N. M. RAYEVSKA

English Lexicology

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FOURTH
EDITION
REVISED
AND BROUGHT
UP TO DATE

For Students
of the Foreign Language
Faculties in Universities

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Н. М. РАЄВСЬКА

Лексикологія англійської мови

ВИДАННЯ
ЧЕТВЕРТЕ,
ВИПРАВЛЕНЕ
І ДОПОВНЕНЕ

Допущено Міністерством
вищої і середньої спеціальної
освіти УРСР як підручник
для студентів факультетів
іноземних мов університетів

Підручник лексикології англійської мови в четверте видання, значно перероблене і доповнене, в якому висвітлюються питання морфологічної та семантичної будови слова, етимологічні основи англійської лексики.

При викладенні матеріалу враховано нові вимоги до теоретичних курсів: піднести рівень підготовки студентів з теорії мови до наукового розуміння методів лінгвістичних досліджень в аспекті сучасного мовознавства. У центрі уваги — системний характер лексичних явищ, їх тісний зв'язок та взаємозумовленість з граматичною будовою мови, семантика лексики і семантика граматики, теорія опозицій у вивченні лексики.

У кінці кожного тематичного розділу курсу даються контрольні запитання, що допомагають студентам правильно організувати самостійну роботу над мовою.

Розрахований на студентів старших курсів факультетів іноземних мов університетів.

Підручник лексикології англійської мови є четверте видання, значно перероблене і доповнене, матеріал якого викладено в плані нових досягнень сучасної лінгвістики. Розрахований на студентів старших курсів факультетів іноземних мов університетів

Курс складається з розділів: I. Вступ; II. Морфологічна будова англійського слова; III. Семантична будова англійського слова; IV. Етимологічні основи англійської лексики.
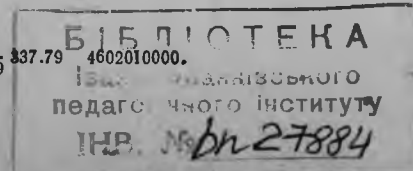
Основними завданнями курсу є піднесення рівня підготовки студентів з теорії мови, що має сприяти науковому розумінню теоретичних основ вивчення лексики як системи та сучасних методів лінгвістичних досліджень на рівні сучасного статусу науки про мову.

У підручнику висвітлюються також питання проблемного характеру, що виникають у вивченні лексики в світлі сучасних досягнень радянської та зарубіжної лінгвістики. В центрі уваги — системний характер лексики, тісний зв'язок лексики з іншими рівнями мови, зокрема граматики та стилістики. Лігвістичний аналіз включає теорію опозицій, теорію поля, компонентний і дистрибутивний аналіз і трансформацію як метод експерименту.

Курс викладається англійською мовою, включає елементи контрастивної лексикології, порівняння з рідною мовою. Зважаючи на те, що спеціалізація студентів факультетів іноземних мов університету проводиться з двох іноземних мов, в лінгвістичний аналіз мовних явищ включаються зіставлення з німецькою та французькою мовами.

Revision Material в кінці кожної глави скеровує студента на самостійну підготовку з теорії мови. Окремі питання Revision Material можуть бути

успішно використані як теми для дипломної та науково-дослідної роботи студентів з питань лексикології, а також на семінарських заняттях з теорії мови.

У процесі підготовки курсу використано актуальні праці в галузі англійської філології, а також відомі лексикографічні джерела вітчизняних та зарубіжних авторів.

Автор з подякою прийме всі зауваження та поради щодо змісту та структури підручника.

Lexicology as a special discipline is clear of purpose in its theoretical and practical aims. This book of English Lexicology is designed for students of the senior courses of the University faculties of foreign languages. Post-graduates specializing in English may also find it useful. The aim of the course is to lead the students to a scientific understanding of modern English lexical system keeping abreast of the new assumptions and views of language, new modern trends in lexicological research and the findings set to the forth in the most important Soviet and foreign writings that have appeared in recent times. In line with this aim, we include here a discussion of the problems that arise in the presentation of the material; the scope of the material presented is dictated by its factual usefulness. This will facilitate the study of the English word, coordinate and deepen the grasp of the language. The problems discussed in each of the chapters may well become an object of a more detailed study in special university courses and seminars.

The emphasis in this study is on word meaning.

Due attention has been drawn to the practical problems of language description and to the well-established techniques for the study of vocabulary units from a number of different points of view. Each of these techniques supplements all the others in contributing to theoretical knowledge and revealing to the student the way in which the language actually works.

Modern lexicological studies contain most valuable information about the language as system. They make the study of language more illuminating and contribute to scientific understanding of language development and its dialectical nature.

Various aspects of the English vocabulary investigation have been described by Soviet scholars in

recent times, such as synonymic correlation of lin-
guistic units, lexico-semantic variation of words,
their semantic transpositions, implicit nomination
on the lexical level, phraseology, problems of con-
trastive lexicology, etc., to which we repeatedly
turn the attention of the students with suggestions
for further reading. The given quotations from dif-
ferent sources serve to show how some linguistic
facts have been variously treated by different writers,
which of the linguistic approaches seem most convinc-
ing, and where there are reasons for questioning
certain special assumptions in vocabulary studies.

The discussion of the linguistic facts has been made
concrete by the use of illustrative examples and com-
parison with Russian, Ukrainian, French and German.
Extracts for study and discussion have been selected
from the works of progressive writers which aid in the
formation of the student's literary taste and help
him to see how the best writers make the deepest
resources of language serve their pen. With this in
view, due attention has also been turned to connota-
tive aspects and emotional overtones as important
semantic components of linguistic units. *Suggested
Assignments for Study and Discussion* have been se-
lected with a view to extend the practical knowledge
of the language, to encourage the development of
student's competency in vocabulary studies by active
participation in scientific research even if in a small
way. *Revision Material* after each chapter has been
arranged so that the student should acquire as much
experience in independent work as possible.

PART I. Introduction

LEXICOLOGY AS A BRANCH
OF LINGUISTICS

L e x i c o l o g y[1] has its own aims and methods of scientific research. Its subject-matter is the w o r d, its morphemic structure, history and meaning.

The general study of vocabulary, irrespective of the specific features of any particular language, is called g e n e r a l l e x i c o l o g y. The description of the characteristic peculiarities in the vocabulary of a given language is the subject matter of s p e c i a l l e x i c o l o g y. The latter is based on the fundamental principles of general lexicology, which forms a part of general science of language.

Vocabulary studies include such aspects of research as etymology, semasiology and onomasiology.

E t y m o l o g y[2] is the branch of linguistics with the origin or derivation of a word as shown by its analysis into elements, by pointing out the root or primitive upon which it is based, or by referring to an earlier form in its parent language.

Linguistic analysis on this level gives an account setting forth the origin or derivation of words.

In many cases the etymology of a word reveals itself in comparative historical studies.

S e m a s i o l o g y[3] is the branch of linguistics whose subject-matter is the study of word meaning and the classification of changes in the signification of words or forms, viewed as normal and vital factors of linguistic development. The term *'semantics'* is commonly used with an implication of the lexical meaning of a word or form, of word-making patterns or syntactic structures (семантика падежа, семантика предложения, семантика глагольных форм и т. д.).

O n o m a s i o l o g y is the study of the principles and regularities of the signification of things and notions by lexical and lexico-phraseological means of a given language. It has its special value in studying dialects, where one and the same object or thing finds its different signification in different regions of the country.

Semasiology is most obviously relevant to polysemy and homonymy. Onomasiology bears obvious relevance to synonymity.

Linguistic investigations of recent years are characterized by a growing interest to problems of word-

meaning, implicit nomination, meaning equivalence, linguistic change and new dimensions added to lexical units of various types, to some obvious linguistic change in stylistic aspects of the language, etc.

There is no lack of promising directions along these lines of linguistic research.

A major stimulus to Soviet lexicology has been the prodigious lexicographic activity.

It is of interest to note that lexicology as a special discipline is not officially distinguished in Western European or American linguistics [1].

Under a university system stressing the teaching of languages in their full historical and literary perspective, problems of vocabulary have enjoyed an importance in the Soviet Union unmatched by the United States.

According to U r i e l W e i n r e i c h, lexicology as a branch of linguistics is nowadays beginning to be distinguished both in Western European and American linguistics, e. g. Allen Walker Read, *Approaches to Lexicography and Semantics*, to appear in *Current Trends in Linguistics*, Thomas A. Sebeok (Vol. 10) *Linguistics in North America.*

The development of lexicological studies has brought well-known books of lexicology making vocabulary studies more illuminating and contributing to a scientific understanding of linguistic processes.

A valuable source of significant information revealing important aspects of language will be found in scholarly accounts made by A. I. Smirnitsky, whose accomplishments in lexicological studies are original, significant and practical.

Most perceptive and useful treatments of theory and method in lexicology with much insight on the subject in the light of modern linguistics will be found in linguistic research made in 50—70-ies by O. S. A k h m a n o v a, V. N. Y a r t s e v a, A. A. U f i m t z e v a, I. A r n o l d, N. N. A m o s o v a, Y. A. Z h l u k t e n k o, R. S. G i n z b u r g, K. T. B a r a n t s e v and other scholars.

The study of English phraseology in this country was initiated by A. V. K o o n i n, whose dictionary of English idioms is a valuable contribution to lexicographic studies.

Important information on the theory of phraseology is presented in A. V. K o o n i n's monograph *"English Phraseology"*, where the student's attention is drawn to the methods of linguistic analysis of phraseological units and their classification.

Current work in lexicology attempts to provide the insight into various processes of language development. Emphasis is always on the distributional analysis of meaning, on internal relations of elements within complex wholes, with due attention to implicit nomination at different levels of linguistic structure.

LEXICOLOGY IN ITS RELATIONS TO OTHER LEVELS OF LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE

Every word presents a unity of semantic, phonetic and grammatical elements. In other words, it has a lexical meaning and at the same time its own phonetical and grammatical aspects.

Interactions between different levels of linguistic structure is therefore a most significant point to notice in studying the vocabulary of a given language. With this approach to linguistic facts vocabulary studies in our day have taken on new vitality and interest.

LEXICOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

The points of contact between **vocabulary** and **grammar** are numerous and varied.

The practical importance of studying this interrelationship needs little emphasis. Numberless examples show that grammar is not indifferent to the concrete lexical meaning of words and their capacity to combine in actual speech. The lexical meaning of the word, in its turn, is very often signalled by the grammatical context in which it occurs. This is a universal development inherent in the fundamental structure of language. Words and phrases can have wide range of meanings depending mainly on the different sorts of environment in which they occur.

Interactions between vocabulary and grammar make themselves evident both in the sphere of morphology and in syntax.

Distinction must be made at this point between syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations; the former are based on the linear character of speech and are studied by means of contextual, transformational and other types of analysis, the latter reveal themselves in the morphemic structure of words and are described in terms of morphemes and their arrangement.

Paradigmatic relationships carry our attention to: (a) the interdependence of elements within words, (b) the interdependence of words within the vocabulary, (c) the influence of other aspects of the same language.

Syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations are nearly as important in vocabulary studies as they are at the levels of grammar and phonology.

Morphological indicators often help to differentiate the variant meanings of words. Plural forms, for instance, can serve to form special lexical meanings. Familiar examples are:

advice = counsel, advices = information
damage = injury, damages = compensation

Sometimes, when two kinds of pluralization have produced two plurals of a word, different uses and meanings have resulted, and as a consequence the older form has not been ousted by the s- form. This can be seen in such pairs as:

brother — brethren, brothers
cloth — cloths, clothes

Some concrete nouns may be used both as mass-nouns and as thing-nouns. In the latter meaning they may form s-plural: *fruit* is used in the singular; the plural *fruits* is used only when meaning 'different kinds of fruit', the plural form may also be used figuratively as in *fruits of labour*; a related case is seen in the use of *fish*, not only to denote the 'flesh' of fish which we eat, but also 'the living animal as an object for fishing'.

Lexicalization of numeric meanings is rather a frequent occurrence. Compare also:

a little more cheese :: *two big cheeses*
cork is lighter than :: *I want three corks*
water   *for three bottles*
some earth stuck :: *the earth is round*
to his shoes
much experience :: *many experiences*[1].

A corresponding usage is found in other languages. Cf. Russian очко — очки; долг — долги; the noun долг in the meanings of 'debt' (something borrowed on credit) has a full paradigm, whereas долг in the meaning of 'duty' is commonly used only in the singular.

[1] *See:* Jespersen O. The Philosophy of Grammar. London, 1968, p. 199.

As can be seen from the above examples, morphological indication often serves to distinguish homonymic words.

The plural form of the word атмосфера — атмосферы has a special terminological sense 'a unit of the pressure of the air'; the plural form of the noun 'красота' — 'красоты' implies 'the beauty of the landscape, scenery'.

The categories and types of English word-formation give sufficient evidence to say that word-making as a linguistic process is most obviously relevant to grammar. This will be clear if we turn our attention to semantic aspects of affixation. Some prefixes, for instance, make intransitive verb transitive, e. g. **be-** and **out-**: *beweep, belie, besmear,* etc., *outrun* (=run ahead of), *outshine* (=surpass in brightness), *outvote* (=defeat by votes).

The grammatical concept of causativity makes itself evident in verbs made from adjectives with the suffix **-en** implying causativity, e. g. *greaten, harden, deaden, gladden, lessen, loosen, quicken, soften, whiten, thicken, worsen, cheapen, fatten, dampen, deepen,* etc.

Causative meaning can also find expression in derivatives with the prefix **en-**, e. g. *enfeeble, embitter, encome, endear, enfree, entame,* etc.

The prefix **re-** can make verbs with the aspective sense of repetition, e. g. *remake, rejoin, reorganize,* etc.

Deverbal nouns formed by zero-derivation imply the aspective meaning of a single act (actions of single occurrence), e. g. *a glance, a jump, a run, a swim,* etc.

Recurrent designs of word-formation viewed in terms of their relevance to the most general lexical categories present a major linguistic interest. The regularities of such formations give every reason to refer coinages of this type to lexico-morphological categories.

Interactions between vocabulary and grammar have their own peculiarities in syntax. These are revealed with sufficient evidence in actual use of syntactic patterns of different types.

Linguistic studies of the English verb give numerous examples of resolution of structural ambiguity by lexical probability, which makes observations along this line ever more interesting. Many vocabulary ambiguities in English, for instance, result from the double use of a great many verbs transitively and intransitively but in actual speech ambigui-

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ties are never noticed because the various possible meanings are usually resolved by the context.

The absence of formal indication of transitivity leads to grammatical homonymy and lexical polysemy.

The lexical meaning of the English verb is to a very great extent determined by the categorial value and meaning of the presentive word with which it is used and, accordingly, the type of syntactic patterns: 'subject — action', 'action object', 'subject — action — object'.

The delimitation of the virtual signs is thus realized by grammatical means, in other words, by the relation between the subject and the object of the action and distinction between semantic and syntactic transitivity.

To make our point clear, compare the variant meanings of the following verbs:

Intransitive Use	Transitive Use
(a) *The child jumped with joy.*	(b) *He jumped ten pages of this book.* *He could not jump the train.* *You cannot jump queue.*
(a) *He breathed freely.*	(b) *She breathed a sound.* *He could not breathe a word.* *You breathed a new life into his literary activity.* *Field flowers breathed fragrance.*

As can be seen from the above examples the meaning of the verb in implicit syntagmas, determined by the categorial meaning of the verb itself and the noun with which it is combined, is generally signalled by:

a) reference to objective reality;

b) categorial and individual meaning of nouns with which the verb is combined;

c) syntactic relations — transitive :: intransitive use of the verb; 'subject — action', 'action — object', 'subject — action — object'; notional :: semi-copulative verb;

d) lexical combinability (N in the position of the subject — person :: non-person).

Linguistic asymmetry gives numerous examples of word-changing morphemes used as a means to express a new lexical meaning, and word-making morphemes functioning as indicators of grammatical meanings. Words help grammar.

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The lexical meaning of the direct object may change the meaning of the verb.

Cf.: to hatch an egg   to hatch a chicken
to roll a hoop   to roll pills
to strike the table   to strike a bargain

Instances are not few when the syntactic position of a word does not only change its function but its lexical meaning as well. An adjective and a nounal element of the same group can more or less naturally exchange places. English abounds in such cases as: *library school, school library, test flight, flight test*, etc.

To find out what particular class a given word belongs to it is generally of little avail to look at one isolated form. Take the word *round* for illustration which is a noun in *a round of a ladder, he took his daily rounds*, an adjective in *a round table*, a verb in *he failed to round the lamp-post*, an adverb in *come round tomorrow*, and a preposition in *he walked round the house.*

It is important to observe, however, that if *round* like many other English words belongs to more than one word-class, this is true of the isolated form only: in each separate case when the word is used in actual speech it naturally belongs definitely to one class and to no other[1]. Examples of interparadigmatic homonymy in English are numerous; syntactic relations between words in actual use make the necessary meaning clear and no ambiguity arises. Nor is there any flexical ending that is the exclusive property of any single part of speech in English. The ending **ed (-d)**, for instance, is chiefly found in verbs *(smoked, opened*, etc.) but it may also be added to nouns to form adjectives *(gifted, moneyed, blue-eyed*, etc.).

LEXICOLOGY AND PHONETICS

The organic interrelation between **lexicon** and **phonetics** is also an interesting object of linguistic research.

Word-formation, for instance, gives numerous examples of separable compounds generated by shifting the stress. The pattern of stress normally indicates the nature of 'modifier' relationship in noun-adjunct groups.

The intonation of the utterance has more than one linguistic function. It can give prominence to an accented syllable, but, at the same time, the type of pitch change used may provide information about the speak-

[1] *See:* Jespersen O. The Philosophy of Grammar. London, 1968, p. 61.

er's mood or attitude and is capable of distinguishing sentence types and, sometimes, word-meaning.

The meaning of a word may sometimes rely on the situation of the accent expressed mainly in terms of pitch (where there are no associated qualitative changes), e. g.:

in'sult (verb)   *'insult* (noun)
con'duct (verb)   *'conduct* (noun)

Similarly, words such as *anything, anyone, anybody*, following a negative may have a different meaning according to their pitch pattern, e. g.

I 'can't 'eat anything. (= *I can eat nothing.*)
I 'can't 'eat 'anything. (= *I can eat some things.*)

Sense-shifts conditioned by a change in the prosody of the utterance are a factor of great importance in communication. A word which on the segmental level is meliorative can acquire a negative or pejorative meaning and is pronounced with a specific speech timbre.

Correlation between the meanings of words and their prosodic arrangement, in other words, 'lexical phonetics', is a source of special linguistic interest. There is no lack of promising directions along this line of research.

Important studies of 'lexical phonetics' have been made by Soviet and foreign scholars in recent times but much still remains to be done before complete data concerning lexical phonetics are available.

Interesting observations in this area will be found in investigations of English style made by David Crystal and Derek Devy who studied utterances as actually realized in speech[1].

The interdependence of the meanings of words and their prosodic organization in the act of communication must never be ignored. In actual speech certain words can acquire a different connotative meaning because they are pronounced differently on the suprasegmental level.

The use of words in the opposite meaning in conjunction with a specific intonational contour is commonly referred to as 'antiphrasis' or 'enantiosemy' (поляризация значений).

Examples of adherent connotation of words signalled by the prosodic features of the utterance are numerous. Take the following for illustration:

You have done me a good service!
(Вы оказали мне медвежью услугу!)
A pretty time of it!

[1] Crystal D., Davy D. Investigations of English Style. London, 1969.

A nice kettle of fish!
(Неприятное положение. Хорошенькая история!)
Cf.: Вот тебе и раз. Веселенькая история!
Нема чого (й) казати, гарна історія!

*When she had gone Soames reached for the letter.
"A pretty kettle of fish", he muttered. "Where it'll end.
I can't tell"* (Galsworthy).
"Darling, it was very harmless".
*"... Harmless! Much you know what's harmless
and what isn't"* (Galsworthy).
(the adjective *harmless* is used in the opposite meaning
'harmful').

Similar uses of words illustrating enantiosemy
will be found in other languages.

Cf.: **French:** *Voila du joli!*
Voila du plaisir!
Cela faisait plaisir a voir!
(used ironically, *plaisir = déplaisir*).

German: *Das wäre noch schöner!*
Вот еще. Этого только не хватало!
Schön steht er nun da!
*Mit der Bemerkung ist er schön ange-
kommen!*
(ironically, in negative pejorative meaning).

The change from a meliorative connotation to
a pejorative one is rather a frequent occurrence in
evaluative words with inherent connotations such
as: *good, fine, nice, pretty, pleasant, perfect, kind,
charming, remarkable*, etc.

