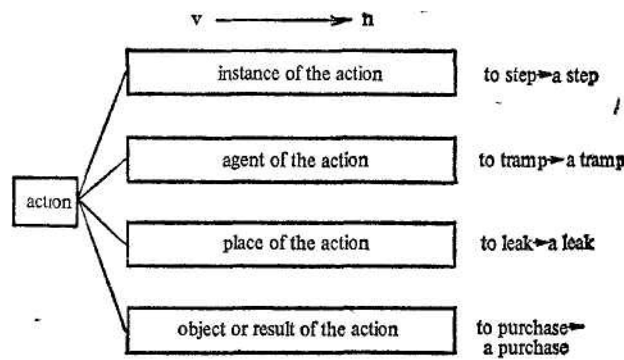
4) object or result of the action, e.g. **peel** *v* — **peel** *n* — 'the outer skin of fruit or potatoes taken off; **find** *v* — **find** *и* — 'something found," esp. something valuable or pleasant'; etc.

For convenience the typical semantic relations as briefly described above may be graphically represented in the form of a diagram (see below, pp. 132-133).

In conclusion it is necessary to point out that in the case of polysemantic words one and the same member of a conversion pair, a verb or a noun, belongs to several of the above-mentioned groups making different derivational bases. For instance, the verb **dust** belongs to Group 4 of Denominal verbs (deprivation of the object) when it means 'remove dust from something', and to Group 3 (acquisition or addition of the object) when it means 'cover with powder'; the noun **slide** is referred to Group 3 of Deverbal substantives (place of the action) when denoting 'a stretch of smooth ice or hard snow on which people slide' and to Group 2 (agent of the action) when it refers to a part of an instrument or machine that slides, etc.

Denominal Verbs





§ 19. Basic Criteria of Semantic Derivation

It follows from the foregoing discussion that within conversion pairs one of the two words has a more complex semantic structure, hence the problem of the criteria of semantic derivation: which of the two words within a conversion pair is the derived member?

T h e f i r s t c r i t e r i o n makes use of the non-correspondence between the lexical meaning of the root-morpheme and the part-of-speech meaning of the stem in one of the two words making up a conversion pair. In cases like **pen** *n* — **pen** *v,* **father** *n* — **father** *v,* etc. the noun is the name for a being or a concrete thing. Therefore, the lexical meaning of the root-morpheme corresponds to the part-of-speech meaning of the stem. This type of nouns is regarded as having a simple semantic structure.

The verbs **pen, father** denote a process, therefore the part-of-speech meaning of their stems does not correspond to the lexical meaning of the roots which is of a substantival character. This distinction accounts for the complex character of the semantic structure of verbs of this type. It is natural to regard the semantically simple as the source of the semantically complex, hence we are justified in assuming that the verbs **pen, father** are derived from the corresponding nouns. This criterion is not universal being rather restricted in its application. It is reliable only when there is no doubt that the root-morpheme is of a substantival character or that it denotes a process, i.e. in cases like **to father, to pen, a fall, a drive,** etc. But there are a great many conversion pairs in which it is extremely difficult to exactly determine the semantic character of the root-morpheme, e.g. **answer** *v* — **answer** *n*; **match** *v* — **match** *n*, etc. The non-correspondence criterion is inapplicable to such cases.

T h e s e c o n d c r i t e r i o n involves a comparison of a conversion pair with analogous word-pairs making use of the synonymic sets, of which the words in question are members. For instance, in comparing conversion pairs like **chat** *v* — **chat** *n;* **show** *v* — **show** *n*; **work** *v* — **work** *n,* etc. with analogous synonymic word-pairs like **converse** — **conversation; exhibit — exhibition; occupy — occupation; employ — employment,** etc. we are led to conclude that the nouns **chat, show, work,** etc. are the derived

members. We are justified in arriving at this conclusion because the semantic relations in the case of **chat** *v* — **chat** *n;* **show** *v* — **show** *n*; **work** *v* — **work** *n* are similar to those between **converse — conversation; exhibit — exhibition; employ — employment.** Like the non-correspondence criterion the synonymity criterion is considerably restricted in its application. This is a relatively reliable criterion only for abstract words whose synonyms possess a complex morphological structure making it possible to draw a definite conclusion about the direction of semantic derivation. Besides, this criterion may be applied only to deverbal substantives *(v -> n)* and not to denominal verbs *(n -> v).*

Of more universal character is t h e c r i t e r i o n b a s e d on d e r i v a t i o n a l r e l a t i o n s within the word-cluster of which the converted words in question are members. It will be recalled that the stems of words making up a word-cluster enter into derivational relations of different degrees.[1] If the centre of the cluster is a verb, all derived words of the first degree of derivation have suffixes generally added to a verb-base (see fig. below. p. 135). The centre of a cluster being a noun, all the first-degree derivatives have suffixes generally added to a noun-base.

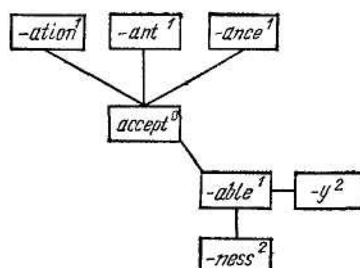
Proceeding from this regularity it is logical to conclude that if the first-degree derivatives have suffixes added to a noun-base, the centre of the cluster is a noun, and if they have suffixes added to a verb-base, it is a verb.[2] It is this regularity that the criterion of semantic derivation under discussion is based on. In the word-cluster **hand** *n* — **hand** *v* — **handful** — **handy** — **handed** the derived words have suffixes added to the noun-base which makes it possible to conclude that the structural and semantic centre of the whole cluster is the noun **hand.** Consequently, we can assume that the verb **hand** is semantically derived from the noun **hand.** Likewise, considering the derivatives within the word-cluster **float** *n* — **float** *v* — **floatable** — **floater** — **floatation** — **floating** we see that the centre is the verb **to float** and conclude that the noun **float** is the derived member in the conversion pair **float** *n* — **float** *v.* The derivational criterion is less restricted in its application than the other two described above. However, as this criterion necessarily involves consideration of a whole set of derivatives it can hardly be applied to word-clusters which have few derived words.

Of very wide application is t h e c r i t e r i o n of s e m a n t i c d e r i v a t i o n based on semantic relations within conversion pairs. It is natural to conclude that the existence within a conversion pair of **a** type of relations typical of, e.g., denominal verbs proves that the verb is the derived member. Likewise, a type of relations typical of deverbal substantives marks the noun as the derived member. For instance, the semantic relations between **crowd** *n* — **crowd** *v* are perceived as those of an object and an action characteristic of the object, which leads one to the ,

[1] See 'Word-Formations', § 6, p. 114.

[2] Information concerning the stems of the parts of speech the English suffixes are regularly added to may be found in "Exercises in Modern English Word-Building" by D. Vesnik and S. Khidekel, M., 1964.

conclusion that the verb **crowd** is the derived member; likewise, in the pair take *v* — **take** *n* the noun is the derived member, because the relations between the two words are those of an action and a result or an object of the action — type 4 relations of deverbal substantives, etc. This semantic criterion of inner derivation is one of the most important ones for determining the derived members within a conversion pair, for its application has almost no limitations.



To sum up, out of the four criteria considered above the most important are the derivational and the semantic criteria, for there are almost no limitations to their application. When applying the other two criteria, their limitations should be kept in mind. As a rule, the word under analysis should meet the requirements of the two basic criteria. In doubtful cases one of the remaining criteria should be resorted to. It may be of interest to point out that in case a word meets the requirements of the non-correspondence criterion no additional checking is necessary.

Of late a new criterion of semantic derivation for conversion pairs has been suggested.[1] It is based on the frequency of occurrence in various utterances of either of the two member-words related through conversion. According to this frequency criterion a lower frequency value testifies to the derived character of the word in question. The information about the frequency value of words although on a limited scale can be found in the available dictionaries of word-frequency with semantic counts.[2]

To give an illustration, according to M. West's *A General Service List of English Words,* the frequency value of four verb — noun conversion pairs in correlative meanings taken at random is estimated as follows:

> to answer (*V* = 63%) — answer (*N* =35%), to help (*V* = 61%) — help *(N = 1%),* to sample *(V*= 10%) — sample *(N=90%),* to joke (V=8%) — joke *(N=82%).*

By the frequency criterion of semantic derivation in the first two pairs the nouns **(answer** and **help)** are derived words (deverbal

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[1] See *Н. О. Волкова.* К вопросу о направлении производности при конверсии в парах имя — глагол (на материале современного английского языка). — Сб., Иностр. яз. в высшей школе, вып. 9. М., 1974.

[2] **See 'Fundamentals of English Lexicography', § 5, p. 214.**

substantive's), in the other two pairs the verbs **(to sample** and **to joke)** are converted from nouns (denominal verbs).

Of interest is also t h e t r a n s f o r m a t i o n a l c r i t e r i o n of semantic derivation for conversion pairs suggested in linguistic literature not so long ago.[1] The procedure of the transformational criterion **is** rather complicated, therefore only part of it as applied to deverbal substantives is described here.

The transformational procedure helping to determine the direction of semantic derivation in conversion pairs is the transformation of nominalisation (the nominalising transformation).[2] It is applied to a change of **a** predicative syntagma into a nominal syntagma.

By analogy with the transformation of predicative syntagmas like "The committee elected John" into the nominal syntagma "John's election by the committee" or "the committee's election of John" in which the derivational relationship of **elect** and **election** is that of a derived word **(election)** to its base **(elect)** the possibility of transformations like

Roy loves nature -> Roy's love of nature [3] John visited his friend -> John's visit to his friend She promised help -> her promise of help proves the derived character of the nouns **love, visit, promise.** Failure to apply the nominalising transformation indicates that the nouns cannot be regarded as derived from the corresponding verb base,

e.g. She bosses the establishment -> her boss of the establishment [4] I skinned the rabbit -> my skin of the rabbit He taxied home -> his taxi home

§ 20. Diachronic Approach of Conversion. Origin

Modern English vocabulary is exceedingly rich in conversion pairs. As a way of forming words conversion is extremely productive and new conversion pairs make their appearance in fiction, newspaper articles and in the process of oral communication in all spheres of human activity gradually forcing their way into the existing vocabulary and into the dictionaries as well. New conversion pairs are created on the analogy of those already in the word-stock on the semantic patterns described above as types of semantic relations. Conversion is highly productive in the formation of verbs, especially from compound nouns. 20th century new words include a great many verbs formed by conversion, e.g. **to motor** — 'travel by car'; **to phone** — 'use the telephone'; **to wire** — 'send a telegram'; **to microfilm — '**produce a microfilm *of;* **to tear-gas** — 'to use tear-gas'; **to fire-bomb** — 'drop fire-bombs'; **to spearhead** — 'act as a spearhead for'; **to blueprint** — 'work out, outline', etc. A diachronic survey of the present-day stock of conversion pairs reveals, however, that not all of them have been created on the semantic patterns just referred to. Some of them arose as a result of the disappear-

[1] See *П. А. Соболева.* О трансформационном анализе словообразовательных отношений. — Сб. Трансформационный метод в структурной лингвистике. М., 1964.

[2] See 'Methods and Procedures of Lexicological Analysis', § 5, p. 251. [3] The sign -> shows the possibility of transformation.

[4] The sign -> denotes the impossibility of transformation.

ance of inflections in the course of the historical development of the English language due to which two words of different parts of speech, e.g. a verb and a noun, coincided in pronunciation. This is the case with such word-pairs, for instance, as **love** *n (OE.* lufu) — **love** *v (OE.* lufian); **work** *n (OE.* wēōrc) — **work** *v (OE.* wyrcan); **answer** *n (OE.* andswaru) — **answer** *v (OE.* andswarian) and many others. For this reason certain linguists consider it necessary to distinguish between homonymous word-pairs which appeared as a result of the loss of inflections and those formed by conversion. The term conversion is applied then only to cases like **doctor** *n* — **doctor** *v;* **brief** *a* — **brief** *v* that came into being after the disappearance of inflections, word-pairs like **work** *n* — **work** *v* being regarded exclusively as cases of homonymy.[1]

Other linguists share Prof. Smirnitsky's views concerning discrimination between conversion as a derivational means and as a type of word-building relations between words in Modern English. Synchronically in Modern English there is no difference at all between cases like **taxi** *n* — taxi *v* and cases like **love** *n* — **love** *v* from the point of view of their morphological structure and the word-building system of the language. In either case the only difference between the two words is that of the paradigm: the historical background is here irrelevant. It should be emphatically stressed at this point that the present-day derivative correlations within conversion pairs do not necessarily coincide with the etymological relationship. For instance, in the word-pair **awe** *n* — **awe** *v* the noun is the source, of derivation both diachronically and synchronically, but it is quite different with the pair **mould** *v* — **mould** *n:* historically the verb is the derived member, whereas it is the other way round from the angle of Modern English (cf. the derivatives **mouldable, moulding, moulder** which have suffixes added to verb-bases).

A diachronic semantic analysis of a conversion pair reveals that in the course of time the semantic structure of the base may acquire a new meaning or several meanings under the influence of the meanings of the converted word. This semantic process has been termed r e c o n v e r s i o n in linguistic literature.[2] There is an essential difference between conversion and reconversion: being a way of forming words conversion leads to a numerical enlargement of the English vocabulary, whereas reconversion only brings about a new meaning correlated with one of the meanings of the converted word. Research has shown that reconversion

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[1] Because of the regular character of semantic correlation within such word-pairs as well as within conversion pairs formed on the semantic patterns I. P. Ivanova introduces the notion of patterned homonymy. She points out that conversion is one of the sources of homonymy, there are also other sources such as coincidence in sound-form of words of different parts of speech, borrowing two words of different parts of speech in the same phonetic shape, and some others. (See *И. П. Иванова.* О морфологической характеристике слова в современном английском языке. — Сб. : Проблемы морфологического строя германских языков. М., 1963; see also *I. Arnold.* The English Word. M., 1973, ch. VIII.)

[2] See *П. М. Каращук.* Реконверсия и ее роль в развитии семантических структур соотносящихся по конверсии слов. — Сб. "Словообразование и его место в курсе обучения иностранному языку", вып. I. Владивосток, 1973.

only operates with denominal verbs and deverbal nouns. As an illustration the conversion pair **smoke** *n* — **smoke** *v* may be cited. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* some of the meanings of the two words are:

SMOKE я	SMOKE *v*
1. the visible volatile product given off by burning or smouldering substances (1000)[1] c) the act of smoke coming out into a room instead of passing up the chimney (1715)	1. *intr.* to produce or give forth smoke (1000) 'c) of a room, chimney, lamp, etc.: to be smoky, to emit smoke as the result of imperfect draught or improper burning (1663)

Comparison makes it possible to trace the semantic development of each word. The verb **smoke** formed in 1000 from the noun **smoke** in the corresponding meaning had acquired by 1663 another meaning by **a** metaphorical transfer which, in turn, gave rise to a correlative meaning of the noun **smoke** in 1715 through reconversion.

§ 21. Productivity. Traditional and Occasional Conversion

Conversion is not an absolutely productive way of forming words because it is restricted both semantically and morphologically.

With reference to semantic restrictions it is assumed that all verbs can be divided into two groups: a) verbs denoting processes that can be represented as a succession of isolated actions from which nouns are easily formed, e.g. **fall** *v* — **fall** *n;* **run** *v* — **run** *n;* **jump** *v* — **jump** *n,* etc.; b) verbs like **to sit, to lie, to stand** denoting processes that cannot be represented as a succession of isolated actions, thus defying conversion. However, a careful examination of modern English usage reveals that it is extremely difficult to distinguish between these two groups. This can be exemplified in such pairs as **to invite — an invite, to take — a take, to sing — a sing, to bleed — a bleed, to win — a win,** etc. The possibility for the verbs to be formed from nouns through conversion seems to be illimitable.

The morphological restrictions suggested by certain linguists are found in the fact that the complexity of word-structure does not favour conversion. It is significant that in *MnE.* there are no verbs converted from nouns with the suffixes **-ing** and **-ation.** This restriction is counterbalanced, however, by innumerable occasional conversion pairs of rather complex structure, e.g. **to package, to holiday, to wireless, to petition, to reverence,** etc. Thus, it seems possible to regard conversion as a highly productive way of forming words in Modern English.

The English word-stock contains a great many words formed by means of conversion in different periods of its history. There are cases of traditional and occasional conversion. Traditional conversion refers to the accepted use of words which are recorded in dictionaries, e.g. **to age, to cook, to love, to look, to capture,** etc. The individual or occasional

[1] The figures in brackets show the year of the first use of the word in the given meaning.

use of conversion is also very frequent; verbs and adjectives are converted from nouns or vice versa for the sake of bringing out the meaning more vividly in a given context only. These cases of individual coinage serve the given occasion only and do not enter the word-stock of the English language. In modern English usage we find a great number of cases of occasional conversion, e.g. **to** girl *the boat; when his guests had been washed,* **mended, brushed** *and* **brandied;** *How am **I** to preserve the respect of fellow-travellers, if I'm to be* **Billied** *at every turn?*

§ 22. Conversion and Sound-(stress-) Interchange

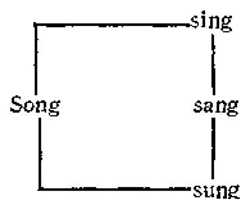
Sound-interchange in English is often combined with a difference in the paradigm. This raises the question of the relationship between sound-interchange and conversion. To find a solution of the problem in terms of A. I. Smirnitsky's conception of conversion the following three types of relations should be distinguished:

1) breath — to breathe

As far as cases of this type are concerned, sound-interchange distinguishes only between words, it does not differentiate word-forms of one and the same word. Consequently it has no relation to the paradigms of the words. Hence, cases of this type cannot be regarded as conversion.

2) **song — to sing**

In the above given example the vowel in **song** interchanges with three different vowels, the latter interchanging with one another in the forms of the verb **to sing:**



Like the previous type, the words **song — to sing** are not related by conversion: **song** differs from **to sing (sang, sung)** not only in the paradigm. Its root-vowel does not occur in the word-forms of the verb and vice versa.

3) **house — to house**

In such cases the type of sound-interchange distinguishing the two words (verb and noun) is the same as that which distinguishes the word-forms of the noun, cf, **house** [haus] — **houses** [hauziz] and **to house** [hauz] — houses [hauziz]. Consequently, the only difference between the two words lies in their paradigms, in other words, word-pairs like **house — to house** are cases of conversion.

It is fairly obvious that in such cases as **present — to present, accent — to accent,** etc. which differ in the position of stress, the latter does not distinguish the word-forms within the paradigm of the two words. Thus, as far as cases of this type are concerned, the difference in stress is similar

to the function of sound-interchange in cases like **breath — "to breathe.** Consequently, cases of this type do not belong to conversion.

There is, however, another interpretation of the relationship between conversion and sound (stress)-interchange in linguistic literature. As sound- and (stress-)interchange often accompanies cases of affixation, **e.g. courage — courageous, stable — stability,** it seems logical to assume that conversion as one of the types of derivation may also be accompanied by sound- (stress-)interchange. Hence, cases like **breath — to breathe; to sing — song; present — to present; increase — to increase,** etc. are to be regarded as those of conversion.

§ 23. Summary and Conclusions

1. Conversion, an exceedingly productive way of forming words in Modern English, is treated differently in linguistic literature. Some linguists define it as a morphological, others as a morphological-syntactic way of forming words, still others consider conversion from a purely syntactic angle.

2. There are several criteria of semantic derivation within conversion pairs. The most universal are the semantic and the frequency criteria.

3. On the synchronic plane conversion is regarded as a type of derivative correlation between two words making up a conversion pair.

4., On the diachronic plane conversion is a way of forming new words on the analogy of the semantic patterns available in the language. Diachronically distinction should be made between cases of conversion as such and those of homonymy due to the disappearance of inflections in the course of the development of the English language.

Word-Composition

§ 24. Compounding

C o m p o u n d i n g or w o r d - c o m p o s i t i o n is one of the productive types of word-formation in Modern English. Composition like all other ways of deriving words has its own peculiarities as to the m e a n s u s e d, t h e n a t u r e of b a s e s a n d t h e i r d i s t r i b u t i o n, as to t h e r a n g e of a p p l i c a t i o n, t h e s c o p e of s e m a n t i c c l a s s e s a n d t h e f a c t o r s c o n d u c i v e to prod u c t i v i t y.

Compounds, as has been mentioned elsewhere, are made up of two ICs which are both derivational bases. Compound words are inseparable vocabulary units. They are formally and semantically dependent on the constituent bases and the semantic relations between them which mirror the relations between the motivating units. The ICs of compound words represent bases of all three structural types.[1] The bases built on stems may be of different degree[2] of complexity as, e.g., **week-end, office-management, postage-stamp, aircraft-carrier, fancy-dress-maker,** etc. However, this complexity of structure of bases is not typical of the bulk of Modern English compounds.

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[1] See 'Word-Structure', § 8, p. 97.

[2] See 'Word-Formation', § 6, p. 114.

In this connection care should be taken not to confuse compound words with polymorphic words of secondary derivation, i.e. derivatives built according to an affixal pattern but on a compound stem for its base such as, e.g., **school-mastership** *([n+n]+suf),* **ex-housewife** *(prf+[n+n]),* **to weekend, to spotlight** ([n+n]+*conversion).*

§ 25. Structure Compound words like all other inseparable vocabulary units take shape in a definite system of grammatical forms, syntactic and semantic features. Compounds, on the one hand, are generally clearly distinguished from and often opposed to free word-groups, on the other hand they lie astride the border-line between words and word-groups and display close ties and correlation with the system of free word-groups. The structural inseparability of compound words finds expression in the unity of their specific distributional pattern and specific stress and spelling pattern.

S t r u c t u r a l l y compound words are characterised by the specific order and arrangement in which bases follow one another. T h e o r d e r in which the two bases are placed within a compound is r i g i d ly f i x e d in Modern English and it is the second IC that makes the head-member of the word, i.e. its structural and semantic centre. The head-member is of basic importance as it 'preconditions both the lexico-grammatical and semantic features of the first component. It is of interest to note that the difference between stems (that serve as bases in compound words) and word-forms they coincide with [1] is most obvious in some compounds, especially in compound adjectives. Adjectives like **long, wide, rich** are characterised by grammatical forms of degrees of comparison **longer**, **wider, richer.** The corresponding stems functioning as bases in compound words lack grammatical independence and forms proper to the words and retain only the part-of-speech meaning; thus compound adjectives with adjectival stems for their second components, e.g. **age-long, oil-rich, inch-wide,** do not form degrees of comparison as the compound adjective **oil-rich** does not form them the way the word rich does, but conforms to the general rule of polysyllabic adjectives and has analytical forms of degrees of comparison. The same difference between words and stems is not so noticeable in compound nouns with the noun-stem for the second component.

Phonetically compounds are also marked by a specific structure of their own. No phonemic changes of bases occur in composition but the compound word acquires a new stress pattern, different from the stress in the motivating words, for example words **key** and **hole or hot** and **house** each possess their own stress but when the stems of these words are brought together to make up a new compound word, '**keyhole** — 'a hole in a lock into which a key fits', or '**hot-house** — 'a heated building for growing delicate plants', the latter is given a different stress pattern — a unity stress on the first component in our case. Compound words have three stress patterns:

a) a high or unity stress on the first component as in '**honeymoon, doorway,** etc.

[1] See 'Word-Structure', § 8, p. 97,

b) a double stress, with a primary stress on the first component and **a** weaker, secondary stress on the second component, e.g. **´blood-`vessel, ´mad-`doctor** — 'a psychiatrist', ´washing-ma`chine, etc. These two stress patterns are the commonest among compound words and in many cases they acquire a contrasting force distinguishing compound words from word-groups, especially when the arrangement and order of ICs parallel the word-order and the distributional pattern of a phrase, thus a '**greenhouse** — 'a glass house for cultivating delicate plants' is contrasted to a '**green 'house** — 'a house that is painted green'; '**dancing-girl** — 'a dancer' to a '**dancing 'girl** — 'a girl who is dancing'; a **´mad-`doctor** — 'apsychiatrist' to 'mad 'doctor — 'a doctor who is mad'. The significance of these stress patterns is nowhere so evident as in nominal compounds built on the *n+n* derivational pattern in which the arrangement and order of the stems fail to distinguish a compound word from a phrase.

c) It is not infrequent, however, for both ICs to have level stress as in, e.g., '**arm-'chair, 'icy-'cold, 'grass-'green,** etc.

The significance of the stress pattern by itself should not be overestimated though, as it cannot be an overall criterion and cannot always serve as a sufficient clue to draw a line of distinction between compound words and phrases. This mostly refers to level stress pattern. In most cases the level stress pattern is accompanied by other structural and graphic indications of inseparability.

G r a p h i c a l l y most compounds have two types of spelling — they are spelt either solidly or with a hyphen. Both types of spelling when accompanied by structural and phonetic peculiarities serve as a sufficient indication of inseparability of compound words in contradistinction to phrases. It is true that hyphenated spelling by itself may be sometimes misleading, as it may be used in word-groups to emphasise their phraseological character as in e.g. **daughter-in-law, man-of-war, brother-in-arms** or in longer combinations of words to indicate the semantic unity of a string of words used attributively as, e.g., **I-know-what-you're-going-to-say expression, we-are-in-the-know jargon, the young-must-be-right attitude.** The two types of spelling typical of compounds, however, are not rigidly observed and there are numerous fluctuations between solid or hyphenated spelling on the one hand and spelling with a break between the components on the other, especially in nominal compounds of the *n+n* type. The spelling of these compounds varies from author to author and from dictionary to dictionary. For example, the words **war-path, war-time, money-lender** are spelt both with a hyphen and solidly; **blood-poisoning, money-order, wave-length, war-ship** — with a hyphen and with a break; **underfoot, insofar, underhand** — solidly and with a break.[1] It is noteworthy that new compounds of this type tend to solid or hyphenated spelling. This inconsistency of spelling in compounds, often accompanied by a level stress pattern (equally typical of word-groups) makes the problem of distinguishing between compound

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[1] The spelling is given according to *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary,* 1956 and H. C Wyld. *The Universal English Dictionary,* 1952.

words (of the *n+n* type in particular) and word-groups especially difficult.

In this connection it should be stressed that Modern English nouns (in the Common Case, Sg.) as has been universally recognised possess an attributive function in which they are regularly used to form numerous nominal phrases as, e.g. **peace years, stone steps, government office,** etc. Such variable nominal -phrases are semantically fully derivable from the meanings of the two nouns and are based on the homogeneous attributive semantic relations unlike compound words. This system of nominal phrases exists side by side with the specific and numerous class of nominal compounds which as a rule carry an additional semantic component not found in phrases.

It is also important to stress that these two classes of vocabulary units — compound words and free phrases — are not only opposed but also stand in close correlative relations to each other.[1]

§ 26. Meaning

S e m a n t i c a l l y compound words are generally motivated units. The meaning of the compound is first of all derived from the' combined lexical meanings of its components. The semantic peculiarity of the derivational bases and the semantic difference between the base and the stem on which the latter is built is most obvious in compound words. Compound words with a common second or first component can serve as illustrations. The stem of the word **board** is polysemantic and its multiple meanings serve as different derivational bases, each with its own selective range for the semantic features of the other component, each forming a separate set of compound words, based on 'specific derivative relations. Thus the base **board** meaning ‘a flat piece of wood square or oblong’ makes a set of compounds **chess-board, notice-board, key-board, diving-board, foot-board, sign-board;** compounds **paste-board, carboard** are built on the base meaning ‘thick, stiff paper’; the base **board**-meaning ‘an authorised body of men’, forms compounds **school-board, board-room.** The same can be observed in words built on the polysemantic stem of the word **foot.** For example, the base **foot-** in **foot-print, foot-pump, foothold, foot-bath, foot-wear** has the meaning of ‘the terminal part of the leg’, in **foot-note, foot-lights, foot-stone** the base **foot-** has the meaning of ‘the lower part’, and in **foot-high, foot-wide, footrule** — ‘measure of length’. It is obvious from the above-given examples that the meanings of the bases of compound words are interdependent and that the - choice of each is delimited as in variable word-groups by the nature of the other IC of the word. It thus may well be said that the combination of bases serves as a kind of minimal inner context distinguishing the particular individual lexical meaning of each component. In this connection we should also remember the significance of the differential meaning found in both components which becomes especially obvious in a set of compounds containing identical bases.[2]

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[1] See ‘Word-Composition’, § 34, p. 151,
[2] See ‘Semasiology’, § 15, p. 24.

§ 27. Structural Meaning of the Pattern

The lexical meanings of the bases alone, important as they are, do not make the meaning of the compound word. T h e m e a n i n g of t h e c o m p o u n d is derived not only from the combined lexical meanings of its components, but also from the meaning signalled by the patterns of the order and arrangement of its ICs.

A mere change in the order of bases with the same lexical meanings brings about a drastic change in the lexical meaning of the compound or destroys it altogether. As an illustration let us compare **life-boat** — 'a boat of special construction for saving lives from wrecks or along the coast' with **boat-life** — 'life on board the ship'; a **fruit-market** — 'market where fruit is sold' with **market-fruit** — 'fruit designed for selling'; **board-school** with **school-board,** etc. Thus the structural or distributional pattern in compound words carries a certain meaning of its own which is largely independent of the actual lexical meaning of their ICs. It follows that t h e l e x i c a l m e a n i n g of a c o m p o u n d is d e r i v e d f r o m t h e c o m b i n e d l e x i c a l m e a n i n g s of i t s compon e n t s a n d t h e s t r u c t u r a l m e a n i n g of i t s dist r i b u t i o n a l p a t t e r n.[1]

The structural meaning of the derivational pattern of compounds may be abstracted and described through the interrelation of its ICs. In analysing compound adjectives, e.g. **duty-bound, wind-driven, mud-stained,** we observe that their underlying pattern *n+Ven* conveys the generalised meaning of instrumental or agentive relations which can be interpreted as 'done by' or 'with the help of something'; the lexical meanings of the bases supply the individual action performed and the actual doer of the action or objects with the help of which the action is done — **duty-bound** may be interpreted as 'bound by duty', **wind-driven** as 'driven by wind', **mud-stained** as 'stained with mud'.

T h e d e r i v a t i o n a l p a t t e r n s in compounds m a y be m o n o s e m a n t i c as in the above-given examples, a n d p o l y s e m a n t i c.[2] If we take the pattern *n+a -> A* which underlies such compound adjectives as **snow-white, world-wide, air-sick,** we shall see that the pattern has two different meanings which may be interpreted: a) through semantic relations of comparison between the components as in **world-wide** — 'wide as the world', **snow-white** — 'as white as snow', etc. and b) through various relations of adverbial type (circumstantial) as in **road-weary** — 'weary of the road', **colour-blind** — 'blind to colours', etc. The structural pattern *n+n -> N* that underlies compound nouns is also polysemantic and conveys different semantic relations such as relations of purpose, e.g. **bookshelf, bed-room,** relations of resemblance, e.g. **needle-fish, bowler-hat,** instrumental or agentive relations, e.g. **steamboat, windmill, sunrise, dogbite.**

The polysemy of the structure often leads to a certain freedom of interpretation of the semantic relations between the components and consequently to the polysemy of the compound. For example, it is equally

[1] See also 'Word-Groups', § 5, p. 69.
[2] See also 'Word-Groups', § 8, p. 71.

correct to interpret the compound noun **toy-man** as ‘a toy having the shape of a man’ or ‘a man who makes toys, a toy-maker’, the compound **clock**-tower may likewise be understood as a ‘tower with a clock fitted in’ or ‘a tower that serves as or is at the same time a clock’.

§ 28. The Meaning of Compounds. Motivation

It follows that the meaning of a compound is made up of the combined lexical meaning of the bases and the structural meaning of the pattern. The semantic centre of the compound is the lexical meaning of the second component modified and restricted by the meaning of the first. The semantic centres of compounds and the semantic relations embedded in the structural patterns refer compound words to certain lexico-semantic groups and semantic sets within them as, for example: 1) compound words denoting action described as to its agent, e.g. **sunrise, earthquake, handshake,** 2) compounds denoting action described as to its time or place, e.g. **day-flight,** street-fight, 3) compounds denoting individual objects designed for some goal, e.g. **bird-cage, table-cloth, diving-suit,** 4) compounds denoting objects that are parts of the whole, e.g. **shirt-collar, eye-ball, 5)** compounds denoting active doers, e.g. **book-reader, shoe-maker, globe-trotter.**

The lexical meanings of both components are closely fused together to create a new semantic unit with a new meaning which is not merely additive but dominates the individual meanings of the bases and is characterised by some additional semantic component not found in any of the bases. For example, **a hand-bag** is essentially ‘a bag, designed to be carried in the hand’, but it is also ‘a woman’s bag to keep money, papers, face-powder and the like’; **a time-bomb** is ‘a bomb designed to explode at some time’, but also ‘after being dropped or placed in position’. The bulk of compound words are monosemantic and motivated but motivation in compounds like in all derivatives varies in degree. There are compounds that are completely motivated like **sky-blue, foot-pump, tea-taster.** Motivation in compound words may be partial, but again the degree will vary. Compound words a **hand-bag, a flower-bed, handcuffs, a castle-builder** are all only partially motivated, but still the degree of transparency of their meanings is different: in a hand-bag it is the highest as it is essentially ‘a bag’, whereas **handcuffs** retain only a resemblance to cuffs and in fact are ‘metal rings placed round the wrists of a prisoner’; **a flower-bed** is neither ‘a piece of furniture’ nor ‘a base on which smth rests’ but a ‘garden plot where flowers grow’; a castle-builder is not a ‘builder’ as the second component suggests but ‘a day-dreamer, one who builds castles in the air’.

There are compounds that lack motivation altogether, i.e. the native speaker doesn't see any obvious connection between the word-meaning, the lexical meanings of the bases and the meaning of the pattern, consequently, he cannot deduce the lexical meaning, of the word, for example, words like **eye-wash** — ’something said or done to deceive a person’, **fiddlesticks** — ‘nonsense, rubbish’, an **eye-servant — ‘**a servant who attends to his duty only when watched’, a **night-cap** — ‘a drink taken before going to bed at night’ all lack motivation. Lack of motivation in compound words may be often due to the transferred

meanings of bases or of the whole word as in **a slow-coach** — 'a person who acts slowly' *(colloq.),* **a sweet-tooth** — 'one who likes sweet food and drink' *(colloq.).* Such words often acquire a new connotational meaning (usually non-neutral) not proper to either of their components. Lack of motivation may be often due to unexpected semantic relations embedded in the compound.

Sometimes the motivated and the non-motivated meanings of the same word are so far apart that they are felt as two homonymous words, e.g. **a night-cap:** 1) 'a cap worn in bed at night' and 2) 'a drink taken before going to bed at night' *(colloq.);* **eye-wash:** 1) 'a liquid for washing the eyes' and 2) 'something said or done to deceive somebody' *(colloq.);* **an eye-opener:** 1) 'enlightening or surprising circumstance' *(colloq.)* and 2) 'a drink of liquor taken early in the day' (U.S.)

§ 29. Classification

Compound words may be described from different points of view and consequently may be classified according to different principles. They may be viewed from the point of view: 1) of general relationship and degree of semantic independence of components; 2) of the parts of speech compound words represent; 3) of the means of composition used to link the two ICs together; 4) of the type of ICs that are brought together to form a compound; 5) of the correlative relations with the system of free word-groups.

Each type of compound words based on the above-mentioned principles should also be described from the point of view of the degree of its potential power, i.e. its productivity, its relevancy to the system of Modern English compounds. This description must aim at finding and setting a system of ordered structural and semantic rules for productive types of compound words on analogy with which an infinite number of new compounds constantly appear in the language.

§ 30. Relations between the ICs of Compounds

From the point of view of degree of semantic independence there are two types of relationship between the ICs of compound words that are generally recognised in linguistic literature: the relations of coordination and subordination, and accordingly compound words fall into two classes: c o o r d i n a t i v e c o m p o u n d s (often termed copulative or additive) and s u b o r d i n a t i v e (often termed determinative).

In c o o r d i n a t i v e compounds the two ICs are semantically equally important as in **fighter-bomber oak-tree, girl-friend, Anglo-American.** The constituent bases belong to the same class and most often to the same semantic group. Coordinative compounds make up a comparatively small group of words. Coordinative compounds fall into three groups:

a) R e d u p l i c a t i v e compounds which are made up by the repetition of the same base as in **goody-goody, fifty-fifty, hush-hush, pooh- pooh.** They are all only partially motivated.

b) Compounds formed by joining t h e p h o n i c a l l y v a r i a t e d r h y t h m i c t w i n f o r m s which either alliterate with the same initial consonant but vary the vowels as in **chit-chat,** zig-zag, **sing-song,** or rhyme by varying the initial consonants as in **clap-trap, a walkle-**

talkie, helter-skelter. This subgroup stands very much apart. It is very often referred to pseudo-compounds and considered by some linguists irrelevant to productive word-formation owing to the doubtful morphemic status of their components. The constituent members of compound words of this subgroup are in most cases unique, carry very vague or no lexical meaning of their own, are not found as stems of independently functioning words. They are motivated mainly through the rhythmic doubling of fanciful sound-clusters.

Coordinative compounds of both subgroups (a, b) are mostly restricted to the colloquial layer, are marked by a heavy emotive charge and possess a very small degree of productivity.

c) The bases of a d d i t i v e compounds such as" **a queen-bee, an actor-manager,** unlike the compound words of the first two subgroups, are built on stems of the independently functioning words of the same part of speech. These bases often semantically stand in the genus-species relations. They denote a person or an object that is two things at the same time. A **secretary-stenographer** is thus a person who is both **a stenographer** and **a secretary, a bed-sitting-room (a bed-sitter)** is both **a bedroom** and **a sitting-room** at the same time. Among additive compounds there is a specific subgroup of compound adjectives one of ICs of which is a bound root-morpheme. This group is limited to the names of nationalities such as **Sino-Japanese, Anglo-Saxon, Afro-Asian,** etc.

Additive compounds of this group are mostly fully motivated but have a very limited degree of productivity.

However it must be stressed that though the distinction between coordinative and subordinative compounds is generally made, it is open to doubt and there is no hard and fast border-line between them. On the contrary, the border-line is rather vague. It often happens that one and the same compound may with equal right be interpreted either way — as a coordinative or a subordinative compound, e.g. **a woman-doctor** may be understood as 'a woman who is at the same time a doctor' or there can be traced a difference of importance between the components and it may be primarily felt to be 'a doctor who happens to be a woman', cf. also **a mother-goose, a clock-tower.**

In s u b o r d i n a t i v e compounds the components are neither structurally nor semantically equal in importance but are based on the domination of the head-member which is, as a rule, the second IC. The second IC thus is the semantically and grammatically dominant part of the word, which preconditions the part-of-speech meaning of the whole compound as in **stone-deaf, age-long** which are obviously adjectives, **a wrist-watch, road-building, a baby-sitter** which are nouns.