Numerous examples show that in actual speech
certain words acquire a different meaning, become
semantically and metasemiotically different because
they are pronounced differently. A word which on
the segmental level is a meliorative adjective can
acquire a pejorative meaning only if it is pronounced
with an altogether different timbre II[1].

Enantiosemy is not restricted by certain types
or classes of words. We find here words which belong
to different themantic groups, as well as different
parts of speech. However different these words may
be, they are brought together by one common fea-
ture: they always express the attitude of the speaker
to the thing spoken of, his subjective evaluation of
what is taking place. Intonation shows with what
connotation the word is used.

It is of interest to note that enantiosemic use of
words is evidently on the increase now. Lexicologic-

[1] *See:*
A k h m a n o v a O.
et al. Lexicology:
Theory and Method.
Edited by
O. A k h m a-
n o v a.
MGU, 1972, pp. 36—49.

al phonology is a most important field of linguistic
research contributing significantly to scientific ana-
lysis of speech activity.

LEXICOLOGY AND STYLE PROBLEMS

With the expansion of linguistic interest into
style problems vocabulary studies in our day have
taken on new vitality. Analysing the lexical units
from the viewpoint of the information they carry
we cannot restrict the notion of information to the
cognitive aspect of language.

Connotative stylistic aspects are also important
semantic components of linguistic units of different
levels. There is therefore a close relationship between
lexicology and stylistics which reveals itself in the
selection among the linguistic units.

In the vocabulary of any language there are ex-
pressive means established in the course of its develop-
ment. The selection of such lexical units adapted to
style and purpose in each case is a factor of great
significance in the act of communication. Synonymic
lexical units may differ in subtle nuances of meaning,
conveying emotions and kindling emotions in
others.

The variety of expressive features that may be
incorporated in language, whether written or spoken,
is enormous.

The validity of linguistic analysis intended to
inquire into the stylistic aspects of vocabulary units
is self-evident.

Many of the most characteristic stylistic traits
of the language are in the field of the vocabulary.

The aesthetic and emotional impact produced by
a work of literature is largely conditioned by the
alternative choices of words (formal, familiar, emo-
tive, technical, professional, etc.).

Linguistic analysis must essentially involve the
identification of the various dimensions along which
messages may differ.

Stylistic aspects of word-formation depending on
the derivational possibilities of the language also
merit consideration. One of the well known stylistic
devices at this level is the formation of expressive
derivatives (affectionate, diminutive, pejorative).
Expressive nuances may be achieved by a different
distribution of word-making affixes and by compound-
ing on the metasemiotic level.

Coinages of this type carry a new expressive connotation well adapted to style and purpose in each case (See pp. 60—61).

The expressive elements of a language cannot be studied outside of their relations to other styles, which are emotionally neutral. Their diachronic aspect is also to be considered as a factor helping to understand the correlation of the expressive and non-expressive elements, since they may exchange functions in the course of language development.

The study of words in lexicology cannot be divorced from such problems as stylistic differentiation of the vocabulary, the choice of words adapted to the context and functional style, problems of meaning equivalence, synonymic encounters of words, stylistic oppositions between words and phrases, oppositions between styles.

SUGGESTED ASSIGNMENTS.
POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Comment on the subject-matter of lexicology as a branch of linguistics.

2. Be ready to comment on the accomplishments of Soviet linguists in lexicological studies.

3. Discuss the statement that lexicology should be viewed in relation to other levels of linguistic structure.

4. Give comments on syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships of words revealed in vocabulary studies.

5. Give illustrative examples to show that the lexical meaning of the word is very often signalled by the grammatical context in which it occurs.

6. Illustrate the statement that word-making as a linguistic process is most obviously relevant to grammar.

7. Give examples of lexicalization of numeric grammatical meanings.

8. Morphological indicators can help to differentiate the variant meanings of words. Can you give examples to illustrate the statement?

9. Give examples of the resolution of structural ambiguity by lexical probability.

10. Give examples to show that ambiguity can be prevented in actual speech by contrast in intonation patterns.

11. The adherent connotation of words is often signalled by the prosodic features of the utterance. Can you give examples to illustrate the statement?

12. Be ready to discuss the relationship between lexicology and stylistics.

ON METHODS OF LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS IN VOCABULARY STUDIES

CHAPTER 2

Vocabulary studies include such methods of linguistic analysis as distributional and transformational analysis, statistic frequency counts with the application of the theory of chances, the analysis into immediate constituents (the IC's analysis), componential analysis, the theory of oppositions and the principle of 'field-structure'.

DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS

Distributional analysis is intended to classify linguistic units on the basis of the possible variants of the immediate lexical, grammatical and phonetic environments of a linguistic unit.

In the words of H a r r i s,— the distribution of an element is the total of all environments in which it occurs, i. e. the sum of all the (different) positions (or occurrences) of an element relative to the occurrence of other elements.

Two utterances or features are said to be linguistically, descriptively, or distributionally equivalent if they are identical as to their linguistic elements and the distributional relations among these elements.

In investigations of Soviet scholars the distributional analysis has been successfully applied on different ranges of linguistic structure.

The technique of analysis has been facilitated by coding, i. e. replacing words by conventional word-class symbols:

N — for nouns and words that can occupy in the sentence the same position; V — for verbs; A — for adjectives and their equivalents; D — for adverbs and their equivalent noun-phrases; V_{en}— for participle II, V_{ing} — for Participle I and Gerund.

The potential valency of words by which we mean the potential capacity of words to occur in different environments may be conveniently shown, by corresponding distributional formulas.

The lists of patterns typical of the word's distribution is commonly given with examples, e. g.

get + N	get a letter, get a book
get + N + V_{inf}	get a tree to grow
get + A	get angry, get cool
get + V_{inf}	get to think
get + N + V_{en}	get a thing done
get + V_{ing}	get thinking
get + prp. + V_{ing}	get to thinking

Compare also:

take + N	take a book, a pencil, a prize
take + N (p) + A	take it easy
take + N (p) + prp. + N	take him for someone else
take + N (p) + prp. + N	take her to the theatre
take + N (p) + D	take someone cooly, etc.

As can be seen from above examples, the meaning of the verb varies with the context. Some of these distributional patterns however may be used for several meanings of the given verb so that this differentiation is far from being exhaustive.

Consider, for illustration, the variant meanings of the pattern *take* + N in such cases:

> to take a prize
> to take notice
> to take a breath.

Variation in meaning in each case depends on the subclass of the noun which follows the verb *take*.

There are groups of verbs in any language that in actual use are semantically compatible only with certain classes of agents. Such are, for instance, the verbs *talk, speak, discuss, hope, advise, consult*, etc. used only with personal subjects.

Thus, for instance, the agent of the Russian verb *идти*, may be a person, an animal, means of conveyance *(трамвай, паровоз, поезд, машина*, etc.), natural phenomena *(дождь, снег, туча)* and even abstract notions *(время, жизнь)*. English has quite different lexical syntagmas expressing such notions.

Cf.: E n g l i s h   R u s s i a n

man walks	человек идет
train runs	поезд идет
tram runs, moves	трамвай идет

rain falls	дождь идет
snow falls	снег идет
film is on	фильм идет
play is on	пьеса идет

The distributional approach to meaning brings to notice the significant fact that the total meaning of many words in all languages is to be determined by the range of occurrences in sentences, by their individual relations with other words[1].

The syntagmatic relations between words are often referred to as "collocation".

By c o l l o c a t i o n is meant the habitual lexico-phraseological association of a word in a language with other particular words in sentences.

Collocational ranges are unlike grammatical classes in that they are peculiar to each word, and almost certainly no two words in a language share exactly the same range and frequency of occurrence within a range, whereas grammatical classes may each contain many different words as members.

Collocations are far more personally variable among speakers of a single dialect within a language than are grammatical classes.

Different styles, types of utterances appropriate to specific types of situation are characterized by different collocations. Proper words in proper places, so to say.

Special types of collocations will be observed in idiomatic stock-phrases that are used to refer the habitual collocations of more than one word that tend to be used together with a semantic function not readily deducible from the other uses of its component words apart from each other, e. g. *to beat the air, to beat the wind, to carry the day (= to win the day)*, etc.

Distributional analysis is most helpful for the analysis of the morphemic structure of words, the combinability of the morphemes and their identity, as well as for the analysis of free and stable word-combinations.

The subdivision of every class of words into lexico-grammatical classes, such as the subdivision of verbs into transitive/intransitive, copulative/semi-copulative, etc. or nouns into abstract, personal/non-personal, material, collective, etc., can also be done by means of such formalized procedures as substitution and transformational analysis.

OPPOSITIONAL RELATIONS

Oppositions between linguistic units reveal themselves on different levels: in phonology, morphology, lexicology. This seems to be a universal feature of language development. By l e x i c a l o p p o s i t i o n s we mean semantically relevant relationship of partial difference between two partially similar words. The common features of the contrasted words make the basis of a lexical opposition, the features that serve to differentiate them are distinctive features. The presence of a distinctive feature must allow the prediction of secondary features connected with it. The feature may be constant or variable, or the basis may be formed by a combination of constant or variable features, as, for instance, in the following group of words: *large, enormous, colossal, gigantic*, with their variation in size.

Without a basis of similarity no comparison and no opposition can be possible.

In terms of N. T r u b e t z k o y 's theory, o p p o s i t i o n is defined as a functionally relevant relationship of partial difference between two partially similar elements of language. The common features of the members of the opposition make up its basis, the features that serve to differentiate them are distinctive features.

An opposition between two linguistic signs may under certain conditions become irrelevant.

Examples of suspension of oppositions, by which we mean finding points of similarity between the contrasted members, may be found in numbers.

The word *good* and *bad*, for instance, are antonyms, but this opposition may be neutralized by the prosodic organization of the utterance, when *good* will mean just the opposite, e. g. *How good of you*! (negative pejorative meaning.)

Semantic transpositions of words in actual speech will give countless examples to illustrate suspension of oppositions between lexical units of various classes. Extending the concept of neutralization to vocabulary studies has undoubted practical value both in general linguistics and with regard to particular languages.

SUBSTITUTION

S u b s t i t u t i o n by which we mean testing similarity by placing into identical environment is fairly common at all levels of linguistic structure.

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It is most efficient in studying the distributional value of words, now called valency analysis. In morphological analysis substitution is helpful in determining classes of words. This will be made clear if we compare the following:

We recognized this place.   *We recognized it.*
We recognized this boy.   *We recognized him.*
We recognized this family.   *We recognized them.*

The words *place, boy* and *family* belong to different classes of nouns because they are differently substituted. Difference of substitution is the basis for the subdivision of the words like *place, boy* and *family* into thing nouns, personal and collective nouns.

THE IC's ANALYSIS

The structural types of words may be effectively described in terms of ultimate immediate constituents (IC's). Immediate constituents analysis is the process of segmenting a complex construction by successive single cuts. The principle of immediate constituents was first suggested by L. B l o o m f i e l d[1] and was later developed by many linguists. Every complex form is entirely made up, so far as its phonetically definable constituents are concerned, of morphemes. The description of the types of morphemes in any given language is relatively simple in comparison with the description of the meaningful constructions in which these morphemes occur.

Each language has a different system for the combining of morphemes, and within each system there are rigid restrictions. In syntax there may be such alternative orders as *John ran away, Away ran John*, and *Away John ran*, but in morphology the order is fixed, and in some languages it is very complicated.

In English we find rather complex structures, such as, for instance, the word formalizers, consisting of five morphemes. The shift of order of one morpheme makes the word quite unintelligible[1]. The morpheme boundaries in an utterance appear to be determined not on the basis of considerations interior to the utterance, but on the basis of comparison with other utterances. The comparisons are controlled, i. e. we do not merely scan various random utterances, but seek utterances which differ from our original one only in stated portions. The

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[1] *See:*
B l o o m f i e l d L.
Language. London,
1969, pp. 161, 167, 210.

[1] *See:*
N i d a E. O.
Morphology. The
Descriptive Analysis
of Words. Ann Arbor,
1949, p. 78.

[1] See: Harris Z. Structural Linguistics. Chicago — London, 1966, p. 163.
[2] See: Bloomfield. Op. cit., pp. 227—236.

final test is in utterances which are only minimally different from ours[1].

According to L. Bloomfield[2], the principle of immediate constituents leads to distinguish certain classes of words.

A. **Secondary words**, containing free forms:

1. Compound words, containing more than one free form: *door-knob, wild-animal-tamer*. The included free forms are the members of the compound word: in our examples, the members are the words *door, knob, tamer*, and the phrase *wild animal*.

2. Derived secondary words, containing one free form: *boyish, old-maidish*. The included free form is called the underlying form; in our examples the underlying forms are the word *boy* and the phrase *old maid*.

B. **Primary words**, not containing a free form:

1. Derived primary words, containing more than one bound form: *re-ceive, de-ceive, con-ceive, re-tain, de-tain, con-tain*.

2. Morpheme-words, consisting of a single (free) morpheme: *man, boy, cut, run, red, big*.

The principle of immediate constituents aimed at revealing the structural correlations, in which a morphologically divisible word is involved, may be well illustrated by Bloomfield's analysis of the word *gentlemanly* not as a compound word, but as a derived secondary word, since the immediate constituents are the bound form *-ly* and the underlying word *gentleman;* the word *gentlemanly* is a secondary derivative (a so-called de-compound) whose underlying form happens to be a compound word.

The IC's analysis leads us to observe the structural order of the constituents which may differ from their actual sequence; thus *ungentlemanly* consists of *un-* and *gentlemanly*, with the bound form added at the beginning, but *gentlemanly* consists of *gentleman* and *-ly* with the bound form added at the end.

The IC's analysis may be developed by combining a purely formal procedure with semantic analysis.

TRANSFORMATIONAL ANALYSIS

Transformational analysis, by which we mean transformations of linguistic units according to corresponding patterns to show how

[1] See: Harris Z. S. Co-occurrence and Transformation in Linguistic Structure. 1957, No. 3.

to derive something from something else by switching things about, putting things on or leaving them out and so on[1]. Transformations are most practical in building semantic relationships between words. In lexicology we often apply them on different levels of study. Numerous compound words are best explained by their decomposition to show how they derive from their constituents.

Nominal compounds, for instance, derive mostly from different syntactic patterns in a wide variety of ways. Nominalizations of this type may be well illustrated by transformational analysis:

weavebird (= bird which weaves (a nest)
watchdog (= dog which watches something)
rattlesnake (= snake with a rattle).

By lexical transformation we mean replacing a word or a phrase by its semantic equivalent or descriptive definition, e. g.

"He must be a first-rater", said Sam.
"AI", replied Mr. Poker (Dickens, Pickwick Papers)

(*AI = first rater*)

She is beginning to show years → Age begins to tell on her.

He was in two minds → He was in a state of indecision.

She committed the story by heart → She memorized the story.

The possibility of transformation is generally referred to as transformational potential. Lexical grouping of words into classes with similar distributional value and transformational potential seems to be helpful in many parts of vocabulary studies. But such methods are still in a rudimentary state of investigation, and much remains to be done before complete data are available. Space does not permit to describe in full the extensive development of modern techniques of linguistic analysis. Suggestions for further reading are made in our reference list on p. 297 so that the student can follow up various lines of thought in books and work-papers of various scholars.

COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

Componential analysis is part of the analysis of a text which aims at revealing and organizing the semantic components of the words. It is used for various purposes:

(a) a detailed comparison of meaning whether within a single language or between languages;

(b) providing a more adequate basis for translational equivalences;

(c) the judging of semantic compatibility as an important feature of style;

(d) treating semantic transpositions of words, figurative extension, in particular.

The study of componential features of words is a most promising direction of linguistic research.

The study of the semantic structure of a language should aim at establishing the most generalized, as well as the most specific relations between word meanings. All the various relations between the variant meanings of a polysemic word may be indicated systematically. More specific distinctions can also be worked out.

The significance of componential analysis as a valid way to describe referential meanings in language is quite obvious.

Componential analysis may be applied in the classification of potentially related meanings of polysemic words.

The procedure of grouping into loosely defined classes of seemingly related meanings provides interesting results.

All the relations between the variant meanings of a polysemic word may be indicated systematically.

Take, for illustration, the verb *run* — one of the verbs of motion which has an unusually large number of meanings occurring in different types of contexts:

Cf.

I. (a) *He ran very fast.*   movement in space through
   (b) *He ran the car*   the use of limbs and with
     into the garage.   successive instances in
   (c) *He ran cards in*   which no foot touches the
     a file.   ground

II. (a) *The motor is running.*
   (b) *The clock is running.*   internal movement
   (c) *Her heart is running*   or movement of re-
     fast.   lated parts
   (d) *His eyes ran over it.*

III. (a) *The stream is running.*
   (b) *Dyed colour runs in washing.*
   (c) *The river ran dry.*   movement of a li-
   (d) *The cow ran dry.*   quid or dry mass
   (e) *Her nose is running.*
   (f) *The sand ran out of the sack.*

IV. (a) *The train runs twice a day.*   vehicular
   (b) *The boat runs from Albany and New York.*   movement on schedule

V. (a) *The business ran successfully.*   general functioning
   (b) *The office could run well.*   (office and organization)

VI. (a) *His memory runs not so far back.*
   (b) *His life runs smoothly.*
   (c) *How fast the years are running!*
   (d) *Time was running on.*   extension of time
   (e) *The contract ran for several years.*   or place
   (f) *The line runs east.*
   (g) *The fence runs round the house.*

VII. (a) *His horse ran first.*   winning a place in
   (b) *They ran him for the president.*   a contest, occurrences relating to election

VIII. (a) *This is how the verse runs.*   the contents of
   (b) *The same idea ran through the whole book.*   something

More specific distinctions for class membership can also be worked out.

Idiomatic uses:

They ran the hazard (= They ran the risk).

The tune kept running in his head (= The tune seemed to be heard over and over again).

How your tongue runs! (= How incessantly you talk!)

He let his imagination run riot.

Figurative expressions used to make an implicit comparison between the items referred to are often based upon supplementary components.

Cf. (a) *The weeds run wild in their garden.*

(b) *He ran wild.*

The above given grouping of the variant word-meanings guides our attention to the extent of shared semantic components and the relations between any of the distinct meanings included within each group. The technique of linguistic analysis along this line will include: a) testing closely related contexts using the same lexical units; b) allocating each separate meaning to its appropriate field.

THE THEORY OF FIELD

The theory of 'field-structure' is closely connected with Jost Trier and his school.

Jost Trier's[1] concept of 'linguistic fields' is known to be based on Saussure's theory of language as a synchronous system of networks held together by differences, oppositions and distinctive values. According to Trier, fields are linguistic realities that exist between single words and the total vocabulary; they are parts of a whole and resemble words in that they combine into some higher unit, and the vocabulary in that they resolve themselves into smaller units.

Since the publication of Trier's book, the field theory has been developed further, which brought new assumptions and prospects concerning linguistic analysis along this line.

Semantic fields are characterized by a common concept. Thus, for instance, the words *blue, brown, green, red, yellow*, etc. may be described as making up the semantic field of colours; the words *mother, father, daughter, son, sister, cousin*, etc. making up the semantic field of kinship terms, the words *admiration, delight, joy, pleasure, gaiety, happiness, felicity*, etc. as constituents of the semantic field of pleasant emotions, the system of terms for various kind of intellectual qualities, etc.

It should be apparent that the members of the semantic fields are not synonymous but all of them have some common semantic component.

The semantic component common to all the members of a given field is often referred to 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 correlative units and is semantically delimited and determined by them.

[1] *See:* Trier J. Der Deutsche Wortschatz in Sinnbezirk des Verstandes. Die Geschichte eines sprachlichen Feldes Heidelberg, 1931.

Investigations of recent times have revealed striking differences between various fields as well as the elements in common in various languages.

Language is highly organized and systematic. The validity of the attempt to find the basic criteria for systematic investigation of the vocabulary of a language in terms of 'semantic field' needs little emphasis. It is to be noted however that Trier's approach to language as a super-individual culture product shaping our concepts and knowledge of the world does not seem consistent. His considerations about the existence of the so-called 'Zwischenwelt', i. e. 'intermediate universe of concepts interposed between man and the universe' lead away from the real essence of language as a means of communication.

There is also a growing interest to contrastive lexicology, to comparative typological study of languages, to semantic universals inherent in the fundamental structure of language.

Words in two languages may be compared in their semasiological or onomasiological aspects.

In semasiological analysis we reveal word meanings (their semantic value, polysemy). Thus, for example, comparing the English words *hand* and the Russian рука we see that they differ essentially. The Russian word рука is wider in its sense including what in English is denoted by two words: *arm* and *hand*. The same is true, for instance, of the French words *main* and *bras*. Examples of this kind may be found in numbers, which shows that word-meanings in languages reflect the objective reality in different ways.

Onomasiological analysis of lexico-semantic groups will reveal the peculiarities of the use of words in each language as well as the frequency value of words with different semantic components.

Words with a common denotative meaning (denoting one and the same object) may naturally have different connotations because they denote different aspects of the thing designated. Connotations are common, for instance, in transferred and phraseological meanings of words.

Onomasiological comparative analysis is intended to reveal the words which are used to denote one and same object.

Transferred meanings can be expressed by different words in different languages, e. g.

English (a) *with all one's heart*
        (b) *to have a heart-to-heart talk*
French (a) *de bon coeur*
        (b) *parler de bon coeur*
German (a) *von ganzen Herzen*
        (b) *j-m sein Herz erschliessen*
Russian (a) *от всей души*
        (b) *говорить по душам*

SUGGESTED ASSIGNMENTS.
POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Illustrate the difference between syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations between words.
2. Give comments on the validity of distributional analysis of words.
3. What do we mean by collocation?
4. Analyse the verb *to be* and *to have* in terms of their semantic oppositions on the lexico-grammatical level.
5. What does neutralization of sematic oppositions presuppose? Give a few examples to illustrate that the opposition between linguistic units may become irrelevant in their actual use.
6. Analyse the verbs *be*, *live*, *exist* and *stay* in terms of their semantic oppositions.
7. Give comments on substitution as being applied in linguistic analysis.
8. How can relationships between immendiate constituents be defined?
9. Give a few examples of endocentric and exocentric constructions.
10. Be ready to discuss the validity of transformational analysis as a method of experiment.
11. Reveal transformational relations in the following noun-adjunct groups: *pontoon bridge*, *lump sugar*, *auto assembly plant*, *snake poison*.
12. What do we mean by transformational potentials of linguistic units?
13. Get ready to discuss the concept of 'linguistic fields'.
14. Semantic (lexical) fields are characterized by a common concept. Can you give examples to illustrate the statement?
15. Get ready to discuss the semantic field of English adjectives of colour.
16. What do we mean by a common denominator of meaning?

17. What do we mean by semasiological analysis of words?
18. Give examples to show word meanings in languages reflect the objective reality in different ways.
19. What do we mean by onomasiological analysis?
20. Comment on the significance of componential analysis in describing the referential meanings of words.
21. Componential analysis is known to be applied in the classification of potentially related meanings of polysemic words. Use this method of analysis to show the semantic range of the verbs: *fall*, *take*, *give* and *grow*.
22. Determine the meaning of the following words on the basis of componential analysis and then compare them with dictionary definition: *power*, *strength*, *vigour*, *energy*, *force*.
23. Analyze the following occurrences of the word *head* and identify the semantic components which distinguish the variant meaning of the word:

The man has a large head.
She has a head for mathematics.
He is the head of the team.
He is the head of the firm.
The head of the pin is rather large.
Her name is at the head of the list.
The dinner cost two roubles a head.
They shipped fifty head of cattle.
Cabbage heads up quickly.

24. Analyze the different meanings of the word *body* as illustrated in the following set of examples and describe the variation in its referential meanings in the given contexts:

This animal has a large body.
The body of the plane was repaired.
A body of cold air.
A body of laws.
The body of his discourse was about poetry.
She is a quiet little body.
One can readily determine the distance of such celestial bodies.

THE WORD AS THE BASIC OBJECT
OF LEXICOLOGY

A WORD AS A FUNDAMENTAL UNIT
OF LANGUAGE

CHAPTER 3

The fundamental unit of language is a word. The real essence of a word itself is not an easy question to answer. It has always been one of the most disputable problems in almost every branch of linguistics — lexicology, stylistics and grammar. The semantic structure of words involves such questions of primary importance as different types of lexical meanings, their relevant distinctive features, the relationship between the word of language and the outside world, which means above all an insight into the relationship between the word and the referent, into the process of abstraction, metaphor, neutralization of oppositions on the lexical level, polysemy and synonymy, etc.

The problem associated with the definition of the term 'word' is some of the most complex in the analysis of linguistic structure. Determining the word unit is not an easy thing to do, for in different languages the criteria employed in establishing it are of different types, and each language constitutes a separate system with its own patterns of formations and its own types of structural units. The difficulties involved in identifying this linguistic unit are well known.

The unit 'word' has been reinterpreted in many ways. In the words of L. V. S h c h e r b a:

«В самом деле, что такое «слово»? Мне думается, что в разных языках это будет по-разному. Из этого собственно следует, что понятия «слово вообще» не существует... хотя я давно и много думал и думаю о понятии «слово», однако я не могу взять на себя разработку этой проблемы»[1].

As a matter of fact, the search for the proper general determination of the word unit has not yet produced undisputable criteria.

The statement that the definition of a word can be given only on the basis of the linguistic data drawn from the study of words in some concrete languages seems logical and relevant.

Collected evidence of such assumptions may be found in books and monographs written by many scholars.

[1] Щ е р б а Л. В. Очередные проблемы языкознания. АН СССР, ОЛЯ. Vol. 4, 1945, No. 5, p. 176.

[1] B l o o m f i e l d L. Op. cit., p. 178.

L. B l o o m f i e l d[1] defines the word as the minimal independent unit of utterance. A linguistic form which is never spoken alone is a bound form; all others (as, for instance, *John ran* or *John* or *run* or *running* are free forms; a free form which consists entirely of two or more lesser free forms, as, for instance, *poor John* or *John ran away* or *yes, Sir*, is a phrase. A free form which is not a phrase, is a w o r d. A word, then, is a free form which does not consist entirely of (two or more) lesser free forms; in brief, "a word is a minimum free form".

The word has been defined semantically, syntactically and phonologically. In machine translation it is defined as a "sequence of graphemes which can occur between spaces, or the representation of such a sequence on morphemic level"[2].

[2] S i d n e y M. L. Segmentation. Proceedings of the National Symposium on Machine Translation. New York, 1961.

In the words of E. S a p i r[3], the word is determined as "one of the smallest completely satisfying bits of isolated 'meaning', into which the sentence resolved itself".

[3] S a p i r E. Language. An Introduction to the Study of Speech. New York, 1921, p. 35.

E. Sapir makes reference to one more significant feature of the word, its indivisibility. "It cannot be cut into several parts without a disturbance of meaning, one or two other or both of the several parts remaining as a helpless waif on our hands".

According to S. U l l m a n n[4], connected discourse, as analysed from the semantic point of view, will fall into a certain number of meaningful segments which are ultimately composed of meaningful units. These meaningful units are called "words".

[4] See: U l l m a n n S. The Principles of Semantics. Glasgow, 1959, p. 30.

In his book on word-formation H. M a r c h a n d defines the term "word" as a linguistic unit taken to denote the smallest independent, indivisible unit of speech, susceptible of being used in isolation.

The definitions of the word given above are open to thought and questioning.

The main assumptions explicitly stated by Soviet scholars may be briefly summarized as follows: the organic relationship between language and thought must be formulated as the dialectal historical unity of form and content. The question about the relationships between word and thought, on the one hand, and language and society, on the other, is thus getting methodological priority.

With attention focused on the internal shapes of language patterns, each separate word has been traditionally thought to have a 'concept' associated with it.

[1] See: Будагов Р. А. Очерки по языкознанию. М., 1953, p. 99.

In the words of R. A. B u d a g o v[1], «Слово — это кратчайшее сложное самостоятельное диалектическое и историческое единство материального (звуки, «формы») и идеального (значение)».

The ways in which the development of meaning is influenced by extralinguistic reality deserve considerable attention as well. The notions rendered in word-meaning are, in fact, generalized reflections of things and phenomena of the outside world, the connection of words with the elements of objective reality and their relevance to the mental and cultural development of human society. Linguistic processes derive their power only from real processes taking place in man's relation to his surroundings. Things that are connected in reality come to be naturally connected in language too. And this is in full accord with the theory of reverberation developed with remarkable clarity by V. I. Lenin. Objective reality is approximately but correctly reflected in the human mind[2].

[2] See: Ленин В. И. Полн. собр. соч., vol. 29, pp. 163—164.

The word and the notion constitute a dialectical unity. This unity does not however presuppose their absolute identity. One notion can find its expression in a single word as well as in a group of words:

blue-eyes — blue of eye; *kind-hearted* — kind of heart; *suddenly* — of a sudden; *lately* — of late; *participate* — take part; *help* — give help, etc. One semantic element can find its expression in different linguistic signs, and one linguistic sign can have several semantic elements. Words are often signs not of one but of several things. The asymmetric dualism of the linguistic sign appears to be a fairly common development in the structure of language. Very many linguistic forms are used for more than one typical situation. Thus, for instance, the word *key* can mean the key to the door; the key to a riddle; the key of a piano; the tone of the speaking voice; a certain tone of voice, as a plaintive key; characteristic style or tone; the word *key* is known to render various other notions in special terminology. Examples like these can easily be multiplied.

There is every reason to identify word-meaning as made up of various elements, the interaction of which determines the value of the word. These elements are described as types of word-meaning. The two main types of meaning that are readily observed in a word are its grammatical and lexical meanings.

Grammatical meanings are recurrent in identical sets of individual forms common to all words of a certain class.

Thus, for instance, the English verb is known to possess sets of forms such as tense meaning *(comes, came)*, mood meaning *(come!)*, etc. Nouns possess special forms expressing the grammatical meaning of oneness and plurality.

Some elements of grammatical meaning can be identified by the position of the linguistic unit in relation to other linguistic units, in other words, by its distribution. Such is the grammatical meaning of person in verb-forms *came, went*, etc., revealed only by their distribution.

The lexical meaning of the word reflects its bonds with the object it names. These are the concepts which determine the content of the word. The lexical meaning presents, in fact, the indissoluble of the general and the particular. Thus, for instance, the word *table* carries not only the general concept of a piece of furniture, but also of a concrete object, a round or a square table, a large or a small table, etc.

The lexical meaning is the semantic element recurrent in all the forms of the word, and in all possible uses of these forms. Thus, for instance, the word-forms *come, comes, came*, have different grammatical meanings of tense, person, mood, but in each of these forms there is one and the same semantic element denoting the process of movement.

It is important to observe at this point that the difference between the lexical and the grammatical meaning lies not so much in the difference of the concepts underlying them than in the way the two types of meaning are conveyed.

The lexical and the grammatical aspects make up the word-meaning and neither can exist without the other. The organic interaction and interrelation of the lexical and grammatical meanings should never be ignored. The idea that linguistics can be pursued on a purely 'formal' level is erroneous.

MOTIVATION OF WORDS

The semantic structure of words involves the problem of their motivation, in other words, the interrelation between their outer aspect (form) and meaning.

If the etymology of the word makes itself quite apparent it is motivated. Motivated words imply

in themselves the names of the properties of the things signified.

Words can be motivated in different ways. It seems reasonable to distinguish: phonetic motivation, morphological motivation and semantic motivation[1].

[1] See: Ullmann S. The Principles of Semantics. Glasgow, 1959.

In p h o n e t i c motivation we find similarity between the sounds that make up words and their signification: *bump, buzz, chirr, chirp, chatter, clatter, clip, cuckoo, crack, gaggle, giggle, hiss, howl, hop, kick, mew, sip, snap, titter.*

Coinages of this type are not specifically English and may be found in many if not in all languages.

Compare the **Russian** and **Ukrainian**: *кукушка, свистеть, шипеть, хлопать; свистіти, шипіти, хлопнути, бухнутися.*

German: *der Rückuck, der Uhu, quaken, summen;*

French: *un crin-crin, un frou-frou, glouglouter, coasser, miauler, marmoter, murmurer.*

M o r p h o l o g i c a l motivation is often quite apparent in derivation, e. g. *reader* = one who reads, *reaper* = one that reaps; derivatives with the prefix *over* suggest the idea of excess: *overgrow* = to grow over; *overact* = to exaggerate in acting; *oversleep* = to sleep beyond the time of waking; *overrate* = to rate or estimate too highly.

Consider also word-formation with the prefix *re-*, suggestive of a repeated action: *rebuild* = to build again or anew; *recreate* = to create anew; *rejoin* = to join or come together again, to reunite; *reinsure* = to insure again; *reimport* = to import again, etc.

Analogous developments are well known in **Russian** and **Ukrainian**:

формировать — реформировать, организовать — реорганизовать; конструювати — реконструювати, формувати — реформувати, etc. Similarly in **French**:

danser — danseur; penser — penseur; vendre — vendeur; trouver — retrouver;

German:

kaufen — Kaufer; tanzen — Tanzer; konstruieren — rekonstruieren.

In self-explaining compounds the motivation is morphological because the meaning of a whole is based on the literal sense of the components. The motivation of a compound is semantic if the combination of its components is based on transference of meaning:

Cf.: (a) *afternoon, aeroport, aeromechanics, aftercrop, halfpeny, taxi-man, table-talk,* etc.;

(b) *chatter-box, killjoy, kill-time, lady-killer, heart-burning,* etc.

S e m a n t i c motivation is based on the co-existence of direct (normal) meaning and transferred meaning, in other words, the co-existence of the old meaning and new within the same syncronous system. Very many linguistic forms are used for more than one typical situation. In English we speak of *the head of an army, of a procession, of a household,* or *of a river,* and *a head of a cabbage.*

The important thing about these variant meanings is our assurance and our agreement in viewing one of the meanings as normal (or central) and the others as marginal (metaphoric or transferred).

On this level of analysis the semantic motivation of words is viewed synchronically. It should be distinguished from the etymological meaning of words, i. e. from the original semantic motivation at its outset.

A p h r a s e o l o g i c a l unit is motivated phraseologically if its meaning can be derived as a whole from the conjoined meanings of its elements: *to fly into a passion; to take into one's head; to make a mountain out of a molehill; to make both ends meet,* etc.

Cf.: **French**: *brider l'âne par la queue; faire d'une mouche un éléphant,* etc.

Motivation of meaning is abundantly clear in popular names of flowers, plants and birds, where denomination from some observed resemblance implies the properties of the things signified, such as:

a) colour: *violet* — фіалка, *bluet* — васильок (синій);

b) colour and form: *bluebell* — дзвоник, колокольчик; *blue-bottle* — васильок (синій), *blackcook* — тетерев; *blackcup* — чорноголовка; *blackbird* — дрозд;

c) form or dimension: *aster* — айстра (the white and pink and purple blossoms to look a bit like stars. And *aster* is a Latin word that means just that); *horse-tail* (mare's tail, cat's tail) — хвощ, *umbrella-tree* — an American magnolia); *umbrella-bird* (a bird with radiating crest curving forward over the head); *cockshead* — еспарцет (вид конюшини); *crowfoot* — жовтець; *cocksfoot, cockscomb,* etc.;

d) qualitative distinctive features of birds and flowers: *bind-weed* (Cf. Russian *вьюнок*), *nightingale*— night-singer, *humming-bird* (*colibri*) — колібрі — in flying the bird's wings beat so rapidly that a humming sound is produced and only a blur is visible; *wagtail* — a bird that has a very long tail which it habitually jerks up and down; *prarie-chicken* — луговий тетерюк; *nutcracker* — горішанка, etc.

It is of interest to observe parallelism of this process in various languages. The stories behind the names of flowers are most engaging. Sometimes flowers are named for a fancied resemblance like, for instance, *bachelor's buttons*, or the *dandelion* that an imaginative poet thought looked like the teeth of a lion (Lat. *dens* — tooth + *leo* — lion; Fr. *dent de lion* — lion's tooth).

Canterbery Bells — these dainty flowers are so named because they resemble the bells that jangled on the horses of the Canterbury pilgrims.

It is the motivation of words and locutions that reveal the national features of a language, its idiomatic peculiarities and history.

Cf.: *Bluebottle* (English)
Kornblume (German)
Studentenblume (German)
L'oeillet d'Inde (le velouté) (French)
бархатцы (Russian).

Semantic motivation is most important in making new words and their use. It contributes significantly to the expressive power of pictorial language, helps to create images in pictorial style.

As a linguistic development semantic motivation bears relevance to the so-called «folk» or popular etymology.

Some linguists hold the view that popular etymology presents fancied analogy of foreign words with some well-known words existing in the language. Hence, the term «false etymology».

It must be emphatically stressed however that instances are not few when semantic motivation of words resulting from «popular etymology» enters the vocabulary of literary language changing the structure of the word and even its spelling.

Popular etymology or *folk etymology* and other phenomena resulting from it, such as recasting strange formations or false inflectional endings, pleonasm, etc. are a natural occurrence in linguistic history. The process is therefore worth studying, especially since it is still active at the present time not only in English but in other languages.

Popular etymology goes back to the remotest past in the history of the language. Its effect is certainly most frequently felt in words of foreign origin. The reason is not far to seek. When confronted with a strange or foreign word people sometimes try to make it over so that it will be easier to pronounce, emphasizing a real or fancied analogy with some well-known word.

In English the changes of that type come in numbers not only in dialects but in the literary language as well.

We may see it in the corruption of *asparagus* to *sparrow-grass*. About 1660 the influence of herbalists, botanists and horticultural writers made the term *asparagus* familiar. By popular etymology the word was corrupted to *sparrow-grass*. The word was widely used in earlier times. During the 18th century *asparagus* returned to literary use, and *sparrow-grass* has become a vulgarism. It is seldom heard to-day, except in a joke.

Changes of that type may be traced in Russian, e. g. «*бурометр*» for барометр, «*клеветон*» for фельетон, «*мелкоскоп*» for микроскоп, «*верояция*» for вариация, «*долбица умножения*» — таблица умножения (Лесков); «*великатный*» — деликатный (Гоголь).

In the Modern Russian literary language neutralization of foreign borrowings through the process of folk etymology does not occur. But a few words as a result of folk etymology in the past have entered the vocabulary of the literary language, such as:

шумовка (ложка для пены) — from German *Schaumlöffel*;

противень (сковорода) — from German *Bratpfanne*.

Other examples of folk etymology in Modern English are: *mushroom* — from French *moucheron*. The word has nothing in common with room; *crayfish* — from French *écrevisse*.

These is often a tendency to force analogies when they do not exist at all.

The word *rhyme*, for instance, comes from old English *rim* (= measure), and would naturally be *rime* in modern English. But scholars attempted to derive it from the Greek *rhythmos* (whence *rhythm* comes), and the spelling *rhyme* is the result of their efforts.

The words *debt* and *doubt*, which had been adopted through French (in Chaucer's language — *dette* and *doute*), were corrected and changed in spelling by the insertion of "b" in order to show their relation to Latin *debitum* and *dubitare* respectively.

It is worth mentioning that changes of that type come in numbers not only from the popular masses but from scientific investigation as well (false etymology).

There are also instances when the popular understanding of a word has brought an additional element forming a tautological compound. Thus *greyhound* means *hound-hound*, the first syllable representing the old Norse grey, "a dog" erroneously interpreted as a colour name.

Not less characteristic is the so-called "Double Feminine" in such English words as *seamstress* and *songstress*. The suffix -*ster* (A. S. -*estre*, -*istre*) originally denoted the female agent. Such formations came later to be regarded as masculine, some of them giving rise to new feminines in stress.

False inflectional endings can be exemplified by several other formations, e. g.

the word *breeches* is a double plural, A. S. *bree* being already the plural of *broe*; the word *cherise* taken from French was regarded as a plural, and *cherry* was coined by false etymology.

A word beginning with *n* sometimes loses this sound because of its being confused with the *n* of the indefinite article *an*, e. g. *an apron* was in Middle English *a napron*. The same is true of the Modern English word *adder* derived from the Middle English *naddre* (German Natter).

False etymology presents a special philological interest when through false associations words change their meanings.

The word *standard* is derived through French *estandart* from the Latin *extendere* — to spread out, and therefore was originally applied to the meaning "flag" and is still used in this sense: *the flag of a cavalry* regiment. This foreign word was wrongly associated with *stand* and the supposed connection with *stand* has not only changed its form but has brought the meaning of something "fixed", or what "stands firm" *(the standard of price, standards of measures, standards of weight*, etc.).

The etymology of words has immediate relevance to their m o t i v a t i o n. This relationship has long attracted the attention of linguistic scholars and

[1] *See:* I l l m a n n S. Language and Style, p. 1. Problems of Meaning, Glasgow, 1959.

valuable insights have been gained into the workings of motivation and the principles of word-structure. Motivation itself is a highly complex phenomenon. Variability of motivation merits special consideration. The proportion of transparent and opaque terms in a given language, and the relative frequency of the various types of motivation, depend on a multiplicity of factors; it varies characteristically from one idiom to another and may even differ between successive periods of the same language.