Subordinative compounds make the bulk of Modern English compound words, as to productivity most of the productive types are subordinative compounds.

§ 3 1 . Different Parts of Speech

F u n c t i o n a l l y compounds are viewed as words of different parts of speech. It is the head-member of the compound, i.e. its second IC that is indicative of the grammatical and lexical category the compound word belongs to.

Compound words are found in all parts of speech, but the bulk of compounds are nouns and adjectives. Each part of speech is characterised by its set of derivational patterns and their semantic variants. Compound adverbs, pronouns and connectives are represented by an insignificant number of words, e.g. **somewhere, somebody, inside, upright, otherwise, moreover, elsewhere, by means of,** etc. No new compounds are coined on this pattern. Compound pronouns and adverbs built on the repeating first and second IC like **body, ever, thing** make closed sets of words

some any every **no**	+	body thing one where

On the whole composition is not productive either for adverbs, pronouns or for connectives.

Verbs are of special interest. There is a small group of compound verbs made up of the combination of verbal and adverbial stems that language retains from earlier stages, e.g. **to bypass, to inlay, to offset.** This type according to some authors, is no longer productive and is rarely found in new compounds.

There are many polymorphic verbs that are represented by morphemic sequences of two root-morphemes, like **to weekend, to gooseflesh, to spring-clean,** but derivationally they are all words of secondary derivation in which the existing compound nouns only serve as bases for derivation. They are often termed pseudo-compound verbs. Such polymorphic verbs are presented by two groups:

1) verbs formed by means of conversion from the stems of compound nouns as in **to spotlight** from a **spotlight, to sidetrack** from **a side-track, to handcuff** from **handcuffs, to blacklist** from **a blacklist, to pinpoint** from a **pin-point;**

2) verbs formed by back-derivation from the stems of compound nouns, e.g. **to babysit** from **a baby-sitter, to playact** from **play-acting, to housekeep** from **house-keeping, to spring-clean** from **spring-cleaning.**

§ 32. Means of Composition

From the point of view of the means by which the components are joined together compound words may be classified into:

1) Words formed by *merely placing one constituent after another* in a definite order which thus is indicative of both the semantic value and the morphological unity of the compound, e.g. **rain-driven, house-dog, pot-pie (cf. dog-house, pie-pot).** This means of linking the components is typical of the majority of Modern English compounds in all parts of speech.

As to the order of components, subordinative compounds are often classified as: a) *asyntactic* compound in which the order of bases runs counter to the order in which the motivating words can be brought together under the rules of syntax of the language. For example, in variable phrases adjectives cannot be modified by preceding adjectives and noun modifiers are not placed before participles or adjectives, yet this kind of asyntactic arrangement is typical of compounds, e.g. **red-hot,**

bluish-black, pale-blue, rain-driven, oil-rich. The asyntactic order is typical of the majority of Modern English compound words; b) s y n t a c t i c compounds whose components are placed in the order that resembles the order of words" in free phrases arranged according to the rules of syntax of Modern English. The order of the components in compounds like **blue-bell, mad-doctor, blacklist** *(a+n)* reminds one of the order and arrangement of the corresponding words in phrases a **blue bell, a mad doctor, a black list** *(A+N),* the order of compounds of the type **door-handle, day-time, spring-lock** *(n+n)* resembles the order of words in nominal phrases with attributive function of the first noun *(N+N),* e.g. **spring time, stone steps, peace movement.**

2) Compound words whose ICs are joined together with a s p e c i a l l i n k i n g - e l e m e n t — the linking vowels [ou] and occasionally [i] and the linking consonant [s/z] — which is indicative of composition as in, e.g., **speedometer, tragicomic, statesman.** Compounds of this type can be both nouns and adjectives, subordinative and additive but are rather few in number since they are considerably restricted by the nature of their components. The additive compound adjectives linked with the help of the vowel [ou] are limited to the names of nationalities and represent a specific group with a bound root for the first component, e.g. **Sino-Japanese, Afro-Asian, Anglo-Saxon.**

In subordinative adjectives and nouns the productive linking element is also [ou] and compound words of the type are most productive for scientific terms. The main peculiarity of compounds of the type is that their constituents are nonassimilated bound roots borrowed mainly from classical languages, e.g. **electro-dynamic, filmography, technophobia, videophone, sociolinguistics, videodisc.**

A small group of compound nouns may also be joined with the help of linking consonant [s/z], as in **sportsman, landsman, saleswoman, bridesmaid.** This small group of words is restricted by the second component which is, as a rule, one of the three bases **man-, woman-, people-.** The commonest of them is **man-.**[1]

§ 33. Types of Bases Compounds may be also classified according to the nature of the bases and the interconnection with other ways of word-formation into the so-called compounds proper and' derivational compounds.

C o m p o u n d s p r o p e r are formed by joining together bases built on the stems or on the word-forms of independently functioning words with or without the help of special linking element such as **doorstep, age-long, baby-sitter, looking-glass, street-fighting, handiwork, sportsman.** Compounds proper constitute the bulk of English compounds in all parts of speech, they include both subordinative and coordinative classes, productive and non-productive patterns.

D e r i v a t i o n a l c o m p o u n d s , e.g. **long-legged, three-cornered, a break-down, a pickpocket** differ from compounds proper in the nature of bases and their second IC. The two ICs of the compound **long-legged** — 'having long legs' — are the suffix **-ed** meaning 'having'

[1] See 'Word-Structure', § 3, p. 92,

and the base built on a free word-group **long legs** whose member words lose their grammatical independence, and are reduced to a single component of the word, a derivational base. Any other segmentation of such words, say into **long**- and **legged-** is impossible because firstly, adjectives like ***legged** do not exist in Modern English and secondly, because it would contradict the lexical meaning of these words. The derivational adjectival suffix **-ed** converts this newly formed base into a word. It can be graphically represented as **long legs —> [(long-leg) +** *-ed]* **-> long-legged.** The suffix **-ed** becomes the grammatically and semantically dominant component of the word, its head-member. It imparts its part-of-speech meaning and its lexical meaning thus making an adjective that may be semantically interpreted as 'with (or having) what is denoted by the motivating word-group'. Comparison of the pattern of compounds proper like **baby-sitter, pen-holder** *[n+(v + -er)]* with the pattern of derivational compounds like **long-legged** *[(a+n) + -ed]* reveals the difference: derivational compounds are formed by a derivational means, a suffix in case of words of the **long-legged** type, which is applied to a base that each time is formed anew on a free word-group and is not recurrent in any other type of words. It follows that strictly speaking words of this type should be treated as pseudo-compounds or as a special group of derivatives. They are habitually referred to derivational compounds because of the peculiarity of their derivational bases which are felt as built by composition, i.e. by bringing together the stems of the member-words of a phrase which lose their independence in the process. The word itself, e.g. **long-legged,** is built by the application of the suffix, i.e. by derivation and thus may be described as a suffixal derivative.

Derivational compounds or pseudo-compounds are all subordinative and fall into two groups according to the type of variable phrases that serve as their bases and the derivational means used:

a) d e r i v a t i o n a l c o m p o u n d a d j e c t i v e s formed with the help of the highly-productive adjectival suffix **-ed** applied to bases built on attributive phrases of the *A+N, Num + N, N+N* type, e.g. **long legs, three corners, doll face.** Accordingly the derivational adjectives under discussion are built after the patterns *[(a+n) + -ed],* e.g. **long-legged, flat-chested, broad-minded;** *[(num + n) + -ed],* e.g. **two-sided, three-cornered;** [(n + n) + *-ed],* e.g. **doll-faced, heart-shaped.**

b) d e r i v a t i o n a l c o m p o u n d n o u n s formed mainly by conversion applied to bases built on three types of variable phrases — verb-adverb phrase, verbal-nominal and attributive phrases.

The commonest type of phrases that serves as derivational bases for this group of derivational compounds is the *V + Adv* type of word-groups as in, e.g., **a breakdown, a break-through, a cast-away, a lay-out.** Semantically derivational compound nouns form lexical groups typical of conversion, such as an a c t or i n s t a n c e of the action, e.g. **a holdup** — 'a delay in traffic' from **to hold up** — 'delay, stop by use of force'; a r e s u l t of the action, e.g. **a breakdown** — 'a failure in machinery that causes work to stop' from **to break down** — 'become disabled'; an active a g e n t or r e c i p i e n t of the action, e.g. **cast-offs** — 'clothes that the owner will not wear again' from **to cast off** — 'throw away as

unwanted'; **a show-off** — 'a person who shows off from **to show off** — 'make a display of one's abilities in order to impress people'. Derivational compounds of this group are spelt generally solidly or with a hyphen and often retain a level stress. Semantically they are motivated by transparent derivative relations with the motivating base built on the so-called phrasal verb and are typical of the colloquial layer of vocabulary. This type of derivational compound nouns is highly productive due to the productivity of conversion.

The semantic subgroup of derivational compound nouns denoting agents calls for special mention. There is a group of such substantives built on an attributive and verbal-nominal type of phrases. These nouns are semantically only partially motivated and are marked by a heavy emotive charge or lack of motivation and often belong to terms as, e.g., a **kill-joy, a wet-blanket — '**one who kills enjoyment'; **a turnkey** — 'keeper of the keys in prison'; **a sweet-tooth** — 'a person who likes sweet food'; **a red-breast** — 'a bird called the robbin'. The analysis of these nouns easily proves that they can only be understood as the result of conversion for their second ICs cannot be understood as their structural or semantic centres, these compounds belong to a grammatical and lexical groups different from those their components do. These compounds are all animate nouns whereas their second ICs belong to inanimate objects. The meaning of the active agent is not found in either of the components but is imparted as a result of conversion applied to the word-group which is thus turned into a derivational base.

These compound nouns are often referred to in linguistic literature as "bahuvrihi" compounds or exocentric compounds, i.e. words whose semantic head is outside the combination. It seems more correct to refer them to the same group of derivational or pseudo-compounds as the above cited groups.

This small group of derivational nouns is of a restricted productivity, its heavy constraint lies in its idiomaticity and hence its stylistic and emotive colouring.

§ 34. Correlation between Compounds and Free Phrases

The linguistic analysis of extensive language data proves that there exists a regular correlation between the system of free phrases and all types of subordinative (and additive) compounds[1]. Correlation embraces both the structure and the meaning of compound words, it underlies the entire system of productive present-day English composition conditioning the derivational patterns and lexical types of compounds.

The s t r u c t u r a l correlation manifests itself in the morphological character of components, range of bases and their order and arrangement. It is important to stress that correlative relations embrace only minimal, non-expanded nuclear types of phrases.

The bases brought together in compound words are built only on the stems of those parts of speech that may form corresponding word-

[1] Prof. A. I. Smirnitsky as far back as the late forties pointed out the rigid parallelism existing between free word-groups and derivational compound adjectives which he termed "grammatical compounds".

groups. The head of the word-group becomes the head-member of the compound, i.e. its second component. The typical structural relations expressed in word-groups syntactically are conveyed in compounds only by the nature and order of its bases.

Compounds of each part of speech correlate only with certain types **of** minimal variable phrases.

S e m a n t i c a l l y correlation manifests itself in the fact that the semantic relations between the components of a compound mirror the semantic relations between the member-words in correlated word-groups. For example, compound adjectives of the $n+V_{en}$ type, e.g. **duty-bound, snow-covered,** are circumscribed by the instrumental relations typical of the correlated word-groups of V_{en}+ **by/with** + *N* type regardless of the actual lexical meanings of the bases. Compound nouns of the n+n type, e.g. **story-teller, music-lover, watch-maker,** all mirror the agentive relations proper to phrases of the *N* **who** *V+N,* cf. **a story-teller** and **one who tells stories,** etc.

■ Correlation should not be understood as converting an actually functioning phrase into a compound word or the existence of an individual word-group in actual use as a binding condition for the possibility of a compound. On the contrary there is usually only a p o t e n t i a l possibility of conveying the same semantic content by both a word-group and a compound, actually this semantic content is conveyed preferably either by a phrase or by a compound word.

Correlation, it follows, is a regular interaction and interdependence of compound words and certain types of free phrases which conditions both the potential possibility of appearance of compound words and their structure and semantic type. Thus, the fact that there is a potential possibility of individual phrases with the underlying pattern, for example, **as** *A* + **as** *N* in **as white as snow, as red as blood** presupposes a potential possibility of compound words of the *n+ a* type **snow-white, blood-red,** etc. with their structure and meaning relation of the components preconditioned. It happens that in this particular case compound adjectives are more typical and preferred as a language means of conveying the quality based on comparison.

Structural and semantic correlation by no means implies identity or a one-to-one correspondence of each individual pattern of compound "words to one phrase pattern. For example the $n + n_v$ type of compound nouns comprises different patterns, such as *ln+(v+ -er)]* — **rocket-flyer, shoemaker, bottle-opener;** [n+(*v* + *-ing)]* — **rocket-flying, football-playing;** *[n+(v+ -ion)]* — **price-reduction.** All these patterns differing in the individual suffix used in the final analysis correlate with verbal-nominal word-groups of the *V+N* type (e.g. **to fly rockets),** the meaning of the active doer (rocket-flyer) or the action **(rocket-flying)** is conveyed by the suffixes. However the reverse relationship is not uncommon, e.g. one derivational pattern of compound adjectives *(n+a)* in words like **oil-rich, sky-high, grass-green** corresponds to a variety of word-group patterns which differ in the grammatical and semantic relationship between member-words expressed in phrases by different prepositions. Thus compound adjectives of this type may correspond to phrase patterns *A* +**of** + *N,* e.g.

Table 1

$n_2 + n_1$ →

Relations	Examples	Pattern	Paraphrase
relations of purpose	e. g. pencil-case, driving-suit	**N_1 for N_2**	e. g. case for (keeping) pencils; a suit for driving
partitive relations	e. g. bottle-neck, door-handle	**N_1 of N_2**	e. g. the neck of the bottle; the handle of the door
adverbial relations of place, time	e. g. country-club, wheel-chair	**N_1 in N_2 (from, at, on, with)**	e. g. a club in the country; a chair on wheels
appositional relations	e. g. trapdoor, woman-doctor	**N_1 is N_2**	e. g. a door (that) is a trap; the doctor is a woman
relations of resemblance	e. g. sword-fish, bowler-hat	**N_1 like N_2**	e. g. a fish like a sword; a hat like a bowler
instrumental or agentive relations	e.g. windmill, steamboat	**N_1 run / worked / caused by N_3**	e. g. a mill worked by the wind; a boat run by steam

pleasure-tired; *A+in+N,* e.g. **oil-rich; as *A* as *N,* e.g. grass-green.** Another example of the same type of correlation is the polysemantic *n+n* pattern of nominal compounds which mirror a variety of semantic relations underlying word-groups of the *N*+prp+*N* type, such as relations of resemblance (e.g. **needle-fish),** local and temporal relations (e.g. **country-house, night-flight),** relations of purpose (e.g. **search-warrant),** etc. which in word-groups are conveyed by prepositions or other function words. (Table 1) (see p. 153) represents the most common and frequent types of semantic correlation between *n+n* pattern of compounds and various patterns of nominal word-groups.

Compound words, due to the fact that they do not require any explicit way to convey the semantic relationship between their components except their order, are of much wider semantic range, leave more freedom for semantic interpretation and convey meaning in a more compressed and concise way. This makes the meaning of compounds more flexible and situationally derived.

It follows that m o t i v a t i o n a n d r e g u l a r i t y of s e m a n t i c a n d s t r u c t u r a l c o r r e l a t i o n w i t h f r e e w o r d - g r o u p s a r e t h e b a s i c f a c t o r s favouring a h i g h d e g r e e of p r o d u c t i v i t y of c o m p o s i t i o n and may be used to set rules guiding spontaneous, analogic formation of new compound words.

It is natural that those types of compound words which do not establish such regular correlations and that are marked by a lack or very low degree of motivation must be regarded as unproductive as, for example, compound nouns of the *a+n* type, e. g. **bluebell, blackbird, mad-doctor.**

§ 35. Correlation Types of Compounds.

The description of compound words through the correlation with variable word-groups makes it possible to classify them into four major classes: adjectival-nominal, verbal-nominal, nominal and verb-adverb compounds.

I. A d j e c t i v a l - n o m i n a l comprise four subgroups of compound adjectives, three of them are proper compounds and one derivational. All four subgroups are productive and semantically as a rule motivated. The main constraint on the productivity in all the four subgroups is the lexical-semantic types of the head-members and the lexical valency of the head of the correlated word-groups.

Adjectival-nominal compound adjectives have the following patterns:

1) the polysemantic *n+a* pattern that gives rise to two types:

a) compound adjectives based on semantic relations of resemblance with adjectival bases denoting most frequently colours, size, shape, etc. for the second IC. The type is correlative with phrases of comparative type **as** *A* +as + *N,* e.g. **snow-white, skin-deep, age-long,** etc.

b) compound adjectives based on a variety of adverbial relations. The type is correlative with one of the most productive adjectival phrases of the *A* + **prp** + *N* type and consequently semantically varied, cf. **colour-blind, road-weary, care-free,** etc.

2) the monosemantic pattern $n+v_{en}$ based mainly on the

Table 2

Productive Types of Compound Adjectives

Free Phrases	Compound Adjectives			
	Compounds Proper	Derivational Compounds	Pattern	Semantic Relations
1) (a). as white as snow	snow-white	—	$n + a$	relations of resemblance
(b). free from care; rich in oil; greedy for power; tired of pleasure	care-free, oil-rich, power-greedy, pleasure-tired	—	$n + a$	various adverbial relations
overed with snow; bound by duty	snow-covered duty-bound	—	$n + v_{en}$	instrumental (or agentive relations)
3) two days	(a) two-day (beard) (a) seven-year (plan)	— ‘	*num + n*	quantitative relations
ith (having) long legs	—	long-legged	$[(a + n) + \text{-}ed]$	possessive relations

instrumental, locative and temporal relations between the ICs which are conditioned by the lexical meaning and valency of the verb, e.g. **state-owned, home-made.** The type is highly productive. Correlative relations are established with word-groups of the V_{en}+ **with/by** + *N* type.

3) the monosemantic *num* + *n* pattern which gives rise to a small and peculiar group of adjectives, which are used only attributively, e.g. (a) **two-day** (beard), (a) **seven-day** (week), etc. The type correlates with attributive phrases with a numeral for their first member.

4) a highly productive monosemantic pattern of derivational compound adjectives based on semantic relations of possession conveyed by the suffix -ed. The basic variant is [(a+n)+ *-ed],* e.g. **low-ceilinged, long- legged.** The pattern has two more variants: *[(num + n) + -ed), l(n+n)+ -ed],* e.g. **one-sided, bell-shaped, doll-faced.** The type correlates accordingly with phrases **with (having) +** ***A+N,*** **with (having)** + *Num* + *N,* **with +** ***N*** **+** ***N*** or **with** + *N* + ***of*** + *N.*

The system of productive types of compound adjectives is summarised in Table 2.

The three other types are classed as compound nouns. Verbal-nominal and nominal represent compound nouns proper and verb-adverb derivational compound nouns. All the three types are productive.

II. V e r b a l - n o m i n a l compounds may be described through one derivational structure $n+n_v$, i.e. a combination of a noun-base (in most cases simple) with a deverbal, suffixal noun-base. The structure includes four patterns differing in the character of the deverbal noun- stem and accordingly in the semantic subgroups of compound nouns. All the patterns correlate in the final analysis with *V+N* and *V*+**prp**+*N* type which depends on the lexical nature of the verb:

1) [*n+(v+-er)*], e.g. **bottle-opener, stage-manager, peace-fighter.** The pattern is monosemantic and is based on agentive relations that can be interpreted 'one/that/who does smth'.

2) [*n*+(*v*+ *-ing)],* e.g. **stage-managing, rocket-flying.** The pattern is monosemantic and may be interpreted as 'the act of doing smth'. The pattern has some constraints on its productivity which largely depends on the lexical and etymological character of the verb.

3) *[n+(v+ -tion/ment)],* e.g. **office-management, price-reduction.** The pattern is a variant of the above-mentioned pattern (No 2). It has a heavy constraint which is embedded in the lexical and etymological character of the verb that does not permit collocability with the suffix **-ing** or deverbal nouns.

4) *[n+(v + conversion)],* e.g. **wage-cut, dog-bite, hand-shake,** the pattern is based on semantic relations of result, instance, agent, etc.

III. N o m i n a l c o m p o u n d s are all nouns with the most polysemantic and highly-productive derivational pattern *n+n;* both bases re generally simple stems, e.g. **windmill, horse-race, pencil-case.** The pattern conveys a variety of semantic relations, the most frequent are the relations of purpose, partitive, local and temporal relations. The pattern correlates with nominal word-groups of the *N*+***prp***+*N* type.

IV. V e r b - a d v e r b compounds are all derivational nouns, highly productive and built with the help of conversion according to the

Table 3

Productive Types of Compound Nouns

Free Phrases	Compound Nouns		
	Compounds Proper	Derivational Compounds	Pattern
Verbal — Nominal Phrases 1. the reducer of prices to reduce 2. the reducing of prices prices 3. the reduction of prices to shake 4. the shake of hands hands	1) price-reducer 2) price-reducing 3) price-reduction 4) hand-shake	—	*[n + (v + -er)] [n + (v + -ing)] [n + (v + -tion/-ment)] [n + (v + conver-sion)]*
Nominal Phrases 1) a tray for ashes 2) the neck of the bottle 3) a house in the country 4) a ship run by steam 5) the doctor is a woman 6) a fish resembling a sword	1) ash-tray 2) bot-tle-neck 3) coun-try-house 4) steam-ship 5) woman-doctor 6) sword-fish	—	$[n' + n^{1}]$
Verb — Adverb Phrases to break down to cast away to run away		a break-down a castaway a run-away	*[(v + adv) + conversion]*

pattern *l(v + adv) + conversion]*. The pattern correlates with free phrases *V+ Adv* and with all phrasal verbs of different degree of stability. The pattern is polysemantic and reflects the manifold semantic relations typical of conversion pairs.

The system of productive types of compound nouns is summarised in Table 3.

§ 36. Sources of Compounds

The actual process of building compound words may take different forms: 1) Compound words as a rule are built s p o n t a n e o u s l y according to productive distributional formulas of the given period. Formulas productive at one time may lose their productivity at another period. Thus at one time the process of building verbs by compounding adverbial and verbal stems was productive, and numerous compound verbs like, e.g. **outgrow,** offset, inlay *(adv + v),* were formed. The structure ceased to be productive and today practically no verbs are built in this way.

2) Compounds may be the r e s u l t of a g r a d u a l p r o c e s s of s e m a n t i c i s o l a t i o n and structural fusion of free word-groups. Such compounds as **forget-me-not** — 'a small plant with blue flowers'; **bull's-eye** — 'the centre of a target; a kind of hard, globular candy'; **mainland** — 'a continent' all go back to free phrases which became semantically and structurally isolated in the course of time. The words that once made up these phrases have lost, within these particular formations, their integrity, the whole phrase has become isolated in form, specialised in meaning and thus turned into an inseparable unit — a word having acquired semantic and morphological unity. Most of the syntactic compound nouns of the *(a+n)* structure, e.g. **bluebell, blackboard, mad-doctor,** are the result of such semantic and structural isolation of free word-groups; to give but one more example, **highway** was once actually a **high way** for it was raised above the surrounding countryside for better drainage and ease of travel. Now we use **highway** without any idea Of the original sense of the first element.

§ 37. Summary and Conclusions

1. Compound words are made up of two ICs, both of which are derivational bases.

2. The structural and semantic centre of a compound, i.e. its head-member, is its second IC, which preconditions the part of speech the compound belongs to and its lexical class.

3. Phonetically compound words are marked by three stress patterns — a unity stress, a double stress and a level stress. The first two are the commonest stress patterns in compounds.

4. Graphically as a rule compounds are marked by two types of spelling — solid spelling and hyphenated spelling. Some types of compound words are characterised by fluctuations between hyphenated spelling and spelling with a space between the components.

5. Derivational patterns in compound words may be mono- and polysemantic, in which case they are based on different semantic relations between the components.

6. The meaning of compound words is derived from the combined lexical meanings of the components and the meaning of the derivational pattern.

7. Compound words may be described from different points of view:

a) According to the degree of semantic independence of components compounds are classified into coordinative and subordinative. The bulk of present-day English compounds are subordinative.

b) According to different parts of speech. Composition is typical in Modern English mostly of nouns and adjectives.

c) According to the means by which components are joined together they are classified into compounds formed with the help of a linking element and without. As to the order of ICs it may be asyntactic and syntactic.

d) According to the type of bases compounds are classified into compounds proper and derivational compounds.

e) According to the structural semantic correlation with free phrases compounds are subdivided into adjectival-nominal compound adjectives, verbal-nominal, verb-adverb and nominal compound nouns.

8. Structural and semantic correlation is understood as a regular interdependence between compound words and variable phrases. A potential possibility of certain types of phrases presupposes a possibility of compound words conditioning their structure and semantic type.

VI. Etymological Survey of the English Word-Stock

§ 1. Some Basic Assumptions The most characteristic feature of English is usually said to be its mixed character. Many linguists consider foreign influence, especially that of French, to be the most important factor in the history of English. This wide-spread viewpoint is supported only by the evidence of the English word-stock, as its grammar and phonetic system are very stable and not easily influenced by other languages. While it is altogether wrong to speak of the mixed character of the language as a whole, the composite nature of the English vocabulary cannot be denied.

To comprehend the nature of the English vocabulary and its historical development it is necessary to examine the etymology of its different layers, the historical causes of their appearance, their volume and role and the comparative importance of native and borrowed elements in replenishing the English vocabulary. Before embarking upon a description of the English word-stock from this point of view we must make special mention of some terms.

1. In linguistic literature the term *n a t i v e* is conventionally used to denote words of Anglo-Saxon origin brought to the British Isles from the continent in the 5th century by the Germanic tribes — the Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes. Practically, however, the term is often applied to words whose origin cannot be traced to any other language. Thus, the word **path** is classified as native just because its origin has not yet been established with any degree of certainty. It is possible to conjecture that further progress of linguistic science may throw some light upon its origin and it may prove to have been borrowed at some earlier period. It is for this reason that Professor A. I. Smirnitsky relying on the earliest manuscripts of the English language available suggested another interpretation of the term *n a t i v e* — as words which may be presumed to have existed in the English word-stock of the 7th century. This interpretation may have somewhat more reliable criteria behind it, but it seems to have the same drawback — both viewpoints present the native element in English as static.

In this book we shall proceed from a different understanding of the term *n a t i v e* as comprising not only the ancient Anglo-Saxon core but also words coined later on their basis by means of various processes operative in English.

2. The term *b o r r o w i n g* is used in linguistics to denote the process of adopting words from other languages and also the result of this process, the language material itself. It has already been stated that not only words, but also word-building affixes were borrowed into English (as is the case with **-able, -ment, -ity,** etc.).[1] It must be mentioned that

[1] See 'Word-Formation', § 14, p. 125.

some word-groups, too, were borrowed in their foreign form (e.g. **coup d'état, vis-á-vis).**

In its second meaning the term b o r r o w i n g is sometimes used in a wider sense. It is extended onto the so-called t r a n s l a t i o n - l o a n s (or l o a n - t r a n s l a t i o n s) and s e m a n t i c borrowi n g . T r a n s l a t i o n - l o a n s are words and expressions formed from the material available in the language after the patterns characteristic of the given language, but under the influence of some foreign words and expressions (e. g. **mother tongue**<*L.* **lingua materna; it goes without saying** < *Fr.* **cela va sans dire; wall newspaper** < *Russ. стенгазета).* **Semantic borrowing** is the appearance of a new meaning due to the influence of a related word in another language (e.g. the word **propaganda** and **reaction** acquired their political meanings under the influence of French, **deviation** and **bureau** entered political vocabulary, as in **right and left deviations, Political bureau,** under the influence of Russian).

Further on we shall use the term borrowing in its second meaning, as a borrowing proper or a word taken over in its material form.

Distinction should be made between true borrowings and words formed out of morphemes borrowed from Latin and Greek, e.g. **telephone, phonogram.** Such words were never part of Latin or Greek and they do not reflect any contacts with the peoples speaking those languages.

It is of importance to note that the term b o r r o w i n g belongs to diachronic description of the word-stock. Thus the words **wine, cheap, pound** introduced by the Romans into all Germanic dialects long before the Angles and the Saxons settled on the British Isles, and such late Latin loans as **alibi, memorandum, stratum** may all be referred to borrowings from the same language in describing their origin, though in modern English they constitute distinctly different groups of words.

3. There is also certain confusion between the terms s o u r c e of b o r r o w i n g s and o r i g i n o f t h e w o r d . This confusion may be seen in contradictory marking of one and the same word as, say, a French borrowing in one dictionary and Latin borrowing in another. It is suggested here that the term s o u r c e of borrowing should be applied to the language from which this or that particular word was taken into English. So when describing words as Latin, French or Scandinavian borrowings we point out their source but not their origin. The term o r i g i n of t h e w o r d should be applied to the language the word may be traced to. Thus, the French borrowing **table** is Latin by origin *(L.* **tabula),** the Latin borrowing **school** came into Latin from the Greek language *(Gr.* **schole),** so **it** may be described as Greek by origin.

It should be remembered, however, that whereas the immediate source of borrowing is as a rule known and can be stated with some certainty, the actual origin of the word may be rather doubtful. For example, the word **ink** was borrowed from Old French, but it may be traced back to Latin and still further to Greek (cf. *Gr.* **kaio-),** and it is quite possible that it was borrowed into Greek from some other language.

The immediate source of borrowing is naturally of greater importance for language students because it reveals the extra-linguistic factors

responsible for the act of borrowing, and also because the borrowed words bear, as a rule, the imprint of the sound and graphic form, the morphological and semantic structure characteristic of the language they were borrowed from.

WORDS OF NATIVE ORIGIN

Words of native origin consist for the most part of very ancient elements—Indo-European, Germanic and West Germanic cognates. The bulk of the Old English word-stock has been preserved, although some words have passed out of existence. When speaking about the role of the native element in the English language linguists usually confine themselves to the small Anglo-Saxon stock of words, which is estimated to make 25—30% of the English vocabulary.

To assign the native element its true place it is not so important to count the number of Anglo-Saxon words that have survived up to our days, as to study their semantic and stylistic character, their word-building ability, frequency value, collocability.

§ 2. Semantic Characteristics and Col-

Almost all words of Anglo-Saxon origin belong to very important semantic groups. They include most of the auxiliary and modal verbs **(shall, will, must, can, may,** etc.), pronouns (I, **you, he, my, his, who,** etc.), prepositions **(in, out, on, under,** etc.), numerals **(one, two, three, four,** etc.) and conjunctions **(and, but, till, as,** etc.). Notional words of Anglo-Saxon origin include such groups as words denoting parts of the body **(head, hand, arm, back,** etc.), members of the family and closest relatives **(farther, mother, brother, son, wife),** natural phenomena and planets **(snow, rain, wind, sun, moon, star,** etc.), animals **(horse, cow, sheep, cat),** qualities and properties **(old, young, cold, hot, light, dark, long),** common actions **(do, make, go, come, see, hear, eat,** etc.), etc.

Most of the native words have undergone great changes in their semantic structure, and as a result are nowadays polysemantic, e.g. the word **finger** does not only denote a part of a hand as in Old English, but also 1) the part of a glove covering one of the fingers, 2) a finger-like part in various machines, 3) a hand of a clock, 4) an index, 5) a unit of measurement. Highly polysemantic are the words **man, head, hand, go,** etc.

Most native words possess a wide range of lexical and grammatical valency. Many of them enter a number of phraseological units, e.g. the word **heel** enters the following units: **heel over head** or **head over heels—** 'upside down'; **cool one's heel**—'be kept waiting'; **show a clean pair of heels, take to one's heels**—'run away', **turn on one's heels**— 'turn sharply round', etc.

§ 3. Derivational Potential

The great stability and semantic peculiarities of Anglo-Saxon words account for their great derivational potential. Most words of native origin make up large clusters of derived and compound words in the present-day language, e.g. the word **wood** is the basis for the formation of the following words: **wooden, woody, wooded, woodcraft, woodcutter, woodwork** and many

others. The formation of new words is greatly facilitated by the fact that most Anglo-Saxon words are root-words,

New words have been coined from Anglo-Saxon simple word-stems mainly by means of affixation, word-composition and conversion.

Some linguists contend that due to the large additions to its vocabulary from different languages, English lost much of its old faculty to form new words. The great number of compound and derived words in modern English, the diversity of their patterns, the stability and productivity of the patterns and the appearance of new ones testify to the contrary. Such affixes of native origin as **-ness, -ish, -ed, un-, mis-** make part of the patterns widely used to build numerous new words throughout the whole history of English, though some of them have changed their collocability or have become polysemantic, e.g. the agent-forming suffix -er, which was in Old English mostly added to noun-stems, is now most often combined with verb-stems, besides it has come to form also names of instruments, persons in a certain state or doing something at the moment.

Some native words were used as components of compounds so often that they have acquired the status of derivational affixes (e. g. **-dom, -hood, -ly, over-, out-, under-),** others are now semi-affixational morphemes.[1].

It is noteworthy that to the native element in English we must also refer some new simple words based on words of Anglo-Saxon origin. Words with a new non-derived stem branch off from primary simple words as a result of simplification of some derivatives in a cluster of words and their semantic isolation, as in **king, kind** *n,* **kind** *a* and **kin** *n,* from which all of them were derived (cp. *OE.* **cyninз, cynd, cynde, cyn),** or **bless** and **bleed** derived from **blood (cp. *OE.* bledsian, blēdan, blōd).** Sometimes a word split into two or more words with different forms and meanings (i.e. etymological doublets) due to the difference in function and stress, as is the case with off and of (from *OE.* of which was stressed as an adverb and unstressed as a preposition). Dialectal forms of a word may develop into independent words, as in **one** and **an** (< *OE.* **an), whole** and **hale** (< *OE.* **hāl).** New root-words based on Anglo-Saxon words also came into being with the rise of homonyms owing to the split of polysemy.[2]

The semantic characteristics, stability and wide collocability of native words account for their frequency in speech. However there are some words among them which are now archaic or poetic (e.g. **lore, methinks, quoth, whilom, ere, welkin,** etc.), or used only as historical terms (e.g. **thane, yeoman** denoting ranks, **stocks** — 'an instrument of torture', etc.).

What has been said above shows that the native element, has been playing a significant role in the English language. To fully estimate the importance of the native element in English, it is essential to study the role of English derivational means and semantic development in the life of borrowings, which will be dwelt upon in the sections below.

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[1] See 'Word-Formation', §§ 13, 14, pp. 123-125. [2] See 'Semasiology', § 40, p. 47.

§ 4. Summary and Conclusions

1. The native element comprises not only the ancient Anglo-Saxon core but also words which appeared later as a result of word-formation, split of polysemy and other processes operative in English.

2. Though not numerous in Modern English, words of Anglo-Saxon origin must be considered very important due to their marked stability, specific semantic characteristics, wide collocability, great derivational potential, wide spheres of application and high frequency value.

BORROWINGS

§ 5. Causes and Ways of Borrowing

In its 15 century long history recorded in written manuscripts the English language happened to come in long and close contact with several other languages, mainly Latin, French and Old Norse (or Scandinavian). The great influx of borrowings from these sources can be accounted for by a number of historical causes. Due to the great influence of the Roman civilisation Latin was for a long Уте used in England as the language of learning and religion. Old Norse was the language of the conquerors who were on the same level of social and cultural development and who merged rather easily with the local population in the 9th, 10th and the first half of the 11th century. French (to be more exact its Norman dialect) was the language of the other conquerors who brought with them a lot of new notions of a higher social system — developed feudalism, it was the language of upper classes, of official documents and school instruction from the middle of the 11th century to the end of the 14th century.

In the study of the borrowed element in English the main emphasis is as a rule placed on the Middle English period. Borrowings of later periods became the object of investigation only in recent years. These investigations have shown that the flow of borrowings has been steady and uninterrupted. The greatest number has come from French. They refer to various fields of social-political, scientific and cultural life. A large portion of borrowings (41%) is scientific and technical terms.

The number and character of borrowed words tell us of the relations between the peoples, the level of their culture, etc. It is for this reason that borrowings have often been called the milestones of history. Thus if we go through the lists of borrowings in English and arrange them in groups according to their meaning, we shall be able to obtain much valuable information with regard to England's contacts with many nations. Some borrowings, however, cannot be explained by the direct influence of certain historical conditions, they do not come along with any new objects or ideas. Such were for instance the words **air, place, brave, gay** borrowed from French.

It must be pointed out that while the general historical causes of borrowing from different languages have been studied with a considerable degree of thoroughness the purely linguistic reasons for borrowing are still open to investigation.

The number and character of borrowings do not only depend on the historical conditions, on the nature and length of the contacts, but also on the degree of the genetic and structural proximity of languages concerned. The closer the languages, the deeper and more versatile is the influence. This largely accounts for the well-marked contrast between the French and the Scandinavian influence on the English language. Thus under the influence of the Scandinavian languages, which were closely related to Old English, some classes of words were borrowed that could not have been adopted from non-related or distantly related languages (the pronouns **they, their, them,** for instance); a number of Scandinavian borrowings were felt as derived from native words (they were of the same root and the connection between them was easily seen), e.g. **drop** *(AS.)* — **drip** *(Scand.),* **true** ***(AS.)*-tryst** *(Scand.);* the Scandinavian influence even accelerated to a certain degree the development of the grammatical structure of English.

Borrowings enter the language in two ways: through oral speech (by immediate contact between the peoples) and through written speech (by indirect contact through books, etc.).

Oral borrowing took place chiefly in the early periods of history, whereas in recent times written borrowing gained importance. Words borrowed orally (e.g. *L.* **inch, mill, street)** are usually short and they undergo considerable changes in the act of adoption. Written borrowings (e.g. *Fr.* **communiqué, belles-lettres, naïveté)** preserve their spelling and some peculiarities of their sound-form, their assimilation is a long and laborious process.

§ 6. Criteria of Borrowings

Though borrowed words undergo changes in the adopting language they preserve some of their former peculiarities for a comparatively long period. This makes it possible to work out some criteria for determining whether the word belongs to the borrowed element.

In some cases the pronunciation of the word (strange sounds, sound combinations, position of stress, etc.), its spelling and the correlation between sounds and letters are an indication of the foreign origin of the word. This is the case with **wal***tz* (G.),. *ps***ychology** *(Gr.),* **soufflé** *(Fr.),* etc. The initial position of the sounds [v], [dʒ], [ʒ] or of the letters x, j, **z** is a sure sign that the word has been borrowed, e.g. **volcano** ***(It.),*** **vase** *(Fr.),* **vaccine** (L.)**, jungle** *(Hindi),* **gesture** *(L.),* **giant** *(OFr.),* **zeal** *(L.),* **zero** *(Fr.),* **zinc** (G.), etc.

The morphological structure of the word and its grammatical forms may also bear witness to the word being adopted from another language. Thus the suffixes in the words neurosis (Gr.) and *violoncello (It.)* betray the foreign origin of the words. The same is true of the irregular plural forms *papyr***a** (from *papyrus, Gr.), pastoral***i** (from *pastorale, It.), beaux* (from *beau, Fr.), bacteri***a**, (from *bacterium, L.)* and the like.

Last but not least is the lexical meaning of the word. Thus the concept denoted by the words **ricksha(w), pagoda** *(Chin.)* make us suppose that we deal with borrowings.

These criteria are not always helpful. Some early borrowings have become so thoroughly assimilated that they are unrecognisable without

a historical analysis, e.g. **chalk, mile** (L.), **ill, ugly** *(Scand.),* **enemy**, **car** *(Fr.),* etc. It must also be taken into consideration that the closer the relation between the languages, the more difficult it is to distinguish borrowings.

Sometimes the form of the word and its meaning in Modern English enable us to tell the immediate source of borrowing. Thus if the digraph **ch** is sounded as [ʃ], the word is a late French borrowing (as in *echelon, chauffeur, chef);* if it stands for [k], it came through Greek *(archaic, architect, chronology);* if it is pronounced as [tʃ], it is either an early-borrowing (chase, *OFr.; cherry, L., OFr.; chime, L.),* or a word of Anglo-Saxon origin (choose, *child, chin).*

§ 7. Assimilation of Bor-

It is now essential to analyse the changes that borrowings have undergone in the English language and how they have adapted themselves to its peculiarities.

All the changes that borrowed elements undergo may be divided into two large groups.

On the one hand there are changes specific of borrowed words only. These changes aim at adapting words of foreign origin to the norms of the borrowing language, e.g. the consonant combinations [pn], [ps], [pt] in the words pneumatics, psychology, **Ptolemy** of Greek origin were simplified into [n], [s], [t], since the consonant combinations [ps], [pt], [pn], very frequent at the end of English words (as in **sleeps**, **stopped**, etc.), were never used in the initial position. For the same reason the initial [ks] was changed into [z] (as in *Gr.* **xylophone**).

The suffixes **-ar, -or, -ator** in early Latin borrowings were replaced by the highly productive Old English suffix **-ere,** as in *L.* **Caesar**>OE. **Casere**, *L.* sutor>*OE.* sūtere.

By analogy with the great majority of nouns that form their plural in **-s**, borrowings, even very recent ones, have assumed this inflection instead of their original plural endings. The forms Soviets, bolsheviks, kolkhozes, sputniks illustrate the process.

On the other hand we observe changes that are characteristic of both borrowed and native words. These changes are due to the development of the word according to the laws of the given language. When the highly inflected Old English system of declension changed into the simpler system of Middle English, early borrowings conformed with the general rule. Under the influence of the so-called inflexional levelling borrowings like **laʒu**, *(MnE.* law), fēōlaza *(MnE.* fellow), stræt *(MnE.* street), disc *(MnE.* dish) that had a number of grammatical forms in Old English acquired only three forms in Middle English: common case and possessive case singular and plural (fellow, fellowes, fellowes).

It is very important to discriminate between the two processes — the adaptation of borrowed material to the norms of the language and the development of these words according to the laws of the language.

This differentiation is not always easily discernible. In most cases we must resort to historical analysis before we can draw any definite conclusions. There is nothing in the form of the words procession and,

progression to show that the former was already used in England in the 11th century, the latter not till the 15th century. The history of these words reveals that the word **procession** has undergone a number of changes alongside with other English words (change in declension, accentuation, structure, sounds), whereas the word **progression** underwent some changes by analogy with the word **procession** and other similar words already at the time of its appearance in the language.

§ 8. Phonetic, Grammatical and Lexical Assimilation of Borrowings

Since the process of assimilation of borrowings includes changes in sound-form, morphological structure, grammar characteristics, meaning and usage Soviet linguists distinguish phonetic, grammatical and lexical assimilation of borrowings.

Phonetic assimilation comprising changes in sound-form and stress is perhaps the most conspicuous.

Sounds that were alien to the English language were fitted into its scheme of sounds. For instance, the long [e] and [ɛ] in recent French borrowings, alien to English speech, are rendered with the help of [ei] (as in the words **communiqué, chaussée, café).**

Familiar sounds or sound combinations the position of which was strange to the English language, were replaced by other sounds or sound combinations to make the words conform to the norms of the language, e.g. German **spitz [**ʃpits**]** was turned into English [spits]. Substitution of native sounds for foreign ones usually takes place in the very act of borrowing. But some words retain their foreign pronunciation for a long time before the unfamiliar sounds are replaced by similar native sounds.

Even when a borrowed word seems at first sight to be identical in form with its immediate etymon as *OE.* **skill** < *Scand.* **skil;** ***OE.*** **scinn** < < *Scand.* **skinn;** *OE.* **ran** < *Scand.* **ran** the phonetic structure of the word undergoes some changes, since every language as well as every period in the history of a language is characterised by its own peculiarities in the articulation of sounds.

In words that were added to English from foreign sources, especially from French or Latin, the accent was gradually transferred to the first syllable. Thus words like **honour, reason** were accented on the same principle as the native **father, mother.**

Grammatical Assimilation. Usually as soon as words from other languages were introduced into English they lost their former grammatical categories and paradigms and acquired hew grammatical categories and paradigms by analogy with other English words, as in

им. **спутник**	*Com. sing.* **Sputnik**
род. **спутника**	*Poss. sing.* **Sputnik's**
дат. **спутнику**	*Com. pl.* **Sputniks**
вин. **спутник**	*Poss. pl.* **Sputniks'**
вин. **спутником**	
предл. о **спутнике**	

However, there are some words in Modern English that have for centuries retained their foreign inflexions. Thus a considerable group of

borrowed nouns, all of them terms or literary words adopted in the 16th century or later, have preserved their original plural inflexion to this day, e.g. **phenomenon** *(L.)* — **phenomena; addendum** ***(L.)*** **— addenda; parenthesis** *(Gr.)* — **parentheses.** Other borrowings of the same period have two plural forms — the native and the foreign, e.g. **vacuum** ***(L.)*** **— vacua, vacuums, virtuoso** ***(It.)*** **— virtuosi, virtuosos.**

All borrowings that were composite in structure in their native language appeared in English as indivisible simple words, unless there were already words with the same morphemes in it, e.g. in the word **saunter** the French infinitive inflexion **-er** is retained (cf. *OFr.* **s'aunter),** but it has changed its quality, it is preserved in all the other grammatical forms of the word (cf. **saunters, sauntered, sauntering),** which means that it has become part of the stem in English. The French reflexive pronoun **s-** has become fixed as an inseparable element of the word. The former Italian diminishing suffixes **-etto, -otta, -ello(a), -cello** in the words **ballot, stiletto, umbrella** cannot be distinguished without special historical analysis, unless one knows the Italian language. The composite nature of the word **portfolio** is not seen either *(cf. It.* **portafogli < porta** — imperative of 'carry' + **fogli** — 'sheets of paper'). This loss of morphological seams in borrowings may be termed simplification by analogy with a similar process in native words.[1]

It must be borne in mind that when there appears in a language a group of borrowed words built on the same pattern or containing the same morphemes, the morphological structure of the words becomes apparent and in the course of time their word-building elements can be employed to form new words.[2] Thus the word **bolshevik** was at first indivisible in English, which is seen from the forms **bolshevikism, bolshevikise, bolshevikian** entered by some dictionaries. Later on the word came to be divided into the morphological elements **bolshev-ik.** The new morphological division can be accounted for by the existence of a number of words containing these elements **(bolshevism, bolshevist, bolshevise; sputnik, udarnik, menshevik).**

Sometimes in borrowed words foreign affixes are replaced by those available in the English language, e.g. the inflexion **-us** in Latin adjectives was replaced in English with the suffixes **-ous** or **-al:** *L.* **barbarus** > > ***E.*** **barbarous;** ***L.*** **botanicus** > ***E.*** **botanical;** ***L.*** **balneus** > ***E.*** **balneal.**

Lexical Assimilation. When a word is taken over into another language, its semantic structure as a rule undergoes great changes.

Polysemantic words are usually adopted only in one or two of their meanings. Thus the word **timbre** that had a number of meanings in French was borrowed into English as a musical term only. The words **cargo** and **cask,** highly polysemantic in Spanish, were adopted only in one of their meanings — 'the goods carried in a ship', 'a barrel for holding liquids' respectively.

• In some cases we can observe specialisation of meaning, as in the word **hangar,** denoting a building in which aeroplanes are kept (in French

[1] See 'Word-Structure', § 13, p. 105; 'Word-Formation', § 34, p. 151. [2] See 'Word-Formation', § 14, p. 125.

it meant simply ’shed’) and **revue,** which had the meaning of ‘review’ in French and came to denote a kind of theatrical entertainment in English.

In the process of its historical development a borrowing sometimes acquired new meanings that were not to be found in its former semantic structure. For instance, the verb **move** in Modern English has developed the meanings of ‘propose’, ‘change one’s flat’, ‘mix with people’ and others that the French **mouvoir** does not possess. The word **scope,** which originally had the meaning of ‘aim, purpose’, now means ‘ability to understand’, ‘the field within which an activity takes place, sphere’, ‘opportunity, freedom of action’. As a rule the development of new meanings takes place 50 — 100 years after the word is borrowed.

The semantic structure of borrowings changes in other ways as well. Some meanings become more general, others more specialised, etc. For instance, the word **terrorist,** that was taken over from French in the meaning of ‘Jacobin’, widened its meaning to ‘one who governs, or opposes a government by violent means’. The word **umbrella,** borrowed in the meaning of a ’sunshade’ or ‘parasol’ (from *It.* **ombrella <ombra** — ’shade[1]) came to denote similar protection from the rain as well.

Usually the primary meaning of a borrowed word is retained throughout its history, but sometimes it becomes a secondary meaning. Thus the Scandinavian borrowings **wing, root, take** and many others have retained their primary meanings to the present day, whereas in the *OE.* **fēolaze** *(MnE.* **fellow)** which was borrowed from the same source in the meaning of ‘comrade, companion’, the primary meaning has receded to the background and was replaced by the meaning that appeared in New English ‘a man or a boy’.

Sometimes change of meaning is the result of associating borrowed words with familiar words which somewhat resemble them in sound but which are not at all related. This process, which is termed folk etymology, often changes the form of the word in whole or in part, so as to bring it nearer to the word or words with which it is thought to be connected, e.g. the French verb **sur(o)under** had the meaning of ‘overflow’. In English **-r(o)under** was associated by mistake with **round** — *круглый* and the verb was interpreted as meaning ‘enclose on all sides, encircle’ *(MnE.* **surround).** Old French **estandard** ***(L.*** **estendere** — ‘to spread’) had the meaning of ‘a flag, banner’. In English the first part was wrongly associated with the verb **stand** and the word **standard** also acquired the meaning of ’something stable, officially accepted’.

Folk-etymologisation is a slow process; people first attempt to give the foreign borrowing its foreign pronunciation, but gradually popular use evolves a new pronunciation and spelling.

Another phenomenon which must also receive special attention is the formation of derivatives from borrowed word-stems. New derivatives are usually formed with the help of productive affixes, often of Anglo-Saxon origin. For instance: **faintness, closeness, easily, nobly,** etc. As a rule derivatives begin to appear rather soon after the borrowing of the word. Thus almost immediately after the borrowing of the word **sputnik** the words **pre-sputnik, sputnikist, sputnikked, to outsputnik** were coined in English.

Many derivatives were formed by means of conversion, as in **to manifesto** (1748) < **manifesto** *(It.,* 1644); **to encore** (1748) < **encore** *(Fr.,* 1712); **to coach** (1612) < **coach** *(Fr.,* 1556).

Similarly hybrid compounds were formed, e. g. **faint-hearted, ill-tempered, painstaking.**

§ 9. Degree of Assimilation and Factors Determining It

Even a superficial examination of borrowed words in the English word-stock shows that there are words among them that are easily recognised as foreign (such as **decolleté, façade, Zeitgeist, voile)** and there are others that have become so firmly rooted in the language, so thoroughly assimilated that it is sometimes" extremely difficult to distinguish them from words of Anglo-Saxon origin (these are words like **pupil, master, city, river,** etc.).

Unassimilated words differ from assimilated ones in their pronunciation, spelling, semantic structure, frequency and sphere of application. However, there is no distinct border-line between the two groups. There are also words assimilated in some respects and unassimilated in others, they may be called partially assimilated. Such are **communiqué, détente** not yet assimilated phonetically, **phenomenon *(pl.* phenomena), graffito *(pl.* graffiti)** unassimilated grammatically, etc. So far no linguist has been able to suggest more or less comprehensive criteria for determining the degree of assimilation of borrowings.

The degree of assimilation depends in the first place upon the time of borrowing. The general principle is: the older the borrowing, the more thoroughly it tends to follow normal English habits of accentuation, pronunciation, etc. It is natural that the bulk of early borrowings have acquired full English citizenship and that most English speaking people are astonished on first hearing, that such everyday words as **window, chair, dish, box** have not always belonged to their language. Late borrowings often retain their foreign peculiarities.

However mere age is not the sole factor. Not only borrowings long in use, but also those of recent date may be completely made over to conform to English patterns if they are widely and popularly employed. Words that are rarely used in everyday speech, that are known to a small group of people retain their foreign -peculiarities. Thus many 19th century French borrowings have been completely assimilated (e.g. **turbine, clinic, exploitation, diplomat),** whereas the words adopted much earlier **noblesse** [no'bles] *(ME.),* **ennui** [ã:'nwi:] (1667), **eclat** [ei'kla:] (1674) have not been assimilated even in point of pronunciation.

Another factor determining the process of assimilation is the way in which the borrowing was taken over into the language. Words borrowed orally are assimilated more readily, they undergo greater changes, whereas with words adopted through writing the process of assimilation is longer and more laborious.

§ 10. Summary and Conclusions

1. Due to "the specific historical development of English, it has adopted many words from other languages, especially from Latin, French and Old Scandinavian, though the number and importance of these borrowings are usually overestimated.

2. The number and character of borrowings in Modern English from various languages depend on the historical conditions and also on the degree of the genetic and structural proximity of the languages in question.

3. Borrowings enter the language through oral speech (mainly in early periods of history) and through written speech (mostly in recent times).

4. In the English language borrowings may be discovered through some peculiarities in pronunciation, spelling, morphological and semantic structures. Sometimes these peculiarities enable us even to discover the immediate source of borrowing.

5. All borrowed words undergo the process of assimilation, i.e. they adjust themselves to the phonetic and lexico-grammatical norms of the language. Phonetic assimilation comprises substitution of native sounds and sound combinations for strange ones and for familiar sounds used in a position strange to the English language, as well as shift of stress. Grammatical assimilation finds expression in the change of grammatical categories and paradigms of borrowed words, change of their morphological structure. Lexical assimilation includes changes in semantic structure and the formation of derivatives,

6. Substitution of sounds, formation of new grammatical categories and paradigms, morphological simplification and narrowing of meaning take place in the very act of borrowing. Some words however retain foreign sounds and inflexions for a long time. Shift of stress is a long and gradual process; the same is true of the development of new meanings in a borrowed word, while the formation of derivatives may occur soon after the adoption of the word.

7. The degree of assimilation depends on the time of borrowing, the extent to which the word is used in the language and the way of borrowing.

INTERRELATION BETWEEN NATIVE AND BORROWED ELEMENTS

§ 11. The Role of Native and Borrowed Elements

The number of borrowings in Old English was meagre. In the Middle English period there was an influx of loans. It is often contended that since the Norman conquest borrowing has been the chief factor in the enrichment of the English vocabulary and as a result there was a sharp decline in the productivity of word-formation.[1] Historical evidence, however, testifies to the fact that throughout its entire history, even in the periods of the mightiest influxes of borrowings, other processes, no less intense, were in operation — word-formation and semantic development, which involved both native and borrowed elements.

If the estimation of the role of borrowings is based on the study of words recorded in the dictionary, it is easy to overestimate the effect of the loan words, as the number of native words is extremely small

[1] See 'Etymological Survey ...', § 3, p. 162.

compared with the number of borrowings recorded. The only true way to estimate the relation of the native to the borrowed element is to consider the two as actually used in speech. If one counts every word used, including repetitions, in some reading matter, the proportion of native to borrowed words will be quite different. On such a count, every writer-uses considerably more native words than borrowings. Shakespeare, for example, has 90%, Milton 81 %, Tennyson 88%.[1] This shows how important is the comparatively small nucleus of native words.

Different borrowings are marked by different frequency value. Those well established in the vocabulary may be as frequent in speech as native words, whereas others occur very rarely.

§ 12. Influence of Borrowings The great number of borrowings in English left some imprint upon the language. The first effect of foreign influence is observed in the volume of its vocabulary. Due to its history the English language, more than any other modern language, has absorbed foreign elements in its vocabulary. But the adoption of foreign words must not be understood as mere quantitative change. Any importation into the lexical system brings about semantic and stylistic changes in the words of this language and changes in its synonymic groups.[2]

It has been mentioned that when borrowed words were identical in meaning with those already in English the adopted word very often displaced the native word. In most cases, however, the borrowed words and synonymous native words (or words borrowed earlier) remained in the language, becoming more or less differentiated in meaning and use. Cf., e.g., the sphere of application and meaning of **feed** and **nourish, try** and **endeavour, meet** and **encounter.**

As a result the number of synonymic groups in English greatly increased. The synonymic groups became voluminous and acquired many words rarely used. This brought about a rise in the percentage of stylistic synonyms.

Influence of Borrowings on the Semantic Structure of Words. As a result of the differentiation in meaning between synonymous words many native words or words borrowed earlier narrowed their meaning or sphere of application. Thus the word **stool** of Anglo-Saxon origin, which in Old English denoted any article of furniture designed for sitting on, under the influence of the French borrowing **chair** came to be used as the name for only one kind of furniture.

Due to borrowings some words passed out of the literary national language and have become dialectal, as **ea** *поток воды (OE.* **ēa** — *поток воды, река),* **heal, hele** — *скрывать, покрывать (OE.* **helan),** etc.

Another instance of foreign influence upon the semantic structure of some English words is s e m a n t i c b o r r o w i n g , i.e. the borrowing of meaning from a word in a foreign language. This often takes place in English words having common roots with some words in another language (international words today reflect this process best), e.g. the

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[1] *O. F. Emerson.* The History of the English Language. N. Y., 1907, p. 126.

[2] See 'Semasiology', § 21, p. 29.

words **pioneer** and **cadres** which are international words have acquired new meanings under the influence of the Russian *пионер* and *кадры.* Sometimes English words acquire additional meanings under the influence of related words having quite different roots, e.g. the political meanings of **shock** and **deviation** have come from the Russian *ударный* and *уклон.*

Influence of Borrowings on the Lexical Territorial Divergence. Abundant borrowing intensified the difference between the word-stock of the literary national language and dialects. On the one hand, a number of words were borrowed into the literary national language which are not to be found in the dialects (such as literary words, scientific and political terminology, etc.). In a number of cases the dialects have preserved some Anglo-Saxon words which were replaced by borrowings in the literary language. Thus the Scotch dialect has preserved such words as ken — *знать (OE.* **cennan); eke** — *добавление (OE.* **ēaca); eath** — *гладкий, легкий* (*OE.* ēađe); **fleme** — *обратить в бегство, изгонять (OE.* flyman).

On the other hand, a number of words were borrowed into dialects and are used throughout the country. Thus, the Scottish and Irish dialects have suffered much greater Celtic influence than the literary national language or the Southern dialect, as the Celtic languages were longer spoken in Scotland and Ireland — some sections of the population use them even now. The Irish dialect, for example, has the following words of Celtic origin: **shamrock** — *трилистник,* **dun** — *холм,* **colleen** — *девушка,* **shillelagh** — *дубинка,* etc. In the Northern, Scottish and Eastern dialects there are many more Scandinavian borrowings than in the national literary language as most Scandinavian settlements were found in the north of the country, *e.g.* **busk** — 'get ready'; **fell** — 'hill'; **mun** — 'mouth'; **wapentake** — 'division of shire'.

Some Scandinavian borrowings ousted native words in dialects. Since many of these words were of the same root a great number of etymological doublets appeared, e.g. **dag** — **dew, kirk — church, benk — bench, kist — chest, garth — yard, loup — leap,** etc.

Influence of Borrowings on the Word-Structure, Word-Clusters and the System of Word-Building. The great number of borrowings could not but leave a definite imprint on the morphological structure of words in English. A number of new structural types appeared in the language. This took place when the morphological structure of borrowings, obscured at the time of adoption, became transparent **in** the course of time and served as a pattern for new formations.[1]

Among the affixes which can be considered borrowed by English[2] some are highly-productive and can combine with native and borrowed items (e.g. **re-, inter-, -able, -er, -ism,** etc.), others are not so productive

[1] See 'Word-Formation', § 14, p. 125.

[2] Some lists of foreign affixes include 200 — 500 items, although the actual number is much smaller. In these lists no distinction is made between living affixes and those found only in borrowed words which are indivisible in English morphemically and deri\ationally, such as L. **ab-, ad-, amb-;** ***Gr.*** **ana-, apo-, cata-** in words like **abstract, admire, ambition, anatomy, etc,**

and combine only with Romanic stems **(co-, de-, trans-, -al, -cy, -ic, -ical,** etc.), still others are often met with in borrowed words, but do not form any new words in English (**-ous, -ive, -ent,** etc.).

Some borrowed affixes have even ousted those of native origin, e.g. in Modern English the prefix **pre-** expressing priority of action has replaced the native prefix **fore-,** which was highly productive in Middle English and early New English, especially in the 16-17th centuries.

Another imprint of borrowings on “the structural types of words in English is the appearance of a great number of words with bound morphemes, such as **tolerate, tolerable, tolerance, toleration,** etc.

Clusters of words in English also underwent some changes — both quantitative and qualitative — due to the influx of borrowings. On the one hand, many clusters of words were enlarged. Not only were new derivatives formed with the help of borrowed affixes, but some borrowings entered the clusters of words already existing in English. Mention has already been made of Scandinavian borrowings like **drip, tryst.**[1] Some Latin and French borrowings entered the clusters of words borrowed from Romanic languages before, e.g. when the French borrowings **exploitation, mobilisation, militarism, employee, personnel, millionaire** were taken over into English in the 19th century, they occupied the position of derivatives of the words **exploit, mobilise,** etc. borrowed much earlier.

On the other hand, the influx of borrowings in English has changed the very nature of word-clusters which now unite not only words of the same root-morpheme, but also of different synonymous root-morphemes, as in **spring — vernal, two — second, dual, sea — maritime,** etc.

Influence of Borrowings on the Phonetic Structure of Words and the Sound System. As a result of intense borrowing there appeared in the English language a number of words of new phonetic structure with strange sounds and sound combinations, or familiar sounds in unusual positions. Such are the words with the initial [ps], [pn], [pt] (as in *Gr.* **psilanthropism)** which are used in English alongside with the forms without the initial sound [p].

If there were many borrowed words containing a certain phonetic peculiarity, they influenced to some extent the sound system of the language.

Thus abundant borrowing from French in the Middle English period accounts for the appearance of a new diphthong in English — [oi], which, according to Prof. B. A. Ilyish, could not have developed from any Old English sound or sound combination, but came into English together with such French words as **point, joint, poise.** The initial [sk], which reappeared in English together with Scandinavian and other borrowings, is nowadays a common beginning for a great number of words.

Abundant borrowing also brought about some changes in the distribution of English sounds, e.g. the Old English variant phonemes [f] and [v] developed into different phonemes, that is [v] came to be used initially (as in **vain, valley, vulgar)** and [f] in the intervocal position (as

[1] See ‘Etymological Survey ...’, § 5, p. 164.

in effect, affect, affair) which was impossible in Old English. The affricate [dʒ], which developed at the beginning of the Middle English period and was found at the end or in the middle of words (as in **bridge** — ***OE. bricz***; **singe** — *OE.* **senczean),** under the influence of numerous borrowings came to be used in the initial position (as in **jungle, journey, gesture).**

§ 13. Summary and Conclusions

1. In spite of the numerous outside linguistic influences and the etymological heterogeneity of its vocabulary the English language is still, in essential characteristics, a Germanic language. It has retained a groundwork of Germanic words and grammar.

2. Borrowing has never been the chief means of replenishing the English vocabulary. Word-formation and semantic development were throughout the entire history of the language much more productive. Besides most native words are marked by a higher frequency value.

3. The great number of borrowings brought with them new phonomorphological types, new phonetic, morphological and semantic features. On the other hand, under the influence of the borrowed element words already existing in English changed to some extent their semantic structure, collocability, frequency and derivational ability.

4. Borrowing also considerably enlarged the English vocabulary and brought about some changes in English synonymic groups, in the distribution of the English vocabulary through spheres of application and in the lexical divergence between the variants of the literary language and its dialects.

VII. Various Aspects of Vocabulary Units and Replenishment of Modern English Word-Stock

INTERDEPENDENCE OF VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE WORD

The foregoing description of the word dwelt on its structural, semantic, stylistic and etymological peculiarities separately. In actual speech all these aspects are closely interrelated and interdependent and the pattern of their interdependence largely preconditions the comparative value and place of the word in Modern English. This interdependence is most vividly brought out in the frequency value attached to the words in the language. However it must be pointed out that frequency value alone, important as it is, is not an adequate criterion to establish the most important relationships between words or the most useful section of vocabulary.

§ 1. Notional and Form-Words The frequency distribution singles out two classes, all the words of the language fall into: the so-called n o t i o n a l w o r d s , the largest class, having a low frequency of occurrence in comparison with a numerically small group of the so-called f o r m or f u n c t i o n w o r d s . Form words in terms of absolute figures make a specific group of about 150 units. Notional words constitute the bulk of the existing word-stock; according to the recent counts given for the first 1000 most frequently occurring words they make 93% of the total number. The results of these counts [1] (given below graphically) show the numerical interrelation of the two classes.

The division of vocabulary units into notional and form words is based on the peculiar interrelation of lexical and grammatical types of meaning. In n o t i o n a l w o r d s which are used in speech as names of objects of reality, their qualities, names of actions, processes, states the lexical meaning is predominant. In t h e m a j o r i t y of f o r m w o r d s (prepositions, articles, conjunctions), which primarily denote various relations between notional words, it is the grammatical meaning that dominates over their lexical meaning. The difference between notional and form words may be also described in terms of open and closed sets of vocabulary units.[2]

It should also be noted that though the division of all vocabulary units into notional and form words is valid, in actual speech the borderline between them is not always clear-cut. Comparing the use, e.g., of the verb (to) keep in the word-groups **to keep books, to keep a house, to keep secret** with ***to*** **keep warm, to keep talking** or the verb **(to) turn** in **to turn one's head, to turn the toy in one's fingers** with **to turn pale**

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[1] *C. C. Fries.* The Structure of English, ch. VI. N. Y., 1952.
[2] See 'Semasiology', § 7, p. 19.

	Notional words	Form words
the 1st hundred of the most frequently occurring words	66%	34%
the 2nd hundred of the most frequently occurring words	82%	18%
the 3rd hundred of the most frequently occurring words	90%	10%
the 4th hundred of the most frequently occurring words	93%	7%
the 1st thousand of the most frequently occurring words	93%	7%

we observe that the verbs **(to) keep** and **(to) turn** develop meanings peculiar to form words without breaking with the class of notional words.

All notional lexical units are traditionally subdivided into parts of speech, i.e. lexical-grammatical classes: nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs. Nouns numerically make the largest class — about 39%, verbs come second — 25% of all notional words, they are followed by adjectives — 17% and adverbs making 12%, the smallest group of notional words.

The frequency value of words' show that the form words, though insignificant in terms of absolute figures, constitute the most frequent group of words inseparably bound up with almost all patterns notional words are used in. It is interesting to note that the first ten words in order of frequency are: **the, of, and, to, a, in, that, is, was, he.** The high frequency value of these 150 function words accounts for the fact that this small group makes up approximately half the lexical items of any English text.

The frequency value of different lexical-grammatical classes of notional words also shows a different distribution as compared with the absolute figures for the same classes, as it is the verbs that prove to be words of highest frequency and greatest potential collocability.

§ 2. Frequency, Polysemy and Structure

The interdependence of various features of the word may be easily observed through a comparative analysis of these aspects in relation to any chosen individual feature. Thus choosing, for example, the semantic structure as a starting point we observe that there is a certain interdependence between the number of meanings in a word and its structural and derivational type, its etymological character, its stylistic reference. The analysis may start with any other aspect of the word — its structure, style or origin — it will generally reveal the same type of interdependence of all the aspects. Words of highest frequency, those that come into the first 2000 of most frequently occurring words all tend to be polysemantic and structurally simple. It should be noted, however, that structure and etymology by themselves are not

always indicative of other aspects of the word — simple words are not necessarily polysemantic, words that etymologically belong to late borrowings may be simple in structure. Frequency most clearly reflects the close interconnection between p o l y s e m y a n d t h e s t r u c ture of the word. The higher the frequency, the more polysemantic is the word, the simpler it is in structure. The latest data of linguistic investigation show that the number of meanings is inversely proportional to the number of morphemes the word consists of. Derived and compound words rarely have high frequency of occurrence and are rarely polysemantic. Comparison of the words, members of the same word-cluster, for example **heart — hearty — heartily — heartless — heartiness-heartsick** shows that it is the simple word of the cluster **heart** that **is** marked by the highest frequency (it belongs to the first 500 most frequently occurring words). We also find that the word is highly polysemantic, **heart** has 6 meanings.[1] Other members of the cluster which are all polymorphic and complex have fewer meanings and many of them are practically monosemantic, e.g. **hearty** has 3 meanings, **heartily** — 2 **and** the rest only 1. All of these words have much lower frequences as compared with the simple member of the cluster — **heartily** belongs to the **6th** thousand, **heartless** to the 13th, **heartiness** and **heartsick to the 20th** thousand.

The same is observed in the simple word **man** having 9 meanings and polymorphic derived words **manful, manly, manliness** which have only one meaning, etc. Thus the interdependence of frequency, polysemy and structure manifests itself not only in the morphemic structure of the word, but also in its derivational structure. Derived words are as a **rule poorer** in the number of meanings and have much lower frequencies than the corresponding simple words though they may be morphemically identical It may be very well exemplified by nouns and verbs formed by conversion, e.g. the simple noun **hand** has 15 meanings while the derived verb **(to) hand** has only one meaning and covers only 4% of **the** total occurrences of both.[2]

§ 3. Frequency and Stylistic Refer-

Frequency is also indicative of the interdependence between p o l y s e m y, s t y l i s t i c r e f e r e n c e and e m o t i v e c h a r g e . It can easily be observed in any group of synonyms. Analysing synonymic groupings like **make — manufacture — fabricate; heavy — ponderous — weighty — cumbrous; gather — assemble; face — countenance — mug** we find that the neutral member of the synonymic group, e.g. **make** (the first 500 words) **has** 28 meanings, whereas its literary synonyms **manufacture** (the **2nd** thousand) has **2** and **fabricate** (the 14th thousand) which has a narrow, specific stylistic reference has only one meaning. A similar relation is observed in other synonymic groups. The inference, consequently, is that

[1] Here and below the number of meanings is given according to A. Hornby, ***The*** *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English,* and the frequency values according to the *Thorndike Teacher's Word Book of 30,000 Words.*

[2] According to *M. West.* A General Service List of English Words. Longmans, 1959,

stylistically neutral vocabulary units tend to be polysemantic and to have higher frequency value, whereas words of narrow or specific stylistic reference or non-literary vocabulary units are mostly monosemantic and have a low frequency value. The following examples may serve as illustration: the neutral word **horse,** in addition to its basic meaning, has the meanings — 'a frame', 'a rope', 'cavalry'; its poetic synonym **steed** has only one meaning. The neutral word **face** forms a variety of word-groups in its basic meaning, in addition, it has at least 3 more meanings — 'boldness', 'impudence', e.g. **to have the face to do smth;** 'an outer part', 'a surface', e.g. **the face of a coin, the face of a clock.** The word **face** also enters a number of phraseological units, e.g. **to put a new face on a matter, on the face of it.** Its literary bookish synonym **countenance** has only two meanings and a much poorer collocability; its third synonym **mug** belongs to slang, has a heavy emotive charge, is monosemantic and its lexical valency is greatly restricted. The frequency values of these words speak for themselves — **face** belongs to the first 500 words, **countenance** to the 4th thousand and **mug** to the 6th thousand of the most frequently occurring words.

§ 4. Frequency, Polysemy and Etymology

Frequency value may also serve as a clue to t h e e t y m o l o g i c a l c h a r a c t e r of the word and its interrelation with p o l y s e m y . The most frequently used words as we have seen are characterised by polysemy, structural simplicity and neutral stylistic reference. They generally belong either to the native words or to the early borrowings, which are already fully assimilated in English. Late borrowings like **regime, bourgeoisie, genre, kuru** (a fatal disease of the human nervous system), **duka** (a retail shop in Kenya), etc. are generally marked by low frequency and are very seldom polysemantic. The interrelation of meaning and etymological factors, more specifically the period and the degree of assimilation, makes itself felt above all in the stylistic reference and emotive charge proper to words and is clearly observed in synonymic groups which in most cases consist of both native and borrowed members.[1] The analysis of the synonymic group, for example **small, little, diminutive, petite, wee, tiny, minute, miniature, microscopic,** shows that they come from different sources: **small** from *OE.* **smæl; little** from *OE.* **lŷtel; diminutive** from *Fr.*< *L.* **diminutivus; petite** from *Fr.* **petite; wee** *(Scand.* origin) from *ME.* **wei, wee, we; tiny** (origin dubious) from *ME.* **tine; minute** from *Fr.*< L. **minuta; microscopic** from *Gr.* **mikrós +** ***Gr.*** **scopós; miniature** from *It.*< *L.* **miniatura.** Of these words only **small** and **little** are polysemantic **(small** has 8 meanings and **little** — 7 meanings) and are widely used in Modern English (both belong to the first 500 most frequently occurring words). All the others are monosemantic and by far of lesser practical value. For example **petite,** a late French borrowing, is scarcely ever used in English and is felt as a "foreign element" in the English vocabulary, **minute** lies outside the 20,000 most frequently occurring words, **miniature, diminutive** belong to the 8th thousand. Their lexical valency is very low. It may also be

[1] See 'Semasiology', § 49, p. 58.

easily seen that words of this synonymic group differ greatly in their stylistic reference. Only the two native words **small** and **little** belong to the neutral literary layer; the rest have a specific stylistic reference: **microscopic** coined in recent times from Greek morphemes is used more or less as a term, **diminutive** is bookish, **wee** (which for the most part occurs in Scottish dialects) has a poetic tinge in literary English.

§ 5. Frequency and Semantic Structure

Frequency also reflects the interdependence and comparative importance of individual meanings within the word. For example, the adjective **exact** has two meanings 'entirely correct, precise', eg. **the exact time, smb's exact words,** etc. and 'capable of being precise', e.g. **exact observer, exact memory.** The comparison of the frequences of these individual meanings shows that they are not **of** equal importance in the semantic structure of the word; it is the first meaning of this word that is much more important than the second as it accounts for 78% of total occurrences of the word, leaving only 18% to the second meaning.

The adjective **blue** which is a polysemantic unit of a high frequency value may serve as another example. On comparing the frequencies of individual meanings of this word we find that its neutral meaning 'the colour of the sky' accounts for 92% of the occurrences of the word, whereas the meaning 'sad' (cf. **to look (to feel) blue)** and the meaning 'indecent, obscene' (cf. **to tell blue stories, to talk blue)** are both marked by a heavy emotive charge and make only 2% and 0.5% of the occurrence of this word respectively.

Thus, as we see, the semantic frequencies of individual meanings give a better and a more objective insight into the semantic structure of words.

We may now conclude by pointing out that frequency value of the word is as a rule a most reliable and objective factor indicating the relative value of the word in the language in general and conditioning the grammatical and lexical valency of the word. The frequency value of the word alone is in many cases sufficient to judge of its structural, stylistic, semantic and etymological peculiarities, i e. if the word has a high frequency of occurrence one may suppose that it is monomorphic, simple, polysemantic and stylistically neutral. Etymologically it **is** likely to be native or to belong to early borrowings. The interdependence so markedly reflected by frequency can be presented graphically. Below we show the analysis of two groups of synonyms. (See the table, p. **181.)**

REPLENISHMENT OF MODERN ENGLISH VOCABULARY

§ 6. Development of Vocabulary

As has been already mentioned, no vocabulary of any living language is ever stable but is constantly changing, growing and decaying. The changes occurring in the vocabulary are due both to linguistic and non-linguistic causes, but in most cases to the combination of both. Words may drop out altogether as a result of the disappearance of the actual objects they denote, e.g. the *OE.* **wunden-stefna** — 'a curved-stemmed ship'; **зãг**—

’spear, dart’; some words were ousted[1] as a result of the influence of Scandinavian and French borrowings, e.g. the Scandinavian **take** and **die** ousted the *OE:* **niman** and **sweltan,** the French **army** and **place** replaced the *OE.* **hēre** and **staÞs.** Sometimes words do not actually drop out but become obsolete, sinking to the level of vocabulary units used in narrow, specialised fields of human intercourse making a group of archaisms: e g. **billow — ‘**wave’; **welkin** — ’sky’; **steed** — ‘horse’; **slay** — ‘kill’ are practically never used except in poetry; words like **halberd, visor, gauntlet** are used only as historical terms.