Not less important is the principle of the m u-t a b i l i t y of motivation. A word which was once motivated may seem conventional today; conversely, a term which was originally opaque, or had lost its transparency, may become motivated or remotivated at a later stage.

Typical examples of this principle were given by S. Ullmann[1]. The English word *touch* or French *toucher* are highly expressive; yet they are known to go back to vulgar Latin *toccare*, derived from the onomatopoeic *toc* 'knock', 'tap'.

The morphological structure of a word may also become obscured. In English 'maintain' and French 'maintenir', the meaning of the two Latin components, *manus* 'hand' and *tenere* 'to hold', has become totally lost.

SUGGESTED ASSIGNMENTS.
POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Be ready to discuss the statement that the word and the notion constitute a dialectical unity. Does this unity presuppose absolute identity?

2. What do we mean by the lexical meaning of a word?

3. Give comments on the organic interaction and interrelation of the lexical and grammatical meaning.

4. Be ready to discuss different types of motivation of words.

5. Make distinction between etymological meanings and semantic motivation of words.

6. What do we mean by popular etymology?

7. Give a few examples of false etymology.

8. Find examples of words whose semantic motivation is quite apparent. Make comparisons with other languages.

9. Give your own examples to illustrate the statement that one notion can find its expression in a single word as well as in a group of words.

10. The lexical meaning of the word presents the indissoluble of the general and the particular. Can you give examples to illustrate the statement?

11. Illustrate the statement that one semantic element can find its expression in different linguistic signs, and one linguistic sign can have several semantic elements.

12. What problems does the study of the semantic structure of words involve?

13. How can you illustrate the influence of lexical context on word-meaning?

14. Give comments on the variability of motivation of words.

15. Get ready to discuss the principle of mutability of motivation.

PART II. **The Morphological Structure of the English Word**

THE MORPHEMIC ANALYSIS
OF THE WORD

CHAPTER 4

The word **morpheme** is one more term which linguistics owes to Greek (*morphē* — form + + *-eme*); the Greek suffix *-eme* has been readily adopted to denote the smallest unit or the minimum distinctive feature (*Cf.: phoneme, sememe, lexeme, grammeme, opposeme*).

Morpheme may be identified as an association of a given meaning with a given sound pattern but they are not independent, although a word may consist of a single morpheme. Nor are they divisible into smaller meaningful units.

It seems practical to divide morphemes in English, as in other languages, into two types, those w h i c h   c a n   o c c u r   a l o n e (i. e., which are also free forms or words), and those w h i c h c a n n o t. The two types are called free and bound morphemes.

A word has at least one lexical morpheme. It may also have grammatical and lexico-grammatical morphemes. The *lexical* morpheme is regarded as the   r o o t   of the word, all the other are *bound* morphemes.

The **root** is the primary element of the word, its basic part which conveys its fundamental lexical meaning.

There are a great many root-morphemes which can stand alone as words, such as: *act, fact, man, sun, serve,* etc.

But if we look at such combinations as *conclude, conceive* and *consist,* we can easily observe that the stem of a derivative is not always a free form; it may be bound. Thus, by comparing *conclude* with *occlude, preclude, include,* and *exclude,* we must say that there is a morpheme-*clude,* which serves as a stem for these various derivational forms. Yet we never find it as a free form.

Further examples will show the same. We find the bound morphemes *-ceive, -mit, -tain, -veal* in words like *conceive, deceive, perceive, receive, remit, retain, reveal;* the bound morpheme *-sist* is present in *desist, resist, subsist* and so on.

Stems of this sort can be called **bound bases.**

Bound morphemes are, in fact, of three types: suffixes, prefixes and bound bases.

Suffixes are either inflectional or derivational:

I n f l e c t i o n a l suffixes are morphemes of wide occurrence conveying grammatical meanings. Their distribution is known to be regular.

D e r i v a t i o n a l suffixes are morphemes serving to make new words; their distribution tends to be arbitrary. Prefixes in Modern English are always derivational.

Bound bases are morphemes which serve as stems for derivation but which never appear as free forms.

We are thus led to distinguish: a) *lexical morphemes* conveying the basic lexical meaning of the word, i. e. *root-morphemes,* b) *grammatical morphemes* having grammatical meaning, c) *lexico-grammatical morphemes,* i. e. morphemes of dual nature which may be assigned equally well to the provinces of lexis and grammar, e. g. derivational affixes in word-making or, say, postpositions in such composite verbs as *drink up, eat up, fall out,* etc.

Positional variants of a morpheme occurring in a specific environment and characterized by complementary distribution are called *allomorphs.* Thus, for instance, the allomorphs of the prefix *in-* are: *il-* before *l (illegal, illogical), im-* before bilabials *(immobile, immovable), ir-* before *r (irrational, irregular).*

Allomorphs will also occur among grammatical morphemes. The regular way of forming the plural of nouns is adding the morpheme *-s.* Its positional variants are [iz] after sibilants *(horses, foxes),* [z] after voiceless non-sibilants *(lamps, hats).* The varieties of the *-ed* morpheme in the Past Tense are also known technically as allomorphs: [id] after *-d* and *-t (ended, rested),* [d] after voiced sounds other than -d *(gathered, called),* [t] after voiceless sounds other than *-t (locked, kissed).*

Words without their grammatical morphemes (also called inflections or functional or grammatical suffixes) are known as **stems.** A stem may consist of the root alone, as in the words *child, room, turned,* or it may be more complicated, as in *childish, return, encouragement.* We may say that the stem *childish* has been derived from the stem *child* by adding the suffix *-ish; recover* from *cover* by means of the prefix *re-.* This is stem-building by affixation. But affixation is not the only way of stem-building in English. The stem of the noun *length,* for instance, has been derived from the stem of the adjective *long* by vowel change accompanied by affixation (the suffix *-th*).

There are also some groups of stress phonemes which operate as morphemes, e. g.:

<div align="center">

(a)   (b)

to con'tract — 'contract

to per'mit — 'permit

to sus'pect — 'suspect

</div>

The important difference between the (a) and (b) forms is in their stress patterns. If we remember that stresses are phonemes, and that sequences of phonemes associated with a meaning are allomorph, it seems clear that in (a) we have an allomorph with the meaning "verb" and in (b) — an allomorph with the meaning "noun". Since these allomorphs are composed of stress phonemes, which seem to be superposed on the segmental phonemes, they may be called, according to W. N. Francis, *superfixes*[1].

Assuming that the noun *'conduct* has been derived from the verb *to con'duct, 'contract* — from *to con'tract, 'permit* — from *to per'mit*, etc., we can reasonably include stress change in the list of stem-building elements of the verb.

In morphemic terms, a form like *conduct* will be described as made up of three morphemes: the prefix *con*, the base *duct* and the superfix. Similarly, we may describe *contract* as having three morphemes: *con, tract*, and the superfix.

An inflected word is primarily a grammatical form. A suffixal derivative is primarily a lexical form. We can make similar distinction between the types of paradigm in which these morphemes take part. A paradigm like *love — loves — loved* is an inflectional paradigm.

Lexical derivatives make up a derivational or lexical paradigm. Thus, for instance, from the kernel word *love* a number of derivative words can be generated by means of certain well-known rules telling us what morphemes must be added and to what kernel they must be added (V or N):

love (N)	*love* (V)
lovely (A)	*lover* (N)
loveliness (N)	*loving* (A) *lovingly* (D)
loveless (A)	*lovable* (A)
	beloved (A)

Similarly:

live (V)	*live* (A)
liveable (A)	*lively* (A)
	liveliness (N)
	liven (V)

[1] *See:* Francis W. N. The Structure of American English. New York, 1958, p. 195.

PHONETIC AND MORPHOLOGICAL VARIANTS OF THE WORD

Phonetic and morphological variation of words without any variation in their meaning is known to be rather a frequent occurrence in various European languages.

Important observations in this area in Russian have been made by V. V. Vinogradov, A. I. Smirnitsky and O. S. Akhmanova[1].

Little hesitation will be felt in granting that such pairs of related words are essentially different from lexical synonymity, where words quite different in sound and spelling reveal semantic similarity of their common denotative component and distinctive features of synonymic oppositions.

[1] *See:* Виноградов В. В. О формах слова. ИАН ОЛЯ, vol. 3, 1944, № 1. *See also:* Русский язык. Грамматическое учение о слове. М., 1947. Смирницкий А. И. К вопросу о слове. Проблема тождества слова. — Труды института языкознания АН СССР. Vol. 4, 1954.

Distinction will be made between:

1. l e x i c o - s e m a n t i c variation, e. g.

shade — 1. тень, неосвещенное место; 2. оттенок;

man — 1. человек; 2. мужчина;

dream— 1. сон; 2. мечта, греза;

grow — 1. расти; 2. становиться;

get — 1. получать; 2. становиться;

wish — 1. желание; 2. предмет желания;

envy — 1. зависть; 2. предмет зависти;

love — 1. любовь; 2. предмет любви, дорогая, дорогой.

II. p h o n o m o r p h o l o g i c a l variation:

    a) sound variants, e. g.

    year [jiə] and [jə] — год

    often [ofn] and [oftən] — часто

    again [ə'gein] and [ə'gen] — снова, etc.

    b) morphological variants of two types:

1) l e x i c o - m o r p h o l o g i c a l or w o r d - m a k i n g, such as adjectives with the suffix *-al* and without it, e. g.

    syntactic — syntactical

    geographic — geographical, etc.

2) g r a m m a t i c a l, e. g.

    bid — bade [bæd, beid] and *bid*;

    learn — learnt and *learned*;

    terminus — termini and *terminuses*;

    formula — formulae and *formulas*, etc.

1. What does the morphemic analysis of the word structure presuppose?

2. Comment on the distinction between lexical, grammatical and lexico-grammatical morphemes.

3. Comment on positional variants of a morpheme occurring in a specific environment and characterized by complementary distribution. Give examples of allomorphs.

4. Give examples of stress phonemes which operate as morphemes.

5. Make distinction between inflection and derivation.

6. Give a few examples of derivational (= lexical) and grammatical paradigms.

7. Comment on phonetic and morphological variants of the word.

8. What do we mean by lexico-semantic variation of words?

9. Give examples of phonomorphological variation of words.

10. Make the morpheme analysis of the following words: *landmark*, *pointsman*, *illumination*, *democratic*, *prospective*, *illegal*, *immeasurable*, *illumine*, *eliminate*, *illustrate*, *irrelevance*, *innovation*, *asymmetry*.

WORD-FORMATION

CHAPTER 5 **W**ord-formation is the branch of the science of language which studies the patterns on which a language forms lexical units, i. e. words.

Categories and types of word-formation in each language present a separate system with its own patterns of vocabulary items, its specific types and its own way of distinguishing them.

Linguistic studies of recent years contain a vast amount of important observations based on acute observations valid for further progressive development of the theory of word-formation. The statement

that language is a functional whole and all its parts are fully describable only in terms of their relationship to the whole is most obviously relevant to the problem of implicit nomination. The expansion of linguistic interest into the problems of "deep sense-structure" on different levels of linguistic structure, is intended to gain a deeper insight into the structure of language.

Involving the concept of "deep sense-structure" into vocabulary studies makes it necessary to turn our attention to such questions as: semantic aspects of affixation, the generative power of various patterns, correlation in occurrence, polysemy and synonymy.

In word-formation of European languages derivation and compounding are known to occupy a very important place.

Derivative and compound words, as lexemes, have naturally the properties revealed in their paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations. But there are cases when some semantic elements of such words do not find their formal expression and remain in "deep sense word-structure".

Thus, for instance, we clearly discern the material and formal features existing in such lexemes as *builder*, *reader*, *seller*, *teacher*, or *re-build*, *re-count*, *re-cover*, etc. and *a read*, *a smoke*, *a swim*, etc. But though these words express a common notion of a process, the former imply repeated actions, the latter imply actions of single occurrence.

English word-formation, for all its irregularies, has two fairly well defined processes. One process uses words themselves as raw material for new words. This is compounding. The other attaches a lesser morpheme — an affix, to a major morpheme — a stem, frequently a word. It is called d e r i v a t i o n.

Blackboard, *bluebird* are compounds. *Reader*, *writer*, *worker* are derivatives. *Bookseller*, *book-keeper* embody both processes, derivation in *sell + er*, *keep + er*, and compounding in *book + seller*, *book + + keeper*.

With regard to compounding and affixation, English word-formation proceeds either on native or a foreign basis of coining. The term 'native basis of coining' means that a derivative consists of two independent morphemes (e. g. compounds like *rain-bow*) or of a combination of independent and dependent morphemes, e. g. derivatives like *unjust*, *childhood*. Word-formation on a foreign basis gives

derivatives on the morphological basis of another language. Such are learned, scientific or technical words formed on the morphological basis of Latin or Greek.

It is important to distinguish between compound words and secondary derivatives whose underlying form happens to be a compound word or a phrase. This was well illustrated by L. B l o o m f i e l d[1] who makes distinction between certain classes of words according to the principle of immediate constituents.

Word-making may reasonably viewed in terms of:

a) relationship between words created from one and the same root (word-making paradigm);

b) relevance to other words created by other word-making devices (lexico-morphological categorization);

c) classification of words based on common lexico-morphological categories.

By the nature of things, lexico-grammatical categories differ essentially in different languages. Thus, for instance, expressive means differ essentially in different languages. In English and French diminutive and augmentative suffixes and suffixes of endearment are rather few in number. In Russian and Ukrainian this lexico-morphological category is much wider.

Cf.: жук — жучок, жучище;

дом — домик, домишко; домина, домище;

рука — ручка, ручонка, рученька, ручище;

дождь — дождичек, дождик, дождище, дождина.

In English diminution and augmentation find their expression in either the lexical meaning of the word itself (drizzle, shower) or special collocations, such as: a small (little) house, a tiny house, a pigmy of a house, a duck of a house; a large house, an enormous house, a huge house; a drizzling rain, a light rain; a heavy rain, a pouring rain, a hell of a rain, a beat of a rain, etc.

Derivation and compounding in different languages have their special distinctive features in the formation of adjectives. Russian patterns like: добросердечный, мягкосердечный, высокооплачиваемый, голубоглазый, синеокий, сероокий, остроглазый, востроухий, etc. are known to be somewhat restricted in their generative power. In quite a number of cases the meaning of English compound adjectives is ren-

dered in Russian and Ukrainian by word-combinations, e. g.

a low-nicked dress	— платье с низким вырезом
a high-backed chair	— стул с высокой спинкой
a hand-operated instrument	— инструмент, управляемый вручную
a heavy-laden ship	— сильно нагруженный корабль
a straight-toothed boy	— мальчик с ровными зубами
heavy-lidded eyes	— глаза с тяжелыми веками

Formations like прямозубый, тяжеловекий, etc., are but occasional in Russian and can be used rather for stylistic purposes with emotional value.

The patterns on which the English language forms various classes of words are: affixation, compounding, conversion, clipping, reversion, blend-words, lexicalization of syntactic groups.

All these types of word-formation are characterized by their own conventional practices, recurrent designs, regularities of functional use and idiomaticity on the metasemiotic level that leads to the coinage of occasional words for stylistic purposes to produce emotive effects in pictorial language.

AFFIXATION

A f f i x a t i o n is commonly defined as the formation of words by adding derivational affixes to stems.

Affixes are derivational morphemes added directly to roots or to constructions consisting of a root plus one or more other morphemes, i. e. to stems. In other words, a s t e m is any morpheme or combination to which an affix can be added.

Distinction is made between two types of affixes. Both are found in English and in many other languages. P r e f i x e s are affixes which precede the root. S u f f i x e s are affixes which follow the root. A suffix has semantic value but it does not occur as an independent speech unit.

Prefixes and suffixes differ significantly in their linguistic status: the former generally have a distinct meaning of their own, the latter rarely have, but as

a rule only serve to modify the meaning of the word (*brown — brownish, book — booklet*) or to convert it into another part of speech (*bright — brightness, good — goodness, dark — darkness*).

The contact of English with various foreign languages is known to have led to adoption of countless foreign words. In the process of borrowing many derivative morphemes have also been introduced, suffixes as well as prefixes.

Distinction is commonly made between l i v i n g or productive affixes or d e a d o r u n p r o d u c t i v e affixes. The latter group of affixes are of mainly historical interest, the former are of paramount importance for the structure of present-day English. For detail information of affixes see the tabulated survey on pp. 62—68.

Suffixes

Suffixes may be classified proceeding from different criteria. According to the part of speech classification they fall into: a) suffixes forming nouns; b) suffixes forming adjectives; c) suffixes forming verbs; d) and adverb-suffixes.

H. M a r c h a n d[1] makes distinction between:

a) derivation by native suffixes, such as *kindness* from *kind, darkness* from *dark, showy* from *show, boyish* from *boy*. This process of derivation involves no changes of stress, vowels or consonants as against the basis.

b) derivation by foreign suffixes without phonological changes, e. g. *lovable* from *love, eatable* from *eat*, etc.

c) derivation by means of foreign suffixes involving phonological changes of stress, vowels or consonants, as in *Japanese* from *Japan;*

d) derivation on a foreign or Neo-Latin basis. In such formations the suffix is added to a Latin stem which closely resembles, however, the word that stands for it in English, as in *scientist* from *science*.

Here belongs also derivation in which the suffix is added to a Latin or Greek stem which has no adapted English equivalents, as *lingual* from *lingua, chronic* from *chronos*, etc.

e) words which have originally been borrowed separately come to take on the form of derivative alternations in English on whose pattern new words may be derived: on the analogy of *piracy* as from *pirate, candidacy* can be formed from *candidate*. In

[1] See: M a r c h a n d H. The Categories and Types of Present-day English Word-Formation. Wiesbaden, 1960, p. 162.

the words of H. Marchand, this method may be referred to as correlative derivation.

To sum up in brief, for native suffixes the derivative basis is always native. But for suffixes foreign in origin the basis of coining may be either native or foreign, or both.

Distinction should also be made between *terminal* and *non-terminal suffixes. Terminal suffixes* take only the final position in a word, such as: the nounal suffixes *-al (refusal, survival), -hood, -ness, -ship, -kin, -let, -ling.*

Non-terminal suffixes can be followed by other suffixes. In such cases a derivative is capable of further derivation, e. g. *lead — leader — leadership; love — lovely — loveliness*, etc.

The meaning of a suffix is conditioned by the particular semantic character of the stem to which the suffix is attached and situations in which the coinage is made.

It is interesting to observe that the invasion of French, Latin, and Greek words did not oust the native suffixes, as it did the prefixes, but it had a restricting, modifying influence on them. The suffixes *-ly, -some, -dom, -hood, -ship,* for example, do not have the derivative range the corresponding German suffixes have.

There are synonymous suffixes to some extent overlapping semantically, for instance, *-er, -an, -ite* and *-ese* represent the same concept "native, inhabitant of". Alternant suffixes have generally different semantic features though in particular cases they are very nearly interchangeable.

The language does not like to have two words for one and the same notion, and competition always arises. One of them will either be thrown out from common use or given a specified meaning that distinguishes it from the original rival. The general tendency of differentiation may be illustrated by the development of various structural elements. Such are, for example, the suffixes *-ical* and *-ic.* There was, at the outset, indiscriminate parallel co-existence of two synonymous adjectives derived by means of these suffixes. In Modern English, however, there is a tendency, on the one hand, to drop one of them (usually the form in *-ic)* from common usage, on the other hand, to retain it in a specified sense, especially, in scientific terminology. Whereas, for instance, *botanical, geographical, theoretical, theological* are commonly used, the counterparts in *-ic* are preferred

only in long established names as *Botanic Gardens*, *Geographic magazine*. The word *economical* in Modern English means "thrifty", whilst *economic* means "belonging to the science of economics". Further examples are: a thing is *historic* if it is or makes history itself, it is *historical* if it belongs to what narrates or deals with history. Books on history are therefore only *historical* while events are *historic*. A sound is *metallic*, as it is like metal. An engineer is *electrical* as he has to do with electric things, but current is *electric*, as the thing in itself. A person is however, *erotic*, not *erotical* having in him the quality of "eros".

Similar distinctions can be made for the following pairs: *comic — comical, poetic — poetical, physic — physical*.

SEMANTIC ASPECTS OF SUFFIXES

The semantic classification of suffixes presupposes their division into various groups according to the motivation they impart to words within a given part of speech. Thus, for instance, in the category of nouns characterized by the generalized meaning of substance we find suffixes denoting such categories as: agent, doer *(-er)*, abstract notions *(-ing, -al, -ment, -ion)*, agent active or passive *(-ee)*, etc.; among adjective-forming suffixes we find such as denote 'made of, consisting of, resembling; the verb suffix *-en* denotes change of state, e. g. *darken* may mean 'make dark' — a transitive verb, or 'become dark' — intransitive verb, etc.

Semantic aspects of suffixation offer certain difficulties of analysis. Even in its most common and well-developed categories the English semantic system is by no means regular. Relevance to agent or to receptor, for instance, finds its expression in a variety of derivational processes; with many verbs such relations can be expressed only by phrase locutions.

The variety and irregularity of the derivational processes illustrate the fact that there is no simple relation between form and function among suffixes. Each suffix has several semantic functions, and each function is performed by several formative processes. Overlapping of form and function necessitates a careful analysis of suffixes with reference to all semantic categories expressed in the language.

Implicit nomination is not less characteristic in the generative power of other suffixes, e. g.

-ize is a suffix forming verbs with following senses:

a) t r a n s i t i v e   v e r b s: a) to subject to (action, treatment, or process) as in *cauterize, satirize*; b) to render, make into, put into, put into conformity with, or make like (thing, character, or quality), as in *harmonize, sterilize;* c) to impregnate, treat or combine with, as in *oxidize;*

b) i n t r a n s i t i v e   v e r b s: to act in the way of, practise or carry on, as in *apostatize, botanize.*

Most suffixes are potentially polysemic. Besides the implication of the general categorial appurtenance to a given part of speech suffixes often possess various potential semantic elements revealed in their actual use. Such is, for instance, the multivalued English suffix *-ish* used to form adjectives. The necessary meaning of the derivative is generally signalled by the lexical meaning of the underlying stem. Compare:

a) quality   *mawkish, babyish*
b) weakening of quality   *greenish, whitish, lightish,* etc. (= *somewhat green, tinged with green; somewhat white*, etc.)

c) appurtenance to, pertaining to, belonging to   *Turkish, Spanish;*
d) suggestive of   '*bookish style*', '*bookish phrases*'.

Compare also the context-sensitive implication of the suffix *-y* which may impart different lexical meanings: 'full of', as in *hushy, fishy;* 'having the quality of', as in *silvery, sugary, slangy;* 'resembling', as *baggy, bumpy, messy, bushy* and still others. Reference to meaning is important when we come to analyse such derivatives as, for instance, *fatherly* and *weekly*. The two adjectives are made from nouns after the same structural pattern, the derivational suffix *-ly* denoting in the first case 'characteristic of', 'like in manner of nature', in the second 'frequency or repetition', i. e. 'occurring every week'.

There are also homonymous suffixes:

-al$_a$ *— original, formal;*   *-al*$_n$ *— arrival, refusal;*
-ant$_a$ *— errant, defiant;*   *-ant*$_n$ *— claimant, defendant;*

-en$_a$ — woolen, leaden;   -en$_v$ — lighten, weaken;
-ful$_a$ — faithful, grace-   -ful$_n$ — handful, pipe-
  ful;   ful;
-ine$_a$ — feminine, genu-   -ine$_n$ — bromine, discip-
  ine;   line;
-ly$_a$ — lovely, stately;   -ly$_{adv}$ — greatly, partly.

Semantic aspects of affixes present a major linguistic interest in suffixes forming: 1) names of agent, 2) names of action and 3) abstract nouns as being relevant to syntactic processes of nominalization.

The category of a g e n t is known to be actualized in opposition between words denoting actions, process or state, and words denoting the agent of a given action, process or state. In English by means of the suffix -er practically from any verb-stem we can form the name of the agent that can, depending on the situation, imply:

a) profession or permanent occupation (builder, teacher, writer, etc.)

Cf. Russian: строитель, учитель, писатель.

b) inherent characteristics of man, e. g. crier, envier, talker, worrier, etc.

Cf. Russian: крикун (глашатай), разговорчивый человек, болтун, завистник (-ица).

c) temporary occupation, action or state.

Thus, a writer can mean писатель and a person who is writing now (= пишущий); a dancer is also synsemantic and can mean: a) танцовщик (танцовщица), b) a person who can dance — танцор, c) one who is dancing at the moment.

Ambiguities are never noticed because the possible meanings are narrowed down by the context.

Consider the following examples:

And Miss Golspie, with a final and coquetish nod and smile of her own at the other two nodders and smilers, marched accross the room, puffing away at one of her host's Sahibs (Priestley).

Again the smile came on Irene's lips, and in Jon something wavered; there was such irony and experience in that smile.

"You are a giver, Jon; She is a taker" (Galsworthy).

He was a constant lover. To him she would always be the loveliest woman in the world (Maugham).

She and that fellow ought to be the sufferers, and they were in Italy (Galsworthy).

On the other hand, -er may be added to a verb to denote the inanimate agent, tool or instrument, e. g. duster, fastener, poker, lawn-mower, paper-cutter; purpose rather than instrumentality is denoted by boiler, container, locker.

'A sleeper' is also synsemantic and can mean: a) one who sleeps; b) a sleepyhead=соня, c) a sleeping car; d) a piece of timber on or near the ground to keep in place rails of a railroad (ж.-д. шпала).

Cf.: (a) Instinctively she glanced over her shoulder at the sleeper, and without warning a sickly uneasiness crept over her. She came to the bed and stared down at the woman lying there (Parker).

(b) He is a light (heavy) sleeper.

(c) No sleepers for so short a distance (sleeping cars).

In some formations in -er the verbal idea is absent, e. g. a two-seater — a car with two seats; a fiver — a five-pound note or a five-dollar bill; a teen-ager — a young person whose age ends in -teen.

Note: There is also a curious compound 'do-gooder'=one who is always trying to do good.

Many words with the suffix -er join various semantic groups. Examples are: sweater may mean 'hard worker', 'a woolen vest'; swimmer may denote a person, a bird, a swimming organ; taster may be applied to a man or an implement, it may also denote a portion of food; trimmer denotes a person, an implement, a beam, a run, etc.; twister is used for persons, devices, or some immaterial objects.

The word-making category of agent reveals one more opposition: subject + object, in other words, the doer of the action and the recepient of the action. The latter is shown in formations from the stems of transitive verbs the Romanic suffix -ee, e. g. addressee, employee, lessee (person to whom a property is let), vendee (person to whom a sale is made), payee (person to whom bill or check is made payable), testee, trainee, interviewee, etc. Words of this kind are usually stressed on the last syllable. They are often associated with agent-nouns in -er: employer, interviewer, etc.; occasionally with the agent-noun not derived from an English verb: biographer — biographee. In evacuee the suffix is added to verb evacuate (cf. French évacué).

It will be noted that derivative nouns with the suffix -ee from intransitive verb-stems are active in meaning.

Cf.: escapee (refugee, fugitive) — person who runs away;

waitee — person who is waiting;

standee — person who is standing, etc.

The name of an agent may be formed from verb-adverb collocations, e. g. *a looker-on* (an onlooker), *a runner-up, a cutter-off, a giver-up,* etc. There are cases of reduplication of the suffix *-er: a dresser-upper, a cheerer-upper, a feeler-outer,* etc.; and from attributive groups, e . g. *bitter end — bitter-enders; last ditch — a last ditcher, simple life — simple lifers.*

Agentive relations find their expression in compound words made from V—N phrases expressing predicative object relations; e. g.

to make phrases — a phrase maker
to waste time — a time waster.

Suffixes o f a b s t r a c t i o n need special comment as being relevant to certain types of nominalizations. The most common in this group is the suffix *-ing*. All verbs, except some auxiliaries like *shall, can, may* are able to receive *-ing: running, building, winning, being, having,* etc. In addition to *-ing,* English has other suffixes of abstraction. These are:

zero: *run, walk, study,* etc. (zero-derivation);
-ion: *explanation, motion, division,* etc.;
-ment: *movement, ailment, involvement,* etc.;
-al: *refusal, disposal, reversal,* etc.;
-ure: *mixture, departure, rupture,* etc.;
-th: *death, birth, growth,* etc.;
others: *life, thought, laugher,* etc.

In some cases (usually Latin) the verb has no English equivalent: *fraction, fracture, lecture, conjecture,* etc.

Not all derivatives with these suffixes indicate proper nominals; they often occur in noun-phrases that can be reduced to relative clauses. Thus, *running* in *running account* is an adjective. The zero-suffixes *judge* and *cook* are "agent nominalizations"[1]. Others occur as "object" nominalizations like *cooking, painting, creation,* etc., e. g.

I eat Mary's cooking.
He sold a painting.

Diminutives

The use of diminutives in English, i. e. words describing small specimen of the thing denoted by corresponding primary words is rather restricted.

[1] *See:* V e n d l e r L. Adjectives and Nominalizations. The Hague — Paris, 1968, p. 96.

Even those words that are usually called 'diminutive' are at the same time affective, i. e. they express the feeling with which the person or thing described is regarded. Mere smallness without such connotation is usually denoted by the adjective *small,* or left unexpressed or implied. Smallness may also be denoted by *little,* which, however, is usually effective as well.

Diminution and augmentation in English are often expressed by independent lexemes or phrases whose emotive connotations depend on the lexical meanings of their constituents and the types of collocation in each case.

The diminutive suffixes *-ling, -let /-et, -kin/ -in, -ette* are not frequent.

The suffix *-ling* has diminutive force in some names of young animals: *catling, duckling, fledgeling, gosling;* and young plants: *oakling, ashling, yearling, sapling, seedling.*

Most personal nouns with the suffix *-ling* are expressive of low estimation or contempt, e. g. *dukeling, kingling, lordling, princeling, squireling, underling, weakling, tidling* (-pampered, spoilt child), etc.

Diminutives denoting things are not formed, though nonce-words such as *bookling, eyeling, giftling* may occasionally be found.

The suffix *-let* is more frequently added to names of things than to names of persons. Examples of the former are: *booklet, eyelet, flatlet, leaflet, streamlet.* Words in *-let* denoting persons, e. g. *kinglet, princelet,* usually have derogatory meaning, though less strongly than derivatives with the suffix *-ling.*

The suffix *-kin* with diminutive or endearing force, is today used only as a jocular formative with a depreciative tinge, e. g. *lordkin, boykin, catkin, wolfkin,* etc.[1]

The suffix *-ette* is the French *-ette,* e. g. *novelette, leaderette* 'short editorial paragraph', *sermonette, balconette;* recent American coinages are: *kitchenette,* 'miniature kitchen in modern flats', *dinette* (small dining room), *roomette* (on trains), etc.

[1] *See:* M a r c h a n d H. Op. cit., p. 259.

TABULATED SURVEY OF SUFFIXES

With a view to bring together the linguistic features of the principal suffixes in Modern English we next give the tabulated survey including the following information: the left-hand column gives the suffix, the second column shows its origin, the third

Productive suffixes

Noun-forming suffixes

Suffix	Origin	Meaning	The grammatical category of the derivative	Examples
-er (A. S. -ere)	Germanic	denoting the agent esp. a person (orig. a male), machine or implement; resident of, one living in; capacity, value (specified by a number).	concrete noun	speaker, driver, islander, fiver (=a five-dollar bill)
-or	„	denoting the agent.	„	sailor, tailor,
-ful	„	quantity that would fill	„	cupful, handful
-ing (A. S. -ing, -ung)	„	denoting: a) act, fact, practice of what the verbal idea implies;	abstract and concrete noun	reading, boating, meeting, sitting, warming, wedding,
		b) something material connected with the verbal idea, as an agent, instrument, result, belongings, place.	abstract noun	cutting, coating, clothing, knitting, lacing (shoestring)
-ee (formed on the French past part. ending -é, masc.)	Romanic	naming the object of an action, the one to whom an act is done or on whom a right is conferred; agent active and passive.	concrete noun	addressee, trustee, refugee, referee
-ness (O. E.- nys, -nyss)	Germanic	Since O. E. -ness has chiefly been added to adjectives and adjectivized participles; in Modern English it is also used with various other bases, but not with verbs.	abstract noun	brightness, commonness, darkness, goodness, devotedness, kindness, willingness, oneness, muchness, sameness, nothingness, etc.

N o t e. As a formative of nouns with a concrete meaning -ing is very strong. In this respect verbal nouns made through conversion (zero-derivatives) are no rivals.

Nouns denoting the concrete result of the verbal idea are especially frequent, most often in plural form, e. g. earnings, mowings, leavings, skimmings, savings, sweepings.

The -ing-type of derivation is much weaker than the corresponding German -ung-type, which seems quite natural if we remember that -ing has such rivals as -age, -al, -ance, -ence, -ation and -ment.

Suffix	Origin	Meaning	The grammatical category of the derivative	Examples
-tion (Lat. -tio, -tionis Fr. -tion O. Fr.-cion)	Romanic	denoting action, state or result (of similar origin and meaning are -sion and -xion).	abstract noun	solution, locution
-ism	Greek	denoting doctrine, action, act or fact of doing, manner of action, state, condition, a characteristic or peculiarity of (especially language).	„	realism, materialism, hypnotism, anomalism, barbarism, despotism, colloquialism
-ist (Gr.-istes Lat.-ista Fr.-iste)	„	denoting the agent, one who adheres to a given doctrine or system commonly denoted by a corresponding noun in -ism; one who makes a practice of a given action commonly expressed by a corresponding verb in -ize.	concrete noun	socialist, realist, botanist, humorist, organist
-ship	Germanic	denoting state, condition, skill, art.	abstract noun	friendship, scholarship, statesmanship
-ite (Gr. -ites fem. -itis; Fr. -ite)	Greek	denoting appurtenance one of a party, a sympathizer with, adherent of; follower, disciple of a native or citizen of.	concrete noun	Moscovite, socialite, Shelleyite

Adjective-forming suffixes

Suffix	Origin	Meaning	The grammatical category of the derivative	Examples
-y (A. S. -ig)	Germanic	denoting: pertaining to, abounding in, tending or inclined to. The adjectival suffix -y has a by-form in -ety, -ity, -dy, -ty which occur in popular speech and slang, e. g. mingledy "mingled" wrinkledy "wrinkled", raggedy, raggety "ragged".	adjective	rocky, watery
-ish (A. S. -isc)	„	denoting nationality, quality with the meaning of the nature of belonging to, resembling, also with the sense somewhat like, often implying contempt, derogatory in force.		Turkish, bodish, outlandish, whitish, wolfish
-ful	„	denoting quality in the meaning: full of, abounding in, characterized by, also able to or tending to.	„	powerful, hopeful, grateful

Suffix	Origin	Meaning	The grammatical category of the derivative	Examples
-ly (A. S. -lic)	Germanic	denoting quality: a) like in appearance, manner or nature; characteristic of; b) with nouns of time.	adjective (now mostly from nouns)	*fatherly, manly, friendly, daily, weekly*
-ed (A. S. -ed, -ad, -od)	"	denoting quality with the sense of possessed of, provided or furnished with, characterized by. The suffix has been productive at all times, chiefly with concrete, less often with abstract nouns.	adjective	*bearded, bespectacled, moneyed, saddled, conceited, cultured, featured*
-able (-ible) (Fr. from Latin -abilis, -ibilis, -bilis)	Romanic	denoting quality (with implication of capacity, fitness or worthiness to be acted upon); often in the sense of tending to, given to, favouring, causing, able to or liable to.	"	*readable, movable, terrible, visible*

N o t e. Deverbal derivatives have always been more frequent than denominal ones. The suffix is added to French as well as native roots. The early deverbal adjectives in **-able** have sometimes an active meaning (*durable, deceivable, serviceable, forcible, perishable*), but the general tendency has been to coin words with a passive meaning: *acceptable, comparable, desirable, drinkable, eatable, countable, achievable*. Some adjectives have both meanings (active and passive), depending on different contextual indications, e. g. *passable* and *changeable*.

Suffix	Origin	Meaning	The grammatical category of the derivative	Examples
-less (A. S. -leas)	Germanic	denoting quality (a privative adjective suffix).	adjective	*fearless, useless*
-ic (Gr. -ikos Lat. -icus Fr. -ique)	Greek	denoting quality	"	*poetic, classic*
-al, -ial (Lat. -alis Fr. -al, -el)	Romanic	denoting quality (belonging to, pertaining to, having the character of, appropriate to).	"	*autumnal, fundamental*

N o t e. **-al** is also a suffix appearing in nouns which were originally adjectives used substantively, or which have been formed on the analogy of such nouns, as in *rival, animal, oval, signal; -al* is also used to form nouns of action from verbs, as in *arrival, acquittal*.

Verb-forming suffixes

Suffix	Origin	Meaning	The grammatical category of the derivative	Examples
-ize (ise) (Gr. -izein Lat. -izare Fr. -iser)	Romanic	denoting action	transitive and intransitive verbs	*organize, satirize, apostatize, botanize*

Suffix	Origin	Meaning	The grammatical category of the derivative	Examples
-fy (Fr. -fier Lat. -ficare)	Romanic	naming an action (meaning "to make", "to form into"); usually following "i"	verb (transitive and causative verb) from nouns and adjectives	*signify, specify, purify*

Adverb-forming suffixes

Suffix	Origin	Meaning	The grammatical category of the derivative	Examples
-ly (A. S. -lice)	Germanic	manner of action	adverb (from adjectives, participles, rarely from nouns)	*greatly, decidedly, smilingly, partly*

Unproductive suffixes
Noun-forming suffixes

Suffix	Origin	Meaning	The grammatical category of the derivative	Examples
-dom (A. S. -dom; once was an independent word which meant *condition, sphere of action*)	Germanic	denoting realm, office, state, condition, fact of being, a total of those having the given office, occupation.	abstract and concrete noun	*freedom, kingdom, officialdom*
-hood (A. S. -had, once was an independent word which meant *rank, condition*)	"	denoting state, condition, quality, character, a collective total of those having the given character or state.	abstract and collective noun	*manhood, falsehood, brotherhood*
-age	Romanic	denoting: a) the collection, aggregate, or sum total of things; b) act or process; c) place of abode.	concrete noun	a) *postage, milage* b) *passage, marriage* c) *orphanage*
-y (Gr. -a, -eia; Lat. -ia Fr. -ie)	"	denoting state, action, result of action.	abstract noun	*jealousy, courtesy, victory*
-ery, -ry	"	denoting act, art, trade, occupation, character, behaviour, place; collection or aggregate	concrete and abstract noun	*archery, snobbery, bakery, rookery, finery*
-ance -ence, -ency (Lat. -antia, -entia)	"	naming an act or fact of doing what the verbal roots denote; state, condition or quality of being.	abstract noun	*assistance, dependence*

Suffix	Origin	Meaning	The grammatical category of the derivative	Examples
-eer (Lat. -arius Fr. -ier)	Romanic	denoting agency, one who deals in or is concerned with, one who conducts, manages or produces.	concrete noun	engineer, cannoneer
-or	„	denoting agent or doer	„	creator, elevator
-ier (Lat. -arius)	„	agent or doer (equivalent to -eer)	„	grenadier, cashier
-ice (OF. -ice, -ise Lat. -itius -itia -itium)	„	denoting act, quality, condition	common noun	justice, notice
-ment (Lat. -mentum)	„	denoting action (often implying process, continuance, manner, art); state or quality, degree, concrete means or instrument.	„	abridg(e)-ment, development, amazement, nutriment, ornament
-ade (Fr. -ade Lat. -ata)	„	denoting: a) act or action; b) result or product (of an action), thing made; an aggregate concerned in an action or process.	„	carronade, lemonade, brigade
-ary (Lat -arius, -arium Fr. -aire — in learned words)	„	naming a person belonging to or connected with a place for.	„	notary, aviary
-acy	„	denoting quality, state, office	„	accuracy, efficacy
-ent (Fr. -ent, Lat. -entem)	„	nouns of agency.	„	president, resident
-ant (Fr. -ant Lat. -antem -entem)	„	denoting a person or thing acting as an agent	„	claimant, servant

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Suffix	Origin	Meaning	The grammatical category of the derivative	Examples
Adjective-forming suffixes				
-en, -n	Germanic	quality (made of)	adjective	wooden, woollen
-ern	„	quality	„	northern, eastern
-some (A. S. -sum)	„	indicating a considerable degree of the thing or quality denoted in the first part of the compound; (sometimes used with numerals and denoting "together", "in all")	„	handsome, winsome, foursome (= a party of four, performed or engaged in by four persons); threesome, e. g. three-some dance a threesome play, etc.
-ward (A. S. -weard, -weardes)	„	quality (denoting direction)	„	wayward, backward
-ant (OF. ant Lat. -antem, -entem)	Romanic	quality (often clearly with the force of a present participle)	„	errant, defiant
-ary (Lat. -arius, -arium)	„	quality (pertaining to, connected with)	„	arbitrary, exemplary
-ese (OF. -eis Lat. -ensis)	„	quality (of, pertaining to, originating in a certain place of country), native, inhabitant or language of a certain country.	„	journalese, Japanese
-ous (OF. -ous, -us, -os -eus; Lat.-osus)	„	quality in a high degree (full of, abounding in, possessing the qualities of, like)	„	malicious, gracious, poisonous
-ive (Fr. -if, fem. -ive Lat. -ivus)	„	quality (signifying having the nature or quality of a thing; given or tending to an action)	„	active, conclusive
-an, -ian (Fr. -ain, -en Lat. -anus)	„	quality (belonging or pertaining to, primarily forming adjectives, of which many are also used substantively).	„	Russian, European

Suffix	Origin	Meaning	The grammatical category of the derivative	Examples
		Verb-forming suffixes		
-er	Germanic	naming an action	verb	*glimmer, spatter*
-en	"	"	verb (mostly causative verbs) from nouns and adjectives	*shorten, lengthen*

Note: -*en* is added to adjectives to form verbs, most of which may be transitive-causative as well intransitive; e. g. *to blacken* — "to make or to become black", similarly: *to darken, to deepen, to fasten, to harden, to moisten, to shorten, to widen,* etc.