Yet the number of new words that appear in the language is so much greater than those that drop out or become obsolete, that the development of vocabularies may be described as a process of never-ending growth.[2]

Groups of Synonyms	Frequency Value	Structure				The Number of Meanings			Style		Etymology	
		Morphemic		Derivational								
		Monomorphic	Polymorphic	Simple	Derived Compound	1 meaning	2 meanings	3 and more meanings	Neutral, standard colloquial	Bookish, non-literary	Native, early borrowings	Late borrowings
I Fair Just Impartial Unbiased	1	+		+				+	+		+	
Equitable	1	+		+				+	+		+	
Dispassionate	7		+		+	+				+		+
II Cool	11		+		+	- .				+		
Composed	13		+		+	+				+		
Unruffled	14		+	+	+	+				+		+
Imperturbable	1	+						+	+		+	
Nonchalant	15		+		+	+				+		+
	17		+		+	+				+	+	
	17		+		+	+				+		+
	19		+		+	+				+		+

[1] See ‘Etymological Survey...’, § 12, p. 172.

[2] It is of interest to note that the number of vocabulary units in Old English did not exceed 30 — 40 thousand words, the vocabulary of Modern English is at least ten times larger and contains about 400 — 500 thousand words.

The appearance of a great number of new words and the development of new meanings in the words already available in the language may be largely accounted for by the rapid flow of events, the progress of science and technology and emergence of new concepts in different fields of human activity. The influx of new words has never been more rapid than in the last few decades of this century. Estimates suggest that during the past twenty-five years advances in technology and communications media have produced a greater change in our language than in any similar period in history. The specialised vocabularies of aviation, radio, television, medical and atomic research, new vocabulary items created by recent development in social history — all are part of this unusual influx. Thus war has brought into English such vocabulary items as **blackout, fifth-columnist, paratroops, A-bomb, V-Day,** etc.; the development of science gave such words as **hydroponics, psycholinguistics, polystyrene, radar, cyclotron, meson, positron; antibiotic,** etc.;[1] the conquest and research of cosmic space by the Soviet people gave birth **to sputnik, lunnik, babymoon, space-rocket, space-ship, space-suit, moonship, moon crawler, Lunokhod,** etc.

The growth of the vocabulary reflects not only the general progress made by mankind but also the peculiarities of the way of life of the speech community in which the new words appear, the way its science and culture tend to develop. The peculiar developments of the American way of life for example find expression in the vocabulary items like **taxi-dancer** — , 'a girl employed by a dance hall, cafe, cabaret to dance with patrons who pay for each dance'; **to job-hunt** — 'to search assiduously for a job'; the political life of America of to-day gave items like **witchhunt** — 'the screening and subsequent persecution of political opponents'; **ghostwriter** — 'a person engaged to write the speeches or articles of an eminent personality'; **brinkmanship** — 'a political course of keeping the world on the brink of war'; **sitdowner** — 'a participant of a sit-down strike'; **to sit in** — 'to remain sitting in available places in a cafe, unserved in protest of Jim Crow Law'; **a sitter-in; a lie-in** or **a lie-down** — 'a lying

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[1] The results of the analysis of the *New Word Section of Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* covering a period of 14 years (from 1927 to 1941) and *A Dictionary of New English* by C. Barnhart covering a period of 10 years (from 1963 to 1972) confirm the statement; out of the 498 vocabulary items 100 (about 1/5 of the total number) are the result of technological development, about 80 items owe their appearance to the development of science, among which 60 are new terms in the field of physics, chemistry, nuclear physics and biochemistry. 42 words are connected with the sphere of social relations and only 28 with art, literature, music, etc. See *Р. С. Гинзбург.* О пополнении словарного состава. «Иностранные языки в школе», 1954, № 1 *; Р. С. Гинзбург, Н. Г. Позднякова.* Словарь новых слов Барнхарта и некоторые наблюдения над пополнением словарного состава современного английского языка. «Иностранные языки в школе», 1975, № 3.

A similar result is obtained by a count conducted for seven letters of the Addenda to *The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* by A. S. Hornby, E. V. Gatenby, H. Wakefield, 1956. According to these counts out of 122 new units 65 are due to the development of science and technology, 21 to the development of social relations and only 31 to the general, non-specialised vocabulary. See *Э. М. Медникова, Т. Ю. Каравкина.* Социолингвистический аспект продуктивного словообразования. «Вестник Московского университета», 1964, № 5.

down of a group of people in a public place to disrupt traffic as a form of protest or demonstration'; **to nuclearise** — **'**to equip conventional armies with nuclear weapons'; **nuclearisation; nuclearism** — 'emphasis on nuclear weapons as a deterrent to war or as a means of attaining political and social goals'.

§ 7. Structural and Semantic Peculiarities of New Vocabulary Units

It must be mentioned as a noteworthy peculiarity that new vocabulary items in Modern English belong only to the n o t i o n a l p a r t s of s p e e c h , to be more exact, only to nouns, verbs and adjectives; of these nouns are most numerous.[1]

New vocabulary units are as a rule monosemantic and most of them are marked by peculiar stylistic value — they primarily belong to the specialised vocabulary. Neutral words and phrases are comparatively few. Terms used in various fields of science and technique make the greater part of new words.

The analysis of the development of the vocabulary of Modern English shows that there are two aspects of the growth of the language — the appearance of new lexical items which increase the vocabulary numerically and the appearance of new meanings of old words.

New vocabulary units are mostly the result of the new combinations of old elements. Entirely new lexical items make an insignificant section of vocabulary.

Structurally new vocabulary items represent two types of lexical units: w o r d s , e.g. **blackout, microfilm-reader, unfreeze,** and w o r d - g r o u p s , mostly phraseological units, e.g. **blood bank** — 'a place where blood plasma are stored'; **atomic pile** — 'reactor', etc.

W o r d s in their turn comprise various structural types: [2]

a) simple words, e.g. **jeep** — 'a small, light motor vehicle esp. for military use'; **zebra** — 'street crossing-place, marked by black and white stripes';

b) derived words, such as **collaborationist** — 'one who in occupied territory works* helpfully with the enemy'; **centrism** — 'a middle-of-the road or a moderate position in polities', **a preppie** — 'a student or graduate of a preparatory school *(sl.)';*

c) compounds, e.g. **corpsman** *(mil.)* — 'a member of a hospital squad trained to administer first aid to wounded servicemen', **script-show** — 'a serial program on radio and television'; **house-husband** — *U.S.* 'a married man who manages a household', etc. The analysis of new words for their derivational structure shows a marked predominance of derived and compound words and a rather small number of simple words.

W o r d - g r o u p s comprise a considerable part of vocabulary extension. Structurally, the bulk of the word-groups belongs to the

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[1] The analysis mentioned above shows that out of the 498 new units under consideration 373 (i.e. about 75%) are nouns and nominal word-groups, 61 (or about 12%) are adjectives and only 1 (or 0,25%) adverbs. The counts conducted in recent years give an approximately the same ratio — out of 122 new units 82 (i. e. 67%) are nouns, 22 (or 18%) are verbs, 18 (i. e. about 14%) are adjectives and only one (0,8%) adverb.

[2] See 'Word-Structure', § 12, p. 104.

attributive-nominal type built on the $A + N$ and $N + N$ formulas, **e.g. frequency modulation, jet engine, total war, Common Marketeer, machine time,** etc.

Word-groups and different types of words are unequally distributed among various lexical stylistic groups of the vocabulary, with a predominance of one or another type in every group. For example, new words in the field of science are mostly of derived and compound structure but the technical section of the vocabulary extension is characterised by simple words. The greater part of word-groups is found among scientific and technical terms; the political layer of vocabulary is rather poor **in** word-groups. Besides this peculiar distribution of different types of words, every type acquires its own specific peculiarity in different lexical stylistic groups of the vocabulary, for example, although derived words are typical both of scientific and technical terms, words formed by conversion are found mostly among technical terms.

WAYS AND MEANS OF ENRICHING THE VOCABULARY

There are two ways of enriching the vocabulary as has been mentioned above: A. v o c a b u l a r y e x t e n s i o n — the appearance of new lexical items. New vocabulary units appear mainly as a result of: 1. productive or patterned ways of word-formation; 2. non-patterned ways of word-creation; 3. borrowing from other languages. B. s e m a n t i c e x t e n s i o n — the appearance of new meanings of existing words which may result in homonyms.

§ 8. Productive Word-Formation

Productive[1] word-formation is the most effective means of enriching the vocabulary. The most widely used means are affixation (prefixation mainly for verbs and adjectives, suffixation for nouns and adjectives), conversion (giving the greatest number of new words in verbs and nouns) and composition (most productive in nouns and adjectives).

'New' words that appear as a result of productive word-formation are not entirely new as they are all made up of elements already available in the language. The newness of these words resides in the particular combination of the items previously familiar to the language speaker. As has already been mentioned productivity of derivative devices that give rise to novel vocabulary units is fundamentally relative and it follows that there are no patterns which can be called 'fully' productive.

Productive patterns in each part of speech, with a set of individual structural and semantic constraints, serve as a formal expression of the regular semantic relationship between different classes or semantic groupings of words. Thus the types of new words that may appear in this or that lexical-grammatical class of words can be predicted with a high degree of probability. The regularity of expression of the underlying semantic relations, firmly rooted in the minds of the speakers, make

[1] See 'Word-Formation', § 4, p. 112.

the derivational patterns bidirectional rules, that is, the existence of one class of words presupposes the possibility of appearance of the other which stands in regular semantic relations with it. This can be clearly observed in the high degree of productivity of conversion.[1] For instance the existence and frequent use of the noun denoting an object presupposes the possibility of the verb denoting an action connected with it, e.g. the nouns **stream, sardine, hi-fi, timetable,** lead to the appearance of verbs **to stream** — 'to divide students into separate classes according to level of intelligence', **to sardine** — 'to pack closely'; **to hi-fi** — 'to listen to hi-fi recordings'; **to timetable** — 'to set a timetable'. Similarly a verb denoting an action presupposes a noun denoting an act, result, or instance of this action as in the new words, e.g. **a holdup, a breakdown, a layout,** etc.

The clarity and stability of the structural and semantic relations underlying productive patterns allows of certain stretching of individual constraints on the structure and meaning of the derivational bases making the pattern highly productive. Highly productive patterns of this type are not many. The derivational affixes which are the ICs of these patterns such as **-ness, -er, mini-, over-** become unusually active and are felt according to some scholars "productive as individual units" as compared to affixes "productive in a certain pattern, but not in another." The suffixal nominal patterns with suffixes **-ness** and **-er** deserve special mention. The suffix **-ness** is associated with names of abstract qualities and states. Though it is regularly added to adjectival bases, practically the range of bases the suffix can be collocated with is both structurally and semantically almost unlimited, e.g. **otherness, alone-ness, thingness, oneness, well-to-doness, out-of-the-placeness,** etc. The only exception is the verbal bases and the sphere of the derivational pattern *a + -ity -> N.*

The nominal suffix **-er** denoting an active doer may serve as another example. The suffix gives numerous suffixal and compound nouns and though it is largely a deverbal suffix as in **brain-washer, a double-talker, a sit-inner** new nouns are freely formed from bases of other parts of speech, e.g. **a roomer, a YCLer, a one-winger, a ganger,** etc.

Yet the bulk of productive patterns giving rise to freely-formed and easily predictable lexical classes of new words have a set of rigid structural and semantic constraints such as the lexical-grammatical class and structural type of bases,[2] the semantic nature of the base, etc. The degree of productivity is also connected with a certain power of analogy attached to each pattern.

The following productive types giving the greatest number of new vocabulary items may be mentioned: deverbal suffixal adjectives denoting passive possibility of the action *(v + -able -> A),* e.g. **attachable, acceptable, livable-in, likeable,** etc.; prefixal negative adjectives formed after two patterns: 1) *(un- + part I/II -> A),* e.g. **unguarded, unheard-of, unbinding,** etc., **2) *(un- + a -> A),* e.g. unsound, uncool, especially**

[1] See 'Word-Formation', § 21, p. 138. [2] See 'Word-Structure', § 8, p. 97,

with deverbal adjectival bases as in **unthinkable, unquantifiable, unavoidable, unanswerable,** etc.; prefixal verbs of repetitive meaning *(re- + + v -> V),* e.g. **rearrange, re-train, remap,** etc.; prefixal verbs of reversative meaning *(un- + v -> V),* e.g. **uncap, unbundle, unhook, undock,** etc.; derivational compound adjectives denoting possession *[(a/n + n) + + -ed -> A],* e.g. **flat-bottomed, long-handled, heavy-lidded,** etc. The greater part of new compound nouns are formed after *n + n -> N* pattern, e.g. **wave-length, sound-track,** etc.

The bidirectional nature of productive derivational patterns is **of** special interest in connection with back-derivation as a source of new verbs. The pattern of semantic relationship of the action and its active doer, the action and the name of the process of this action are regularly represented in Modern English by highly productive nominal patterns with suffixes **-er** and **-ing** *(v* + -er *-> N,* **v** + *-ing -> N).* Hence the noun whose structure contains this suffix or may be interpreted as having it is understood as a secondary unit motivated by a verb even if the verb does not actually exist. This was the case with **editor, baby-sitter, housekeeping,** a new "simpler" verb was formed to fill the gap. The noun was felt as derived and the "corresponding" verb was formed by taking the suffix or the suffix-like sound-cluster away. The following verbs, e.g. **to beg, to edit, to stage-manage, to babysit, to dress-make** are the results of back-formation. Back-derivation as a re-interpretation of the derivational structure is now growing in productivity but it functions only within the framework of highly productive patterns with regular and transparent derivative relations associated formally with a certain suffix. Many new backderived verbs are often stylistically marked as colloquial, e.g. **enthuse** from **enthusiasm, playact** from **play-acting, tongue-tie** from **tongue-tied, sight-see** from **sight-seeing.**

The correct appraisal of the role of productive word-formation and its power to give analogic creations would be incomplete if one does not take into account the so-called o c c a s i o n a l or p o t e n t i a l w o r d s . Built on analogy with the most productive types of derived and compound words, easily understood and never striking one as "un-"usual" or "new" they are so numerous that it is virtually impossible to make conversation to-day, to hear a speech or to read a newspaper without coming across a number of words which are new to the language. Occasional words are especially connected with the force of analogous creations based on productive word-formation patterns. It often happens that one or another word becomes, sometimes due to social and political reasons, especially prominent and frequent. One of its components acquires an additional derivative force and becomes the centre of a series of lexical items. It can be best illustrated by new words formed on analogy with the compound noun **sit-in** which according to *A Dictionary of New English* gave three sets of analogic units. The noun **sit-in** is traced back to 1960 when it was formed from the verb **sit-in** introduced by the Negro civil-rights movement. In the first series of analogic creations the **-in** was associated with a public protest demonstration and gave rise **to sit-in** and **sit-inner, kneel-in, ride-in,** all motivated by the underlying verbal units. The original meaning was soon extended **to**

the staging of any kind of public demonstration and resulted in a new series of nouns like a **teach-in, study-in, talk-in, read-in,** etc. which became independent of the existence of the corresponding phrasal verbs. A third development was the weakening of the earlier meanings to cover any kind of social gathering by a group, e.g. **think-in, sing-in, fish-in, laugh-in,** etc.

The second components of compound nouns often become such centres of creations by analogy as for instance the component **-sick-** in **seasick** and **homesick** gave on analogy car-sick, **air-sick, space-sick.** The compound noun **earthquake** led to **birthquake** (= population explosion), **youthquake** (= a world-wide agitation caused by student uprisings), **starquake** (= a series of rapid changes in the shape of the star). The noun **teenager** led to **golden-ager, skyscraper** to **thighscraper** (= a mini-skirt), **housewife** to **house-husband.** The derivative component **-proof** gave **soundproof, bullet-proof, fool-proof, kiss-proof, love-proof,** etc.

Productive word-formation has a specific distribution in relation to different spheres of communication, thematic and lexical stylistic groups of new words. New terminological vocabulary units appear mainly as a result of composition making extensive use of borrowed root-morphemes, and affixation with sets of affixes of peculiar stylistic reference,[1] often of Latin-Greek origin which are scarcely ever used outside this group of words, for example suffixes **-ite, -ine- -tron,** etc. The suffixes -in, -gen, **-ogen** are productive in the field of chemistry and biochemistry, e.g. **citrin, penicillin, carcinogen; -ics** in the naming of sciences as in **radionics, bionics;** the prefixes **non-, pan-,** suffixes -ism, **-ist** are most productive in political vocabulary, e.g. **Nixonomics, Nixonomist,** etc.

In comparison with specialised vocabulary items, lexical units of standard-colloquial layer are more often created by affixes of neutral stylistic reference, by conversion and composition.

§ 9. Various Ways of Word-Creation

New words in different notional classes appear also as a result of various non-patterned ways of word creation. The two main types of non-patterned word-creation are: I. V a r i o u s ways of transformation of a word-form into a word usually referred to as l e x i c a l i s a t i o n and II. S h o r t e n i n g which consists in substituting a part for a whole. Shortening comprises essentially different ways of word creation. It involves 1. transformation of a word-group into a word, and 2. a change of the word-structure resulting in a new lexical item, i.e. clipping.

I. L e x i c a l i s a t i o n . Due to various semantic and syntactic reasons the grammatical flexion in some word-forms, most often the plural of nouns, as in, e.g. the nouns **arms, customs, colours,** loses its grammatical meaning and becomes isolated from the paradigm of the words **arm, custom, look.** As a result of the re-interpretation of the plural suffix the word-form **arms, customs** developed a different lexical meaning 'weapons' and 'import duties' respectively. This led to a complete break of semantic links with the semantic structure of the words **arm, custom**

[1] See 'Word-Formation', § 13, p. 123,

and thus to the appearance of new words with a different set of grammatical features. It must be noted that there is no unanimity of opinion on whether all such items should be viewed as new words or only as new meanings. Different approaches to the problem are connected with the border-line between polysemy and homonymy[1] and many individual cases are actually open to doubt.

Essentially the same phenomenon of lexicalisation is observed in the transition of participles into adjectives. The process is also known as a d - j e c t i v i s a t i o n . It may be illustrated by a number of adjectives such as **tired, devoted, interesting, amusing,** etc. which are now felt as homonymous to the participles of the verbs **to tire, to marry,** etc.

Lexicalisation is a long, gradual historical process which synchronically results in the appearance of new vocabulary units.

II. S h o r t e n i n g . Distinction should be made between shorten-" ing which results in new l e x i c a l items and a specific type of shortening proper only to written speech resulting in numerous g r a p h i c a l abbreviations which are only signs representing words and word-groups of high frequency of occurrence in various spheres of human activity as for instance, **RD** for **Road** and **St** for **Street** in addresses on envelopes and in letters; **tu** for **tube, aer** for **aerial** in Radio Engineering literature, etc. English graphical abbreviations include rather numerous shortened ' variants of Latin and French words and word-groups, e.g.: i.e. (L. id est) — 'that is'; **R.S.V.P.** *(Fr.* — Repondez s'il vous plait) — 'reply please', etc.

Graphical abbreviations are restricted in use to written speech, occurring only in various kinds of texts, articles, books, advertisements, letters, etc. In reading, many of them are substituted by the words and phrases that they represent, e.g. **Dr.** = **doctor, Mr.=mister, Oct.= October,** etc.; the abbreviations of Latin and French words and phrases are usually read as their English equivalents. It follows that graphical abbreviations cannot be considered new lexical vocabulary units.

It is only natural that in the course of language development some graphical abbreviations should gradually penetrate into the sphere of oral intercourse and, as a result, turn into self-contained lexical units used both in oral and written speech. That is the case, for instance, with a.m. ['ei'em] — 'in the morning, before noon'; p.m. ['pi:'em] — 'in the afternoon'; **S.O.S.** ['es 'ou 'es] (=Save Our Souls) — 'urgent call for help', etc.

1. Transformations of word-groups into words involve different types of lexical shortening: ellipsis or substantivisation, initial letter or syllable abbreviations (also referred to as acronyms), blendings, etc.

S u b s t a n t i v i s a t i o n consists in dropping of the final nominal member of a frequently used attributive word-group. When such a member of the word-group is dropped as, for example, was the case with **a documentary film** the remaining adjective takes on the meaning and all the syntactic functions of the noun and thus develops into a new

[1] See 'Semasiology', § 36, p. 42; 'Various Aspects...', § 12, p. 194 — 195, 188

word changing its class membership and becoming homonymous to **the** existing adjective. It may be illustrated by a number of nouns that appeared in this way, e.g. **an incendiary** goes back to **an incendiary bomb, the finals** to **the final examinations, an editorial** to **an editorial article,** etc. Other more recent creations are **an orbital** *(Br.* 'a highway going around the suburbs of a city'), **a verbal** ('a verbal confession introduced as evidence at a trial'), **a topless** which goes to three different word-groups and accordingly has three meanings: 1) a topless dress, bathing suit, etc., 2) a waitress, dancer, etc. wearing topless garments, 3) a bar, night-club featuring topless waitresses or performers.

Substantivisation is often accompanied by productive suffixation as in, e.g., **a one-winger** from one-wing plane, **a two-decker** from **two-deck bus** or **ship;** it may be accompanied by clipping and productive suffixation, e.g. **flickers** *(coll.)* from **flicking pictures, a smoker** from **smoking carriage,** etc.

A c r o n y m s and l e t t e r a b b r e v i a t i o n s are lexical abbreviations of a phrase. There are different types of such abbreviations and there is no unanimity of opinion among scholars whether all of them can be regarded as regular vocabulary units. It seems logical to make distinction between acronyms and letter abbreviations. Letter abbreviations are mere replacements of longer phrases including names of well-known organisations of undeniable currency, names of agencies and institutions, political parties, famous people, names of official offices, etc. They are not spoken or treated as words but pronounced letter by letter and as a rule possess no other linguistic forms proper to words. The following may serve as examples of such abbreviations: **CBW** = chemical and biological warfare, **DOD** = Department of Defence (of the USA), **1TV** = Independent Television, Instructional Television, **SST** = supersonic transport, etc. It should be remembered that the border-line between letter abbreviations and true acronyms is fluid and many letter abbreviations in the course of time may turn into regular vocabulary units. Occasionally letter abbreviations are given 'pronunciation spelling' as for instance **dejay** (= D.J. = disc jokey), **emce** (= M.C. = master of ceremonies) in which case they tend to pass over into true acronyms.

A c r o n y m s are regular vocabulary units spoken as words. They are formed in various ways:

1) from the initial letters or syllables of a phrase, which may be pronounced differently a) as a succession of sounds denoted by the constituent letters forming a syllabic pattern, i.e. as regular words, e.g. **UNO** ['ju:nou] = United Nations Organisations; **NATO** ['neitou] = North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, **UNESCO** [ju:'neskou]; **laser** ['leisa] = = light amplification by stimulated emission of radiation; **radar** ['reidɔ] = =radio detection and ranging; **BMEWS** ['bi:mju:z] = Ballistic Missile Early Warning System; b) as a succession of the alphabetical readings of the constituent letters as in, e.g., **YCL** ['wai'si:'el] = Young Communist League; **BBC** ['bi:'bi:'si:] = British Broadcasting Corporation; **MP** ['em'pi:] = Member of Parliament; **SOS** ['es'ou'es] = Save Our Souls.

2) Acronyms may be formed from the initial syllables of each **word** of the phrase, e.g. **Interpol** = inter/national pol/ice; **tacsatcom** = Tactical Satellite Communications: **Capcom** = Capsule Communicator (the person at a space flight centre who communicates with the astronauts during a space flight).

3) Acronyms may be formed by a combination of the abbreviation of the first or the first two members of the phrase with the last member undergoing no change at all, e.g. **V-day** = Victory Day; **H-bomb** = = hydrogen bomb; **g-force** = gravity force, etc.

All acronyms unlike letter abbreviations perform the syntactical functions of ordinary words taking on grammatical inflexions, e.g. **MPs** (will attack huge arms bill), **M.P's** (concern at . . .). They also serve as derivational bases for derived words and easily collocate with derivational suffixes as, e.g. **YCLer** (= member of the YCL); **MPess** (= woman-member of Parliament); **radarman,** etc.

B l e n d i n g s are the result of conscious creation of words by merging irregular fragments of several words which are aptly called "splinters." [1] Splinters assume different shapes — they may be severed from the source word at a morpheme boundary as in **transceiver** (=transmitter and receiver), transistor (= transfer and resistor) or at a syllable boundary like cute (from *execute)* **in electrocute, medicare** (from *medical care),* **politician** (from *pollute* and *politician)* or boundaries of both kinds may be disregarded as in **brunch** (from *breakfast* and *lunch),* **smog** (from **smoke** and *fog),* **ballute** (from *baloon* and *parachute),* etc. Many blends show some degree of overlapping of vowels, consonants and syllables or echo the word or word fragment it replaces. This device is often used to attain punning effect, as in **foolosopher** echoing **philosopher; icecapade** (= spectacular shows on ice) echoing **escapade; baloonatic** (= baloon and lunatic).

Blends are coined not infrequently in scientific and technical language as a means of naming new things, as trade names in advertisements. Since blends break the rules of morphology they result in original combinations which catch quickly. Most of the blends have a colloquial flavour.

2. **Clipping** refers to the creation of new words by shortening a word of two or more syllables (usually nouns and adjectives) without changing its class membership. Clipped words, though they often exist together with the longer original source word function as independent lexical units with a certain phonetic shape and lexical meaning of their own. The lexical meanings of the clipped word and its source do not as a rule coincide, for instance, **doc** refers only to 'one who practices medicine', whereas **doctor** denotes also 'the higher degree given by a university and a person who has received it', e.g. **Doctor of Law, Doctor of Philosophy.** Clipped words always differ from the non-clipped words in the emotive charge and stylistic reference. Clippings indicate an attitude of familiarity on the part of the user either towards the object denoted or towards the audience, thus clipped words are characteristic of

[1] See *V. Adams.* An Introduction to Modern English Word-Formation, L., 1973.

colloquial speech. In the course of time, though, many clipped words find their way into the literary language losing some of their colloquial colouring. Clippings show various degrees of semantic dissociation from their full forms. Some are no longer felt to be clippings, e.g. **pants (cf. pantaloons), bus (cf. omnibus), bike (cf. bicycle),** etc. Some of them retain rather close semantic ties with the original word. This gives ground to doubt whether the clipped words should be considered separate words. Some linguists hold the view that in case semantic dissociation is slight and the major difference lies in the emotive charge and stylistic application the two units should be regarded as word-variants (e.g. **exam** and **examination, lab** and **laboratory,** etc.).[1]

Clipping often accompanies other ways of shortening such as substantivisation, e.g. **perm** (from *permanent wave),* **op** (from *optical art),* **pop** (from *popular music, art, singer,* etc.), etc.

As independent vocabulary units clippings serve as derivational bases for suffixal derivations collocating with highly productive neutral and stylistically non-neutral suffixes **-ie, -er,** e.g. **nightie (cf. nightdress), panties, hanky (cf. handkerchief).** Cases of conversion are not infrequent, e.g. **to taxi, to perm,** etc.

There do not seem to be any clear rules by means of which we might predict where a word will be cut though there are several types into which clippings are traditionally classified according to the part of the word that is clipped:

1) Words that have been shortened at the end—the so-called a p o c o p e, e.g. **ad** (from *advertisement),* **lab** (from *laboratory),* **mike** (from *microphone),* etc.

2) Words that have been shortened at the beginning—the so-called a p h a e r e s i s, e.g. **car** (from *motor-car),* **phone** (from *telephone),* **copter** (from *helicopter),* etc.

3) Words in which some syllables or sounds have been omitted from the middle—the so-called s y n c o p e, e.g. **maths** (from *mathematics),* **pants** (from *pantaloons),* **specs** (from *spectacles),* etc.

4) Words that have been clipped both at the beginning and at the end, e.g. **flu** (from *influenza),* **tec** (from *detective),* **fridge** (from *refrigerator),* etc.

It must be stressed that acronyms and clipping are the main ways of word-creation most active in present-day English. The peculiarity of both types of words is that they are structurally simple, semantically non-motivated and give rise to new root-morphemes.

§ 10. Borrowing

Borrowing as a means of replenishing the vocabulary of present-day English is of much lesser importance and is active mainly in the field of scientific -terminology. It should be noted that many terms are often made up of borrowed morphemes, mostly morphemes from classical languages.[2]

1) The present-day English vocabulary, especially its terminological layers, is constantly enriched by words made up of morphemes of Latin

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[1] See 'Introduction', § 5, p. 10; 'Various Aspects ...', § 12, p. 196.
[2] See 'Etymological Survey', § 5, p. 164.

and Greek origin such as words with the morphemes **-tron** used chiefly in the field of electronics, e.g. **mesotron, cyclotron, etc.; tele-,** e.g. **telecast, telelecture, telediagnosis, -in,** e.g. **protein, penicillin; -scope,** e.g. **iconoscope, oscilloscope; meta-,** e.g. **meta-culture, metaprogram; para-** meaning 'related to, near', e.g. **paralinguistic, parabiospheric; video-,** e.g. **videodisk, videophone,** etc.

But though these words consist of borrowed morphemes they cannot be regarded as true borrowings because these words did not exist either in the Greek or in the Latin word-stock. All of them are actually formed according to patterns of English word-formation, and many function in Modern English as new affixes and semi-affixes.[1] Words with some of them can be found in the vocabulary of various languages and reflect as a rule the general progress in science and technology.

It is noteworthy that a number of new affixes appeared in Modern English through different types of borrowing. This can be exemplified by the Russian suffix **-nik** which came within the words **sputnik, lunnik** and acquired the meaning of 'one who is connected with something', but which under the influence of **beatnik**[2] acquired a derogatory flavour and is now a slang suffix. It is used to denote 'person who rejects standard social values and becomes a devotee of some fact or idea', e.g. **FOLK-NIK, protestnik, filmnik,** etc. The prefix **mini-** is now currently used with two meanings: a) 'of very small size', e.g. **minicomputer, minicar, mini war, ministate,** and b) 'very short', as in **minidress, minicoat, miniskirt,** etc.; the prefix **maxi-** was borrowed on the analogy of **mini-** also in two meanings: a)'very large', e.g. **maxi-order, maxi-taxi,** and b) 'long, reaching down to the ankle', e.g. **maxicoat, maxi-dress, maxilength.** The suffix **-naut** is found in, **e.g., astronaut, aquanaut, lunarnaut,** etc.

Numerous borrowed root-morphemes remain bound in the vocabulary of Modern English but acquire a considerable derivative force and function as components of a specific group of compounds productive mainly in specialised spheres, e.g. **acoust(o) — acousto-optic, acousto-electronics; ge(o)-, e.g. geowarfare, geoscientist, multi-** e.g. **multi-cultural, multi- directional, multispectral, etc.; cosm(o)-,** e.g. **cosmodrome, cosmonautics, cosmonaut,** etc.

2) There are t r u e b o r r o w i n g s from different languages as well. They, as a rule, reflect the way of life, the peculiarities of development of the speech communities from which they come. From the Russian language there came words like **kolkhoz, Gosplan, Komsomol, udarnik, sputnik, jak,** etc.

The words borrowed from the German language at the time of war reflect the aggressive nature of German fascism, e.g. **Blitzkrieg**[3], **Wehrmacht**[4], **Luftwaffe**[5].

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[1] See *C. Barnhart.* A Dictionary of New English, 1963 — 1972. Longman, 1973. p, 316; see also *Э. М. Медникова, Т. Ю. Каравкина,* op. cit.

[2] See 'Word-Structure', § 3, p. 92.

[3] 'aggressive war conducted with lightning-like speed and force'

[4] 'Germany's armed forces'

[5] 'the air force of the Third Reich'

As most of these words remain unassimilated in present-day English, they are all the time felt as foreign words and tend to drop out from the language.

3) L o a n - t r a n s l a t i o n s also reflect the peculiarities of the way of life of the countries they come from, and they easily become stable units of the vocabulary, e.g. **fellow-traveller, self-criticism, Socialist democracy, Worker's Faculty,** etc. which all come from the Russian language.

§ 1 1 . Semantic Extension Semantic extension of words already available in the language is a powerful source of qualitative growth and development of the vocabulary though it does not necessarily add to its numerical growth; it is only the split of polysemy that results in the appearance of new vocabulary units thus increasing the number of words.[1] In this connection it should be remembered that the border-line between a new meaning of the word and its lexical homonym is in many cases so vague that it is often difficult to state with any degree of certainty whether we have another meaning of the original word or its homonym — a new self-contained word,[2] e.g. in the verb **to sit-in** — 'to join a group in playing cards' and a newly recorded use of **to sit-in** — 'to remain unserved in the available seats in a cafe in protest against Jimcrowism', or 'to demonstrate by occupying a building and staying there until their grievances are considered or until the demonstrators themselves are ejected' — the meanings are so widely apart that they are definitely felt as homonyms. The same may be said about the word **heel** *(sl.)* — 'a traitor, double-crosser' and **heel** — 'the back part of a human foot'. On the other hand, the meaning of the verb **freeze** — 'to immobilise (foreign-owned credits) by legislative measures' and its further penetration into a more general sphere seen in to **freeze** wages and the correlated compound wage-freeze is definitely felt as a mere development of the semantic structure of the verb **(to) freeze.** The semantic connection is felt between the meanings of such words as **hot:** 1) *(mus.)* 'having an elaborate and stimulating jazz rhythm' 2) *(financ.)* 'just isued' and 3) *(sl.)* 'dangerous because connected with some crime' as in the phrase **hot money; to screen** — 'to classify by means of standardised test, to select methodically' (cf. the original meaning of the verb **(to) screen** — 'to separate coal into different sizes', 'to pass through a sieve or screen'). All these meanings may serve as further examples of qualitative growth of Modern English vocabulary.

A great number of new meanings develop in simple words which belong to different spheres of human activity. New meanings appear mostly in everyday general vocabulary, for example a **beehive** — 'a woman's hair style'; **lungs** *(n pl.)* — 'breathing spaces, such as small parks that might be placed in overpopulated or traffic-congested areas'; **a bird** — 'any flying craft'; **a vegetable** — 'a lifeless, inert person'; **clean** *(sl.)* — free from the use of narcotic drugs'; **to uncap** *(sl.)* — 'to disclose, to re-

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[1] The above cited counts show that new meanings of the words already existing in the language and new homonyms account for 1/4 of the total number of new items.

[2] See 'Semasiology', § 4, p. 47 ; 'Various Aspects...', § 12, p. 195 — 196.

veal'. There is a strong tendency in words of specialised and terminological type to develop non-specialised, non-terminological meanings as, for example, the technical term feedback that developed a non-terminological meaning 'a reciprocal effect of one person or thing upon another', **parameter** that developed a new meaning 'any defining or characteristic factor', **scenario** — 'any projected course or plan of action'. It is of interest to note that many new meanings in the sphere of general vocabulary are stylistically and emotively non-neutral and marked as colloquial and slang, for example **juice** *(US sl.)* — 'position, power, influence; favourable standing'; **bread** *(sl.)* — 'money'; **straight** *(sl.)* — 'not deviating from the norm in politics, habits; conventional, orthodox', etc.

On the other hand scientific and technical terminological meanings appear as a result of specialisation as in, e.g., **read** *(genetic)* — 'to decode'; **messenger** — 'a chemical substance which carries or transmits genetic information'.

New terminological meanings also appear as a result of expansion of the sphere of application, i.e. when terms of one branch of science develop new meanings and pass over to other branches, e.g. a general scientific term s y s t e m *(n)* in cybernetics developed the meaning 'anything consisting of at least two interrelated parts'; logic acquired **in** electronics the meaning 'the logical operations performed by a computer by means of electronic circuitry'; **perturbance** in astronomy — 'disturbances in the motions of planets', etc.

It should be noted that new meanings appear not only as a result of semantic development of words but also as a result of semantic development of affixes. Thus, the adjectival prefix a- in such adjectives as **awhir** = *whirring;* **aswivel** = *swivelling;* **aclutter** = *cluttered;* **aglaze** = *glazed* developed a new meaning similar to the meanings of the participles but giving a more vivid effect of the process than the corresponding non-prefixal participles in -ing and -ed.

The prefix **anti-** developed two new meanings: 1) 'belongng to the hypothetical world consisting of the counterpart of ordinary matter', e.g. **anti-matter, anti-world, anti-nucleus,** etc.; 2) 'that which rejects or reverses the traditional characteristics', e.g. **anti-novel, anti-hero, anti-electron,** etc.; the prefix **non-** developed a new meaning 'sham, pretended, pseudo', e.g. **non-book, non-actor, non-policy,** etc.[1]

It follows from the foregoing discussion that the principal ways of enriching the vocabulary of present-day English with new words are various ways of productive word-formation and word-creation. The most active ways of word creation are clippings and acronyms. The semantic development of words already available in the language is the main source of the qualitative growth of the vocabulary but does not essentially change the vocabulary quantitatively.

[1] See C *Barnhart,* op. cit. 194

Linguists call the total word-stock of a language its lexicon or vocabulary. There is a notion that a so-called unabridged dictionary records the unabridged lexicon, that is all the words of the language. But the lexicon of English is open-ended. It is not even theoretically possible to record it all as a closed system. The exact number of vocabulary units in Modern English cannot be stated with any degree of certainty for a number of reasons, the most obvious of them being the constant growth of Modern English word-stock especially technical terms of the sciences which have come to influence our modern society. As one of the American lexicographers aptly puts it we could fill a dictionary the size of the largest unabridged with names of compounds of carbon alone.[1] There are many points of interest closely connected with the problem of the number of vocabulary units in English, but we shall confine ourselves to setting down in outline a few of the major issues:

1) divergent views concerning the nature of vocabulary units and
2) intrinsic heterogeneity of modern English vocabulary.

§ 12. Some Debatable Problems of Lexicology

Counting up vocabulary units we usually proceed from the assumption that the English lexicon comprises not only words but also phraseological units. The term "phraseological unit" however allows of different interpretation.[2] If the term is to be taken as including all types of set expressions, then various lexical items ranging from two-word groups the meaning of which is directly inferred from the meaning of its components, e.g. **to win a victory, to lose one's balance,** etc. to proverbs and sayings, e.g. **It Is the early bird that catches the worm, That is where the shoe pinches,** etc. have to be counted as separate lexical units on a par with individual words. Thus in the case of **to win** a victory we must record three vocabulary units: the verb **to win,** the noun victory and the phraseological unit **to win a victory.** If however we hold that it is only the set expressions functioning as word-equivalents are to be treated as phraseological units, **to win a victory** is viewed as a variable, (free) word-group and consequently must not be counted as a separate lexical item. The results of vocabulary counts will evidently be different.