The suffix -*en* is never added to adjectives ending in a vowel or vowel-like; these are often converted into verbs by means of conversion: *to free, to narrow, to clean, to pale.* Sometimes both a converted adjective and a derivative in -*en* go parallel, e. g. *black — to black — to blacken; loose — to loose — to loosen; rough — to rough — to roughen.*

Suffix	Origin	Meaning	The grammatical category of the derivative	Examples
-ate	Romanic	naming an action	verb (formed on the analogy of causative verbs)	*fascinate, concentrate*
-ite	"	naming an action	verb	*unite, expedite*
		Adverb-forming suffixes		
-ward(s)	Germanic	manner of action	abverb	*forwards, backwards*
-long	"	"	"	*headlong, sidelong*
-wise	"	"	"	*lengthwise, otherwise*
-s, -ce (originally the genitive ending)	"	manner of action	"	*needs, twice, besides, once*
-om	"	"	"	*seldom, whilom* (arch.)

column will give the meaning of the suffix, the fourth column shows the grammatical category of the derivative, the last column gives typical examples of words in which the suffix appears.

Prefixes

The classification of prefixes in any language offers more difficulties than we have in classifying suffixes. The semantic motivation of many prefixes is not quite apparent. A large number of prefixes are polysemantic. There are also homonymic prefixes that originated from different Latin morphemes.

In terms of their origin, prefixes can be subdivided into native and foreign ones.

With the exception of *a-, be-, un-, fore-,* and (partly) *mis-* all living English prefixes are of non-Germanic origin; apart from negative *a-, auto-, hyper-,* and *mal-,* however, they can be combined with Germanic as well as non-Germanic words. Many of them are universal in character.

Prefixes of foreign origin came into language ready made, so to say. When a number of analysable foreign words of the same structure have been introduced into the language, the pattern could be extended to new formations, i. e. the prefix then became a derivative morpheme.

Foreign prefixes are: *a-, anti-, arch-, bi-, circum-, cis-, co-, contra-, counter-, de-, demi-, dis-, en-, epi-, ex-, extra-, hemi-, hyper-, hypo-, in-, inter-, intro-, mal-, meso-, meta-, mono-, non-, pan-, pantro-, para-, peri-, poly-, post-, pre-, pro-, proto-, re-, retro-, semi-, sub-, super-, sur-, syn-, trans-, tri-, ultra-, uni-, vice-*[1].

Prefixes differ in their valency. Some of them can combine with the stems of only one part of speech, other are more productive in their functional use. The prefixes *ex-, arch-, ana-, dys-, per-,* for instance, are used only with the stems of nouns; the prefixes *be-, de-, en-, out-,* can combine only with verbs, such prefixes as *co-, contra-, counter-, dis-, intra-, mis-, post-, pre-, sub-, trans-, over-, under-* are used with the stems of verbs, nouns and adjectives.

There are prefixes which can transpose parts of speech but they are much fewer in number.

Thus, for instance, it happens that the root word in verbs made up with *de-* need not itself be a verb and may well be a noun, as, in *debunk,* an original

[1] *See:* The Random House Dictionary of the English Language. New York, 1967.

Americanism current in Britain from the late nineteen-twenties onward[1].

The conversive capacity of prefixes may also be illustrated by such verbs made from nouns as: *to becloud, to behead, to beknave, to beslave,* etc.

Not less characteristic are verbs made from adjectives by means of the prefix *be-,* e. g. *bedim, befoul, belittle.*

There are also verbs made from adjectives by the prefix *en-,* such as: *enfeeble, endear, enfree, entame*[2].

For convenient study we bring the English prefixes together in the following tabulated survey:

a- (goes back to the O. E. preposition *on, an*) prefixed to the stem of monosyllabic intransitive verbs, and of dissilabic intransitive verbs ending in unstressed *-er* or *-le,* to form predicative adjectives denoting a state: *aboil, adrift, asleep, astir, awash; aflicker, equiver, atremble.* On the basis of a prepositional relation *a-* may also be prefixed to nouns and adjectives, e. g. *abed, abroad, acold, aflat, awrong.*

Note: In such coinages as: *amoral, atonal, atemporal, asymmetric, a-* is Greek in origin. The meaning of such prefixed words is either "without", "devoid of", "not affected or characterized by what is denoted by the root" or "not ....".

be- is historically the unstressed form of «*by*»; its original meaning is therefore *by, around, about, near,* e. g. *before, behind, beside, beyond, besouth,* etc.

Derivatives from nouns include different semantic types:

a) verbs with the sense 'to furnish, to cover, to provide with, to treat with — often with an implication of excess, as in: *to besnow, beclaud, bedew, besmoke, befog,* etc.

b) verbs with the sense 'make into', treat as..., e. g. *befool* 'to treat as a fool', *beslave* 'to make into a slave', etc.

c) verbs with the implying notion of quality, title, often with a tinge of ridicule in verbs like *belord, beknight, beclown, beknave,* etc.

d) verbs implying 'act like', e. g. *befriend* — to act as a friend, to aid.

The group of verbs formed from adjectives is small and unproductive, e. g. *to belittle* = to depreciate. There are also formations with participles as *be-medalled, bespectacled* (often somewhat contemptuous in meaning).

Derivatives from verbs:

a) verbs with a reinforcing sence of *"about"* or *"over",* or with a meaning of *all around, on all sides, all over,* as in: *beclasp, bedim, bescreen, becribble, besprinkle, bewrap, begrime,* etc.;

b) intensive verbs with the sense of *"thoroughly", "completely", "violently", "repeatedly", "excessively",* often with implied ridicule, as in: *besmear, bedazzle, bepity, bewitch,* etc.

c) transitive verbs from intransitive verbs: *beweap, bemoon, belie, besmear.* Compare with the Russian and Ukrainian: плакать — оплакивать, клеветать — оклеветать; плакати — оплакувати.

The prefix *out-* makes intransitive verbs transitive: *outlive (live beyond), outrun (run ahead of); outshine (surpass in brightness); outvote (defeat by votes);*

with- (*against, opposite, towards*) prefixed to verbs: *withdraw, withstand, withhold,* etc.;

on-: *onset, onlay, onlooker;*

over- (*above, beyond*): *overeat, overflow, overlook;*

in- (*into*): *insight, income, indeed;*

n- (negative): *none, never, nor, neither;*

up-: *upright, uphold, upward,* etc.;

under-: *undergo, undertake, undermine;*

to-: *together, toward;*

un- a prefix denoting:

1) the undoing of something, e. g. *unbind, untie, unlock, unhouse,* etc.;

2) negation — *unfair, untruth, unwise,* etc.

ad- (to): *adjoin, adhere;* by assimilation: *ac-, af-, ag-, al-, an-, ap-, ar-, as-, at-,* etc.: *accustom, accept; adduce, addict; affix, affirm; aggravate, aggrieve; allot, allure; annihilate, annotate; approximate, appoint; arrange, arrest; assign, assure; attract, attune.* In some derivations *d-* has been lost: *aspect, ascribe, aspire* and others;

bi-, bis- (*two, twice, doubly*): *biweekly, bimonthly,* etc.

com-, con-, co- (*with*): (by assimilation: *cog-, col-, cor-,* etc.) *cognomen, collect, collision; compact, compile; correct, correspond;*

de- a prefix denoting: 1) down as in *depose, depend;* 2) separation (*off, away*), as in *desist, depart;* 3) intensification, as in *derelict, denude;* 4) reversing or undoing of an action, depriving or ridding of an action, as in *deform, degas;* 5) *out of,* especially in denominative verbs: *decamp, debus, detrain,* etc.;

dis-, di- 1) a purely negative force or contradictory opposition, e. g. *displease, disbelieve, dishonest*, etc.; 2) reversal, e. g. the undoing of something: *disarm, disclose, disjoin, dismount*, etc.

In productivity *dis-* cannot compete with *un-* which is far more common with words of general currency.

en- (French, from Latin *in-*) — a prefix signifying "in", "into", forming denominative verbs:

1) from nouns, *en-* having the sense of "put into" or "upon", "cover with", "wrap up in", e. g. to *encage*, to *anshroud*, to *enwrap;*

2) from nouns or adjectives, *en-* having the sense of "make", "make into", "make like", e. g. to *enfeeble*, to *enlarge;*

3) from verbs, mostly transitive, *en-* will sometimes add a sense of "in", but oftener a mere intensive force, e. g. to *enclose (to inclose), to enlighten, to enkindle, to enwrap,* etc.

The prefix *en-*, is felt to be connected or identical in meaning with *in-* denoting *in, on, into, toward*, e. g. *infect, inhabit, invade.* With the verb *breathe*, for instance, three forms exist: *embreathe, inbreathe* and *imbreathe, inbreathe* being the oldest. The coining is obviously influenced by Latin.

ex-, e-, ef- (*out of, from*): *expose, educe, effort.*

ex- may be prefixed to personal nouns, especially those denoting office or occupation, e. g. *ex-chancellor, ex-Prime-Minister.*

in- (akin to E. *un-*) meaning "not", "non", "un", e. g. *incorrect, inactive, incapable*, etc.

As a negative prefix *in-* is used with adjectives and nouns of Latin and French origin. To adjectives it conveys the meaning of "un", "not", to nouns the meaning "want, lack, absence of".

At all times *in-* has been prefixed in accordance with Latin rules, i. e. *in-* is assimilated to *il-* before l, to *im-* before the bilabial consonants m, b, p, to *ir-* before r, e. g. *illuminative, illegible, immobile, immeasurable, irregular, irrational.*

Note: In native words in- is generally unchanged by the following consonant, as in *inland, inlet, inmate.*

A s s i m i l a t i o n is a common explanation of consonant change in English. The opposite of assimilation is d i s s i m i l a t i o n, which sometimes takes place when the combining of two morphemes brings together two identical phonemes; it results in the change of one of them to a phoneme less

like its neighbour. Dissimilation is rare in English. One example taken over from Latin, is the allomorph *ig-*, which replaces *in-* before some morphemes beginning with n, e. g. *ignoble, ignominious* (The Latin *in-* and the English *un-* are so much alike, that some words are spelt both ways: *infrequent — unfrequent, incautious — uncautious, instable — unstable, incontrollable — uncontrollable, inartistic — unartistic, irrecognizable — unrecognizable, immovable — unmovable*, etc.).

The distribution of the prefixes *in-* and *un-* deserves further comments.

While with adjectives *in-* is receding before *un-* the same competition does not exist for nouns, where *un-* is much weaker. This is often the case with nouns whose ending more cleanly shows the Latin origin of the word:

unable	inability	undigested	indigestion
uncivil	incivility	unequal	inequality
uncomfortable	discomfort	unfortunate	misfortune
uncompleted	incomplete	ungrateful	ingratitude
uncomprehending	incomprehension	unsanitary	insane
undecided	indecision	unstable	instability
unjust	injustice		

Words ending in *-ing, -ed, -able* and *-ful* are likely to be made negative by *un-*. It also worthy of note that negative prefixes are sometimes attached to forms that are rarely used without the prefixes, e. g. *ungainly, unprecedented, unspeakable.*

The prefix *in-* is not used with words beginning with in for euphonic reasons. There are no *in-* counterparts for *uninhabitable, unintelligible.*

un- is the commonest negative prefix. It is used with native English words (chiefly adjectives and adverbs) and, to a lesser extent, with words of foreign (Latin or French) origin, e. g. *unhappy, unkind, unimportant;* with nouns (less numerous): *unrest, unemployment.*

When prefixed to verbs, it denotes an "action contrary to or annulling that of the simple verb" (COD), e. g. *to unbend, to unbutton, to undress*, etc. Similar formations from nouns are *to unearth, to unhorse.*

In a few cases an adjective with the prefix *un-* expresses a neutral meaning, the same adjective with *in-* — an unfavourable meaning: *unartistic — inartistic, unmoral* (also *moral, non-moral*) — *immoral.*

The purely neutral sense thus ascribed to *un-* is not that found in many of the most familiar adjectives *(unbeautiful, unfair, ungraceful,* etc.) (COD).

Untrue means culpably inconsistent with *truth* (ibid).

Negative participles may allow either of two interpretations, depending on the context. Thus *unbending* may be apprehended either as *un-bending,* i. e. "not bending", or as *unbend-ing,* i. e. "changing from bent position, relaxing". Similarly *unmasked,* either *un-masked,* i. e. "not masked", or unmask-ed, i. e. "deprived of his mask". When speaking emphatically, the prefix in the former of each pair may receive extra stress.

Observe the following: *inhuman* means "brutal" while *unhuman* has the meaning "not human, super-human"; *unmoral* merely means "not moral, non-moral"; whereas *immoral* is more or less an equivalent of *licentious.*

On the whole, the difference between *in-* and *un-* is that the latter is the regular negative prefix with adjectives belonging to the common vocabulary and accordingly stresses more strongly the derivative character of the negatived adjective. The prefix *-in* is somewhat restricted in distribution: it forms learned, chiefly scientific, words. This restricted formative character of the prefix is even more evident with adjectives which are not analysable as composites in English *(ineffable, inept, incult, ineradicable,* etc.), but are derived on a purely native basis[1].

The tabulated survey of English prefixes given above guides our attention to polysemy and synonymic correlation of prefixes.

Consider, for illustration, the following correlative semantic groups of prefixes implying:

a) **priority** — *ex-, fore-, pre-,* e. g. *ex-minister, forethought, foretaste, predawn;*

b) **negation** — *in-, un-, dis-, non-, a-,* e. g. *inapt, unhappy, unkind, disquiet, non-believer, non-stop, amoral;*

c) **counteraction, opposition** — *counter, contra-, anti-,* e. g. *counterblow, contradiction, counterweigh, antipode, antipole;*

d) **locality** — *a-, en-, sub-, supra-, sur-, trans-, hypo-, circum-, epi-, under-,* e. g. *ashore, abed, encage, encase, sublunary, surcoat, transoceanic, transmarine, hypodermic, circumsolar, epicentre, epiderm;*

[1] *See:* Marchand H. Op. cit., p. 130.

e) **reversion** — *de-, dis-, un-,* e. g. *deform, denationalize, disambiguate (to settle ambiguity), discontinue, unbutton, unstick, unstrap,* etc.;

f) **incompleteness** — *demi-, hemi-, dys-,* e. g. *demiofficial, hemisphere, dysfunction, dysclimax.*

Hybrids

The contact of English with various foreign languages has led to the adoption of numberless derivative morphemes, suffixes and prefixes. By the nature of things, there appeared numerous hybrid words. The addition of foreign suffixes to native words often involves the assimilation of a structural pattern not only the borrowing of a lexical element.

Hybrid types of composites are different in character. Distinction will be made between:

a) f o r e i g n   w o r d s combined with a n a-t i v e   a f f i x, e. g. *clear-ness, false-hood, faith-ful, merci-ful, use-ful, use-less, un-able, un-button, un-cage, un-certain, un-merci-ful,* etc.

b) f o r e i g n   a f f i x e s added to n a t i v e w o r d s, e.g. *break-able, break-age, en-dear, en-snare, dis-band, dis-burden, per-haps, re-call, wondrous.*

Compare the following pairs of words:

Nouns	Adjectives
wonder (Germanic)	*wondrous* (used chiefly in poetry)
	wonderful (same meaning as *wondrous)*
plenty (Latin)	*plenteous* (used chiefly in poetry)
	plentiful (same meaning as *plenteous)*
beauty (Latin)	*beauteous* (for persons; used in poetry)
	beautiful (for persons and things alike)
bounty (Latin)	*bounteous* (used chiefly in poetry)
	bountiful (same meaning as *bounteous)*
pity (Latin)	*piteous* (exciting pity as *a piteous moan)*
	pitiful (exciting pity, as *a pitiful excuse,* feeling pity as *a pitiful nature)*

grace (Latin)   *gracious* (showing grace or favour, kind)
   graceful (elegant in form)

Some foreign affixes, as **-ance, -al, -ity** have never become productive with native words.

There are also hybrid compounds, e. g. *blackmail, faint-hearted, heir-loom, salt-cellar*, etc.

CONVERSION (ZERO-INFLECTION)

Transpositions of virtual signs at different levels of linguistic structure are a natural development in the functioning of language. Linguistic signs if closed in their categories would hardly satisfy the multifarious needs of actual speech.

Inclusion of the concept of transpositions in the theory of word-making seems perfectly resonable and helpful.

Conversion as a special non-affixal type of transposition of words is one of the striking features of English, where the form-classes of the words are not always clearly marked.

The long-standing result of scientific research is the recognition of conversion as a non-affix word-making device where the paradigm of the word and its syntactic function signal the lexico-grammatical status of the word.

Describing the categories and types of present-day English word-formation H. Marchand defines conversion as a z e r o - m o r p h e m e[1].

Conversion existed at all stages of the development of English.

In Old English there were a certain number of verbs and nouns of the same root but distinguished by the endings.

A great many native nouns and verbs had come to be identical in form, e. g.: *blossom, care, dare, drink, ebb, end, fight, fish, fire* and so on through a long possible list.

The same thing happened with numerous originally French words, e. g.: *accord, account, arm, blame, cause, change, charm, claim, combat, comfort, copy, cost, couch.*

This type of derivation is best defined as a non-affixal word-formation where the paradigm in the word and its syntactic function signal its appurtenance to a given part of speech[2].

There are various interpretations of such coinages. Grammarians use the term 'conversion' for different

[1] *See:* M a r c h a n d H. Op. cit., p. 293.

[2] *See:* С м и р н и ц к и й А. И. Лексикология английского языка. М., 1956; Я р ц е в а В. Н. Проблема парадигмы в языке аналитического строя. — В кн.: Вопросы германского языкознания. М. — Л., 1961, р. 229; Ж л у к т е н к о Ю. А. Конверсия в современном английском языке как морфолого-синтаксический способ словообразования.— Вопросы языкознания. 1958, No. 5.

things. According to K r u i s i n g a, for instance, conversion takes place whenever a word takes on a function which is not its basic one, as, for instance, the use of an adjective in cases like *the poor, the British, shreds of pink*, as well as premodification of nouns by nouns and even such quotation words as his *"I don't know's"*.

M. B i e s e[1] adopts the same criteria. R. Z a n d v o o r t[2] and some other grammarians make distinction between c o m p l e t e and p a r t i a l conversion. In cases of c o m p l e t e 'conversion' the converted word has to all intents and purposes become another part of speech taking the adjuncts and grammatical endings proper to that part of speech. Thus, for instance, when *slow* is used as a verb it may take any of the forms and functions of a verb. In cases of p a r t i a l conversion, the converted word takes on only some of the characteristics of the other part of speech so that it really belongs to two parts of speech at the same time. Thus, *the poor*, though plural in meaning, does not take a plural ending: it becomes a noun to some extent only.

O t t o J e s p e r s e n[3] does not sufficiently distinguish between such cases. Describing the faculty of using one and the same form with different values he calls words related through conversion 'grammatical homophones'.

This phenomenon is also called 'functional shift' or 'functional change'.

There are important observations on the subject in E. S. K o o b r y a k o v a's scholarly accounts on 'derivational morphology', where transpositions in word-making are shown with due attention to the morphological surrounding of the underlying and derivative stems.

Morphological transposition of the stem results in a complete change of the paradigm of the underlying unit[4]. Depending on the morphological system of a given language it can have the following correlative types:

1) the stem of the motivating word and that of the motivated one are followed by some morphological indicator, e. g. золот-о — золот-ой;

2) the stem of the motivating word is followed by some morphological indicator and the motivated word has a zero-morpheme, e. g. нагре-в-ать — на-грев;

3) the motivating word is characterized by a zero-morpheme, i. e. structurally coincides with the stem,

[1] *See:* B i e s e M. Origin and Development of Conversion in English. Helsinki, 1941.