Another debatable point closely connected with the problem of the number of vocabulary units in English is one of the least investigated problems of lexicology — the border-line between homonymy and polysemy when approached synchronically and divergent views concerning lexico-grammatical homonymy.[3] If identical sound-forms, e.g. **work** *(n)* and **work** *(v)* are considered to be different grammatical and semantic variants of the same word, they are accordingly treated as one word. This conception naturally tends to diminish the total number of

[1] See *Horman A. Estrin* and *Donald V. Mehus,* The American Language in the 1970s, USA, 1974. See also *C. Barnhart,* op. cit.

[2] See 'Word-Groups and Phraseological Units', § 11, p. 74.

[3] See 'Semasiology', §§ 37-39, pp. 43 — 47.

vocabulary units in English. In some cases of lexical homonymy the boundary line between various meanings of one polysemantic word and the meanings of two homonymous words is not sufficiently sharp and clear and allows of different approaches to the problem.[1] Thus, e.g., words like **fly** — 'a two-winged insect' and **fly** — 'a flap of cloth covering the buttons on a garment' may be synchronically treated as two different words or as different meanings of the same word.[2]

Next comes the problem of w o r d a n d w o r d v a r i a n t s . If, for example, we consider the clippings **doc, prof,** etc. as variants of the words **doctor, professor,** etc., we must count **prof** and **professor, doc** and **doctor** as two words having each two variants. If, however, we regard them as different words having each of them its sound-form and 'semantic structure, we shall count them as four separate words.

There is one more point of interest in connection with the problem of the number of words that should be mentioned here. Paradoxical as it may seem a great number of lexical items actually used by English-speaking people cannot practically be counted. These words are usually referred to as "occasional", "potential" or "nonce-words". The terms imply that vocabulary units of this type are created for a given occasion only and may be considered as but "potentially" existing in English vocabulary. They may be used by any member of the speech community whenever the need to express a certain concept arises. These are derived and compound words which are formed on highly productive and active word-building patterns.[3] Some of these word-formation patterns and affixes are so active and productive as "to make even a representative sampling beyond our resources".[4] In fact the suffix **-er**, e.g., may be added to almost any verbal stem to form a noun denoting the agent of the action. If we count up all the words that may be formed in this way, the number of vocabulary units will be considerably magnified.

It is clear from the above that the divergent views concerning the nature of basic vocabulary units cannot but affect the estimate of the size of English vocabulary in terms of exact figures.

§ 13. Intrinsic Heterogeneity of Modern English

Modern English vocabulary is not homogeneous, and contains a number of lexical units which may be considered "non-English" and "not modern". It follows that in estimating the size of vocabulary very much depends on our understanding of the terms mode r n and E n g l i s h . Let us begin with the analysis of the term E n g l i s h v o c a b u l a r y u n i t s . If we compare words of the type **Luftwaffe, regime, garage, sputnik,** we shall see that the borderline between 'non-assimilated' borrowings which make up part of English vocabulary and foreign or alien words is not always sharp and distinct.[5]

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[1] See 'Semasiology', §§ 32-34, pp. 39 — 42.

[2] Compare the different approaches to this word in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary,* 1957 and the *Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English,* 1956.

[3] For illustrative examples see 'Various Aspects...', § 8, p. 184 — 187.

[4] See *C. Barnhart,* op. cit., Explanatory Notes, p. 15.

[5] See 'Etymological Survey ...', §§ 1, 6, 11, pp. 160, 165, 171.

For example, it was already pointed out that the Second World War and fascist aggression gave currency to a number of new lexical items such as **Luftwaffe, Blitzkrieg** and others. Words of that type are distinguished from other neologisms by their peculiar graphic and sound-form. They are felt as "alien" elements in the English word-stock and are used more or less in the same way as words of a foreign language may be used by English speakers.

This also applies to barbarisms. As a rule barbarisms, e.g. **mutatis** mutandis *(L.),* faux pas *(Fr.)* and others, are included even in the comparatively concise dictionaries alongside with English words [1] although it is rather doubtful whether they are really part of the English vocabulary.

The criterion which serves to describe lexical units as belonging to M o d e r n English vocabulary is also rather vague. The point is that profound modifications in the vocabulary of a language are occasioned not only by the appearance and creation of new lexical items but also by the disappearance of certain lexical units.[2] Some words seem gradually to lose their vitality, become obsolete and may eventually drop out of the language altogether. This was the case with the *OE.* **niman** — **'**take'; **ambith** — 'servant' and a number of others. The process being slow and gradual, the border-line between "dead" and "living" words in the English word-stock is not always clearly defined. Such words, e.g., as **welkin, iclept** are scarcely ever used in present-day English but may be found in poetical works of outstanding English poets of the nineteenth century. Can we consider them as non-existing in the Modern English vocabulary? The answer to the question as to the number of lexical units in modern English word-stock will naturally vary depending on the answer given to this particular question.

According to the recent estimates the *OED* contained 414,825 lexical units out of which 52,464 are obsolete words, 9,733 alien words, 67,105 obsolete and variant forms of main words.[3]

§ 14. Number of Vocabulary Items in Actual Use and Number of Vocabulary Units in Modern English

Taking into account the growth of the vocabulary in the last forty years an estimate of 30,000 words in the actual working vocabulary of educated persons today may be considered reasonable though it comprises a number of non-assimilated, archaic and occasional words. It should be pointed out, however, that a considerable number of words are scarcely ever used and the meaning of quite a number of them is unknown to an average educated English layman, e.g. **abalone, abattoir, abele** and the like.[4] It follows that there is a considerable difference between the number of lexical items in Modern English vocabulary and the number of lexical items in actual use. By the phrase "in actual use" we do not imply words and phrases used by any single individual but

[1] See, e. g., *The Concise Oxford Dictionary,* 1957.

[2] See 'Various Aspects ...', § 6, p. 180.

[3] *Clarence L. Barnhart.* Methods and Standards for Collecting Citations for English Descriptive Dictionaries, 1975.

[4] See *The Shorter Oxford Dictionary,* 1957,

the **vocabulary** actually used and understood by the bulk of English-speaking people as a whole at a given historical period. It also follows that not all vocabulary items are of equal practical importance. In this connection it should be recalled that there is a considerable difference between the vocabulary units a person uses and those he understands. According to the data available, the "passive" vocabulary of a "normally educated person" comprises about 30,000 words. At best about 20,000 are actually used in speech. Of these not all the words are equally important.

The relative "value" of lexical items is dependent on how frequently this or that particular unit occurs in speech and on the range of application of these units. 4,000 — 5,000 of most frequently occurring words are presumed to be amply sufficient for the daily needs of an average member of the given speech community. It is obvious that these 4,000 — 5,000 comprise ordinary words which are as a rule polysemantic and characterised by neutral stylistic reference.[1] Specialised vocabulary units (special words and terminology) are naturally excluded.

It should not be inferred from the above that frequency alone is an adequate criterion to establish the most useful list of words. There are, especially in science, words that appear very rarely even in a large corpus, but are central to the "concepts of a whole science.

As is well known terminology in various fields of scientific inquiry comprises many peculiar vocabulary units the bulk of which is made up of Latin or Greek morphemes. Terms possess a number of common features in all European languages. Terms are as a rule used by comparatively small groups of professionals and certainly not by the language community as a whole. Most of them are to a certain extent "international", i.e. understandable to specialists irrespective of their nationality. Compare for example *Russ. зуб — зубы,* English **tooth — teeth** and the corresponding phonetic terms *Russ. дентальный,* Eng. **dental.** Compare also Eng. **radio —** *Russ. радио,* Eng. **electronics** — *Russ. электроника,* etc. Special words and terms make up the bulk of neologisms and the question naturally arises whether terms belong to common English vocabulary items. Nevertheless they are of great importance for those who are working in this or that branch of science or technology.

§ 15. Summary and Conclusions

1. The comparative value and place of the word in the vocabulary system is conditioned by the interdependence of the structural, semantic, stylistic and etymological aspects of the words which is brought out most vividly in the frequency value attached to each word.

2. On the basis of the interrelation of lexical and grammatical types of meaning words fall into two classes: notional words and form words — a numerically small class of words with the highest frequency value.

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[1] Some figures found in Pierre Guiraud's book *Les caractères statistiques du vocabulaire* (Presses Universitaires de France, 1954) may be of interest to language learners. The counts conducted by the author show that out of 20,000 words the first 100 most frequently occurring words make up 60% of any text; 1,000 — 85%; 4,000 — 97,5%, all the rest (about 15,000) - 2,5%.

3. Words of high frequency value are mostly characterised by polysemy, structural simplicity, neutral stylistic reference and emotive charge. They generally belong either to the native words or to the early borrowings which are already fully or almost fully assimilated.

4. Frequency also reflects the interdependence and comparative importance of individual meanings within the word. The basic meaning of the word is at the same time the meaning with the highest frequency value.

5. The development of vocabulary is largely due to the rapid flow of events, the progress of science and technology and emergence of new concepts in different fields of human activity.

6. Distinction should be made between the qualitative growth of the vocabulary as a result of semantic extension of the already available words and the numerical replenishing of vocabulary as a result of appearance of new vocabulary units.

7. There are three principal ways of the numerical growth of vocabulary: a) productive word-formation, b) various non-patterned ways of word creation, c) borrowings.

8. Productive word-formation is the most powerful source of the numerical growth of present-day English vocabulary.

There are various ways of non-patterned word creation. The two main types are lexicalisation and shortening.

9. The two main types of shortening are: a) transformations of word-groups into words which involve substantivisation, acronyms and blendings and b) clippings which consist in a change of the word-structure.

10. Borrowing as a source of vocabulary extension takes the shape of borrowing of morphemes, borrowing of actual words and loan-translations. Especially active nowadays is the formation of new words out of borrowed morphemes.

11. The exact number of vocabulary units in Modern English cannot be stated with any degree of certainty for a number of reasons:

a) Constant growth of Modern English word-stock.

b) Intrinsic heterogeneity of Modern English vocabulary.

c) Divergent views concerning the nature of basic vocabulary units connected with some crucial debatable problems of lexicology: homonymy, polysemy, phraseology, nonce-words.

d) The absence of a sharp and distinct border-line between English and foreign words and between modern and outdated English vocabulary units.

12. There is a considerable difference between the number of vocabulary units in Modern English word-stock and the number of vocabulary items in actual use.

The selection and number of vocabulary items for teaching purposes depends on the aims set before language learners.

VIII. Variants and Dialects of the English Language

To this point we have been dealing with the vocabulary of the English language as if there were only one variety of this language. We shall now turn to the details in which the language of some English speakers differs from that of others, we shall see what varieties of the language in question there are and how they are interconnected.

Every language allows different kinds of variations: geographical or territorial, perhaps the most obvious, stylistic, the difference between the written and the spoken form of the standard national language and others. We shall be concerned here with the territorial variations, the others being the domain of stylistics.

For historical and economic reasons the English language has spread over vast territories. It is the national language of England proper, the USA, Australia, New Zealand and some provinces of Canada. It is the official language in Wales, Scotland, in Gibraltar and on the island of Malta. The English language was also at different times enforced as an official language on the peoples who fell under British rule or US domination in Asia, Africa and Central and South America. The population of these countries still spoke their mother tongue or had command of both languages. After World War II as a result of the national liberation movement throughout Asia and Africa many former colonies have gained independence and in some of them English as the state language has been or is being replaced by the national language of the people inhabiting these countries (by Hindi in India, Urdu in Pakistan, Burmanese in Burma, etc.). though by tradition it retains there the position of an important means of communication.

The role of the English language in these countries is often overrated, apart from other reasons, through not differentiating between the function of the language as a mother tongue and its function as a means of communication between the colonisers and the native population.

THE MAIN VARIANTS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

§ 1. General Characteristics of the English Language in Different Parts of the English-Speaking World

It is natural that the English language is not used with uniformity in the British Isles and in Australia, in the USA and in New Zealand, in Canada and in India, etc. The English language also has some peculiarities in Wales, Scotland, in other parts of the British Isles and America. Is the nature of these varieties the same?

Modern linguistics distinguishes territorial variants of a national language and local dialects. Variants of a language are regional varieties of a standard literary language characterised by some minor peculiarities in the sound system, vocabulary and grammar and by

their own literary norms. Dialects are varieties of a language used as a means of oral communication in small localities, they are set off (more or less sharply) from other varieties by some distinctive features of pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary.

Close inspection of the varieties mentioned above reveals that they are essentially different in character. It is not difficult to establish that the varieties spoken in small areas are local dialects. The status of the other varieties is more difficult to establish.

It is over half a century already that the nature of the two main variants of the English language, British and American (Br and AE) has been discussed. Some American linguists, H. L. Mencken for one, speak of two separate languages with a steady flood of linguistic influence first (up to about 1914) from Britain to America, and since then from America to the British Isles. They even proclaim that the American influence on British English is so powerful that there will come a time when the American standard will be established in Britain.[1] Other linguists regard the language of the USA as a dialect of English.

Still more questionable is the position of Australian English *(AuE)* and Canadian English *(CnE).*

The differences between the English language as spoken in Britain, the USA, Australia and Canada are immediately noticeable in the field of phonetics. However these distinctions are confined to the articulatory-acoustic characteristics of some phonemes, to some differences in the use of others and to the differences in the rhythm and intonation of speech. The few phonemes characteristic of American pronunciation and alien to British literary norms can as a rule be observed in British dialects.

The variations in vocabulary, to be considered below, are not very numerous. Most of them are divergences in the semantic structure of words and in their usage.

The dissimilarities in grammar like *AE* **gotten, proven** for *BE* **got, proved** are scarce. For the most part these dissimilarities consist in the preference of this or that grammatical category or form to some others. For example, the preference of Past Indefinite to Present Prefect, the formation of the Future Tense with **will** as the only auxiliary verb for all persons, and some others. Recent investigations have also shown that the Present Continuous form in the meaning of Future is used twice as frequently in *BE* as in the American, Canadian and Australian variants; infinitive constructions are used more rarely in *AE* than in *BE* and *AuE* and passive constructions are, on the contrary, more frequent in America than in Britain and in Australia.

Since *BE, AE* and *AuE* have essentially the same grammar system, phonetic system and vocabulary, they cannot be regarded as different languages. Nor can they be referred to local dialects; because they serve all spheres of verbal communication in society, within their territorial area they have dialectal differences of their own; besides they differ far less than local dialects (e.g. far less than the dialects of Dewsbury and

[1] It is noteworthy that quite a few prominent American linguists do not share this opinion (e. g. A. S. Baugh, W. N. Francis and others).

Howden, two English towns in Yorkshire some forty miles apart). Another consideration is that *AE* has its own literary norm *and AuE is* developing one. Thus we must speak of three variants of the English national language having different accepted literary standards, one spoken in the British Isles, another spoken in the USA, the third in Australia. As to *CnE,* its peculiarities began to attract linguistic attention only some 20 years ago. The fragmentary nature of the observation available makes it impossible *to* determine *its* status.

§ 2. Lexical Differences of Territorial Variants

Speaking about the lexical distinctions between the territorial variants of the English language it is necessary to point out that from the point of view of their modern currency in different parts of the English-speaking world all lexical units may be divided into g e n e r a l E n g l i s h , those common to all the variants and locally-marked, those specific to present-day usage in one of the variants and not found in the others (i.e. Briticisms, Americanisms, Australianisms, Canadianisms,[1] etc.).

When speaking about the territorial differences of the English language philologists and lexicographers usually *note the fact that* different variants of English use different words for the same objects. Thus in describing the lexical differences between the British and American variants they provide long lists of word pairs like

BE	*AE*
flat -	apartment
underground	subway
lorry	truck
pavement	sidewalk
post	mail
tin-opener	can-opener
government	administration
leader	editorial
teaching staff	faculty

From such lists one may infer that the words in the left column are the equivalents of those given in the right column and used on the other side of the Atlantic. But the matter is not as simple *as that.*

These pairs present quite different cases.

It is only in some rare cases like **tin-opener — can-opener** or **fish-monger — fish-dealer** that the members of such pairs are semantically equivalent.

In pairs like **government — administration**, **leader — editorial** only one lexical *semantic* variant of one of the members is locally-marked. Thus

[1] The terms A m e r i c a n i s m s , A u s t r a l i a n i s m s , and the like met with in literature and dictionaries are also often used to denote lexical units that o r i g i n a t e d in the USA, Australia, etc. These are homonymous terms, therefore in dealing with linguistic literature the reader must be constantly alert to keep them separate. As synchronically the origin of the lexical units is irrelevant to the understanding of the relations between different varieties of the present-day English, we shall adhere to the use of the terms as stated above.

in the first pair the lexical semantic variant of **administration** — 'the executive officials of a government' is an Americanism, **in** the second pair the word **leader** in the meaning of 'leading article in a newspaper' is a Briticism.

In some cases a notion may have two synonymous designations used on both sides of the Atlantic ocean, but one of them is more frequent in Britain, the other — in the USA. Thus in the pairs **post — mail, timetable — shedule, notice — bulletin** the first word is more frequent in Britain, the second — in America. So the difference "here lies only in word-frequency.

Most locally-marked lexical units belong to partial Briticisms, Americanisms, etc., that is they are typical of this or that variant only in one or some of their meanings. Within the semantic structure of such words one may often find meanings belonging to general English, Americanisms and Briticisms, e.g., in the word **pavement,** the meaning 'street or road covered with stone, asphalt, concrete, etc' is an Americanism, the meaning 'paved path for pedestrians at the side of the road' is a Briticism (the corresponding American expression is **sidewalk),** the other two meanings 'the covering of the floor made of flat blocks of wood, stone, etc' and 'soil' *(geol.)* are general English. Very often the meanings that belong to general English are common and neutral, central, direct, while the Americanisms are colloquial, marginal and figurative, e.g. **shoulder** — general English — 'the joint connecting the arm or forelimb with the body', Americanism — 'either edge of a road or highway'.

There are also some full Briticisms, Americanisms, etc., i.e. lexical units specific to the British, American, etc. variant in all their meanings. For example, the words **fortnight, pillar-box** are full Briticisms, **campus, mailboy** are full Americanisms, **outback, backblocks** are full Australianisms.

These may be subdivided into lexical units denoting some realia that have no counterparts elsewhere (such as the Americanism **junior high school)** and those denoting phenomena observable in other English-speaking countries but expressed there in a different way (e.g. **campus** is defined in British dictionaries as 'grounds of a school or college').

The number of lexical units denoting some "realia having no counterparts in the other English-speaking countries is considerable in each variant. To these we may refer, for example, lexical units pertaining to such spheres of life as flora and fauna (e.g. *AuE* **kangaroo, kaola, dingo**, **gum-tree),** names of schools of learning (e.g. **junior high school** and **senior high school** in *AE or* **composite high school** *in CnE),* names of things of everyday life, often connected with peculiar national conditions, traditions and customs (e.g. *AuE* **boomerang,** *AE* **drug-store,** *CnE* **float-house**). But it is not the lexical units of this kind that can be considered distinguishing features of this or that variant. As the lexical units are the only means of expressing the notions in question in the English language some of them have become common property of the entire English-speaking community (as, e.g., **drug-store, lightning rod, super-market, baby-sitter** that extended from *AE,* or the hockey terms that originated

in Canada **(body-check, red-line, puck-carrier,** etc.); others have even become international (as the former Americanisms **motel, lynch, abolitionist, radio, cybernetics, telephone, anesthesia,** or the former Australianisms **dingo, kangaroo** and **cockatoo).**

The numerous locally-marked slangisms, professionalisms and dialectisms cannot be considered distinguishing features either, since they do not belong to the literary language.

Less obvious, yet not less important, are the regional differences of another kind, the so-called derivational variants of words, having the same root and identical in lexical meaning though differing in derivational affixes (e.g. *BE* **acclimate** — *AE* **acclimatize,** *BE* **aluminium** — *AE* **aluminum).**

Sometimes the derivational variation embraces several words of the same word-cluster. Compare, for example, the derivatives of race (division of mankind) in British and American English:

BE **racial/racialist** *a,* **racialist** *n,* **racialism** *n*

AE **racist** ***a,*** **racist** *n,* **racialism/racism** *n*

When speaking about the territorial lexical divergences it is not sufficient to bring into comparison separate words, it is necessary to compare lexico-semantic groups of words or synonymic sets, to study the relations within these groups and sets, because on the one hand a different number of members in a lexico-semantic group is connected with a different semantic structure of its members, on the other hand even insignificant modifications in the semantic structure of a word bring about tangible reshuffle in the structure of the lexico-semantic group to which the word belongs.

For example, the British and Australian variants have different sets of words denoting inland areas: only **inland** is common to both, besides *BE* has **interior, remote,** etc., *AuE* has **bush, outback, backblocks, back of beyond, back of Bourke** and many others.

Accordingly, the semantic structure of the word **bush** and its position in the two variants are altogether different: in *BE* it has one central meaning ('shrub') and several derived ones, some of which are now obsolete, in *AuE* it has two semantic centres ('wood' and 'inland areas') that embrace five main and four derived meanings.

Lexical peculiarities in different parts of the English-speaking world are not only those in vocabulary, to be disposed of in an alphabetical list, they also concern the very fashion of using words. For instance, the grammatical valency of the verb **to push** is much narrower in *AuE,* than in *BE* and *AE* (e.g. in this variant it is not used in the patterns VV_{en}, NV_{en}, NV_{ing}, $NprpV_{ing}$. Some patterns of the verb are typical only of one variant (e.g. NV_{en} and $NprpV_{inf}$ — of *BE, NV* and NV_{ing} — of *AE).* There are also some features of dissimilarity in the word's lexical valency, e.g. a specifically British peculiarity observed in newspaper style is the ability of the verb to be used in combination with nouns denoting price or quality **(to push up prices, rents,** etc.).

As to word-formation in different variants, the word-building means employed are the same and most of them are equally productive. The difference lies only in the varying degree of productivity of some of them

in this or that variant. As compared with the British variant, for example, in the American variant the affixes **-ette, -ee, super-,** as in **kitchenette, draftee, super-market,** are used more extensively; the same is true of conversion and blending (as in **walk-out** — 'workers' strike' from **(to) walk out; (to) major** — 'specialise in a subject or field of study' from the adjective **major; motel** from **motor + hotel,** etc.). **In** the Australian variant the suffixes **-ie/-y** and **-ee**, as well as abbreviations are more productive than in *BE.*

Thus, the lexical distinctions between different variants of English are intricate and varied, but they do not make a system. For the most part they are partial divergences in the semantic structure and usage of some words.

§ 3. Some Points of History of the Territorial Variants and Lexical Interchange Between Them

The lexical divergences between different variants of English have been brought about by several historical processes.

As is well known the English language was brought to the American continent at the beginning of the 17th century and to Australia at the end of the 18th century as a result of the expansion of British colonialism. It is inevitable that on each territory in the new conditions the subsequent development of the language should diverge somewhat from that of British English.

In the first place names for new animals, birds, fishes, plants, trees, etc. were formed of familiar English elements according to familiar English patterns. Such are **mockingbird, bullfrog, catfish, peanut, sweet potato**, **popcorn** that were coined in *AE* or **dogger** — 'professional hunter of dingoes', **Bushman** — 'Australian soldier in Boer War' formed in *AuE.*

New words were also borrowed to express new concepts from the languages with which English came into contact on the new territories. Thus in the American variant there appeared Indian **hickory, moose, racoon,** Spanish **canyon, mustang, ranch, sombrero,** etc.

At the same time quite a number of words lost in *BE* have survived on the other continents and conversely, certain features of earlier *BE* that have been retained in England were lost in the new varieties of the language, changed their meaning or acquired a new additional one.

For example, Chaucer used **to guess** in the meaning of **to think,** so do the present day Americans; the English however abandoned it centuries ago and when they happen to hear it today they are conscious that it is an Americanism. The same is true of the words **to loan** for **to lend, fall** for **autumn, homely** for **ugly, crude,** etc.

The word **barn** designated in Britain a building for storing grain (the word was a compound in Old English consisting of **bere** — 'barley' and **ærn** — 'house'); in *AE* it came also to mean a place for housing stock, particularly cattle. Similarly, **corn** was applied in America to an altogether different cereal (maize) and lost its former general meaning 'grain'. The word **station** acquired the meaning of 'a sheep or cattle ranch', the word **bush** — the meaning of 'wood' and **shrub** *(AuE* **scrub)** — **'**any vegetation but wood' in *AuE.*

Modern times are characterised by considerable levelling of the

lexical distinctions between the variants due to the growth of cultural and economic ties between nations and development of modern means of communication.

For example, a large number of Americanisms have gained currency in *BE,* some becoming so thoroughly naturalised that the dictionaries in England no longer mark them as aliens (e.g. **reliable, lengthy, talented, belittle).** Others have a limited sphere of application (e.g. **fan** — *colloq.* 'a person enthusiastic about a specific sport, pastime, or performer', **to iron out** — 'smooth out, eliminate'). The influx of American films, comics and periodicals resulted in the infiltration of American slang, e.g. **gimmick** — 'deceptive or secret device', **to root** — 'support or encourage a contestant or team, as by applauding or cheering', etc.

Certain uses of familiar words, which some 50 years ago were peculiar to the US, are now either completely naturalised in Britain or evidently on the way to naturalisation. Numerous examples will be found by noting the words and meanings indicated as American in dictionaries at the beginning of the century and in present days.

At the same time a number of Briticisms have passed into the" language of the USA, e.g. **smog** which is a blend of **smoke** and **fog, to brief** — 'to give instructions'. This fact the advocates of the American language theory deliberately ignore. Sometimes the Briticisms adopted in America compete with the corresponding American expressions, the result being the differentiation in meaning or spheres of application, for example, unlike the American **store,** the word **shop,** taken over from across the ocean at the beginning of the 20th century is applied only to small specialised establishments (e.g. **gift shop, hat shop, candy shop),** or specialised departments of a department store (e.g. **the misses' shop).** British **luggage** used alongside American **baggage** in America differs from its rival in collocability **(luggage compartment, luggage rack,** but **baggage car, baggage check, baggage room).** In the pair **autumn — fall** the difference **in** *AE* is of another nature: the former is bookish, while the latter colloquial.

LOCAL VARIETIES IN THE BRITISH ISLES AND IN THE USA

§ 4. Local Dialects in the British Isles

In the British Isles there exist many speech varieties confined to particular areas. These local dialects traceable to Old English dialects may be classified into six distinct divisions: 1) Lowland (Scottish or Scotch, North of the river Tweed),[1] 2) Northern (between the rivers Tweed and Humber), 3) Western, 4) Midland and 5) Eastern (between the river Humber and the Thames), 6) Southern (South of the Thames). Their sphere of application is confined to the oral speech of the rural population in a locality and only the Scottish dialect can be said to have a literature of its own with Robert Burns as its greatest representative.

[1] The Scottish dialect of the English language is to be distinguished from the Scottish tongue, which is a Celtic language spoken in the Highlands.

Offsprings of the English national literary language, the British local dialects are marked off from the former and from each other by some phonetic, grammatical and lexical peculiarities. In this book we are naturally concerned only with the latter.

Careful consideration of the national and the dialect vocabularies discloses that the most marked difference between them lies in the limited character of the dialect vocabularies. The literary language contains many words not to be found in dialects, among them technical and scientific terms.

Local lexical peculiarities, as yet the least studied, are most noticeable in specifically dialectal words pertaining to local customs, social life and natural conditions: **laird** — 'landed proprietor in Scotland', **burgh** — 'Scottish chartered" town', **kirk** — 'church', **loch** — 'Scottish lake or landlocked arm of the sea', etc. There are many names of objects and processes connected with farming, such as the names of agricultural processes, tools, domestic animals and the like, e.g. **galloway** — 'horse of small strong breed from Galloway, Scotland', **kyloe** — 'one of small breed of long-horned Scotch cattle', **shelty** — 'Shetland pony'. There is also a considerable number of emotionally coloured dialectal words, e.g. *Scot,* **bonny** — 'beautiful, healthy-looking', **braw** — 'fine, excellent', **daffy** — 'crazy, silly', **cuddy** — 'fool, ass', **loon** — 'clumsy, stupid person'.

In addition, words may have different meanings in the national language and in the local dialects, e.g. in the Scottish dialect the word to call is used in the meaning of 'to drive', **to set** — 'to suit', **short** — 'rude', **silly** — 'weak', etc.

Dialectal lexical differences also embrace word-building patterns. For instance, some Irish words contain the diminutive suffixes **-an**, **-een, -can**, as in **bohaun** — 'cabin' (from Irish **both** — 'cabin'); **bohereen** — 'narrow road' (from Irish **bothar** — 'road'); **mearacaun** — 'thimble' (from Irish **mear** — 'finger'); etc. Some of these suffixes may even be added to English bases, as in **girleen, dogeen, squireen (squirrel**), etc. Some specifically dialectal derivatives are formed from standard English stems with the help of standard English affixes, e.g. *Scot.* **flesher** — 'butcher', **suddenty** — 'suddenness'.

A great number of words specifically dialectal appeared as a result of intense borrowing from other languages, others are words that have disappeared from the national literary language or become archaic, poetical, such as **gang** — 'go', *OE* занзан; **bairn** — 'child', *OE* **bearn**, etc. Thus, the lexical differences between the English national language and its dialects are due to the difference in the spheres of application, different tempoes of development, different contacts with other peoples, and deliberate elaboration of literary norms.

§ 5. The Relationship Between the English National Language and British Local Dialects

The local dialects in Britain are sharply declining in importance at the present time; they are being obliterated by the literary language. This process is twofold. On the one hand, lexical units of the literary language enter local dialects, ousting some of their words and expressions. On the other hand, dialectal words penetrate into the

national literary language. Many frequent words of common use are dialectal in origin, such as **girl, one, raid, glamour,** etc. Some words from dialects are used as technical terms or professionalisms in the literary language, e.g. the Scotch **cuddy** — 'ass' is used in the meaning of jack-screw and **lug** — 'ear' in the meaning of handle.

Dialect peculiarities (phonetical, grammatical, but mainly lexical) modify in varying degrees the language spoken in different parts of Britain. These speech-forms are called regional variants of the national language and they are gradually replacing the old local dialects. It should be noted that the word dialect is used in two meanings nowadays: to denote the old dialects which are now dying away, and to denote the regional variants, i.e. a literary standard with some features from local dialects.

The most marked difference between dialects and regional variants in the field of phonetics lies in the fact that dialects possess phonemic distinctions, while regional variants are characterised by phonetic distinctions. In matters of vocabulary and grammar the difference is in the greater number and greater diversity of local peculiarities in the dialects as compared with the regional variants.

§ 6. Local Dialects in the USA

The English language in the United States is characterised by relative uniformity throughout the country. One can travel three thousand miles without encountering any but the slightest dialect differences. Nevertheless, regional variations in speech undoubtedly exist and they have been observed and recorded by a number of investigators.

The following three major belts of dialects have so far been identified, each with its own characteristic features: Northern, Midland and Southern, Midland being in turn divided into North Midland and South Midland.

The differences in pronunciation between American dialects are most apparent, but they seldom interfere with understanding. Distinctions in grammar are scarce. The differences in vocabulary are rather numerous, but they are easy to pick up. Cf., e.g., Eastern New England **sour-milk cheese**, Inland Northern **Dutch cheese**, New York City pot cheese for Standard American **cottage cheese** *(творог).*

The American linguist O. F. Emerson maintains that American English had not had time to break up into widely diverse dialects and he believes that in the course of time the American dialects might finally become nearly as distinct as the dialects in Britain. He is certainly greatly mistaken. In modern times „dialect divergence cannot increase. On the contrary, in the United States, as elsewhere, the national language is tending to wipe out the dialect distinctions and to become still more uniform.

Comparison of the dialect differences in the British Isles and in the USA reveals that not only are they less numerous and far less marked in the USA, but that the very nature of the local distinctions is different. What is usually known as American dialects is closer in nature to regional variants of the literary language. The problem of discriminating between literary and dialect speech patterns in the USA is much more

complicated than in Britain. Many American linguists point out that American English differs from British English in having no one locality whose speech patterns have come to be recognised as the model for the rest of the country.

§ 7. Summary and Conclusions

1. English is the national language of England proper, the USA, Australia and some provinces of Canada. It was also at different times imposed on the inhabitants of the former and present British colonies and protectorates as well as other Britain- and US-dominated territories, where the population has always stuck to its own mother tongue.

2. British English, American English and Australian English are variants of the same language, because they serve all spheres of verbal communication. Their structural peculiarities, especially morphology, syntax and word-formation, as well as their word-stock and phonetic system are essentially the same. American and Australian standards are slight modifications of the norms accepted in the British Isles. The status of Canadian English has not yet been established.

3. The main lexical differences between the variants are caused by the lack of equivalent lexical units in one of them, divergences in the semantic structures of polysemantic words and peculiarities of usage of some words on different territories.

4. The so-called local dialects in the British Isles and in the USA are used only by the rural population and only for the purposes of oral communication. In both variants local distinctions are more marked in pronunciation, less conspicuous in vocabulary and insignificant in grammar.

5. The British local dialects can be traced back to Old English dialects. Numerous and distinct, they are characterised by phonemic and structural peculiarities. The local dialects are being gradually replaced by regional variants of the literary language, i. e. by a literary standard with a proportion of local dialect features.

6. Local variations in the USA are relatively small. What is called by tradition American dialects is closer in nature to regional variants of the national literary language.

IX. Fundamentals of English Lexicography

Lexicography, the science, of dictionary-compiling, is closely connected with lexicology, both dealing with the same problems — the form, meaning, usage and origin of vocabulary units — and making use of each other's achievements.

On the one hand, the enormous raw material collected in dictionaries is widely used by linguists in their research. On the other hand, the principles of dictionary-making are always based on linguistic fundamentals, and each individual entry is made up in accordance with the current knowledge and findings of scholars in the various fields of language study. The compiler's approach to various lexicological problems (such as homonymy, phraseological units, etc.) always finds reflection in the selection and arrangement of the material.

MAIN TYPES OF ENGLISH DICTIONARIES

§ 1. Encyclopaedic and Linguistic Dic-

There are many different types of English dictionaries. First of all they may all be roughly divided into two groups — e n c y c l o p a e d i c and l i n g u i s t i c .

The two groups of reference books differ essentially in the choice of items included and in the sort of information given about them. Linguistic d i c t i o n a r i e s are word-books, their subject' matter is lexical units and their linguistic properties such as pronunciation, meaning, peculiarities of use, etc. T h e e n c y c l o p a e d i c d i c t i o n a r i e s , the biggest of which are sometimes called simply encyclopaedias are t h i n g - books, that give information about the extra-linguistic world, they deal with concepts (objects and phenomena), their relations to other objects and phenomena, etc.

It follows that the encyclopaedic dictionaries will never enter items like father, go, that, be, if, black, but only those of designative character, such as names for substances, diseases, plants and animals, institutions, terms of science, some important events in history and also geographical and biographical entries.

Although some of the items included in encyclopaedic and linguistic dictionaries coincide, such as the names of some diseases, the information presented in them is altogether different. The former give much more extensive information on these subjects. For example, the entry influenza in a linguistic dictionary presents the word's spelling and pronunciation, grammar characteristics, synonyms, etc. In an encyclopaedia the entry influenza discloses the causes, symptoms, characteristics and varieties of this disease, various treatments of and remedies for it, ways of infection, etc.

Though, strictly speaking, it is with linguistic dictionaries that lexicology is closely connected and in our further consideration we

shall be concerned with this type of reference books only, it may be useful for students of English to know that the most well-known encyclopaedias in English are *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (in 24 volumes) and *The Encyclopedia Americana* (in 30 volumes). Very popular in Great Britain and the USA are also *Collier's Encyclopedia* (in 24 vols) intended for students and school teachers, *Chamber's Encyclopaedia* (in 15 vols) which is a family type reference book, and *Everyman's Encyclopaedia* (in 12 vols) designed for all-round use.

Besides the general encyclopaedic dictionaries there are reference books that are confined to definite fields of knowledge, such as *The Oxford Companion to English Literature, Oxford Companion to Theatre, Cassell's Encyclopaedia of World Literature,* etc.

There are also numerous 'dictionaries presenting information about notable persons (scientists, writers, kings, presidents, etc.) often called *Who's Who* dictionaries.

As concept and word-meaning are closely bound up the encyclopaedic and linguistic dictionaries often overlap. Encyclopaedias sometimes indicate the origin of the word, which belongs to the domain of linguistics. On the other hand, there are elements of encyclopaedic character in many linguistic dictionaries. Some of these are unavoidable. With terms, for instance, a lexicographic definition of meaning will not differ greatly from a short logical definition of the respective concept in encyclopaedic dictionaries. Some dictionary-compilers include in their word-lists such elements of purely encyclopaedic nature as names of famous people together with their birth and death dates or the names of major cities and towns, giving not only their correct spelling and pronunciation, but also a brief description of their population, location, etc.

For practical purposes it is important to know that American dictionaries are characterised by encyclopaedic inclusion of scientific, technical, geographical and bibliographical items whereas it is common practice with British lexicographers to exclude from their dictionaries information of this kind to devote maximum space to the linguistic properties of words.

§ 2. Classification of Linguistic Dic-

Thus a linguistic dictionary is a book of words in a language, usually listed alphabetically, with definitions, pronunciations, etymologies and other linguistic information or with their equivalents in another language (or other languages).

Linguistic dictionaries may be divided into different categories by different criteria. According to the nature of their word-list we may speak about g e n e r a l d i c t i o n a r i e s, on the one hand, and restricted, on the other. The terms g e n e r a l and r e s t r i c t e d do not refer to the size of the dictionary or to the number of items listed. What is meant is that the former contain lexical units in ordinary use with this or that proportion of items from various spheres of life, while the latter make their choice only from a certain part of the word-stock, the restriction being based on any principle determined by the compiler. To r e s t r i c t e d d i c t i o n a r i e s belong

terminological, phraseological, dialectal word-books, dictionaries of new words, of foreign words, of abbreviations, etc.

As to the information they provide all linguistic dictionaries fall into those presenting a wide range of data, especially with regard to the 'semantic aspect of the vocabulary items entered (they are called explanatory) and those dealing with lexical units only in relation to some of their characteristics, e.g. only in relation to their etymology or frequency or pronunciation. These are termed specialised dictionaries.

Dictionaries with the same nature of word-lists may differ widely in the kind of information they afford, and the other way round, dictionaries providing data of similar nature may have a different kind of word-list. For example, dictionaries of u n r e s t r i c t e d word-lists may be quite different in the type of information they contain (explanatory, pronouncing, etymological, ideographic, etc.), terminological dictionaries can also be explanatory, parallel, ideographic, presenting the frequency value of the items entered, etc. On the other hand, translation dictionaries may be general in their word-list, or terminological, phraseological, etc. Frequency dictionaries may have general and terminological word-lists.

All types of dictionaries, save the translation ones, may be m o n o - l i n g u a l or b i l i n g u a l , i.e. the information about the items entered may be given in the same language or in another one.

Care should be taken not to mix up the terms m o n o l i n g u a l and e x p l a n a t o r y , on the one hand, and b i l i n g u a l and t r a n s l a t i o n dictionaries on the other. The two pairs of terms reflect different dimensions of dictionaries. The terms m o n o l i n g u a l and b i l i n g u a l * pertain to the language in which the information about the words dealt with is couched. The terms e x p l a n a t o r y and t r a n s l a t i o n dictionaries characterise the kind of information itself.

Thus among dictionaries of th3 same type, say phraseological or terminological, we may find both monolingual and bilingual word-books. For example, *Kluge's Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* is bilingual, but it is not its purpose to supply translation of the items entered.

It is important to realise that no dictionary, even the most general one, can be a general-purpose word-book, each one pursues a certain aim, each is designed for a certain set of users. Therefore the selection of material and its presentation, the language in which it is couched depend very much upon the supposed users, i.e. whether the dictionary is planned to serve scholarly users or students or the general public.

Thus to characterise a dictionary one must qualify it at least from the four angles mentioned above: 1) the nature of the word-list, 2) the information supplied, 3) the language of the explanations, 4) the prospective user.

Below we shall give a brief survey of the most important types of English dictionaries, both published in English-speaking countries and at home. We shall first dwell on the dictionaries that are u n r e s t r i c t - e d in their word-lists and general in the information they contain, —

on explanatory and translation dictionaries, — presented by the greatest number of word-books, then deal with word-books of restricted word-lists and with specialised dictionaries and after that with a special group of reference books, the so-called learner's dictionaries.

§ 3. Explanatory Dictionaries Out of the great abundance of linguistic dictionaries of the English language a large group is made up of the so-called e x p l a n a t o r y d i c t i o n a r i e s,[1] big and small, compiled in English-speaking countries. These dictionaries provide information on all aspects of the lexical units entered: graphical, phonetical, grammatical, semantic, stylistic, etymological, etc.

Most of these dictionaries deal with the form, usage and meaning of lexical units in Modern English, regarding it as a stabilised system and taking no account of its past development. They are synchronic in their presentation of words as distinct from diachronic, those concerned with the development of words occurring within the written history of the language. For instance, the *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* commonly abbreviated in *NED* and its abridgement *The Shorter Oxford Dictionary on Historical Principles (SOD)* coyer the history of the English vocabulary from the days of King Alfred down to the present time; they are diachronic, whereas another abridgement of the *NED* — the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English (COD)* as well as H. C. Wyld's *Universal Dictionary of the English Language* are synchronic. Other series of authoritative synchronic explanatory dictionaries are Webster dictionaries, the Funk and Wagnalls (or Standard) dictionaries and the Century dictionaries.

It should be noted that brief remarks of historical and etymological nature inserted in dictionaries like the *COD* do not make them diachronic. Moreover, dictionaries of a separate historical period, such as *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* by J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, *Stratmann's Middle English Dictionary* by H. Bradley, which are sometimes called historical, cannot be strictly speaking referred to diachronic wordbooks. They do not trace the evolution of the language, but study a synchronic c r o s s - s e c t i o n, i.e. the words of a historical period are regarded from a synchronic angle.

§ 4. Translation Dictionaries T r a n s l a t i o n d i c t i o n a r i e s (sometimes also called parallel) are wordbooks containing vocabulary items in one language and their equivalents in another language. Many English-Russian and Russian-English dictionaries have been made in our country to meet the demands of language students and those who use English in their work. The most representative translation dictionaries for English are the *New English-Russian Dictionary* edited by Prof. I. R. Galperin, the *English-Russian Dictionary* by Prof. V. K. Müller and *The Russian-English Dictionary* under prof. A. I. Smirnitsky's general direction.

[1] It is common practice to call such word-books English-English dictionaries. But this label cannot be accepted as a term for it only points out that the English words treated are explained in the same language, which is typical not only of this type of dictionaries (cf. synonym-books).

Phraseological dictionaries in England and America have accumulated vast collections of idiomatic or colloquial phrases, proverbs and other, usually image-bearing word-groups with profuse illustrations. But the compilers' approach is in most cases purely empiric. By phraseology many of them mean all forms of linguistic anomalies which transgress the laws of grammar or logic and which are approved by usage. Therefore alongside set-phrases they enter free phrases and even separate words.[1] The choice of items is arbitrary, based on intuition and not on any objective criteria. Different meanings of polysemantic units are not singled out, homonyms are not discriminated, no variant phrases are listed.

An Anglo-Russian Phraseological Dictionary by A. V. Koonin published in our country has many advantages over the reference books published abroad and can be considered the first dictionary of English phraseology proper. To ensure the highest possible cognitive value and quick finding of necessary phrases the dictionary enters phrase variants and structural synonyms, distinguishes between polysemantic and homonymic phrases, shows word- and form-building abilities of phraseological units and illustrates their use by quotations.

New Words dictionaries have it as their aim adequate reflection of the continuous growth of the English language.

There are three dictionaries of neologisms for Modern English. Two of these (Berg P. *A Dictionary of New Words in English,* 1953; Reifer M. *Dictionary of New Words,* N. Y., 1955) came out in the middle of the 50s and are somewhat out-of-date. The third *(A Dictionary of New English. A Barnhart Dictionary,* L., 1973) is more up-to-date.

The Barnhart Dictionary of New English covers words, phrases, meanings and abbreviations which came into the vocabulary of the English language during the period 1963 — 1972. The new items were collected from the reading of over half a million running words from US, British and Canadian sources — newspapers, magazines and books.

Dictionaries of slang contain elements from areas of substandard speech such as vulgarisms, jargonisms, taboo words, curse-words, colloquialisms, etc.

The most well-known dictionaries of the type are *Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* by E. Partridge, *Dictionary of the Underworld: British and American, The American Thesaurus of Slang* by L. V. Berry & M. Den Bork, *The Dictionary of American Slang* by H. Wentworth and S. B. Flexner.

Usage dictionaries make it their business to pass judgement on usage problems of all kinds, on what is right or wrong. Designed for native speakers they supply much various information on such usage problems as, e.g., the difference in meaning between words like **comedy, farce and burlesque, illusion** and **delusion, formality** and formalism, the proper pronunciation of words like **foyer, yolk, nonchalant,** the plural forms of the nouns flamingo, radix,

[1] E. g. *A Desk-Book of Idioms and Idiomatic Phrases* by F. N. Vizetelly and L. G. De Bekker includes such words as **cinematograph, dear, (to) fly, halfbaked,** etc.

commander-in-chief, the meaning of such foreign words as **quorum, quadroon, quattrocento,** and of such archaic words as **yon**, **yclept**, and so forth. They also explain what is meant by neologisms, archaisms, colloquial and slang words and how one is to handle them, etc.

The most widely used usage guide is the classic *Dictionary of Modern English Usage* by N. W. Fowler. Based on it are *Usage and Abusage,* and *Guide to Good English* by E. Partridge, *A Dictionary of American English Usage* by M. Nicholson, and others. Perhaps the best usage dictionary is *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Usage* by B. Evans and C. Evans. (N. Y., 1957).

D i c t i o n a r i e s of w o r d - f r e q u e n c y inform the user as to the frequency of occurrence of lexical units in speech, to be more exact in the "corpus of the reading matter or in the stretch of oral speech on which the word-counts are based.

Most frequency dictionaries and tables of word frequencies published in English-speaking countries were constructed to make up lists of words considered suitable as the basis for teaching English as a foreign language, the so-called basic vocabulary. Such are, e.g., the E. Throndike dictionaries and M. West's *General Service List.*

Other frequency dictionaries were designed for spelling reforming, for psycholinguistic studies, for an all-round synchronic analysis of modern English, etc.

In the 50s — 70s there appeared a number of frequency dictionaries of English made up by Soviet linguo-statisticians for the purposes of automatic analysis of scientific and technical texts and for teaching-purposes (in non-language institutions).

A R e v e r s e d i c t i o n a r y is a list of words in which the entry words are arranged in alphabetical order starting with their final letters.

The original aim of such dictionaries was to indicate words which form rhymes (in those days the composition of verse was popular as a very delicate pastime). It is for this reason that one of the most well-known reverse dictionaries of the English language, that compiled by John Walker, is called *Rhyming Dictionary of the English Language.* Nowadays the fields of application of the dictionaries based on the reverse order (back-to-front dictionaries) have become much wider. These word-books are indispensable for those studying the frequency and productivity of certain word-forming elements and other problems of word-formation, since they record, in systematic and successive arrangement, all words with the same suffixes and all compounds with the same terminal components. Teachers of English and textbook compilers will find them useful for making vocabulary exercises of various kinds. Those working in the fields of language and information processing will be supplied with important initial material for automatic translation and programmed instruction using computers.

P r o n o u n c i n g d i c t i o n a r i e s record contemporary pronunciation. As compared with the phonetic characteristics of words given by other dictionaries the information provided by pronouncing dictionaries is much more detailed: they indicate variant pronunciations

(which are numerous in some cases), as well as the pronunciation of different grammatical forms.

The world famous *English Pronouncing Dictionary* by Daniel Jones, is considered to provide the most expert guidance on British English pronunciation. The most popular dictionary for the American variant is *A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English* by J. S. Kenyon and T. A. Knott.

E t y m o l o g i c a l d i c t i o n a r i e s trace present-day words to the oldest forms available, establish their primary meanings and give the parent form reconstructed by means of the comparative-historical method. In case of borrowings they point out the immediate source of borrowing, its origin, and parallel forms in cognate languages.

The most authoritative of these is nowadays the newly-published *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* edited by C. T. Onions.

Quite popular is the famous *Etymological English Dictionary* by W. W. Skeat compiled at the beginning of the century and published many times.

I d e o g r a p h i c d i c t i o n a r i e s designed for English-speaking writers, orators or translators seeking to express their ideas adequately contain words grouped by the concepts expressed.

The world famous ideographic dictionary of English is P. M. Roget's *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases.*

Besides the most important and widely used types of English dictionaries discussed above there are some others, of which no account can be taken in a brief treatment like this (such as synonym-books, spelling reference books, hard-words dictionaries, etc.).

SOME BASIC PROBLEMS OF DICTIONARY-COMPILING

To get maximum efficiency from dictionaries, to secure all the information afforded by them it is useful to have an insight into the experience of lexicographers and some of the main problems underlying their work.

The work at a dictionary consists of the following main stages: the collection of material, the selection of entries and their arrangement, the setting of each entry.

At different stages of his work the lexicographer is confronted with different problems. Some of these refer to any type of dictionary, others are specific of only some or even one type. The most important of the former are 1) the selection of lexical units for inclusion, 2) their arrangement, 3) the setting of the entries, 4) the selection and arrangement (grouping) of word-meanings, 5) the definition of meanings, 6) illustrative material, 7) supplementary material.

§ 6. The Selection of Lexical Units for Inclusion

It would be a mistake to think that there are big academic dictionaries that list everything and that the shorter variants are mere quantitative reductions from their basis. In reality only a dictionary of a dead language or a certain historical period of a living language or a word-book presenting the language of some author (called concordance) can be complete as

far as the repertory of the lexical units recorded in the preserved texts goes. As to living languages with new texts constantly coming into existence, with an endless number of spoken utterances, no dictionary of reasonable size could possibly register all occasional applications of a lexical unit, nor is it possible to present all really occurring lexical items. There is, for instance, no possibility of recording all the technical terms because they are too numerous and their number increases practically every day (chemical terminology alone is said to consist of more than 400,000 terms). Therefore selection is obviously necessary for all dictionaries.

The choice of lexical units for inclusion in the prospective dictionary is one of the first problems the lexicographer faces.

First of all the type of lexical units to be chosen for inclusion is to be decided upon. Then the number of items to be recorded must be determined. Then there is the basic problem of what to select and what to leave out in the dictionary. Which form of the language, spoken or written or both, is the dictionary to reflect? Should the dictionary contain obsolete and archaic units, technical terms, dialectisms, colloquialisms, and so forth?

There is no general reply to any of these questions. The choice among the different possible answers depends upon the type to which the dictionary will belong, the aim the compilers pursue, the prospective user of the dictionary, its size, the linguistic conceptions of the dictionary-makers and some other considerations.

Explanatory and translation dictionaries usually record words and phraseological units, some of them also include affixes as separate entries. Synonym-books, pronouncing, etymological dictionaries and some others deal only with words. Frequency dictionaries differ in the type of units included. Most of them enter graphic units, thus failing to discriminate between homographs (such as **back** *n,* **back** *adv,* **back** *v)* and listing inflected forms of the same words (such as **go, gone, going, goes)** as separate items; others enter words in accordance with the usual lexicographic practice; still others record morphemes or collocations.

The number of entries is usually reduced at the expense of some definite strata of the vocabulary, such as dialectisms, jargonisms, technical terms, foreign words and the less frequently used words (archaisms, obsolete words, etc.).

The policy settled on depends to a great extent on the aim of the dictionary. As to general explanatory dictionaries, for example, diachronic and synchronic word-books differ greatly in their approach to the problem. Since the former are concerned with furnishing an account of the historical development of lexical units, such dictionaries as *NED* and *SOD* embrace not only the vocabulary of oral and written English of the present day, together with such technical and scientific words as are most frequently met with, but also a considerable proportion of obsolete, archaic, and dialectal words and uses. Synchronic explanatory dictionaries include mainly common words in ordinary present-day use with only some more important archaic and technical words. Naturally the bigger the dictionary, the larger is the measure of peripheral words,

the greater the number of words that are so infrequently used as to be mere museum pieces.

In accordance with the compiler's aim the units for inclusion are drawn either from other dictionaries or from some reading matter or from the spoken discourse. For example, the corpus from which the word frequencies are derived may be composed of different types of textual material: books of fiction, scientific and technical literature, newspapers and magazines, school textbooks, personal or business letters, interviews, telephone conversations, etc.

Because of the difference between spoken and written language it is to be remembered in dealing with word-books based on printed or written matter that they tend to undervalue the items used more frequently in oral speech and to overweight the purely literary items.

§ 7. Arrangement of Entries

The order of arrangement of the entries to be included is different in different types of dictionaries and even in the word-books of the same type. In most dictionaries of various types entries are given in a single alphabetical listing. In many others the units entered are arranged in nests, based on this or that principle.

In some explanatory and translation dictionaries, for example, entries are grouped in families of words of the same root. In this case the basic units are given as main entries that appear in alphabetical order while the derivatives and the phrases which the word enters are given either as subentries or in the same entry, as run-ons that are also alphabetised. The difference between subentries and run-ons is that the former do include definitions and usage labels, whereas run-on words are not defined as meaning is clear from the main entry (most often because they are built after productive patterns).

Compare, for example, how the words **despicable** and **despicably** are entered in the two dictionaries:

COD **despicable,** *a.* Vile, contemptible Hence
— LY[2] *adv.*

WNWD **despicable** *adj.* that is or should be despised;
contemptible. **despicably** *adv.* in a despicable
manner

In synonym-books words are arranged in synonymic sets and its dominant member serves as the head-word of the entry.

In some phraseological dictionaries, e.g. in prof. Koonin's dictionary, the phrases are arranged in accordance with their pivotal words which are defined as constant non-interchangeable elements of phrases.

A variation of the cluster-type arrangement can be found in the few frequency dictionaries in which the items included are not arranged alphabetically. In such dictionaries the entries follow each other in the descending order of their frequency, items of the same frequency value grouped together.

Each of the two modes of presentation, the alphabetical and the cluster-type, has its own advantages. The former provides for an easy finding of any word and establishing its meaning, frequency value, etc. The latter requires less space and presents a clearer picture of the

relations of each unit under consideration with some other units in the language system, since words of the same root, the same denotational meaning or close in their frequency value are grouped together.

Practically, however, most dictionaries are a combination of the two orders of arrangement. In most explanatory and translation dictionaries the main entries, both simple words and derivatives, appear in alphabetical order, with this or that measure of run-ons, thrown out of alphabetical order.

If the order of arrangement is not strictly alphabetical in synonym-books and phraseological dictionaries, very often an alphabetical index is supplied to ensure easy handling of the dictionary.

Some frequency dictionaries, among them nearly all those constructed in our country, contain two parts with both types of lists.

§ 8. Selection and Arrangement of Meanings

One of the most difficult problems nearly ' all lexicographers face is recording the word-meanings and arranging them in the most rational way, in the order that is supposed to be of most help to those who will use the dictionary.

If one compares the general number of meanings of a word in different dictionaries even those of the same type, one will easily see that their number varies considerably.

Compare, for example, the number and choice of meanings in the entries for **arrive** taken from *COD* and *WCD* given below[1]. As we see, *COD* records only the meanings current at the present moment, whereas *WCD* also lists those that are now obsolete.

The number of meanings a word is given and their choice in this or that dictionary depend, mainly, on two factors: 1) on what aim the compilers set themselves and 2) what decisions they make concerning the extent to which obsolete, archaic, dialectal or highly specialised meanings should be recorded, how the problem of polysemy and homonymy is solved, how cases of conversion are treated, how the segmentation of different meanings of a polysemantic word is made, etc.

It is natural, for example, that diachronic dictionaries list many more meanings than synchronic dictionaries of current English, as they record not only the meanings in present-day use, but also those that have already become archaic or gone out of use. Thus *SOD* lists eight meanings of the word **arrive** (two of which are now obsolete and two are archaic), while *COD* gives five.

Students sometimes think that if the meaning is placed first in the entry, it must be the most important, the most frequent in present-day use. This is not always the case. It depends on the plan followed by the compilers.

There are at least three different ways in which the word meanings are arranged: in the sequence of their historical development (called h i s t o r i c a l o r d e r), in conformity with frequency of use that is with the most common meaning first (e m p i r i c a l or a c t u a l o r d e r) , and in their logical connection (l o g i c a l o r d e r) .

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[1] See p. 223

In different dictionaries the problem of arrangement is solved in different ways. It is well-accepted practice in Soviet lexicography to follow the historical order in diachronic dictionaries and to adhere to the empirical and logical order in synchronic word-books.

As to dictionaries published in English-speaking countries, they are not so consistent in this respect. It is natural that diachronic dictionaries are based on the principle of historical sequence, but the same principle is also followed by some synchronic dictionaries as well (e.g. by *NID* and some other Webster's dictionaries).

In many other dictionaries meanings are generally organised by frequency of use, but sometimes the primary meaning comes first if this is considered essential to a correct understanding of derived meanings. For example, in the *WCD* entry for **arrive** given below[1] it is the primary, etymological meaning that is given priority of place, though it is obsolete in our days.[2]

§ 9. Definition of Meanings

Meanings of words may be defined in different ways: 1) by means of definitions that are characterised as encyclopaedic, 2) by means of descriptive definitions or paraphrases, 3) with the help of synonymous words and expressions, 4) by means of cross-references.

Encyclopaedic definitions as distinct from descriptive definitions determine not only the word-meaning, but also the underlying concept.

COD **coal** *ft.* **1.** Hard opaque black or blackish mineral or vegetable matter found in seams or strata below earth's surface and used as fuel and in manufacture of gas, tar, etc. ANTHRACITE, BITUMINOUS COAL, LIGNITE; ...

Synonymous definitions consist of words or word-groups with nearly equivalent meaning, as distinct from descriptive definitions which are explanations with the help of words not synonymous with the word to be defined.

For example, in the two entries for **despicable** given above *COD* defines the word-meaning with the help of synonyms, while *WNWD* uses both descriptive and synonymous definitions.

Reference to other words as a means of semantisation can be illustrated with the following examples taken from *COD:*

defense. See defence **decre-**
scendo. = diminuendo

It is the descriptive definitions that are used in an overwhelming majority of entries. While the general tendency is the same, words belonging to different parts of speech and to different groups within them have their own peculiarities. Encyclopaedic definitions are typical of nouns, especially proper nouns and terms. Synonyms are used most

[1] See p. 223.

[2] See also a detailed comparison of the entries for the word **anecdote** in four dictionaries made by Mathews (Readings in English Lexicology, pp. 196-201).

often to define verbs and adjectives. Reference to other words is resorted to define some derivatives, abbreviations and variant forms.

Apart from the nature of the word to be defined the type of definitions given preference depends on the aim of the dictionary and its size. For instance encyclopaedic definitions play a very important role in unabridged dictionaries (especially those published in America); in middle-size dictionaries they are used for the most part to define ethnographic and historical concepts. Synonymous definitions play a secondary role in unabridged dictionaries where they are used as an addition to descriptive or encyclopaedic definitions, and are much more important in shorter dictionaries, probably because they are a convenient means to economise space.

§ 10. Illustrative Examples

It is common knowledge that all dictionaries save those of a narrowly restricted purpose, such as, e.g., frequency dictionaries, spelling books, etymological, pronouncing, ideographic or reverse dictionaries, provide illustrative examples.

• The purpose of these examples depends on the type of the dictionary and on the aim the compilers set themselves. They can illustrate the first and the last known occurrences of the entry word, the successive changes in its graphic and phonetic forms, as well as in its meaning, the typical patterns and collocations, the difference between synonymous words, they place words in a context to clarify their meanings and usage.

When are illustrative examples to be used? Which words may be listed without illustrations? Should illustrative sentences be made up, or should they always be quotations of some authors? How much space should be devoted to illustrative examples? Which examples should be chosen as typical?

Those are some of the questions to be considered.

In principle only some technical terms that are monosemantic can, if precisely defined, be presented without examples even in a large dictionary. In practice, however, because of space considerations this is not the case. It is natural that the bigger the dictionary the more examples it usually contains. Only very small dictionaries, usually of low quality, do not include examples at all.

As to the nature of examples, diachronic dictionaries make use of quotations drawn from literary sources, while in synchronic dictionaries quoted examples are preferred by big dictionaries, in middle-size dictionaries illustrative sentences and phrases drawn from classical and contemporary sources or those constructed by the compilers are employed.

The form of the illustrative quotations can differ in different dictionaries; the main variation can be observed in the length of the quotation and in the precision of the citation.

Some dictionaries indicate the author, the work, the page, verse, or line, and (in diachronic dictionaries) the precise date of the publication, some indicate only the author, because it gives at least basic orientation about the time when the word occurs and the type of text.

It is necessary to stress the fact that word-meanings can be explained

not only with the help of definitions and examples but also by means of showing their collocability (lexical and grammatical valency [1]), especially their typical collocability.

§ 1 1 . Choice of Adequate Equivalents

One of the major problems in compiling translation dictionaries and other bilingual word-books is to provide adequate translation' of vocabulary items or rather to choose an adequate equivalent in the target language.

According to Acad. L. V. Sčerba, translation dictionaries that do not give due attention to delimitation of word-meaning cannot ensure real mastery of foreign words. The compilation of such dictionaries must be based on systematic and detailed contrastive studies of the languages dealt with. Only this will enable the lexicographer to decide what parts of their vocabularies diverge and thus require special attention in translation.

Speaking of scientific methods in compiling translation dictionaries we pay a tribute to Prof. A. I. Smirnitsky and Prof. I. R. Galperin who following the principles of the Russian school of lexicographers (D. N. Ushakov, L. V. Sčerba, V. V. Vinogradov) made a valuable contribution to Soviet lexicography, particularly bilingual lexicography, and made useful innovations. *The Russian-English Dictionary* under Prof. Smirnitsky's general direction and the *New English-Russian Dictionary* edited by Prof. I. R. Galperin differ from other word-books of their kind on account of wider and more profound information that is supplied both about the vocabulary items entered and their translations; more attention than usual is given to the way words are combined in speech, to their emotional and stylistic overtones, etc.

Conveying the meaning of a lexical unit in the target language is no easy task as the semantic structures of related words in different languages are never identical,[2] which is observable in any pair of languages. The lack of isomorphism is not limited to the so-called "culture-bound words" only but also to most other lexical units.

The dictionary-maker is to give the most exact equivalent in *the* target language. Where there is no equivalent, to achieve maximum accuracy in rendering the meanings to be entered the compiler may either describe the meaning with an explanation, much similar to the definition of an explanatory dictionary but worded in the other language, or resort to transliteration. Very often enumeration of equivalents alone does not supply a complete picture of the semantic volume of this or that word, so a combination of different means of semantisation is necessary.

§ 12. Setting of the Entry

Since different types of dictionaries differ in their aim, in the information they provide, in their size, *etc.,* they of necessity differ in the structure and content of the entry.

The most complicated type of entry is that found in explanatory dictionaries.

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[1] See 'Word-Groups', § 2, p. 66.
[2] See 'Semasiology', § 26, p. 33.

In explanatory dictionaries of the synchronic type the entry usually presents the following data: accepted spelling and pronunciation; grammatical characteristics including the indication of the part of speech of each entry word, the transitivity and intransitivity of verbs and irregular grammatical forms; definitions of meanings; modern currency; illustrative examples; derivatives; phraseology; etymology; sometimes also synonyms and antonyms.

By way of illustration we give the entry for the word **arrive** from *COD.* **arrive',** v.i. Come to destination (lit. & fig.) or end of journey *(at*

> Bath, *in* Paris, *upon scene, at* conclusion); (as Gallicism) establish one's repute or position; (of things) be brought; (of time) come; (of events) come about. (f. OF *ariver* f. L. L. *arribare* f. L. *ADripare* come to shore *(ripa)).*

The compilers of a dictionary of the same type may choose a different setting of a typical entry: they may omit some of the items or add some others, choose a different order of their arrangement or a different mode of presenting the same information.

Compare, e.g., the entry for the same word **arrive** from *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary.*

ar·rive /ă-riv'/, *v.i.* [O. F. *ariver,* deriv. of L. *ad* to + *ripa* shore, bank]. 1. *Obs.* To come to the shore. 2. To reach a place; as, to *arrive* at home. 3. To gain an object; attain a state by effort, study, etc.; as, to *arrive* at a conclusion. 4. To come; — said of time. 5. To attain success or recognition.

Syn. Arrive, come. Arrive implies more definitely than come the attainment of a destination.

— *v.t. Archaic.* To reach; come to.

As we see in *COD* the pronunciation of the word is given without respelling, only with the help of the stress mark (which it is important for practical purposes to know is placed at the end of the stressed syllable); in *WCD* the word is transcribed in full in special phonetic notation; besides in this word-book syllabification is indicated both in the graphic- and sound-forms of the word. Etymology is placed at the end of the entry in *COD* and at the beginning in *WCD.*

The two entries also differ in other respects. E.g., *WCD* provides synonymy, obsolete and archaic *meanings,* whereas *COD* gives more attention to the use of prepositions; the number of illustrative phrases is greater in *COD* than in *WCD;* in *COD* the meanings are separated with semi-colons, while in *WCD* they are all numbered.

A typical entry in diachronic explanatory dictionaries will have some specific features. Apart from the chronological arrangement of meanings and illustrative quotations to present the historical sense development, the etymology of the word is accorded an exhaustive treatment, besides a distinguishing feature of such reference books is the dates accompanying each word, word-meaning and quotation that indicate the time of its first registration or, if the word or one of its meanings is obsolete, the time of its last registration.

See, for example, the presentation of two meanings of the verb **arrive** in *SOD* (the sign + =obsolete, the dash — before the date indicates the time of the last publication):

arrive ...+3. To bring, convey — 1667. 4. *intr.* To come to the end of a journey, to some definite place, upon the scene. Const. *at, in, upon, + into, + to.* ME. *transf.* Of things 1651.

It should be noted in passing that the dates that are often interpreted as the time of the word's (or one of its meaning's) appearance or disappearance in the language are in fact their earliest known occurrences, since the still earlier records might not have been examined by the staff collecting the material for the dictionary and the word might be current in oral speech a long time before it came to occur in print.

In other types of dictionaries the content and structure of the entry will be altogether different. Compare, for instance, the four entries for **arrive** taken from a translation and a frequency dictionaries, from an etymological and pronouncing word-books:

The Dictionary edited by I. R. Galperin:

arrive [a'raiv] *v* 1. (at, in, upon) прибывать, приезжать; to~ in London прибыть в Лондон; the police ~d upon the scene на место происшествия прибыла полиция; to ~ punctually [tardily, in good time] прибыть точно [с опозданием, вовремя]; sold "to ~" *ком.* к прибытию *(условие сделки при продаже товара, находящегося в пути); 2.* (at) 1) достигать *(чего-л.),* приходить *(к чему-л.);* to ~ at understanding достигнуть взаимопонимания; to ~ at a decision принять решение; to ~ at a conclusion прийти к заключению. ..

The General Service List by M. West:

arrive, *v* 532 (1) Arrive home, in London
Arrive at an age when ... 74%
(2)The parcel has arrived
The time has arrived when... 11%
(3)Arrive at a conclusion... 12%

(The count is to be read as follows: In a count of 5 million running words the word **arrive** occurred 532 times. In 74% of these occurrences it had the first meaning, in 11% — the second, etc.).

Oxford Etymological Dictionary:

arrive [arэiv] + bring or come to shore, land XIII; come to the end of a journey, a goal, etc. XIV; + reach (a port, etc.) XVI; + come to pass XVII. — OF. *ariver* (mod. *arriver* arive, happen) = **Pr.** *aribar,* Sp. *arribar:* — Rom. **arripare* come to land, f. *ad AR+ripo* shore (cf. RIVER). Formerly sometimes inflected+ *arove*, +*ariven;* cf. STRIVE.

Jones' Dictionary:

arriv/e, -s, -ing, -ed; -al/s э'raiv, -z, iŋ, -d, -эl/z **arrogan/ce, -cy, -t/ly** 'ærэgen/s [-roug-, -rug-], -si, -t/li

ascertain, -s, -ing, -ed, -ment; -able æsɔ'tein [-sɔ:'t-], -z, -iŋ, -d, -mɔnt; -ɔbl

Sometimes the entries for the same word will look quite different in dictionaries of the same type. Thus the setting of the entry varies in different books of synonyms depending upon the practical needs of the intended users. Some word-books enumerate synonyms to each meaning of the head-word to help the user recall words close in meaning that may have been forgotten. Other word-books provide discriminating synonymies, i.e. they explain the difference in semantic structure, use and style, and show how each synonym is related to, yet differs from all the others in the same group.

Compare:

Admission, n. 1. Admittance, introduction, access, entrance, initiation, entrée. 2. Allowance, avowal, concession, acknowledgement, assent, acceptance.
(Soule R. *A Dictionary of English Synonyms and Synonymous Expressions.)*

ADMISSION, ADMITTANCE

ADMISSION, for being allowed to enter (usually a place), is the commonly used word, and it has today almost entirely displaced ADMITTANCE, which is now restricted to a few idiomatic uses, e.g. "No admittance except on business".

(Collins V. H. *The Choice of Words. A Book of Synonyms with Explanations)*

§ 13. Structure of the Dictionary

When the selection of the dictionary entries, the contents and structure of the entries, their order of arrangement etc. are decided upon, the lexicographer is to settle upon this or that structure of the dictionary.

In spite of the great variety of linguistic dictionaries their composition has many features in common. Nearly all of them may be roughly divided into three unequal parts.

Apart from the dictionary proper, that make up the bulk of the word-book, every reference book contains some separate sections which are to help the user in handling it — an *Introduction* and *Guide* to the use' of the dictionary. This prefatory matter usually explains all the peculiarities of the word-book, it also contains a key to pronunciation, the list of abbreviations used and the like.

It is very important that the user of a dictionary should read this prefatory matter for this will enable him to know what is to be found in the word-book and what is not, will help him locate words quickly and easily, and derive the full amount of information the dictionary affords.

Appended to the dictionary proper there is some supplementary material valuable for language learners and language teachers. This material may be divided into one of linguistic nature, pertaining to vocabulary, its development and use, and the other pertaining to matters distinctly encyclopaedic. In explanatory dictionaries the appendixes

of the first kind usually include addenda or/and various word-lists: geographical names, foreign words and expressions, forenames, etc., record new meanings of words already entered and words that have come into existence since the compilation of the word-book. The educational material may include a list of colleges and universities, special signs and symbols used in various branches of science, tables of weights and measures, etc.

In translation dictionaries supplementary material is in some respects different from that in explanatory dictionaries, e.g. the Russian-English dictionary referred to above does not only include a list of geographical names, standard abbreviations pertaining to the public, political, economic and industrial life, but also contains the rules of English and Russian pronunciation as well as brief outlines of English and Russian grammar.

LEARNER'S DICTIONARIES AND SOME PROBLEMS OF THEIR COMPILATION

§ 14. Main Characteristic Features of Learner's Dictionaries

Nowadays practical and theoretical learner's lexicography is given great attention to, especially in our country. Lexicographers, linguists and methods specialists discuss such problems as the classification of learner's dictionaries,[1] the scope of the. word-list for learners at different stages of advancement, the principles of word selection, etc.

In the broad sense of the word the term l e a r n e r ' s d i c t i o n a r i e s might be applied to any word-book designed as an aid to various users, both native and foreign, studying a language from various angles. Thus, we might refer to this group of word-books such reference books as *Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon* by H. Sweet, the numerous school-level or college-level dictionaries for native speakers, the numerous spelling-books, etc. By tradition the term is confined to dictionaries specially compiled to meet the demands of the learners for whom English is not their mother tongue. It is in this sense that we shall use the term further on.

These dictionaries differ essentially from ordinary academic dictionaries, on the one hand, and from word-books compiled specially for English and American schoolchildren and college students, on the other hand.

Though foreign language learners and children speaking the same language as their mother tongue have both imperfect command of English, it is obvious that the needs and problems of the two groups of dictionary users are altogether different. A foreign adult student of

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[1] See, e.g., the discussion "What should a learner's dictionary be like?" on the pages of the magazine «Русский язык за рубежом», also «Вопросы учебной лексикографии» под ред. П. Н. Денисова и Л. А. Новикова, М., 1969.

English even at a moderately advanced stage of learning will have pitfalls and needs of his own: among the other things he may have difficulties with the use of the most "simple" words (such as **play, wipe),** he may not know the names for commonest things in everyday life (such as **oatmeal, towel, rug)** and he will experience in this or that degree interference of his mother tongue.

On the one hand, we have users who for the most part have command of the language, who have fluent speech habits, since this language is their mother tongue; they need guidance as to which of the usage they come across is correct. On the other hand, we have users that have a limited vocabulary and no speech habits or very weak ones and who have stable speech habits in another language which is their native tongue and these native speech habits interfere with the foreign ones. That is why these users must be given thorough instruction in how the words are to be used and this instruction must be given against the background of the learners' native language.

That is why the word-lists and the sort of directions for use for the benefit of the foreign adult learners of English must differ very widely (if not fundamentally) from those given to English or American schoolchildren.

Hence the word-books of this group are characterised by the following features:

1) by their strictly limited word-list, the selection of which is based on carefully thought over scientific principles;
2) the great attention given to the functioning of lexical units in speech;
3) a strong prescriptive, normative character;
4) by their compilation with the native linguistic background in view.

§ 15. Classification of Learner's Dictionaries

Learner's dictionaries may be classified in accordance with different principles, the main of which are: 1) the scope of the word-list and 2) the nature of the information afforded.

From the point of view of the scope (volume) of the word-list they fall into two groups. Those of the first group contain all lexical units that the prospective user may need, in the second group only the most essential and important words are selected. To the first group we can refer A. S. Hornby's *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (50,000 lexical units) and M. West's *International Reader's Dictionary* (about 24,000 units); to the second group — *A Grammar of English Words* by H. Palmer (1,000 words), and *The English-Russian Learner's Dictionary* by S. K. Folomkina and H. M. Weiser (3,500 units).

As to the information afforded by learner's dictionaries lexicographers and methodologists seem to have agreed that there should be a whole series of them. There must be a group of dictionaries presenting different aspects of the vocabulary: showing mainly the semantic structure of words (explanatory), presenting the syntagmatic relations between words (dictionaries of collocations), providing information: about the word's structure (derivational), supplying synonymous and antonymous words, etc.

Another grouping of dictionaries reflects the practice of teaching different aspects of speech. The word-books having as their goal the ability to read scientific and technical literature in a foreign language will need a vast word-list ensuring adequate comprehension of written speech. Teaching oral speech habits requires a dictionary that contains a selected list of a c t i v e words explained from the point of view of their use.

Since learners of different linguistic background will have different pitfalls in mastering the same language, will need different directions for use, different restrictive remarks, each pair of languages requires its own dictionaries, dictionaries based on a contrastive study of the learner's native tongue and the language to be learned.[1]

In this connection it must be said that Hornby's dictionary, with all its merits and advantages, has an essential demerit — it does not take into account the user's linguistic background, so it cannot foresee and prevent the possible language problems of this or that national group of English learners.

Not long ago Soviet lexicographers came to the opinion that separate reference books are called for teachers and learners. As far as dictionaries of English go, perhaps the first attempts at producing dictionaries for teachers are the reference books *Adjectival Collocations* and *Verbal Collocations.*

Those are the main types of dictionaries considered necessary to ensure the process of foreign language teaching. As to the present state of learner's lexicography, it may be characterised as just coming into being, as the already existing dictionaries are few in number and they do not make a system, rather some separate links of a system.

As to the information they provide they may be divided into two groups: those giving equal attention to the word's semantic characteristics and the way it is used in speech (these may be called learner's dictionaries proper) and those concentrating on detailed treatment of the word's lexical and grammatical valency (dictionaries of collocations).

To learner's dictionaries proper issued in English-speaking countries we may refer, for example, *The Progressive English Dictionary* and *An English Reader's Dictionary* by A. S. Hornby and E. C Parnwell designed for beginners, as well as *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* by A. S. Hornby and *The New Horizon Ladder Dictionary of the English Language* by J. R. Shaw with J. Shaw for more advanced students.

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English by A. Hornby has achieved international recognition as a most valuable practical reference book to English as a foreign language. It contains 50,000 units and is compiled on the basis of *COD* to meet the needs of advanced foreign learners of English and language teachers. It aims among other things at giving detailed information about the grammatical and partly lexical valency of words.

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[1] We are now speaking about the nature of information, not the language it is couched in. Thus we may imagine several Anglo-Russian dictionaries, each designed for a separate group of learners with a different linguistic background.