[2] *See:* Z a n d v o o r t R. W. A Handbook of English Grammar. London, 1965, p. 266.

[3] J e s p e r s e n O. Essentials of English Grammar. London, 1956, p. 73.

[4] *See:* К у б р я к о в а Е. С. Деривация, транспозиция, конверсия. — Вопросы языкознания. 1974, No. 5., pp. 65—76.

and the motivated word has some morphological indicator, e. g. обед — обед-а-ть;

4) the nominative form of the motivating word fully coincides with that of the motivated one, in other words, both members of the correlation are structurally pure stems, e. g. in English: *sail* 'парус'— *to sail* 'идти под парусом'.

The existence of different types of non-affixal word-making in different languages is conditioned by the peculiarities of the morphological structure of a language.

The study of conversion in English bears immediate relevance to the problem of interparadigmatic homonymy resulting from the fact that the root, the stem and the grammatical form of the word may be identical in sound.

Graphic examples of such kind of ambiguity are given by Ch. Fries.

"The utterance *ship sails today* (which might appear in a telegram) is ambiguous as it stands because of the absence of clear part-of-speech markers. If a clear part-of-speech marker, *the*, is put before the first word as in "*The ship sails today*", there is no ambiguity; we have a statement.

If, however, the same marker is put before the second word as in "*Ship the sails today*", there is also no ambiguity, but the utterance is different; we have a request. Other clear part-of-speech markers would also resolve the ambiguity, as with the addition of such a marker as the ending *-ed*: "*Shipped sail today*"; "*Ship sailed today*"[1].

Derivational patterns of conversion in Modern English are varied. Important treatments of their relative productivity have been made by A. A. Ūfimtzeva[2] who gives a tabulated survey of various patterns of derivation showing conversive relations between two, three and more words:

1) V_t — N: *rescue* (спасать) — N (спасение);

2) V_t — V_i — N: *mistake* V_t (неправильно понять что-либо, ошибочно принять одно за другое) — V_i (ошибаться) — N (ошибка);

3) V_t — V_i — Adj.— N: *trim* V_t (приводить в порядок, подрезать) — V_i (приспосабливаться) — Adj. (аккуратный, в хорошем состоянии) — N (порядок и пр.);

4) Adj.— Adv.— N — V_t — V_i: *right* Adj. (прямой) — Adv. (прямо) — N (право) — V_t (выпрямлять) — V_i (выпрямляться);

[1] *See:* Fries Ch. The Structure of English. London, 1959, p. 62.

[2] *See:* Уфимцева А. А. Опыт изучения лексики как системы. М., 1962.

5) Adj.— N — Adv.— Prep.— V_t — V_i: *round* (Adj) круглый — N (круг) — Adv. (кругом) — Prep. (вокруг) — V_t (округлять) — V_i (округляться).

By the nature of things, binomic derivational patterns embrace the greatest number of words.

Denominal Verbs Made by Conversion

The formal identity of a large number of English words belonging to different word-classes calls for particular attention in language learning. The development of such identical forms is known to be one of the most characteristic features of English. The linguistic mechanism works with surprising accuracy so that not only to prevent ambiguity but facilitate the use of the language.

Denominal verbs made through conversion imply an action or state that bears relation to the noun involved. *Cf.:*

stone (N) — 1. concreted earthy or mineral matter; 2. a specific piece of rock; 3. a piece of rock shaped for some purpose, a gravestone; 4. something resembling a small stone; specif. a hailstone, a stonelike seed of fruits, the enclosed seed of a drupe, as of peach.

to stone (V) — to throw stones at; to pelt with stones, to kill by pelting with stones; to wall, to face, to line or fortify with stones, to polish or sharpen with a stone; to remove the stones or seeds of.

Verbs made from nouns are not always monosemic. One and the same verb may imply different things; the necessary meaning is signalled by the context which sets up a bridge of understanding between the speaker and the hearer.

Compare for illustration the variant meanings of the verb *to face:*

a) to confront impudently;

b) to meet face to face;

c) to oppose firmly, to resist;

d) to line near the edge, esp. with a different material;

e) to give a specious appearance;

f) to put a facing upon, e. g. to face a building with marble.

Metaphoric extension of such verbs is rather a frequent occurrence. A glance at any comprehensive

dictionary will give quite a number of such examples.

Cf.
   a) *the bottom of the vessel was floored = The bottom of the vessel was covered with a floor;*
   b) *This question floored me = This question put me to silence.*

to mouse: a) to hunt for and catch mice;
   b) to watch for or pursue anything in a sly manner.

Soames walked eastwards, mousing along the shady side. (Galsworthy)

to fish: a) to attempt to catch fish as by angling or drawing a net;
   b) to fish in the air — to try in vain;
   c) to fish for compliments.

to nail: a) to fasten by means of nails;
   b) to fix in steady attention, e. g. to nail the eyes;
   c) to detect, to expose, e. g. to nail a lie.

Observe the sense relation between the nouns and the denominal verbs in the tabulated survey given below:

a) verbs from nouns denoting p l a c e:

corner — to corner = 1. to provide with corners;
   2. to put or set in a corner;
   3. to drive into a corner or into a position of difficulty;

nest — to nest = 1. v. t. to form a nest for; to settle or place in or as in a nest;
   2. v. i. to build or occupy a nest.

table — to table = 1. to tabulate;
   2. to lay or place on a table as money, a card, or the like.

b) verbs from nouns denoting f a m i l y   r e l a t i o n s:

mother — to mother = 1. to adopt or care for as a child;
   2. to acknowledge that one is the mother of.

father — to father = 1. to beget; also, to be the founder or author of;
   2. to accept or claim responsibility for;

3. to treat as a father; to care for;
4. to impose; to attach.

c) verbs from nouns denoting m a t e r i a l:

stone — to stone = 1. to pelt with stones; to kill by throwing stones;
   2. to remove the stones or seed of, as to stone cherries;
   3. to wall, face, line, or fortify with stones.

iron — to iron = 1. to furnish, arm, or cover with iron;
   2. to shackle with irons; to smooth with an instrument of iron; to iron clothes.

d) verbs from nouns — n a m e s   o f   i m p l e m e n t s:

From the names of implements (in a widened sense) are derived a great many verbs that denote the action for which the implements are meant (*axe, knife, cable, nail, pin, screw, spoon, fork,* etc.), e. g.:

axe — to axe 1. to cut with an axe;
   2. to dress or trim with an axe;
   3. to cut down (expenses).

e) verbs from nouns denoting t i m e, w e a t h e r   c o n d i t i o n s:

Derivatives from nouns denoting time mean "spend the time indicated by the noun" e. g.:

winter	*— to winter*
summer	*— to summer*
honey-moon	*— to honey-moon*
week-end	*— to week-end*
mist	*— to mist*

f) verbs from nouns — n a m e s   o f   a n i m a l s:

Verbs made from the names of animals imply the action characteristic of the animal denoted by the noun:

dog — to dog = to hunt or track like a hound;
monkey — to monkey = to act or treat in the manner of a monkey; ape; meddle;
wolf — to wolf = to eat speedily as does a wolf, to devour ravenously.

g) verbs from nouns — n a m e s o f t h e p a r t s o f t h e h u m a n b o d y:

Nearly every noun for the different parts of the body has given rise to a homonym verb, though some of them are rarely used:

arm — *to arm* (= put one's arm around)
breast — *to breast* (= to oppose)
elbow — *to elbow* (= to elbow one's way through the crowd)
ear — *to ear* (= to put forth ears; to form ears)
fist — *to fist* (= to strike with the fist; also, to clench).

It would be difficult to give a complete list of derivatives as there is an ever growing tendency to derive verbs from nouns without derivative morphemes. A few recent verbs made through conversion are: *date* — *to date*, *debut* — *to debut*, *chairman* — *to chairman*, *page* — *to page*, *process* — *to process*, etc.

It is certainly superfluous here to give more instances, for a glance at any page of a comprehensive dictionary will supply a sufficient number of them.

As we see, a converted word develops a meaning of its own and diverges so far from its original function that it is felt to be an independent word, a homonym.

This is also true of verbs made from other parts of speech, e. g. verbs made from adjectives: *bitter* — *to bitter*, *better* — *to better*, *sour* — *to sour*, *yellow* — *to yellow*, *green* — *to green*, *blue* — *to blue*, *jolly* — *to jolly*, etc.

Deverbal Nouns Made by Conversion

The freedom with which nouns are made from verbs by conversion is a characteristic peculiarity of English different from practice in other languages. In semantic terms, deverbal nouns made through conversion seem to follow regular correlations observed in nouns formed by derivation.

Distinction will be made between:

a) nouns denoting a c t i o n s (nomina actionis), e. g.:

to hunt — *a hunt*
to wash — *a wash*
to shave — *a shave*

b) nouns denoting a s i n g l e a c t (nomina acti), e. g.:

to glance — *a glance*
to pull — *a pull*
to push — *a push*

c) nouns denoting the i m p e r s o n a l a g e n t, e. g.:

to draw — *a draw* (attraction)
to stick — *a stick* (something that causes delay)
to sting — *a sting* (animal organ)

Names of action are often used in collocations where they take the position of the object making up an analytical construction semantically equivalent to the verb. Examples are numerous: *give help, find help, find exrpession, find reflection, have comfort, get publicity, take possession*, etc. Such nominal binary phrases are most active and have parallels in other languages.

Cf.: French: *jeter un regard, prendre possession, rendre assistance, recevoir la visite*, etc.
German: *Annahme finden, Anerkennung finden, Hilfe finden.*

The value of the power of deverbal nouns in actual speech is greatly increased by their productivity in binomic patterns implying the aspective character of the action, or voice distinctions. The main information is carried by a noun, the verb is semantically depleted and comes to function as a semi-copulative verb. Such phrasal verbs function with rather a high frequency revealing with sufficient evidence regular oppositional relations between simple verbs of similar meaning.

The process of converting notional words into lexico-grammatical morphemes is most active. Deverbal nouns are common in standardized verb-phrases with *get, give, have, make, take*. Such formations are known to be a marked feature of English during all periods from early M. E. up to the present time.

The stylistic range of phrasal verbs is very wide. Their dynamic character and the possibility of attaching various kind of attributes to the nominal elements makes them particularly suitable for use in descriptive pictorial language, as compared to corresponding simple verbs.

It will be useful to distinguish converted deverbal nouns denoting:

a) **t h e   d o e r   o f   t h e   a c t i o n**, e. g. *to help — a help* = "a helper, assistant", esp. a hired one; *to spy — a spy* "one who watches", etc.

Quite a number of such nouns are often depreciative in meaning, such as, for instance, *a scold* "a scolding woman", *a bore* "a tiresome person", *a pry* "a prying person".

b) nouns denoting the **r e s u l t   o f   t h e   a c t i o n** expressed by the verb: *to catch — a catch* "that which is caught or taken", e. g. *a good catch of fish* (добрий вилов риби); *to take — a take* "that which is taken", the action of taking, e. g. *a take of fish* (ловитва), *a take* may also mean (виручка). Further examples are: *fang, win, cut, find, pinch, melt, slur, snatch, sweet, think* (= *opinion*), *tread* (= *footprint*).

P l a c e denoting nouns are not numerous: *fold, bend, stip, dump*, etc.

The meaning of a single utterance can be reduced to one word. Deverbal nouns can readily do this duty, e. g.

A cry, or had she dreamed it? (Galsworthy)

A push, and he was standing inside, breathless, wiping his feet (Sillitoe).

The use of such "prepositional" nouns semantically equivalent to sentences contributes significantly to the development of synonymy.

Observe also the use of deverbal nouns in prepositional nominals, e. g.

> *beyond help*   — *cannot be helped*
> *beyond repair* — *cannot be repaired*
> *beyond cure*   — *cannot be cured.*

Deverbal nouns will be found in separable adverbs, e. g. *at a gulp, in the know, in wait, in the long run*, etc.

Yet he hated Bossiney, that Buccaneer, that prowling vagabond, that night-wanderer. For in his thoughts Soames always saw him lying in wait — wandering. (Galsworthy)

"You keep one in the know", said Val encouraged. "What do you think of that Belgian fellow, Profond?" (Galsworthy)

In some cases a deverbal noun is formed through conversion though there is already another noun derived from the same verb; thus *a move* has the same meaning as *removal, movement,* or *motion* (from which

later a new verb of motion if formed); *a resolve* and *resolution; a laugh* and *laughter* are nearly the same thing.

Occasional Lexicalization of Phrases

Occasional lexicalization of phrases is a syntactical matter. As an effective linguistic device used for stylistic purposes it is fairly common in lively speech.

In order to create a new lexical unit, language does not necessarily follow a pattern that is morphologically isolated. In lexicalized phrases grammatical relations recede before lexicalization. Formative types of such coinages have their own traits of arrangement in Modern English. Any syntactic group may have a meaning that is not the additive result of the constituents.

Consider the following examples:

*They would put away the card-table and empty the ash-receivers with many **"Oh, I beg your pardon's"** and **"No, no — I was in your way's"*** (Parker).

*His gay **"how do you do's"** started getting on her nerves* (Parker).

*"Oh, weren't they though", laughed Clyde, who had not failed to catch the **"your set"**, also the "where you have money and position".* (Dreiser).

*That did not matter very much because it was not one of the **floor-washing mornings,** but just one of the ordinary **dust-round-and-sweep-up-a bit mornings*** (Priestley).

*He could not help feeling richer than he had done mornings. Now he was practically a **four-hundred-a-year man,** instead of a **three-hundred-a-year man*** (Priestley).

Further examples are: *a **happy-go-lucky man, the not-quite-at-ease manners, the wait-and-see policy,*** etc.

Occasional lexicalization of phrases is often used jocularly for stylistic purposes, e. g.

There is a sort of oh-what-a-wicked-world-this-is-and-how-I-wish-I-could-do-something-to-make-it-better-and-nobler expression about Montmorency that has been known to bring the tears into the eyes of pious ladies and gentlemen (J. K. Jerome).

General Principles of Compounding

A c o m p o u n d   w o r d   is a word composed entirely of smaller words.

The general principles of compounding in various languages are somewhat similar, but it should be apparent that certain details and especially the restrictions vary in different languages. The differences are indeed great enough to prevent setting up a rigid scheme of classification that would fit all languages.

Compounding in English has some specific features different from practice in other languages. The first to be mentioned is that the immediate constituents of an English compound are free forms.

The predominant type in English is a juxtapositional compound made up of a determining and a determined part (also called determinant determinatum). The frequency value of this type of English composition is well known.

In the system of languages to which English belongs, the determining part generally precedes the determinatum.

The types which do not conform to this principle are represented chiefly by formations with prepositions and conjunctions or by loan-compounds with the "inner form" of a non-English language, e. g. brother-in-low, hanger-on, passer-by, son-in-law, editor-in-chief, pepper-and-salt, Macdonald, Fitzgerald, brother german, consul-general, court martial, governor general, etc.

The difference between a compound and a phrase must be determined separately for each language.

English compounds differ from phrases in the p h o n e m i c   m o d i f i c a t i o n   o f   t h e i r c o m p o n e n t s, in the kind of juncture between them, in the stress pattern. or in a combination of these features. Thus, the compound black-bird differs from the phrase black bird only in stress, the compound altogether differs from the phrase all together in both stress and juncture; and the compound gentleman differs from the phrase gentle man in stress, juncture, and modification of the second member from [mæn] to [mən].

Another feature in which compounds often differ from phrases is their indivisibility. The constituent

words of a phrase may be separated by the insertion of other words:

a black or bluish-black bird, a gentle man—a gentle old man.

In French, the compound pied-à-terre "temporary lodging" (literally "goot-on-ground") differs from a phrase of similar structure in the modification of its first member, which has the form (pje) as an independent word. In Latin and other languages many words have a special combining form which appears only in compounds or its derivatives. Thus, Latin corni-pes "horn-footed, hoffed" consists of the two words: corn-u "horn" and pes "foot"; it is morphologically marked as a compound by the presence of the combining form corni- which does not appear in any inflected form of the word itself.

The foreign-learned part of the English vocabulary also shows a number of special combining forms, e. g. the electro-combining form of electric in such compounds as electromagnet.

To describe the construction of a compound we must identify not only the class (part of speech, etc.) to which it belongs but also the class of each component member; we must see how these are put together by stating the order in which they are uttered, the features of juncture and accent which characterize them and the phonemic modifications, if any, to which the component words are subjected in the process of compounding.

By way of illustration: steamship, a noun, composed of the two nouns steam and ship in open juncture with bound stress on the first member and reduced loud on the second; tryout, a noun composed of the verb try and the adverb out in close juncture with loud stress on the first member and medial on the second; gentleman a noun composed of the adjective gentle and the noun man in close juncture with loud stress on the first member and weak on the second.

In point of fact any combination of parts of speech may be employed in this way though some combinations are far more common than others, some are unusual and some have not been favoured equally in every period.

A compound word forms a single idea. But there are naturally different degrees of closeness in the merging of the separate elements of a compound.

In compounds which most frequently occur the last element expresses a general meaning whereas the prefixed element renders it less general. Thus,

motor ship is *a ship* but only a particular kind of ship; *water lily* is a *lily*, but only a particular kind of lily.

The simplest form of compounds is the welding of two words that already exist in the language; *broadcast, newsboy, water-mill, water-way*, etc.

It is worth mentioning that a number of early native compounds have died out or have been replaced by French or Latin borrowings · that are not compounds, as when *treasure* replaced *gold-hoard* and when *medicine* superseded *leech-craft*.

Latin (to some extent) and French lack the compound making ability of English; extensive borrowings from them, therefore, did little to support the device in English.

Combining two words into the morphologically isolated unit seems to be one of the universal features in language development. This principle, as H. M a r-c h a n d[1] very rightly points out, arises from the natural human tendency to observe a thing identical with another one already existing and at the same time different from it.

Compounding occurs in all word classes. There are compound nouns, adjectives, verbs, pronouns, conjunctions and prepositions. The largest group is that of nouns. Next come compound adjectives, then verbs. There are also compound pronouns and pronominal adverbs, conjunctions and prepositions. These naturally serve grammatical rather than lexical purposes.

Drawing a rigid line of demarcation between compound words and phrases is not an easy thing to do. An adequate definition of a compound must naturally proceed from a set of criteria that can be consistently applied to all lexical units in question. Some linguists hold the view that a compound is determined by the underlying concepts, othe s lay emphasis on stress. Attempts have been made to seek the solution of the problem in spelling.

Some scholars combine the phonemic criterion with spelling. Following Stanley S. Newman, H. Marchand emphasizes the need to accept three degrees of phonemic stress: heavy stress (marked″), middle stress (marked′) and weak stress (which is traditionally and perhaps more appropriately called 'absence of stress'). As a combination of two independent words, basically speaking, a compound combines two elements which are characterized by presence of stress. Absence of stress in general indicates grammaticalization of a morphemic element.

[1] Marchand H.
Op. cit., p. 11.

There is a well-known tendency in English to give compounds a heavy stress on the first element, which is primary in importance to distinguish between a compound word and a phrase.

"Whenever we hear lesser or least stress upon a word which would always show a high stress in a phrase, we describe it as a compound member: *ice-cream* [′aiskri:m] is a compound, but *ice-cream* [′ais′kri:m] is a phrase, although there is no denotative difference in meaning"[1].

English compounds stressed on this pattern are known to be fairly common. Further familiar examples are: *′black-berry :: ′black′berry; ′blackbird :: ′black ′bird; ′blackcap :: ′black ′cap; ′greenhouse :: ′green ′house* (in all compounds of this type the determinant has a heavy stress, the determinatum has a middle stress).

Exception to this rule as far as compound nouns are concerned will be observed in compound nouns with the first constituents *all-* and *self-*, e. g.: *All-Fool's-day* (syn. *April Fool's day* = the first of April with its jokes), *self-command, self-conceit* and still others.

Compound adjectives are commonly double-stressed, e. g. ′easy-′going, ′new-′blown, etc.

Compound adjectives of emphatic comparison have a heavy stress on the first element, e. g. *dog-cheap, ice-cold, snow-blind*, etc.

It is to be noted that the stress is often no help in solving the problem of compounds, because word-stress may depend on phrasal stress and not the syntactic function of the compound. The stress of some compound adjectives, for instance, varies with the variation in their distribution, e. g.: ajectives like *hard-earned, hard-boiled, light-headed, light-hearted, light-minded* have a single stress when used attributively, in other cases, the stress is even.

In certain types of words the stress helps to differentiate the meaning of compounds. A few examples for illustration are given below:

a) *book′case* — a piece of furniture with shelves for books;
b) *′bookcase* — a paper cover for books;
a) *man′kind* — the human race;
b) *′mankind* — men, as distinguished from women.

The criterion of stress, as shown by many investigations, holds only for certain types of compounds.