The New Horizon Ladder Dictionary includes 5000 of the most frequently used words in written English. It is called *Ladder Dictionary* because the words are divided in it into five levels or ladder rungs of approximately 1000 each, according to the frequency of their use (a figure in brackets attached to each word shows to which thousand the word belongs).

Compiled in our country is the *English-Russian Dictionary of Most Commonly Used Words* prepared by V. D. Arakin, H. M. Weiser and S. K. Folomkina under Prof. I. V. Rakhmanov's direction. This is a vocabulary minimum of 3250 words, typical word-groups and phraseological units selected for active mastery in Soviet secondary school.

The Learner's English-Russian Dictionary by S. Folomkina and H. Weiser does not, strictly speaking, belong to the group of dictionaries under consideration, as it is designed for use by English-speaking students of the Russian language, but is helpful as well when learning English. It contains about 3500 words.

The word-books given above differ in many respects: they are either monolingual or polylingual, they provide different information, they differ in the kind of the intended user (learners of the English language who have reached different stages in the course of their studies, adults or children of different linguistic background — English-speaking learners of Russian) and in aim (an aid to oral speech — the development of reading and writing skills) and in other features. However these dictionaries have some traits in common that distinguish them from the word-books considered in the preceding sections. They all aim at teaching how to speak, write, etc., while the tendency in modern English lexicography is not to prescribe as to usage, but to record what is actually used by speakers.

Dictionaries of collocation contain words which freely combine with the given head-word. The few reference books of this kind known to us belong to the pen of foreign compilers. For example, A. Reum's *Dictionary of English Style* is designed for the Germans, *Kenkyusha's New Dictionary of English Collocations* is intended for the Japanese, *Adjectival Collocations in Modern English* by T. S. Gorelik and *Verbal Collocations in Modern English* by R. Ginzburg, S. Khidekel, E. Mednikova and A. Sankin are designed for Russian school teachers and students of English.

Each of the two dictionaries of collocations prepared by Soviet linguists presents the collocability of 375 words that are used in Soviet school text-books. The presentation of the word's grammatical and lexical valency is based on identical principles.

§ 16. Selection of Entry Words

Compilers of learner's dictionaries have to tackle the same cardinal problems as those of ordinary explanatory and translation dictionaries, but they often solve them in their own way, besides they have some specific policies to settle on to meet the needs of language learners to whom the book will be addressed.

The common purpose of learner's dictionaries is to give information on what is currently accepted usage, besides most compilers seek to choose

the lexical units that foreign learners of English are likely to need. Therefore not only are obsolete, archaic and dialectal words excluded, but" also technical and scientific terms, substandard words and phrases, etc. Colloquial and slang words as well as foreign words of common occurrence in English are included only if they are of the sort likely to be met by students either in reading or in conversation. Moreover some of the common words may be omitted if they are not often encountered in books, newspapers, etc. or heard over the radio and in conversation.

Space is further saved by omitting certain derivatives and compounds the meaning of which can be easily inferred.

Alternative spellings and pronunciations are avoided, only the more accepted forms are listed.

Various criteria have been employed in choosing words for learner's dictionaries. In the first place the selection of words is based on the frequency principle.

Frequency value, an important characteristic of lexical units, is closely connected with their other properties. That is why the word-counts enable the compiler to choose the most important, the most frequently used words.

However many methodologists and compilers of learner's dictionaries have a tendency to exaggerate the significance of the frequency criterion. The research done in different countries (in our country and in France, for example) has shown that the frequency tables, helpful 'as they are in the compilation of a vocabulary minimum, do not in themselves present the vocabulary minimum. While it is indisputable that every high-frequency word is useful, it is not every useful word that is frequent (e.g. **carrots, fork, stamp,** etc.). Consequently frequency cannot be the only point to be considered in selecting items for learner's dictionaries as well as for other teaching materials. It must be complemented by some other principles, such as the words' collocability, stylistic reference, derivational ability, semantic structure, etc.[1]

§ 17. Presentation of Meanings

The order of arrangement of meanings followed in learner's dictionaries is usually empiric, that is beginning with the main meaning to minor ones. Besides the following principles of arrangement are considered proper for language learners: literal uses before figurative, general uses before special, common uses before rare and easily understandable uses before difficult. Each of these principles is subject to the limitation "other things being equal" and all are subject to the principle that that arrangement is best for any word which helps the learners most.

E.g. in Hornby's entry for **commit** the first meaning is 'perform' (a crime, foolish act, etc.) and its primary meaning 'entrust' is given as its second meaning.

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[1] In the dictionary under Prof. I. V. Rakhmanov's direction the choice of words is based upon three main principles: 1) combinability, 2) lack of stylistic limitations, 3) semantic value, and four additional principles: 1) word-building ability, 2) polysemy, 3) syntactical valency, 4) frequency.

But this is not always the case. For instance, the first meaning of the word **revolution** given by Hornby is 'act of revolving or journeying round' and not 'complete change, great reversal of conditions, esp. in methods of government', which is more common nowadays. Thus the compilers preserve the historical order of meanings in this case.

In monolingual learner's dictionaries the same types of definitions are used, as in ordinary monolingual explanatory word-books, but their proportion is different. Encyclopaedic definitions are usually used more rarely, the role of descriptive definitions is much greater.

Compare, for instance, the definition for **coal** taken from the *Ladder Dictionary* with that from *COD* given above.[1]

coal *n*. a black, hard substance that burns and gives off heat.

It would be wrong to think however that the definitions in learner's dictionaries are always less complete than in the dictionaries designed for native users. More often than not these definitions are not so condensed in form and they are more complete in content, because the compilers have to make up for the user's possible inadequacy in command of the language and lack of knowledge of some realia.

Compare, for example the two entries for **prep** given below:

COD II[2] (abbr **prep)** preparation of lessons as part of school routine;
OALD [U][3] (colloq abbr *prep)* (time given to) preparing lessons or writing exercises, after normal school hours (esp at GB public or grammar schools): *two hours' prep; do one's French prep;*

In learner's dictionaries cross-references are for the most part reduced to a minimum.

Compilers of learner's dictionaries attach great importance to the language in which the definition is couched, the goal being to word them in the simplest terms that are consistent with accuracy. Some compilers see to it that the definitions are couched in language which is commoner and more familiar to the language learner than the words defined.

Some lexicographers select a special defining vocabulary held to be the commonest words in English or those first learnt by foreigners. For example, in the *International Reader's Dictionary* the word-list of 24,000 items is defined within a vocabulary of 1490 words selected by M. West.

In some learner's dictionaries pictorial material is widely used as a means of semantisation of the words listed. Pictures cannot only define the meanings of such nouns as **dike, portico, domes, columns, brushes,** etc., but sometimes also of adjectives, verbs and adverbs.

E.g. in Hornby's dictionary, the definitions of the adjective **concentrated,** the verb **clasp** and the adverb **abreast** are illustrated with the pictures of concentrated circles, clasped hands, and boys walking three abreast.

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[1] See 'Fundamentals of English Lexicography', § 9, p. 220.
[2] The parallel bars in *COD* = *not* US.
[3] U = uncountable

The structure and content of the entry in learner's dictionaries also have some peculiar features. Chief among these is marked attention to the ways words are used in speech, e.g. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* points out which nouns, and in which of their meanings, can be used with the indefinite articles (the symbols [C] and [U] stand for "countable" and "uncountable"). It also indicates the patterns in which verbs can be used. They are presented with the help of the abbreviation VP and the number of the pattern preceding the definition of each meaning. All the patterns are listed in *A Summary of the Verb Patterns.* The dictionary also gives information of a more detailed character about the lexical valency of words. Sets of words with which the head-word may combine as well as illustrative examples taken from everyday language are given, e.g.

ar·rive /э'raiv/ *vi* [VP2A, C, 3A] 1 reach a place, esp the end of a journey: *~ home, ~ at a port, ~ in harbour.* 2. come: *At last the day ~ d. Her baby ~d* (= was born) *yesterday.* 3. [VP3A] ~ **at**, reach (a decision, a price, the age of 40, manhood, etc) 4 [VP2A] establish one's position or reputation: *The flood of fan mail proved he'd ~d.*

Each dictionary has its own specific features. For instance, in the *Learner's English-Russian Dictionary* there is no indication of the patterns the English word is used in. Designed for English learners of Russian the dictionary provides Russian equivalents for all meanings with the stress indicated in each word and translation of all examples, indicates the types of conjugation of Russian verbs. See the entry from the dictionary given below:

arrive [э'raiv] приезжать (64),[1] *perf* приéхать (71); the delegation will ~ on Wednesday делегация приедет в среду; what time do we ~? в котором часу мы приедем? ... when I ~d home they were already there когда я приёхал(а) домой, они уже были там.

In dictionaries of collocations the setting of the entry assumes **a** different shape. See, for example, the entry for **arrive** taken from the *Verbal Collocations:*

arrive [э'raiv] I[2] [come to a place]; ~ at some time (unexpectedly, early, late, safely, next week, at last, *etc.)* приезжать, прибывать *в какое-л. время;* the train (the steamer, the plane, *etc.)* has~ d поезд (пароход *и т. д.)* прибыл, пришел; your friend (his son *etc.)* has ~d твой друг (его сын *и т. д.)* приехал /прибыл/; a parcel has ~d посылка пришла;

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[1] The numbers in brackets indicate the number of the table presenting the type of conjugation of the Russian verb.

[2] The black-faced Roman numbers indicate the pattern in which the word can be used.

I I I . [see I]; ~ with /by/ smth (with a train, with a steamer, by the six o'clock train, by aeroplane, *etc.)* прибывать *чём-л.;* ~ on smth (on horseback, on one’s bicycle, *etc.)* приезжать *на чём-л.;* ~ at some time (on time, just at the right moment, on Monday, on March 3rd, at six o'clock, before /after/ dark, before /after/ smb, *etc.)* прибывать *когда-л.;* ~ somewhere (at a small station, at a village in England, in a city, in London, in harbour, *etc.)* прибывать *куда-л.;* 2. [reach, attain]; ~ at smth (at a goal, at perfection, *etc.)* достигать *чего-л.;* ~ at smth (at a conclusion, at a correct result, at an opinion, at an understanding, *etc.)* приходить к *чему-л.;* ~ at a decision принимать решение.

The supplementary matter in learner’s dictionaries, besides that usually found in general dictionaries, may include other reference material necessary for language learners. For instance, *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* includes not only lists of irregular verbs, common abbreviations, geographical names, etc., but also common forenames listed with their pet names, numerical expressions giving help in the reading, speaking and writing of numbers and expressions which contain them, the works of William Shakespeare and even ranks in the Armed Forces of GB and US.

§ 19. Summary and Conclusions

1. The numerous linguistic dictionaries of the English language may be grouped by the following criteria: 1) the nature of their word-list, 2) the information they contain, 3) the language of the explanations, 4) the intended user.

2. The most important problems the lexicographer faces are: 1) the selection of items for inclusion and their arrangement, *2)* the setting of the entries, 3) the selection, arrangement and definition of meanings, 4) the illustrative examples to be supplied, and 5) the supplementary material. The choice among the possible solutions depends upon the type to which the dictionary will belong, the aim the compilers pursue, the prospective user of the dictionary, the linguistic conceptions of the dictionary-maker, etc.

3. Designed for foreign learners of English, learner’s dictionaries are characterised by their strictly limited word-list, the great attention given to the functioning of lexical units in speech and their strong perspective orientation.

X. Methods and Procedures of Lexicological Analysis

It is commonly recognised that acquaintance with at least some **of** the currently used procedures of linguistic investigation is of considerable importance both for language learners and for prospective teachers as it gives them the possibility to observe how linguists obtain answers to certain questions and is of help in the preparation of teaching material. It also helps language learners to become good observers of how language works and this is the only lasting way to become better users of language.

The process of scientific investigation may be subdivided into several stages. O b s e r v a t i o n is an early and basic, phase of all modern scientific investigation, including linguistic, and is the centre of what is called the inductive method of inquiry.

The cardinal role of all inductive procedures is that statements of fact must be based on o b s e r v a t i o n , not on unsupported authority, logical conclusions or personal preferences. Besides, linguists as a rule largely confine themselves to making factual statements, i.e. statements capable of objective verification. In other words a linguist assumes that a question cannot be answered unless there are procedures by which reliable and verifiable answers can be obtained.

The next stage after observation is c l a s s i f i c a t i o n or orderly arrangement of the data obtained through observation. For example, it is observed that in English nouns the suffixal morpheme **-er** is added to verbal stems **(speak** + **-er, writ(e)** + **-er,** etc.), noun stem's **(village + -er, London** + **-er,** etc.), and that **-er** also occurs in non-derived words such as **mother, father,** etc. Accordingly all the nouns in **-er** may be classified into two types — derived and simple words and the derived words may be subdivided into two groups according to their stems. It should be pointed out that at this stage the application of different methods of analysis is common practice.[1]

The following stage is usually that of g e n e r a l i s a t i o n , i.e. the collection of data and their orderly arrangement must eventually lead to the formulation of< a generalisation or hypothesis, rule, or law.

In our case we can formulate a rule that derived nouns in -er may have either verbal or noun stems. The suffix **-er** in combination with adjectival or adverbial stems cannot form nouns (cf. **(to) dig** — **digger** but **big** — **bigger).**

Moreover, the difference in the meaning of the suffixal nouns observed by the linguist allows him to infer that if **-er** is added to verbal stems, the nouns thus formed denote an active doer — **teacher, learner,** etc., whereas when the suffix **-er** is combined with noun-stems the words denote residents of a place or profession (e.g. **villager, Londoner).**

[1] See 'Word-Structure', §§ 7-9, pp. 96 — 102; 'Word-Formation', § 9, p. 119.

One of the fundamental tests of the validity of a generalisation is whether or not the generalisation is useful in making reliable p r e d i c - t i o n s . For example, proceeding from the observation and generalisation discussed above we may 'predict' with a considerable degree of certainty that if a new word with a suffix **-er** appears in modern English and the suffix is added to a verbal stem, the word is a noun denoting an active doer (cf., e.g., the new words of the type *(moon-)crawler*, *(moon-)walker* (lunar-)rouer which appeared when the Soviet moon car was launched.[1] Moreover we may predict if we make use of statistical analysis that such words are more likely to be coined than the other types of nouns with the **-er** suffix.

Any linguistic generalisation is to be followed by the v e r i f y i n g p r o c e s s . Stated, simply, the linguist is required, as are other scientists, to seek verification of the generalisations that are the result of his inquiries. Here too, various procedures of linguistic analysis are commonly applied.

It may be inferred from the above that acquaintance with at least some of the methods of lexicological investigation, is essential for classification, generalisation and above all for the verification of the hypothesis resulting from initial observation. We may also assume that application of various methods of analysis should be an essential part of the learning process and consequently of teacher's training.

The metho_ds and procedures briefly discussed below are as follows: 1. Contrastive analysis, 2. Statistical methods of analysis. 3. Immediate Constituents analysis, 4 Distributional analysis and co-occurrence, 5. Transformational analysis, 6. Componental analysis, 7. Method of semantic differential.[2]

All methods of linguistic analysis are traditionally subdivided into formalised and non-formalised procedures.

It is common knowledge that formalised methods of analysis proved to be in many cases inapplicable to natural languages and did not yield the desired results, nevertheless if not theoretical tenets at least some procedures of these methods of analysis have been used by linguists of different schools of thought and have become part of modern linguists' equipment.

Naturally, the selection of this or that particular procedure largely depends on the goal set before the investigator.

If, e.g., the linguist wishes to find out the derivational structure of the lexical unit he is likely to make use of the 1C analysis and/or the transformational analysis.[3] If the semantic structure of two correlated words is compared, componental analysis will probably be applied.

Some of the methods of lexicological analysis are of primary importance for teachers of English and are widely used in the preparation of

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[1] See *C. Barnhart,* op. cit.

[2] Method of contextual analysis suggested by Prof. N. N. Amosova is not discussed here because there is a monograph devoted to this procedure. See *N. N. Amosova.* English Contextology, L., 1968.

[3] See 'Word-Structure', § 6, p. 95; .Word-Formation', § 30, p. 146.

teaching material, some are of lesser importance. The comparative value of individual methods for practicing teachers and also the interconnecttion of some of the procedures determined the order of their presentation. The first method discussed here is that of contrastive analysis as we consider it indispensable in teaching English as a foreign language. This is followed by a brief survey of statistical methods of analysis as quantitative evaluation is usually an essential part of any linguistic procedure. The so-called formalised methods of analysis — the IC analysis, distributional and transformational procedures precede the componental analysis not because of their greater value in terms of teaching English, but because componental analysis may be combined with distributional and/or transformational procedures, hence the necessity of introducing both procedures before we start the discussion of the componental analysis.

§ 1. Contrastive Analysis Contrastive linguistics as a systematic branch of linguistic science is of fairly, recent date though it is not the idea which is new but rather the systematisation and the underlying principles. It is common knowledge that comparison is the basic principle in comparative philology. However the aims and methods of comparative philology differ considerably from those of contrastive linguistics. The comparativist compares languages in order to trace their philogenic relationships. The material he draws for comparison consists mainly of individual sounds, sound combinations and words, the aim is to establish family relationship. The term used to describe this field of investigation is historical linguistics or diachronic linguistics.

Comparison is also applied in typological classification and analysis. This comparison classifies languages by types rather than origins and relationships. One of the purposes of typological comparison is to arrive at language universals — those elements and processes despite their surface diversity that all language have in common.

Contrastive linguistics attempts to find out similarities and differences in both philogenically related and non-related languages.

It is now universally recognised that contrastive linguistics is a field of particular interest to teachers of foreign languages.[1]

In fact contrastive analysis grew as the result of the practical demands of language teaching methodology where it was empirically shown that the errors which are made recurrently by foreign language students can be often traced back to the differences in structure between the target language and the language of the learner. This naturally implies the necessity of a detailed comparison of the structure of a native and a target language which has been named contrastive analysis.

[1] Contrastive analysis is becoming nowadays one of the fundamental requirements in teaching foreign languages in general. See, e. g., *Proceedings of the Warsaw Session of the General Assembly of the International Association of Russian Teachers* held in August 1976.

It is common knowledge that one of the major problems in the learning of the second language is the interference caused by the difference between the mother tongue of the learner and the target language. All the problems of foreign language teaching will certainly not be solved by contrastive linguistics alone. There is no doubt, however, that contrastive analysis has a part to play in evaluation of errors, in predicting typical errors and thus must be seen in connection with overall endeavours to rationalise and intensify foreign language teaching.

Linguistic scholars working in the field of applied linguistics assume that the most effective teaching materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the learner.[1]

They proceed from the assumption that the categories, elements, etc. on the semantic as well as on the syntactic and other levels are valid for both languages, i.e. are adopted from a possibly universal inventory. For example, linking verbs can be found in English, in French, in Russian, etc. Linking verbs having the meaning of 'change', 'become' are differently represented in each of the languages. In English, e.g., **become, come, fall, get, grow, run, turn, wax,** in German — **werden,** in French — **devenir,** in Russian — *становиться.*

The task set before the linguist is to find out which semantic and syntactic features characterise 1. the English set of verbs (cf. **grow thin, get angry, fall ill, turn traitor, run dry, wax eloquent),** 2. the French (Russian, German, etc.) set of verbs, 3. how the two sets compare. Cf., e.g., the English word-groups **grow thin, get angry, fall ill** and the Russian verbs *похудеть, рассердиться, заболеть.*

Contrastive analysis can be carried out at three linguistic levels: phonology, grammar (morphology and syntax) and lexis (vocabulary). In what follows we shall try to give a brief survey of contrastive analysis mainly at the level of lexis.

Contrastive analysis is applied to reveal the features of sameness and difference in the lexical meaning and the semantic structure of correlated words in different languages.

It is commonly assumed by non-linguists that all languages have vocabulary systems in which the words themselves differ in sound-form but r e f e r to reality in the same way. From this assumption it follows that for every word in the mother tongue there is an exact equivalent in the foreign language. It is a belief which is reinforced by the small bilingual dictionaries where single word translations are often offered. Language learning however cannot be just a matter of learning to substitute a new set of labels for the familiar ones of the mother tongue.

Firstly, it should be borne in mind that though objective reality exists outside human beings and irrespective of the language they speak every language classifies reality in its own way by means of vocabulary units. In English, e.g., the word **foot** is used to denote the extremity of the leg. In Russian there is no exact equivalent for **foot.** The word *нога* denotes the whole leg including the foot.

[1] See, e. g., *Ch. Fries.* Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language. University of Michigan Press, 1963, p. 9.

Classification of the real world around us provided by the vocabulary units of our mother tongue is learned and assimilated together with our first language. Because we are used to the way in which our own language structures experience we are often inclined to think of this as the only natural way of handling things whereas in fact it is highly arbitrary. One example is provided by the words **watch** and **clock.** It would seem n a t u r a l for Russian speakers to have a single word to refer to **all** devices that tell us what time it is; yet in English they are divided into two semantic classes depending on whether or not they are customarily portable. We also find it natural that kinship terms should reflect the difference between male and female: **brother** or **sister, father or mother, uncle** or **aunt,** etc. yet in English we fail to make this distinction in the case of **cousin** (cf. the Russian — *двоюродный брат, двоюродная сестра).* Contrastive analysis also brings to light what can be labelled p r o b l e m p a i r s , i.e. the words that denote two entities in one language and correspond to two different words in another language.

Compare, for example *часы* in Russian and **clock, watch** in English, *художник* in Russian and **artist, painter** in English.

Each language contains words which cannot be translated directly from this language into another. For example, favourite examples of untranslatable German words are **gemütlich** (something like ‘easygoing’, ‘humbly pleasant’, ‘informal’) and Schadenfreude (‘pleasure over the fact that someone else has suffered a misfortune’). Traditional examples of untranslatable English words are **sophisticated** and efficient.

This is not to say that the lack of word-for-word equivalents implies also the lack of what is denoted by these words. If this were true, we would have to conclude that speakers of English never indulge in Shadenfreude and that there are no sophisticated Germans or there is no efficient industry in any country outside England or the USA.

If we abandon the primitive notion of word-for-word equivalence, we can safely assume, f i r s t l y , that anything which can be said in one language can be translated more or less accurately into another, s e c - o n d l y , that correlated polysemantic words of different languages are as a rule not co-extensive. Polysemantic words in all languages may denote very different types of objects and yet all the meanings are considered by the native speakers to be obviously logical extensions of the b a s i c m e a n i n g . For example, to an Englishman it is self-evident that one should be able to use the word **head** to denote the following:

head	of a person of a bed of a coin of a	**head**	of a match of a table of an organisation

whereas in Russian different words have to be used: *голова, изголовье, сторона, головка,* etc.

The very real danger for the Russian language learner here is that having learned first that **head** is the English word which denotes a part

of the body he will assume that it can be used in all the cases where the Russian word *голова* is used in Russian, e.g. *голова сахара* ('a loaf of sugar'), *городской голова* ('mayor of the city'), *он парень с головой* ('he is a bright lad'), *в первую голову* ('in the first place'), *погрузиться во что-л. с головой* ('to throw oneself into smth.'), etc., but will never think of using the word **head** in connection with 'a bed' or 'a coin'. T h i r d l y , the meaning of any word depends to a great extent on the place it occupies in the set of semantically related words: its synonyms, the constituents of the lexical field the word belongs to, other members of the word-family which the word enters, etc.

Thus, e.g., in the English synonymic set **brave, courageous, bold, fearless, audacious, valiant, valorous, doughty, undaunted, intrepid** each word differs in certain component of meaning from the others, **brave** usually implies resolution and self-control in meeting without flinching a situation that inspires fear, **courageous** stresses stout-hearted-ness and firmness of temper, **bold** implies either a temperamental liking for danger or a willingness to court danger or to dare the unknown, etc. Comparing the corresponding Russian synonymic set *храбрый, бесстрашный, смелый, мужественный, отважный,* etc. we see that the Russian word *смелый,* e.g., may be considered as a correlated word to either **brave, valiant** or **valorous** and also that no member of the Russian synonymic set can be viewed as an exact equivalent of any single member of the English synonymic set in isolation, although all of them denote 'having or showing fearlessness in meeting that which is dangerous, difficult, or unknown'. Different aspects of this quality are differently distributed among the words making up the synonymic set. This absence of one-to-one correspondence can be also observed if we compare the constituents of the same lexico-semantic group in different languages. Thus, for example, let us assume that an Englishman has in his vocabulary the following words for evaluating mental aptitude: **apt, bright, brilliant, clever, cunning, intelligent, shrewd, sly, dull, stupid, slow, foolish, silly.** Each of these words has a definite meaning for him. Therefore each word actually represents a value judgement. As the Englishman sees a display of mental aptitude, he attaches one of these words to the situation and in so doing, he attaches a value judgement. The corresponding Russian semantic field of mental aptitude is different (cf. *способный, хитрый, умный, глупый, тупой,* etc.), therefore the meaning of each word is slightly different too. What Russian speakers would describe as *хитрый* might be described by English speakers as either cunning or **sly** depending on how they evaluate the given situation.

The problem under discussion may be also illustrated by the analysis of the members of correlated word-families, e.g., cf. *голова, головка,* etc. **head, heady,** etc. which are differently connected with the main word of the family in each of the two languages and have different denotational and connotational components of meaning. This can be easily observed in words containing diminutive and endearing suffixes, e.g. the English word **head, grandfather, girl** and others do not possess the connotative component which is part of the meaning of the Russian words *головка, головушка, головёнка, дедушка, дедуля,* etc.

Thus on the lexical level or to be more exact on the level of the lexical meaning contrastive analysis reveals that correlated polysemantic words are not co-extensive and shows the teacher where to expect an unusual degree of learning difficulty. This analysis may also point out the effective ways of overcoming the anticipated difficulty as it shows which of the new items will require a more extended and careful presentation and practice.

Difference in the lexical meaning (or meanings) of correlated words accounts for the difference of their collocability in different languages. This is of particular importance in developing speech habits as the mastery of collocations is much more important than the knowledge of isolated words.

Thus, e.g., the English adjective new and the Russian adjective *новый* when taken in isolation are felt as correlated words as in a number of cases new stands for *новый,* e.g. *новое платье* — a new dress, *Новый Год* — New Year. In collocation with other nouns, however, the Russian adjective cannot be used in the same meaning in which the English word new is currently used. Compare, e.g., new potatoes — *молодая картошка,* new bread — *свежий хлеб,* etc.

The lack of co-extension may be observed in collocations made up by words belonging to different parts of speech, e.g. compare word-groups with the verb to fill:

to fill a lamp — *заправлять лампу* to fill a truck — *загружать машину*
to fill a pipe — *набивать трубку* to fill a gap — *заполнять пробел*

As we see the verb to fill in different collocations corresponds to a number of different verbs in Russian. Conversely one Russian word may correspond to a number of English words.

For instance compare *тонкая книга* — a thin book *тонкая ирония* — subtle irony *тонкая талия* — slim waist

Perhaps the greatest difficulty for the Russian learners of English is the fact that not only notional words but also function words in different languages are polysemantic and not co-extensive. Quite a number of mistakes made by the Russian learners can be accounted for by the divergence in the semantic structure of function words. Compare, for example, the meanings of the Russian preposition до and its equivalents in the English language.

(Он работал) до 5 часов	till 5 o'clock
(Это было) до войны	before the war
(Он дошел) до угла	to the corner

Contrastive analysis on the level of t h e g r a m m a t i c a l meaning reveals that correlated words in different languages may differ in the grammatical component of their meaning.

To take a simple instance Russians are liable to say the ***news are good**, ***the money are on the table, *her hair are black,** etc. as the words

новости, деньги, волосы have the grammatical meaning of plurality in the Russian language.

Of particular interest in contrastive analysis are the compulsory grammatical categories which foreign language learners may find in the language they are studying and which are different from or nonexistent in their mother tongue. These are the meanings which the grammar of the language “forces” us to signal whether we want it or not.

One of the compulsory grammatical categories in English is the category of definiteness/indefiniteness. We know that English signals this category by means of the articles. Compare the meaning of the word man in the **man** is honest and man is honest.

As this category is non-existent in the Russian language it is obvious that Russian learners find it hard to use the articles properly.

Contrastive analysis brings to light the essence of what is usually described as i d i o m a t i c E n g l i s h , i d i o m a t i c R u s s i a n etc., i.e. the peculiar way in which every language combines and structures in lexical units various concepts to denote extra-linguistic reality.

The outstanding Russian linguist acad. L. V. Sčerba repeatedly stressed the fact that it is an error in principle if one supposes that the notional systems of any two languages are identical. Even in those areas where the two cultures overlap and where the material extralinguistic world is identical, the lexical units of the two languages are not different labels appended to identical concepts. In the overwhelming majority of cases the concepts denoted are differently organised by verbal means in the two languages. Different verbal organisation of concepts in different languages may be observed not only in the difference of the semantic structure of correlated words but also in the structural difference of word-groups commonly used to denote identical entities.

For example, a typical Russian word-group used to describe the way somebody performs an action, or the state in which a person finds himself, has the structure that may be represented by the formula *adverb followed by a finite form of a verb* (or *a verb + an adverb),* e.g. **он крепко спит, он быстро /медленно/ усваивает,** etc. In English we can also use structurally similar word-groups and say he smokes **a lot, he learnsslowly** (fast), etc. The structure of idiomatic English word-groups however is different. The formula of this word-group can be represented as *an adjective + deverbal noun,* e.g. he is a heavy smoker, **a poor learner,** e.g. “the Englishman is a slow starter but there is no stronger finisher” (Galsworthy). Another English word-group used in similar cases has the structure *verb to be + adjective + the infinitive,* e.g. **(He) is quick to realise,** (He) is slow to cool down, etc. which is practically non-existent in the Russian language. Commonly used English words of the type (he is) an **early-riser, a music-lover,** etc. have no counterparts in the Russian language and as a rule correspond to phrases of the type *(Он) рано встает, (он) очень любит музыку,* etc.[1]

See ‘Word-Formation’, § 34, p. 151,

Last but not least contrastive analysis deals with the meaning and use of s i t u a t i o n a l verbal units, i.e. words, word-groups, sentences which are commonly used by native speakers in certain situations.

For instance when we answer a telephone call and hear somebody asking for a person whose name we have never heard the usual answer for the Russian speaker would be *Вы ошиблись (номером)*, *Вы не туда попали.* The Englishman in identical situation is likely to say **Wrong number.** When somebody apologises for inadvertently pushing you or treading on your foot and says *Простите* **(I beg your pardon. Excuse me.)** the Russian speaker in reply to the apology would probably say — *Ничего, пожалуйста,* whereas the verbal reaction of an Englishman would be different — **It's all right. It does not matter. * Nothing** or ***please** in this case cannot be viewed as words correlated with *Ничего, Пожалуйста."*

To sum up contrastive analysis cannot be overestimated as an indispensable stage in preparation of teaching material, in selecting lexical items to be extensively practiced and in predicting typical errors. It is also of great value for an efficient teacher who knows that to have a native like command of a foreign language, to be able to speak what we call idiomatic English, words, word-groups and whole sentences must be learned within the lexical, grammatical and situational restrictions of the English language.

§ 2. Statistical Analysis

An important and promising trend in modern linguistics which has been making progress during the last few decades is the quantitative study of language phenomena and the application of statistical methods in linguistic analysis.

Statistical linguistics is nowadays generally recognised as one of the major branches of linguistics. Statistical inquiries have considerable importance not only because of their precision but also because of their relevance to certain problems of communication engineering and information theory.

Probably one of the most important things for modern linguistics was the realisation of the fact that non-formalised statements are as a matter of fact unverifiable, whereas any scientific method of cognition presupposes verification of the data obtained. The value of statistical methods as a means of verification is beyond dispute.

Though statistical linguistics has a wide field of application here we shall discuss mainly the statistical approach to vocabulary.

Statistical approach proved essential in the selection of vocabulary items of a foreign language for teaching purposes.

It is common knowledge that very few people know more than 10% of the words of their mother tongue. It follows that if we do not wish to waste time on committing to memory vocabulary items which are never likely to be useful to the learner, we have to select only lexical units that are commonly used by native speakers. Out of about 500,000 words listed in the *OED* the "passive" vocabulary of an educated Englishman comprises no more than 30,000 words and of these 4,000 — 5,000

are presumed to be amply sufficient for the daily needs of an average member of the English speech community. Thus it is evident that the problem of selection of teaching vocabulary is of vital importance.[1] It is also evident that by far the most reliable single criterion is that of frequency as presumably the most useful items are those that occur most frequently in our language use.

As far back as 1927, recognising the need for information on word frequency for sound teaching materials, Ed. L. Thorndike brought out a list of the 10,000 words occurring most frequently in a corpus of five million running words from forty-one different sources. In 1944 the extension was brought to 30,000 words.[2]

Statistical techniques have been successfully applied in the analysis of various linguistic phenomena: different structural types of words, affixes, the vocabularies of great writers and poets and even in the study of some problems of historical lexicology.

Statistical regularities however can be observed only if the phenomena under analysis are sufficiently numerous and their occurrence very frequent. Thus the first requirement of any statistic investigation is the evaluation of the size of the sample necessary for the analysis.

To illustrate this statement we may consider the frequency of word occurrences.

It is common knowledge that a comparatively small group of words makes up the bulk of any text.[3] It was found that approximately 1,300 — 1,500 most frequent words make up 85% of all words occurring in the text. If, however, we analyse a sample of 60 words it is hard to predict the number of occurrences of most frequent words. As the sample is so small it may contain comparatively very few or very many of such words. The size of the sample sufficient for the reliable information as to the frequency of the items under analysis is determined by mathematical statistics by means of certain formulas.

It goes without saying that to be useful in teaching statistics should deal with meanings as well as sound-forms as not all word-meanings are equally frequent. Besides, the number of meanings exceeds by far the number of words. The total number of different meanings recorded and illustrated in *OED* for the first 500 words of the *Thorndike Word List* is 14,070, for the first thousand it is nearly 25,000. Naturally not all the meanings should be included in the list of the first two thousand most commonly used words. Statistical analysis of meaning frequencies resulted in the compilation of *A General Service List of English Words with Semantic Frequencies.* The semantic count is a count of the frequency of the occurrence of the various senses of 2,000 most frequent words as found in a study of five million running words. The semantic count is based on the differentiation of the meanings in the *OED* and the

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[1] See 'Various Aspects ...', § 14, p. 197; 'Fundamentals of English Lexicography, § 6, p. 216.

[2] *The Teacher's Word Book of 30,000 Words* by Edward L. Thorndike and Irvin Lorge. N. Y., 1963. See also *M. West.* A General Service List of English Words. L., 1959, pp. V-VI.

[3] See 'Various Aspects ...', § 14, p. 197.

frequencies are expressed as percentage, so that the teacher and textbook writer may find it easier to understand and use the list. An example will make the procedure clear.

room ('space') takes less room, not enough room to turn round (in) make room for *(figurative)* room for improvement	12%
come to my room, bedroom, sitting room; drawing room, bath-room	83%
(plural = suite, lodgings) my room in college to let rooms	2%

It can be easily observed from the semantic count above that **the** meaning 'part of a house' **(sitting room, drawing room,** etc.) makes up 83% of all occurrences of the word **room** and should be included in the list of meanings to be learned by the beginners, whereas the meaning 'suite, lodgings' is not essential and makes up only *2%* of all occurrences of this word.

Statistical methods have been also applied to various theoretical problems of meaning. An interesting attempt was made by G. K. **Zipf** to study the relation between polysemy and word frequency by statistical methods. Having discovered that there is a direct relationship between the number of different meanings of a word and its relative frequency of occurrence, Zipf proceeded to find a mathematical formula for this correlation. He came to the conclusion that different meanings of a word will tend to be equal to the square root of its relative frequency (with the possible exception of the few dozen most frequent words). This was summed up in the following formula where *m* stands for the number of meanings, *F* for relative frequency — tn — $F^{1}/_{2}$. This formula is known as Zipf's law.

Though numerous corrections to this law have been suggested, still there is no reason to doubt the principle itself, namely, that the more frequent a word is, the more meanings it is likely to have.

One of the most promising trends in statistical enquiries is the analysis of collocability of words. It is observed that words are joined together according to certain rules. The linguistic structure of any string of words may be described as a network of grammatical and lexical restrictions.[1]

The set of lexical restrictions is very complex. On the standard probability scale the set of (im)possibilities of combination of lexical units range from zero (impossibility) to unit (certainty).

Of considerable significance in this respect is the fact that high frequency value of individual lexical items does not forecast high frequency of the word-group formed by these items. Thus, e.g., the adjective **able** and the noun **man** are both included in the list of 2,000 most frequent words, the word-group **an able man,** however, is very rarely used.

[1] Set 'Word-Groups and Phraseological Units', §§ 1, 2, pp. 64,66, 244

The importance of frequency analysis of word-groups is indisputable as in speech we actually deal not with isolated words but with word-groups. Recently attempts have been made to elucidate this problem in different languages both on the level of theoretical and applied lexicology and lexicography.

It should be pointed out, however, that the statistical study of vocabulary has some inherent limitations.

Firstly, statistical approach is purely quantitative, whereas most linguistic problems are essentially qualitative. To put it in simplar terms quantitative research implies that one knows what to count and this knowledge is reached only through a long period of qualitative research carried on upon the basis of certain theoretical assumptions.

For example, even simple numerical word counts presuppose a qualitative definition of the lexical items to be counted. In connection with this different questions may arise, e.g. is the orthographical unit **work** to be considered as one word or two different words: **work** *n* — **(to) work** *v*. Are all word-groups to be viewed as consisting of so many words or are some of them to be counted as single, self-contained lexical units? We know that in some dictionaries word-groups of the type **by chance, at large, in the long run,** etc. are counted as one item though they consist of at least two words, in others they are not counted at all but viewed as peculiar cases of usage of the notional words **chance, large, run,** etc. Naturally the results of the word counts largely depend on the basic theoretical assumption, i.e. on the definition of the lexical item.[1]

We also need to use qualitative description of the language in deciding whether we deal with one item or more than one, e.g. in sorting out two homonymous words and different meanings of one word.[2] It follows that before counting homonyms one must have a clear idea of what difference in meaning is indicative of homonymy. From the discussion of the linguistic problems above we may conclude that an exact and exhaustive definition of the linguistic qualitative aspects of the items under consideration must precede the statistical analysis.

Secondly, we must admit that not all linguists have the mathematical equipment necessary for applying statistical methods. In fact what is often referred to as statistical analysis is purely numerical counts of this or that linguistic phenomenon not involving the use of any mathematical formula, which in some cases may be misleading.

Thus, statistical analysis is applied in different branches of linguistics including lexicology as a means of verification and as a reliable criterion for the selection of the language data provided qualitative description of lexical items is available.

§ 3. Immediate Constituents Analysis

The theory of Immediate Constituents (IC) was originally elaborated as an attempt to determine the ways in which lexical units are relevantly related to one another. It was discovered that combinations of such units are usually structured into

[1] See also 'Various Aspects ...', § 12, p. 195,

[2] See 'Semasiology', §§ 37, 38, pp. 43, 44.

hierarchically arranged sets of binary constructions. For example in the word-group **a black dress in severe style** we do not relate **a** to **black, black to dress, dress** to **in,** etc. but set up a structure which may be represented as **a black dress / in severe style.** Thus the fundamental aim of IC analysis is to segment a set of lexical units into two maximally independent sequences or ICs thus revealing the hierarchical structure of this set. Successive segmentation results in Ultimate Constituents (UC), i.e. two-facet units that cannot be segmented into smaller units having both sound-form and meaning. The Ultimate Constituents of the word-group analysed above are: **a | black | dress | in | severe | style.**

The meaning of the sentence, word-group, etc. and the IC binary segmentation are interdependent. For example, **fat major's wife** may mean that either 'the major is fat' or 'his wife is fat'. The former semantic interpretation presupposes the IC analysis into **fat major's | wife,** whereas the latter reflects a different segmentation into IC's and namely **fat | major's wife.**

It must be admitted that this kind of analysis is arrived at by reference to intuition and it should be regarded as an attempt to formalise one's semantic intuition.

It is mainly to discover the derivational structure of words that IC analysis is used in lexicological investigations. For example, the verb **denationalise** has both a prefix **de-** and a suffix **-ise (-ize).** To decide whether this word is a prefixal or a suffixal derivative we must apply IC analysis.[1] The binary segmentation of the string of morphemes making up the word shows that ***denation** or ***denational** cannot be considered independent sequences as there is no direct link between the prefix **de-** and **nation** or **national.** In fact no such sound-forms function as independent units in modern English. The only possible binary segmentation is **de | nationalise,** therefore we may conclude that the word is a prefixal derivative. There are also numerous cases when identical morphemic structure of different words is insufficient proof of the identical pattern of their derivative structure which can be revealed only by IC analysis. Thus, comparing, e.g., **snow-covered** and **blue-eyed** we observe that both words contain two root-morphemes and one derivational morpheme. IC analysis, however, shows that whereas **snow-covered** may be treated as a compound consisting of two stems **snow + covered, blue-eyed** is a suffixal derivative as the underlying structure as shown by IC analysis is different, i.e. (**blue**+**eye**)+-**ed.**

It may be inferred from the examples discussed above that ICs represent the word-formation structure while the UCs show the morphemic structure of polymorphic words.

§ 4. Distributional Analysis and Co-occurrence

Distributional analysis in its various forms is commonly used nowadays by lexicologists of different schools of thought. By the term d i s t r i b u t i o n we understand the occurrence of a lexical unit relative to other lexical units of the same level (words relative to words / morphemes relative to morphemes, etc.). In other

[1] See 'Word-Structure', §§ 4, 6, pp. 94, 95.

words by this term we understand the position which lexical units occupy or may occupy in the text or in the flow of speech. It is readily observed that a certain component of the word-meaning is described when the word is identified distributionally. For example, in the sentence **The boy — home** the missing word is easily identified as a verb — The boy went, came, ran, etc. home. Thus, we see that the component of meaning that is distributionally identified is actually the part-of-speech meaning but not the individual lexical meaning of the word under analysis. It is assumed that sameness / difference in distribution is indicative of sameness / difference in part-of-speech meaning.

It is also observed that in a number of cases words have different lexical meanings in different distributional patterns. Compare, e.g., the lexical meaning of the verb to treat in the following: to treat somebody well, kindly, etc. — 'to act or behave towards' where the verb is followed by *a noun + an adverb* and to treat somebody to ice-cream, champagne, etc. — 'to supply with food, drink, entertainment, etc. at one's own expence' where the verb is followed by *a noun+the preposition* ***to*** *+ another noun.* Compare also the meaning of the adjective ill in different distributional structures, e.g. ill look, ill luck, ill health, etc. (**ill**+*N* — 'bad') and **fall ill, be ill,** etc. (*V*+**ill** — 'sick').

The interdependence of distribution and meaning can be also observed at the level of word-groups. It is only the distribution of otherwise completely identical lexical units that accounts for the difference in the meaning of water tap and tap water. Thus, as far as words are concerned the meaning by distribution may be defined as an abstraction on the syntagmatic level.

It should also be noted that not only words in word-groups but also whole word-groups may acquire a certain denotational meaning due to certain distributional pattern to which this particular meaning is habitually attached. For example, habitually the word preceding ago denotes a certain period of time (an hour, a month, a century, etc. ago) and the whole word-group denotes a certain temporal unit. In this particular distributional pattern any word is bound to acquire an additional lexical meaning of a certain period of time, e.g. a grief ago (E. Cummings), three cigarettes ago (A. Christie), etc. The words a grief and a cigarette are understood as indicating a certain period of time and the word-groups as denoting temporal units. This is also true of the meaning of the most unusual word-groups or sentences, e.g. griefs of joy (E. Cummings) (cf. **days of joy, nights of grief,** etc.), **to deify one's razorblade** (E. Cummings) (cf. **to sharpen the knife**).

Distributional pattern as such seems to possess a component of meaning not to be found in individual words making up the word-group or the sentence. Thus, the meaning 'make somebody do smth by means of something' cannot be traced back to the lexical meanings of the individual words in 'to coax somebody into accepting the suggestion'. The distributional pattern itself seems to impart this meaning to the whole irrespective of the meaning of the verb used in this structure, i.e. in the pattern V+N+**into**+V_{ing} verbs of widely different lexical meaning may be used. One can say, e.g., to kiss somebody into doing smth, to

flatter somebody into doing smth, to beat somebody into doing something, etc.; in all these word-groups one finds the meaning 'to make somebody do something' which is actually imparted by the distributional pattern.

The same set of lexical items can mean different things in different syntactic arrangements as illustrated by: John thought he had left: Mary alone, Mary alone thought he had left John. Had he alone thought Mary left John?

As can be inferred from the above distributional analysis is mainly applied by the linguist to find out s a m e n e s s or d i f f e r e n c e of meaning. It is assumed that the meaning of any lexical unit may be viewed as made up by the lexical meaning of its components and by the meaning of the pattern of their arrangement, i.e. their distributional meaning. This may perhaps be best illustrated by the semantic analysis of polymorphic words. The word singer, e.g., has the meaning of 'one **who sings** or is singing' not only due to the lexical meaning of the stem **sing**- and the derivational morpheme **-er** (= active doer), but also because of the meaning of their distributional pattern. A different pattern of arrangement of the same morphemes ***ersing** changes the whole into a meaningless string of sounds.[1]

Distribution of stems in a compound makes part of the lexical meaning of the compound word. Compare, e.g., different lexical meanings of the words formed by the same stems bird and cage in bird-cage and cage-bird.

It is also assumed that productivity largely depends on the distributional meaning of the lexical units. Distributional meaning of the lexical units accounts for the possibility of making up and understanding a lexical item that has never been heard or used before but whose distributional pattern is familiar to the speaker and the hearer. Thus, though such words as **kissable, hypermagical, smiler** (She is a charming smiler), etc. cannot be found in any dictionary their meaning is easily understood on the analogy with other words having the same distributional pattern, e. g- *(v + -able- -> A* as in **readable**, **eatable** and **kissable**).

From the discussion of the distributional analysis above it should not be inferred that difference in distribution is always indicative of the difference in meaning and conversely that sameness of distribution is an absolutely reliable criterion of sameness of meaning.

It was pointed out above that as a rule distribution of stems in a compound word p r e d i c t s a certain component of meaning as the stem that stands first is understood as modifying the one that follows (cf. bird-cage and cage-bird). In certain cases, however, the meaning or to be more exact one of the word-meanings may be structured differently. Firstly, in morphologically non-motivated words distributional structure is not correlated with certain meaning. For instance, in the words apple-sauce, plum-sauce, etc. we actually see that the item sauce-is modified by the stems **apple-, plum-,** etc., hence these words may be semantically interpreted as 'kind of sauce made of apples, plums, etc.' One of the meanings of the word **apple-sauce** — 'nonsense', 'insincere

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[1] See 'Semasiology', § 19, p. 27. 'Word-Formation', § 27, p. 144, 248

flattery', however, is in no way connected with the distributional structure of stems. This is observed in all non-motivated words. Secondly, it is common knowledge that words used in identical distributional patterns may have different meanings. Compare, e.g., the meaning of the verb **to move** in the pattern **to move**+*N*: 1. cause to change position (e.g. move the chair, the piano, etc.), 2. arouse, work on the feelings of smb. (e.g. to move smb. deeply). In the cases of this type distributional analysis traditionally understood as the analysis on the level of different parts of speech, as an abstraction on the syntagmatic level is of little help in the analysis of sameness or difference of lexical meaning.

Distributional analysis, however, is not as a rule confined to the analysis on the part-of-speech level or in general on the grammatical level but is extended to the lexical level.

The essential difference between grammar and lexis is that grammar deals with an obligatory choice between a comparatively small and limited number of possibilities, e.g. between the **man** and **men** depending on the form of the verb **to be,** cf. **The man is walking, The men are walking** where the selection of the singular number excludes the selection of the plural number. Lexis accounts for the much wider possibilities of choice between, say, **man, soldier, fireman** and so on. Lexis is thus said to be a matter of choice between open sets of items while grammar is one between closed systems.[1] The possibilities of choice between lexical items are not limitless however. Lexical items containing certain semantic components are usually observed only in certain positions. In phrases such as **all the sun long, a grief ago** and **farmyards away** the deviation consists of nouns **sun, grief, farm yards** in a position where normally only members of a limited list of words appear (in this case nouns of linear measurements such as **inches, feet, miles).** The difference between the normal lexical paradigm and the ad hoc paradigm can be represented as follows:

inches) away *(normal)*
feet yards,
etc.

farmyards } away *(deviant)*
griefs, etc.

Cf. also "half an hour and ten thousand miles ago" (Arthur C. Clark). "She is feeling miles better today." (Nancy Milford)

Distribution defined as the occurrence of a lexical unit relative to other lexical units can be interpreted as c o - o c c u r r e n c e of lexical items and the two terms can be viewed as synonyms.

It follows that by the term d i s t r i b u t i o n we understand t h e a p t n e s s of a w o r d in o n e of i t s m e a n i n g s to c o l l o c a t e or t o c o - o c c u r w i t h a c e r t a i n group, or c e r t a i n g r o u p s of w o r d s h a v i n g s o m e c o m m o n s e m a n t i c c o m p o n e n t . In this case distribution may be treated on the level of semantic classes or subclasses of lexical units.

[1] See 'Semasiology', §§ 5, 6, pp. 18, 19.

Thus, e.g., it is common practice to subdivide animate nouns into nouns denoting human beings and non-humans (animals, birds, etc.). Inanimate nouns are usually subdivided into concrete and abstract (cf., e.g., **table, book, flower** and **joy,, idea, relation)** which may be further classified into lexico-semantic groups, i.e. groups of words joined together by a common concept, e.g. nouns denoting pleasurable emotions **(joy, delight, rapture,** etc.), nouns denoting mental aptitude **(cleverness, brightness, shrewdness,** etc.). We observe that the verb **to move** followed by the nouns denoting inanimate objects (move + N^{in}) as **a** rule have the meaning of 'cause to change position'; when, however, this verb is followed by the nouns denoting human beings *(move* + $N^{anim\ pers}$*)* it will usually have another meaning, i.e. 'arouse, work on the feelings of. In other cases the classification of nouns into animate / inanimate may be insufficient for the semantic analysis, and it may be necessary to single out different lexico-semantic groups as, e.g., in the case of the adjective **blind.** Any collocation of this adjective with a noun denoting a living being (animate) *(***blind**+N^{an}*)* will bring out the meaning 'without the power to see' **(blind man, cat.** etc.). **Blind** followed by a noun denoting inanimate objects, or abstract concepts may have different meanings depending on the lexico-semantic group the noun belongs to. Thus, **blind** will have the meaning 'reckless, thoughtless, etc' when combined with nouns denoting emotions **(blind passion, love, fury,** etc.) and the meaning 'hard to discern, to see' in collocation with nouns denoting written or typed signs **(blind handwriting, blind type,** etc.).

In the analysis of word-formation pattern the investigation on the level of lexico-semantic groups is commonly used to find out the word-meaning, the part of speech, the lexical restrictions of the stems, etc. For example, the analysis of the derivational pattern *n+ish -> A* shows that the suffix **-ish** is practically never combined with the noun-stems which denote units of time, units of space, etc. **(*hourish, *mileish,** etc.). The overwhelming majority of adjectives in **-ish** are formed from the noun-stems denoting living beings **(wolfish, clownish, boyish,** etc.).

It follows that distribution may be viewed as the place of a lexical item relative to other lexical items on the level of semantic classes and subclasses.

The analysis of lexical collocability in word-groups is widely applied for different purposes: to find out typical, most commonly used collocations in modern English, to investigate the possibility / impossibility of certain types of meaning in certain types of collocations, and so on.

It stands to reason that certain lexical items rarely if ever co-occur because of extra-linguistic factors. There are no restrictions inherent in the grammar or vocabulary of the English language that would make co-occurrence of the participle **flying** with the noun **rhinoceros** impossible, yet we may be reasonably certain that the two words are unlikely to co-occur.

What we describe as meaning by collocation or meaning by co-occurrence is actually a blend of extra-linguistic and intra-linguistic components of meaning.

One or the other component may prevail. For instance, one may argue that the meaning of the adjective **good** is different in **good doctor, good mother, good milkman,** etc. because we know that **a good doctor** is 'a doctor who gives his patient adequate medical care and treatment', whereas **good mother** is 'a mother who takes care of the needs of her children and cares for them adequately'. Here naturally it is the extralinguistic factors that account for the difference in meaning.

Of greatest importance for language teaching, however, is the investigation of lexical restrictions in collocability that are of purely intralinguistic nature and cannot be accounted for by logical considerations. This can be perhaps best illustrated by comparing the collocability of correlated words in different languages. In the English language, e.g., the verb **to** seize may be combined with nouns denoting different kinds of emotions: **I was seised with joy, grief,** etc., whereas in the Russian language one can say *на меня напала тоска, отчаяние, сомнение,* etc. but the collocations *напала радость, надежда* are impossible, that is to say the Russian verb cannot be combined with nouns denoting pleasurable emotions.

The results of the co-occurrence or distributional analysis may be of great help to teachers in preparation of teaching material.

To illustrate the point under consideration it is sufficient to discuss the experiment the goal of which was to find out the semantic peculiarities of the verb **to giggle. Giggle** refers to a type of laughter — **to** giggle is usually defined as 'to laugh in a nervous manner'. There is nothing in the dictionary definition to indicate a very important peculiarity of the word-meaning, i.e. that giggling is habitually associated with women. A completion test carried out by a group of English linguists yielded interesting results.

The sentences to be completed were of the type: **The man — with obvious pleasure, The woman — with obvious pleasure,** etc.

The informants were to fill in the blanks **with** either the verb **to laugh** or **to giggle** and were presented with a choice of subjects male and female.

A clear preference was shown for **women giggling** and **men laughing** with obvious pleasure. The analysis of the informants' responses also showed that a man may **giggle drunkenly** or **nervously,** but not **happily** or **politely.** In the case of women, however, of whom giggling is more characteristic it appears that all collocations — **giggle drunkenly, nervously, happily, politely** — are equally acceptable. It may be inferred from the above that the meaning by co-occurrence is an inherent part and an essential component of the word-meaning.

§ 5. Transformational Analysis

Transformational analysis in lexicological investigations may be defined as re-patterning of various distributional structures in order to discover difference or sameness of meaning of practically identical distributional patterns.

As distributional patterns are in a number of cases polysemantic, transformational procedures are of help not only in the analysis of semantic sameness / difference of the lexical units under investigation

but also in the analysis of the factors that account for their polysemy.

For example, if we compare two compound words **dogfight** and **dog-cart,** we shall see that the distributional pattern of stems is identical and may be represented as *n+n.* The meaning of these words broadly speaking is also similar as the first of the stems modifies, describes, the second and we understand these compounds as 'a kind of fight' **and '**a kind of cart' respectively. The semantic relationship between the stems, however, is different and hence the lexical meaning of the words is also different. This can be shown by means of a transformational procedure which shows that **a dogfight** is semantically equivalent to 'a fight between dogs', whereas **a dogcart** is not 'a cart between dogs' but 'a cart drawn by dogs'.

Word-groups of identical distributional structure when re-patterned also show that the semantic relationship between words and consequently the meaning of word-groups may be different. For example, **in** the word-groups consisting of a possessive pronoun followed by a noun, e.g. **his car, his failure, his arrest, his goodness,** etc., the relationship between **his** and the following nouns is in each instant different which can be demonstrated by means of transformational procedures.

his car (pen, table, etc.) may be re-patterned into **he has a car** (a pen, a table, etc.) or in a more generalised form may be represented as *A possesses B.*

his failure (mistake, attempt, etc.) may be represented as **he failed** (was mistaken, attempted) or *A performs B* which is impossible in the case of **his car** (pen, table, etc.).

his arrest (imprisonment, embarrassment, etc.) may be re-patterned into **he was arrested** (imprisoned and embarrassed, etc.) or *A is the goal of the action B.*

his goodness (kindness, modesty, etc.) may be represented as **he is good** (kind, modest, etc.) or *B is the quality of A.*

It can also be inferred from the above that two phrases which **are** transforms of each other (e.g. **his car** -> **he has a car; his kindness -> he is kind,** etc.[1]) are correlated in meaning as well as in form.

Regular correspondence and interdependence of different patterns is viewed as a criterion of different or same meaning. When the direction of. conversion was discussed it was pointed out that transformational procedure may be used as one of the criteria enabling us to decide which of the two words in a conversion pair is the derived member.[2]

Transformational analysis may also be described as a kind of translation. If we understand by translation transference of a message by different means, we may assume that there exist at least three types of translation:[3]
1. i n t e r l i n g u a l translation or translation from

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[1] -> stands for 'may be replaced by'

[2] See 'Word-Formation', § 19, p. 133.

[3] See *E. Nida.* Towards a scientific theory of translation. Netherlands, 1964; *Л. С. Бархударов.* Язык и перевод. М., 1975.

one language into another which is what we traditionally call translation; 2. i n t e r s e m i o t i c translation or transference of a message from one kind of semiotic system to another. For example, we know that a verbal message may be transmitted into a flag message by hoisting up the proper flags in the right sequence, and at last 3. i n t r a l i n g u a l translation which consists essentially in rewording a message within the same language — a kind of paraphrasing. Thus, e.g., the same message may be transmitted by the following **his work is excellent -> his excellent work -> the excellence of his work.**

The rules of transformational analysis, however, are rather strict and should not be identified with paraphrasing in the usual sense of the term. There are many restrictions both on the syntactic and the lexical level. An exhaustive discussion of these restrictions is unnecessary and impossible within the framework of the present textbook. We shall confine our brief survey to the transformational procedures commonly used in lexicological investigation. These are as follows:

1. p e r m u t a tion — the re-patterning of the kernel transform on condition that the basic subordinative relationships between words and the word-stems of the lexical units are not changed. In the example discussed above the basic relationships between lexical units and the stems of the notional words are essentially the same: cf. **his work is excellent -> his excellent work -> the excellence of his work -> he works excellently.**

2. r e p l a c e m e n t — the substitution of a component of the distributional structure by a member of a certain strictly defined set of lexical units, e.g. replacement of a notional verb by an auxiliary or a link verb, etc. Thus, in the two sentences having identical distributional structure **He will make a bad mistake, He will make a good teacher,** the verb **to make** can be substituted for by **become** or **be** only in the second sentence **(he will become, be a good teacher)** but not in the first **(*he will become a bad mistake)** which is a formal proof of the intuitively felt difference in the meaning of the verb **to make** in each of the sentences. In other words the fact of the impossibility of identical transformations of distributionally identical structures is a formal proof of the difference in their meaning.

3. a d d i t i o n (or expansion) — may be illustrated by the application of the procedure of addition to the classification of adjectives into two groups — adjectives denoting inherent and non-inherent properties. For example, if to the two sentences **John is happy** (popular, etc.) and **John is tall** (clever, etc.) we add, say, **in Moscow,** we shall see that ***John is tall** (clever, etc.) **in Moscow** is utterly nonsensical, whereas **John is happy** (popular, etc.) **in Moscow** is a well-formed sentence. Evidently this may be accounted for by the difference in the meaning of adjectives denoting inherent **(tall, clever,** etc.) and non-inherent **(happy, popular,** etc.) properties.

4. d e l e t i o n — a procedure which shows whether one of the words is semantically subordinated to the other or others, i.e. whether the semantic relations between words are identical. For example, the word- group **red flowers** may be deleted and transformed into **flowers** without

making the sentence nonsensical. Cf.: **I love red flowers, I love flowers,** whereas **I hate red tape** cannot be transformed into **I hate tape** or **I hate red.**[1]

Transformational procedures may be of use in practical classroom teaching as they bring to light the so-called s e n t e n c e p a r a - d i g m or to be more exact different ways in which the same message may be worded in modern English.

It is argued, e.g., that certain paired sentences, one containing **a** verb and one containing an adjective, are understood in the same way, e.g. sentence pairs where there is form similarity between the verb and the adjective.

Cf.: **I desire that. . . — I am desirous that . . .; John hopes that . . . — John is hopeful that . . .; His stories amuse me . . . — are amusing to me; Cigarettes harm people — are harmful to people.**

Such sentence pairs occur regularly in modern English, are used interchangeably in many cases and should be taught as two equally possible variants.

It is also argued that certain paired sentences, one containing **a** verb and one a deverbal noun, are also a common occurrence in Modern English. Cf., e.g., **I like jazz — > my liking for jazz; John considers Mary's feelings -> John's consideration of Mary's feelings.**[2]

Learning a foreign language one must memorise as a rule several commonly used structures with similar meaning. These structures make up what can be described as a paradigm of the sentence just as a set of forms (e.g. **go** — **went** — **gone,** etc.) makes up a word paradigm. Thus, the sentence of the type **John likes his wife to eat well** makes up part of the sentence paradigm which may be represented as follows **John likes his wife to eat well — > John likes his wife eating well — > what John likes is his wife eating well,** etc. as any sentence of this type may be re-patterned in the same way.

Transformational procedures are also used as will be shown below in componental analysis of lexical units.

§ 6. Componental Analysis

In recent years problems of semasiology have come to the fore in the research work of linguists of different schools of thought and a number of attempts have been made to find efficient procedures for the analysis and interpretation of meaning.[3] An important step forward was taken in 1950's with the development of componental analysis. In this analysis linguists proceed from the assumption that the smallest units of meaning are sememes (or semes) and that sememes and lexemes (or lexical items) are usually not in one-to-one but in one-to-many correspondence. For example, in the lexical item **woman** several components of meaning or sememes may be singled out and namely 'human', 'female', 'adult'. This one-to-many correspondence may be represented as follows.

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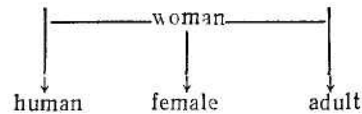
[1] See 'Word-Groups and Phraseological Units', §3, p. 67.

[2] This is usually referred to as nominalisation and is viewed as one of the permutation procedures. See also 'Word-Formation', § 19, p. 133.

[3] See, e. g., *Л. С. Бархударов.* Язык и перевод. М., 1975, с. 50 — 73.



The analysis of the word **girl** would also yield the sememes 'human' and 'female', but instead of the sememe 'adult' we shall find the sememe 'young' distinguishing the meaning of the word **woman** from that of **girl.** The comparison of the results of the componental analysis of the words **boy** and **girl** would also show the difference just in one component, i..e. the sememe denoting 'male' and 'female' respectively.

It should be pointed out that componental analysis deals with individual meanings. Different meanings of polysemantic words have different componental structure. For example, the comparison of two meanings of the noun **boy** (1. a male child up to the age of 17 or 18 and 2. a male servant (any age) esp. in African and Asian countries) reveals that though both of them contain the semantic components 'human' and 'male' the component 'young' which is part of one meaning is not to be found in the other. As a rule when we discuss the analysis of word-meaning we imply the basic meaning of the word under consideration.

In its classical form componental analysis was applied to the so-called c l o s e d subsystems of vocabulary, mostly only to kinship and colour terms. The analysis as a rule was formalised only as far as the symbolic representation of meaning components is concerned. Thus, e.g. in the analysis of kinship terms, the component denoting sex may be represented by A — male, A — female, B may stand for one generation above ego, B — for the generation below ego, C — for direct lineality, C — for indirect lineality, etc. Accordingly the clusters of symbols ABC and ABC represent the semantic components of the word **mother,** and **father** respectively.

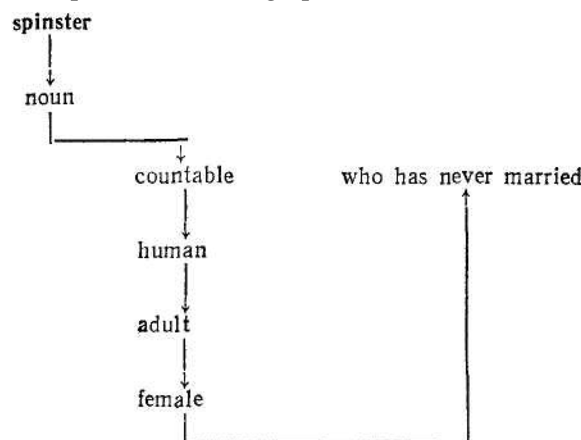
In its more elaborate form componental analysis also proceeds from the assumption that word-meaning is not an unanalysable whole but can be decomposed into elementary semantic components. It is assumed, however, that these basic semantic elements which might be called semantic features can be classified into several subtypes thus ultimately constituting a highly structured system. In other words it is assumed that any item can be described in terms of categories arranged in a hierarchical way; that is a subsequent category is a subcategory of the previous category.

The most inclusive categories are parts of speech — the major word classes are nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs. All members of a major class share a distinguishing semantic feature and involve a certain type of semantic information. More revealing names for such features might be "thingness" or "substantiality" for nouns, "quality" for adjectives, and so on.

All other semantic features may be classified into semantic m a r k e r s — semantic features which are present also in the lexical meaning of other words and d i s t i n g u i s h e r s — semantic features which are individual, i.e. which do not recur in the lexical meaning of other

words. Thus, the distinction between markers and distinguishers is that markers refer to features which the item has in common with other items, distinguishers refer to what differentiates an item from other items. The componental analysis of the word, e.g., spinster runs: noun, count-noun, human, adult, female, who has never married. *Noun* of course is the part of speech, meaning the most inclusive category; *count-noun* is a marker, it represents a subclass within nouns and refers to the semantic feature which the word spinster has in common with all other countable nouns (boy, table, flower, idea, etc.) but which distinguishes it from all uncountable nouns, e.g. salt, bread, water, etc; *human* is also a marker which refers the word spinster to a subcategory of countable nouns, i.e. to nouns denoting human beings; *adult* is another marker pointing at a specific subdivision of human beings into adults & young or not grown up. The word spinster possesses still another marker — *female* — which it shares with such words as woman, widow, mother, etc., and which represents a subclass of adult females. At last comes the distinguisher *who has never married* which differentiates the meaning of the word from other words which have all other common semantic features. Thus, the componental analysis may be represented as a hierarchical structure with several subcategories each of which stands in relation of subordination to the preceding subclass of semantic features.

This may be represented in the graphic form as



Componental analysis with the help of markers and distinguishers may be used in the analysis of hyponymic groups.[1] In the semantic analysis of such groups we find that they constitute a series with an increasingly larger range of inclusion. For example, bear, mammal, animal represent three successive markers in which bear is subordinated to mammal and mammal to animal. As one ascends the hierarchical structure the terms generally become fewer and the domains — larger, i.e. the shift is from greater specificity to greater generic character. Words

[1] See 'Semasiology', § 49, p. 58.

that belong to the same step in the hierarchical ladder are of the same degree of specificity and have all of them at least one marker — one component of meaning in common. They constitute a series where the relationship between the members is essentially identical.

Componental analysis is also used in the investigation of the semantic structure of synonyms. There is always a certain component of meaning which makes one member of the synonymic set different from any other member of the same set. Thus, though **brave, courageous, fearless, audacious,** etc. are all of them traditionally cited as making up a set of synonymic words, each member of the set has a component of meaning not to be found in any other member of this set. In a number of cases this semantic component may be hard to define, nevertheless intuitively it is felt by all native speakers. For instance, that is how the difference in the meaning components of the words **like, enjoy, appreciate,** etc. is described. Analysing the difficulty of finding an adequate translation for **John appreciates classical music; he doesn't appreciate rock** the author argues that "... **appreciate** is not quite the same as **enjoy** or **like** or **admire** or **take an interest in** though quite[1] a number of semantic components making up their meaning is identical. **To appreciate** is to be attuned to the real virtue X is presupposed to have and **not to appreciate** is to fail to be attuned. It is not to deny that X has virtues. In short, **appreciate** seems to presuppose in the object qualities deserving admiration in a way that **like, admire,** and so on do not."

Componental analysis is currently combined with other linguistic procedures used for the investigation of meaning. For example, contrastive analysis supplemented by componental analysis yields very good results as one can clearly see the lack of one-to-one correspondence not only between the semantic structure of correlated words (the number and types of meaning) but also the difference in the seemingly identical and correlated meanings of contrasted words.

For example, the correlated meanings of the Russian word *толстый* and the English words **thick, stout, buxom** though they all denote broadly speaking the same property (of great or specified depth between opposite surfaces) are not semantically identical because the Russian word *толстый* is used to describe both humans and objects indiscriminately (cf., *толстая женщина, (книга),* the English adjective **thick** does not contain the semantic component *human.* Conversely **stout** in this meaning does not contain the component *object* (cf. **a thick book** but **a stout man).** The English adjective **buxom** possesses in addition to *human* the sex component, and namely, *female* which is not to be found in either the English **stout** or in the Russian *толстый.* It can be inferred from the above that this analysis into the components *animate / inanimate, human male / female* reveals the difference in the comparable meanings of correlated words of two different languages — Russian and English — and also the difference in the meaning of synonyms within the English language.

The procedure of componental analysis is also combined with the semantic analysis through collocability or co-occurrence as the components of the lexical (or the grammatical) meaning may be singled out

by the co-occurrence analysis. It is assumed that certain words may co-occur in a sentence, others may not. The co-occurrence of one word with another may be treated as a clue to the criterial feature of the concept denoted by the word. Thus, for example, if one learns that **a puffin flies,** one can assume that **a puffin** is animate and is probably a bird or an insect.

A close inspection of words with which the prepositions occur brings out the components of their meaning. Thus, e.g., **down the stairs** is admitted ***down the day** is not; **during the day** is admitted but ***during the stairs** is not. We may infer that time feature is to be found in the preposition **during** but not in the meaning of **down.** We can also see that some prepositions **share** the features of space and time because of their regular co-occurrence with the nouns denoting space and time, e.g. **in the city / country, in July** / **in** 1975, etc.

A completion test in which the subjects have a free choice of verb to complete the sentences show that, though in the dictionary definitions of a number of verbs one cannot find any explicit indication of constraints, which would point at the semantic component, e. g. animate — inanimate, human — nonhuman, etc., the co-occurrence of the verbs with certain types of nouns, functioning as subjects, can be viewed as a reliable criterion of such components. For example, in the sentences of the type **The cows** — **through the fields, The boys — through the fields,** etc. various verbs were offered **stray, wander, ran, lumber, walk, hurry, stroll,** etc. The responses of the subjects showed, however, the difference in the components of the verb-meanings. For example, for all of them **stroll** is constrained to human subjects though no dictionaries include this component *(of human beings)* in the definition of the verb.

The semantic peculiarities of the subcategories within nouns are revealed in their specific co-occurrence. For example, the combination of nouns with different pronouns specifies the sex of the living being denoted by the noun. Cf. **The baby drank his bottle** and **The baby drank her bottle** where the sex-component of the word-meaning can be observed through the co-occurrence of the noun **baby** with the possessive pronouns **his** or **her.**

Componental analysis may be also arrived at through transformational procedures. It is assumed that sameness / difference of transforms is indicative of sameness / difference in the componental structure of the lexical unit. The example commonly analysed is the difference in the transforms of the structurally identical lexical units, e.g. **puppydog, bulldog, lapdog,** etc. The difference in the semantic relationship between the stems of the compounds and hence the difference in the component of the word-meaning is demonstrated by the impossibility of the same type of transforms for all these words. Thus, **a puppydog** may be transformed into ‘a dog (which) is a puppy’, **bull-dog,** however, is not ‘a dog which is a bull’, neither is a **lapdog** ‘a dog which is a lap’. A **bulldog** may be transformed into ‘a bulllike dog’, or ‘a dog which looks like a bull’, but **a lapdog** is not ‘a dog like a lap’, etc.

Generally speaking one may assume that practically all classifications of lexical units implicitly presuppose the application of the the-

ory of semantic components. For instance the classification of nouns into animate — inanimate, human — nonhuman proceeds from the assumption that there is a common semantic component found in such words as, e.g., **man, boy, girl,** etc., whereas this semantic component is nonexistent in other words, e.g. **table, chair, pen,** etc., or **dog, cat, horse,** etc.

Thematic classification of vocabulary units for teaching purposes is in fact also based on componental analysis.

Thus, e.g., we can observe the common semantic component in the lexico-semantic group entitled 'food-stuffs' and made up of such words as **sugar, pepper, salt, bread,** etc., or the common semantic component 'non-human living being' in **cat, lion, dog, tiger,** etc.

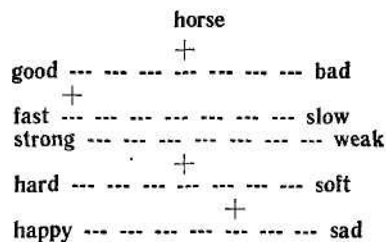
§ 7. Method of Semantic Differential

All the methods of semantic analysis discussed above are aimed mainly or exclusively at the investigation of the denotational component of the lexical meaning.

The analysis of the differences of the connotational meaning is very hard since the nuances are often slight, difficult to grasp and do not yield themselves to objective investigation and verification.

An attempt to establish and display these differences was developed by a group of American psycholinguists.[1] They set up a technique known as t h e s e m a n t i c d i f f e r e n t i a l by means of which, as they claim, meaning can be measured. It is perfectly clear, however, that what semantic differential measures is not word-meaning in any of accepted senses of the term but the connotational component of meaning or to be more exact the emotive charge.

Their technique requires the subjects to judge a series of concepts with respect to a set of bipolar (antonymic) adjective scales. For example, a concept like **horse** is to be rated as to the degree to which it is good or bad, fast or slow, strong or weak, etc.



The meaning of the seven divisions is, taking as an example the first of the scales represented above, from left to right: extremely good, quite good, slightly good, neither good nor bad (or equally good and bad) slightly bad, quite bad, extremely bad.

In the diagram above **horse** is described as neither good nor bad, extremely fast, quite strong, slightly hard, equally happy and sad.

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[1] *C. E. Osgood, G. J. Suci* and *P.H. Tannenbaum.* The Measurement of Meaning. USA, 1965.

The responses of the subjects produce a semantic profile representing the emotive charge of the word.

The degree of agreement between the answers is treated as a significant and reliable factor.

It may be argued that the data with which they deal in these investigations are essentially subjective. Objectivity, however, concerns the role of the observer. In other words, each person records his own, entirely subjective reactions, but by the time the analysis has been completed the result will represent a kind of semantic average reached by purely objective statistical methods.

Some conclusions of considerable interest may be drawn from these experiments.

1. It was found that synesthesia or transfer across sensory modalities is apparently a common occurrence. For example, terms, such as “dark — heavy”, “slow — low” tend to be grouped together by a vast majority of subjects and likewise terms such as “bright — light”, “quick — sharp". Synesthesia is also commonly observed in regard to colour responses to music, when, e.g., the hearing of a certain sound induces the visualisation of a certain colour. As a result physical sensations are felt as connected with psychological phenomena.

It seems clear from their studies that imagery found in synesthesia is intimately tied up with language metaphor and that both represent semantic relations. In fact words like **warm, cold, heavy, light, bright, dull** are universally applied to psychological qualities of temperament or intellect, e.g. to the quality of a voice as well as to sensations.

Practically everyone speaks of warmth in a voice, narrowness of mind and smoothness of manners. Logically it would seem that thermal cold in the skin has nothing to do with coldness heard in a voice or seen in a face. All languages, however, have words that designate physical-psychological pairings. This does not imply that the pairings are identical in all languages. A word denoting a given physical property may develop psychological meanings that are peculiar to this or that language. There is, however, an undeniable kinship in the range of meanings. All seem to involve hightened activity and emotional arousal. No case was discovered in which the word with the denotational meaning ‘hot’ named a remote, calm manner.

2. The comparison of responses by native speakers of different languages to denotationally “equivalent” words revealed that they have different semantic profiles.

It follows that learners of a foreign language can hardly expect that words will have the same connotation for them as they do for native speakers. This naturally concerns first of all the emotive charge of the lexical units. Thus, e.g., it was found that the word **rain** tends to be described as *rather happy* by all the subjects of the Southwest Indian groups. The same word was described as *rather sad* by the overwhelming majority of English subjects.

The new technique, however, has not been properly developed or extended to an adequate sample of vocabulary and consequently is of little use in lexicological analysis.

§ 8. Summary and Conclusions

1. Acquaintance with the currently used procedures of linguistic investigation shows that contrastive analysis and statistical analysis are widely used in the preparation of teaching material and are of primary importance for teachers of English.

2. The selection of this or that particular procedure largely depends on the goal set before the investigator.

The Immediate Constituent analysis is mainly applied to find out the derivational structure of lexical units. The distributional and the transformational procedures are of help in the investigation of sameness / difference of meaning of words and word-groups and also in the analysis of word-formation. Componental analysis brings to light the set of sememes which make up the denotational meaning of lexical units. Componental analysis may be combined with transformational procedures and also with the distributional and co-occurrence analysis.

3. The method of semantic differential is regarded as an interesting attempt to get a better insight into the problem of the connotational meaning. This method, however, has not been as yet properly elaborated and therefore is scarcely ever used in applied lexicology.

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