[1] Bloomfield L.
Op. cit., p. 228.

There are many combinations with double stress which are undoubtedly compounds.

Spelling very often fluctuates and is no help in solving the problem. Besides this, there are separable lexicalized groups in English which are not spelt solid but can surely be considered compounds expressing single idea, e. g. *head master, horse power.*

Most English compounds are binary structures, their most regular pattern is a two-stem combination. We do not find in English such cumbersome and very lengthy compound words as are fairly common in German, e. g. *Niederdruckdampfheizungsanlage, Energiemaschinenreparaturprogramm*, or such familiar examples as are often quoted by grammarians to characterize the extreme cases of German composition: *Vierwaldstätterseeschraubendampfschiffgesellschaft* or *Feuer- und Unfallversicherungsgesellschaft.*

CLASSIFICATION OF COMPOUNDS

Compound words may be classified proceeding from different criteria.

In terms of their functional value, compounds are viewed as linguistic units belonging to different parts of speech. Most compound words in English are known to belong to nouns and adjectives.

Adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions made by compounding are rather few in number.

Compound verbs are not a very frequent occurrence. Verbs that are morphemically compound are sometimes made through conversion from the stems of compound nouns, e. g. *to spotlight* from *spotlight, to side-track* from *side-track*, etc. There are also verbs made by reversion like *to baby-sit.*

In terms of structure, distinction will be made between:

a) compounding by juxtaposition, e. g. *blackboard, blackberry, blackbird, table-linen*, etc.;

b) compounding by means of the linking element *o*, e. g. *Anglo-Saxon, Afro-Asian, barometer, electrotype, electroplate, gasometer, speedometer*, etc.

Greek compound words are usually formed by compounding stems rather than roots. English words derived from Greek, or formed on the Greek pattern, commonly lose or distort suffixes at the end of the word, but the stem-formative of the first stem is usually quite evident, e. g. *thermometer* is composed of the stems *thermo-* and *meter.* The first of these is

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formed from the root *therm-* by adding the stem-formative *-o-.* This accounts for the very common occurrence of *-o-* in words of this type.

Cf.: morpho-logy, ge-o-graphy, phil-o-sophy, method-o-logy, etc.

The Greek origin of the morpheme *-o-* may contribute to an understanding of the history of this English feature, but is not relevant to English structure (The Greek word *thermos* 'warm' consists of a root *therm*, a stem-formative *-o-* and a final suffix *-s*).

The stem-formative *-o-* is a morpheme in English not because it is one in Greek, but because certain facts in English structure require it to be so interpreted. We cannot divide *thermometer* as either *thermo-meter* or as *therm-ometer.* Neither *therm* nor *ometer* is a single morpheme.

There is also a small group of English morphological compounds with the linking element *s*, such as *craftsman, sportsman, spokesman, landsman, tradesman*, etc.

The plural concept seems to enter such compounds as: *beeswax, woodsman, salesman, saleswoman, seedsman* and still others.

Closely related to the given types are separable compounds in terminology such as, for example, plant names of the type *adder's grass, adder's tongue, bear's foot, buck's horn, calf's foot, cat's foot, cock's foot, goat's beard, hen's foot, hawk's bill, lamb's tongue, stork's bill* and still others;

c) derivational compounds coined with the help of the productive adjective-forming suffix *-ed*, such as: *blue-eyed, kind-hearted, light-minded, long-tailed, long-bearded*, etc.

Compounds of this type are coined with a certain regularity of grammatical forms.

A. I. S m i r n i t s k y describes them as 'grammatical compounds', which is not devoid of logical foundations.

The other frequently usable line of classification concerns the relation of the compounds as a whole to its constituents. One can often apply to compounds the distinction between e n d o c e n t r i c and e x o c e n t r i c constructions which we meet in syntax (L. Bloomfield).

Compounds with two constituent elements, the determination and the determinant are endocentric, e. g. *blackboard, bedroom, bluebook, madman*, etc. Since *a blackboard* is a kind of a board and *a bedroom* is a kind of a room we may say that these compounds

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have the same function as their head members; they are e n d o c e n t r i c.

On the other hand, in *whitewash* and *whitecap* the resultant compound word belongs to the form-class of no immediate constituent; they are e x o-c e n t r i c. Examples quoted by H. Marchand are: *pickpocket, pickpurse, runabout, overall. A pickpocket* is neither *a pick* nor a *pocket, pickpurse* is neither *a pick* nor *a purse* and so on.

In such cases the determinatum lies outside the combination and is only implicitly understood, but not formally expressed.

Further examples of exocentric compounds are: *come-off, go-down, go-between, hold-up, lock-in, make-up, take-in, take-off, pick-up, wind-up,* etc.

Among exocentric compounds we also find the so-called b a h u v r i h i[1] compounds denoting a person, animal or thing characterized by what is expressed in the compound.

Thus, for instance, using metonymy, we often name a person for some striking feature of his or her appearance. As a matter of fact, any simple word is susceptible of being used in this way.

The origin of bahuvrihi compounds is to be sought in the practice of namegiving.

Compounds of this type denote living beings, in the main, but there are also plant names and a few words denoting various things. Compounds denoting persons have in most cases a depreciative humorous or ironical colouring. The following are among them: *bigwig* (= person of consequence), *blackmouth* (= slanderer), *bold-faced* (= impudent), *greenhorn* (= a raw, inexperienced person), *hard-head* (= a shrewd, unfeeling person, also *a blackhead*), *soft-head* (= a simpleton; simple person), *highbrow* (= *sl.* a learned person, an intellectual), *lighthead* (= a lightheaded or frivolous person), *hotspur* (= a lightheaded man, a rush).

Languages differ greatly in their idiosyncrasies, i. e. in the forms they have adopted, in the peculiarities of their use.

Semantic Relations in Compounding

Distinction is often made between r e l a t e d and u n r e l a t e d compounds.

The constituent of related compounds stand to each other in the same grammatical relation as words in a phrase; thus in Modern English the members of the compounds *blackboard* and *blue-bell* show the same construction of adjective plus noun as do the words in the phrases *blackboard* and *blue bell*.

Examples of related compounds are:

Nouns:

1) A transitive verb followed by a noun in the common case: *a tell-tale* (a talebearer, tattler), *a cut-throat, a pickpocket, a make-shift, a break-water.*

2) A transitive verb preceded by a noun in the common case with the suffix *-er* added to the verb: *shoe-maker, man-eater, brick-layer, fox-hunter, screw-driver, tooth-picker, engine-driver, tax-gatherer, watch-maker.*

3) A verbal noun preceded by a common noun: *shoe-making, watch-making, blood-shedding, engine-driving,* etc.

(Sometimes *-er* and *-ing* are omitted for the sake of shortness, in *tooth-pick* for *tooth-picker, blood-shed* for *blood-shedding,* etc.).

4) A verb qualified by an adverbial element preceding the verb or placed after it:

a) *an out-turn, an out-look, an out-fit, an up-start, an in-let, an in-come, an off-spring, an on-set, an off-set, an out-break.*

b) *a go-between, a break-down, a break-up, a keep-sake, a farewell, a look-up, a draw-back, a stand-still.*

Some compounds of this class have two forms: *set-off* or *off-set, turn-out* or *out-turn; look-out* or *out-look.*

5) A noun qualified by an adjective: *quick-silver, a mad-man, a strong-hold, mid-day, a sweet-heart, low-lands,* etc.

6) A noun qualified by a participle: *humming-bird, glowing-worm, mocking-bird.*

Sometimes the final *-ing* is dropped, as in *mock-bird* for *mocking-bird, glow-worm* for *glowing-worm.*

7) A noun in apposition with another noun or with a pronoun: *washer-man, washer-woman, man-servant, maid-servant, lady-doctor, oak-tree, fir-tree, he-goat,* etc.

Adjectives:

1) A noun preceded and qualified by an adjective (Here the participial suffix *-ed* is added to the noun): *evil-hearted, hot-headed, long-tailed, one-sided, red-coloured, long-legged, bare-footed, quick-sighted, narrow-minded.*

2) A noun followed and governed by the Present Participle: *heart-ending, soul-stirring, self-sacrificing, life-giving,* etc.

[1] The term *bahuvrihi* is a term lexicology owes to ancient India, it means "much riced".

3) A noun preceded and governed by some pre-position: *an over-land journey, over-time work, an out-of-door occupation*.

(There are also verbs of this type, e. g. *over-hear, over-estimate, cross-question, back-slide*).

The constituents of unrelated compounds like *ring-finger, fire-proof, ice-cold*, stand to each other in a construction that is not paralleled in English syntax.

The same is true of such compounds as: *dark-brown, bright-blue, red-hot*. They also come under the class of unrelated, because in grammar an adjective qualifies a noun and not another adjective.

Unrelated types of English compounds also differ in their structure:

1) A noun preceded by a Gerund: *cooking-stove, looking-glass, drinking-water, spelling-book, writing-desk, walking-stick*.

Sometimes for the sake of shortness the *-ing* in the middle of the word has been dropped: *wash-house* for *washing-house, grind-stone* for *grinding-stone, tread-mill* for *treading-mill, stand-point* for *standing-point, store-house* for *storing-house, saw-mill* for *sawing-mill, work-shop* for *working-shop*, etc.

2) A noun preceded by an adverbial element: *by-word, by-play, by-path, under-tone, after-thought, over-coat, counter-part, counter-check*.

3) An adjective or a participle preceded by a noun: *snow-white, blood-red, coat-black, sky-blue, ice-cold, stone-blind, sea-green, fire-proof, head-strong, top-heavy, colour-blind, blood-thirsty, frost-bitten*, etc.

4) A noun preceded by a noun (with *-d*, or *-ed* at the end of it), e. g.: *eagle-eyed* (that is, one whose eye is like that of an eagle), *chicken-hearted, hook-nosed, ox-tailed, web-footed, dog-faced, honey-mouthed*.

5) A verb preceded by a noun:
to hen-peck, to brow-beat, to top-dress, to hood-wink and others.

Distinguish different types of semantic relations on which compounding may be based:

Group 1 — the first component element has the meaning of p e r f o r m e r o f t h e a c t i o n, e. g. *heartbeat, heartache, headache, nightfall, moon-shine, sunrise, snowfall, waterfall*.

Group 2 — the first component denotes t h e o b j e c t o f t h e a c t i o n, e.g. *haymaking, water-carrier shoemaker, ink-holder*, etc.

Group 3 — the first element denotes t h e m a-t e r i a l o f w h i c h a t h i n g i s m a d e, e. g. *ironware, silverware, goldthread*, etc.

Group 4 — the first element implies i n s t r u-m e n t a l r e l a t i o n s, e. g. *oil-painting, eye-wink, hand-mill, hand-operated, handsaw, water-cure*, etc.

Group 5 — the first element denotes t h e o r i-g i n o r s o u r c e, e. g. *oak-nut, oak-fig, oak-apple, birth-mark, fir-cone, wood-acid*, etc.

Group 6 — the first element implying a d v e r-b i a l r e l a t i o n s o f p l a c e, e. g. *seaweed, sea-horse, river-horse, water-fowl*, etc.

Group 7 — the first element implying a d v e r-b i a l r e l a t i o n s o f t i m e, e. g. *day-school, day-shift, daysman, day-star, day-time, night-flower, summer-time*, etc.

Group 8— the first element implying t h e m e a n-i n g o f c o m p a r i s o n, e. g. *steel-gray, snow-white, fire-eyed*.

The above list is by no means exhaustive but the given survey, brief as it is, shows the diversity of semantic relations on which the coining of compound words is based.

Semantic relations in different types of compound-ing cannot .be studied without a considerable refer-ence to the lexical character of the components merging into a single idea.

Like ordinary words, compound words are often used in transferred figurative meanings. The context, linguistic or situational, will make the necessary meaning clear. The word *olive-branch*, for instance, besides its primary signification, may be used as an emblem of peace, hence "anything offered as a sign of peace". The word *fire-brand* with its primary mean-ing "a piece of burning wood" may be used with the implication of "one who inflames factions, or causes contention".

Coordinative compounds are not numerous. The components of such words are structurally and se-mantically independent. Here belong:

a) the so-called appositive or additive compounds implying identification in apposition, e. g. *queen-bee, queen-apple, mother-earth, secretary-typist, secreta-ry-stenographer*, etc.;

b) ablaut and rhyme combinations based on the principle of coining words in a phonically variated rhythmic twin form, e. g. *chit-chat, singsong, zigzag; hocus-pocus, helter-skelter;*

c) reduplicative compounds which are coined by the repetition of the same stem, e. g. *goody-goody*, *fifty-fifty*, *tick-tack*, etc.

Reduplicating compounds of this type differ essentially from such types of compounds as have been described above.

REVERSION

R e v e r s i o n or b a c k - f o r m a t i o n, by which we mean inferring of a short word from a long one, is a source of short words in the past and an active derivative process at the present time. Familiar examples are: *to edit* from *editor*, *to beg* from *beggar*, *peddle* from *peddler*, etc.

If we take a word such as *writer* we reasonably connect it with the verb *write*. The existence of a derivative *writer* suggests that the basis *write* also exsists. Now, if *writer* is correlated to *write*, then *editor* must have the basis *edit*, too. But historically speaking, things are different, the verb *edit* is derived from *editor*, the verb *beg* from *beggar*, etc.

That these verbs are derived from the corresponding nouns through reinterpretation has naturally diachronic relevance only, and is of purely historical interest.

For synchronic analysis *edit* as opposable to *editor*, *beg* as opposable to *beggar* and the like are analogous to *write* opposable to *writer*, *read* opposable to *reader*, *speak* opposable to *speaker*, etc. And this is to say that the diachronic process of reversion is not felt by the present-day speaker who does not see any difference in derivative correlation between *write — writer*, on the one hand, and *edit — editor*, on the other hand.

Reversion may be found in the formation of words belonging to different parts of speech:

a) verbs made from names of agent with the suffixes *-er, -or, -our/-eur, -ar, -rd,* e. g. — *broker →* *broke*, *wafter → waft*, *hawker → hawk*, *swinder → swind*, *usher → ush*, *benefactor → benefact*, *sculptor → sculpt;*

b) verbs made from nouns with the suffix *-ing*, e. g. *kittling* (детёныш) — *to kittle* (приносить детёнышей), *awning* (навес из холста) — *to awn* (укрывать навесом).

c) verbs made from nouns with abstract suffixes *-ence, -tion, -sion, -is, -y, -ment, -age, -ery,* e. g.

reminiscence	*— to reminisce*
infraction	*— to infract*
television	*— to televise*
catalysis	*— to catalyse*
emplacement	*— to emplace*

d) verbs made from adjectives, e. g.

luminiscent	*— to luminisce*
reminiscent	*— to reminisce*
frivolous	*— to frivol*

e) nouns made from adjectives, e. g.

greedy	*— greed*
nasty	*— nast*
cantankerous (сварливый, придирчивый)	*— cantanker* (сварливость, придирчивость).

It is to be remarked that the most active type of reversion in present-day English is derivation of verbs from compounds that have either *-er* or *-ing* as their last element, e. g.

to air-condition	*—airconditioner, air-conditioning*
to turbo-supercharge	*— turbosupercharger*
to baby-sit	*— baby-sitter*
to house-break	*— house-breaker*
to house-clean	*— house-cleaner*
to house-keep	*— house-keeper*

CLIPPED WORDS

C l i p p i n g is not so much a method of forming new words as altering old ones without changing their meaning. The clipping tendency is decidedly on the increase in present-day English. Clipped words are a considerable quantitative gain and as such are useful and practical. The tendency towards shortness is a universal development and has linguistic value of its own in various languages.

Clippings originate as terms of a special group, in the intimacy of a surrounding where a hint will suffice to signal the necessary meaning. Quite a number of such coinages pass into standard English through newspapers, the radio, the screen, etc. Others keep only colloquial tinge.

The process of shortening consists in the reduction of a word to one of its parts. It seems practical to make distinction between two types of shortening:

a) a p o c o p e, i. e. omission of the last sound or syllables of a word, e. g. *cap* (*captain*), *tick* (*ticket*);

b) a p h a e r e s i s, i. e. the dropping of a letter or a syllable from the beginning of a word, e. g. *mid* for *amid*, *to phone (to telephone)*, *van (caravan)*, etc. Omission of the first part is less common.

Verbs are rarely shortened. Clipped adjectives are also comparatively rare: *comfy* for *comfortable*, *awk* for *awkward*, *imposs* for *impossible*, *mizzy (miserable)*, etc.

College slang is rich in such coinages. Familiar examples are: *exam, grad(uate), graph(ic), "formula", gym(nastics), math, matric(ulation), lab(oratory), dorm(itory)* and many others.

Shortening brings new words in the same part of speech. Most lexical units of this sort are nouns.

Shortened verbs like *rev* from *revolve* and *tab* from *tabulate* are rare.

Semantic correlation of ordinary words and their clipped counterparts merits special consideration. The coining of clipped word-forms may result either in the ousting of one of the words from the vocabulary, or in establishing a clear semantic differentiation between the two units. Accurate studies of such processes have not yet been made.

In a few cases the full words have passed out of use, so their clipped variants become new roots. Examples of this sort quoted by H. Marchand are: *chap (chapman), brandy (brandywine), mob (mobile); cad* is derived from *caddie*, but has semantically lost its connection with it. If this is the case, the change is not only quantitative: a clipped word is not merely a word that has lost its part. Identifying shortened words as using a part for the whole (pars pro toto), as Hockett[1] assumes, does not seem fully justified, and must be taken with some points of reservation.

Similar formations will be found in other languages:

Cf. **German:** *das Auto (Automobil), der Bus (Autobus), die Lok (Lokomotive), der Zoo (Zoologischer Garten);*

Cf. **French:** *prof (professeur), compo (composition), fac (faculté), récré (récréation), corri (corridor).*

[1] *See:* Hockett Ch. A Course in Modern Linguistics. New York, 1958, p. 313.

BLEND-WORDS

B l e n d i n g is a special type of compounding by means of merging parts of words into one new word. This category of word-formation is a development which has linguistic value of its own in various languages. The tendency towards shortness has become most active in recent times, in present-day English, particularly.

Familiar examples of English blends ('telescoped' words) are:

brunch (breakfast + lunch)
drunch (drinks + lunch)
skort (skirt + short)
smog (smoke + fog)
smaze (smoke + haze).

Cf. Russian *рженица* (рожь + пшеница), German *Krad* (Kraft + Rad), French *franglais* (français, -e + anglais, -e).

Telescoped words may be coined from words of one and the same grammatical rank or by contracting attributive groups. The result of blending is a moneme, i. e. an unanalysable simple word, not a motivated syntagma[1].

Telescopy involves different lexico-grammatical categories (nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs), e. g. N + N — *macon* (mutton + bacon); Adj.+ N — *slurbs* (sleazy + suburbs); N + Adj.— *soroptimistic* (sorority + optimistic); Adj.+ Adj.—*mingy* (mean + stingy); V + V — *flurry* (fly + hurry);. Adv.+ Adv.— *posilutely* (positively + absolutely), etc.

Nounal coinages of this type are most frequent.

It seems practical to distinguish the following groups of blends:

1) coining a new word from the initial elements of one word and the final elements of another, e. g. *drunch* (drinks + lunch), *bash* (bang + smash), *skort* (skirt + short), etc.;

2) coining a new word by combining one notional word and the final element of another word, e. g.

Manglish (man + English)
radiotrician (radio + electrician)
uraniumaire (uranium + millionaire)

Contraction of this type sometimes results in forming a moneme, e. g. *newt* (new + recruit).

3) combining the initial elements of one word with a notional word, e. g. *bascart* (basket + cart), *mobus* (motor + bus), *legislady* (legislative lady), etc.

Such coinages are often formed with a playful or humorous intent and have a stylistic status. They can convey various shades of emotive colouring (irony or mockery), which makes them most active in different types of slang: *dopelomat* (dope + diplomat),

[1] *See:* Marchand H. Op. cit., p. 367.

pullitician (pull + politician), *nixonomics* (Nixon + + economics), *naviation* (naval+aviation), *squadrol* (squad + patrol), *Yanigan* (Yankee + hooligan) and still others.

Blends will be found in special terminology, e. g. *alkanes* (alkyl + methanes), *alkyd* (alkyl + acid), *avionics* (aviation + electronics), etc.; in geographical names, such as *Calexico* (California + Mexico), *Kanorado* (Kansas + Colorado).

Lexical units formed by telescoping two words into one are often called 'portmanteau words'. This was a favourite pastime of the author of 'Alice in Wonderland'. The Oxford Dictionary records *brunch* in 1900, used facetiously in speaking of those who get up too late for breakfast and therefore combine breakfast and lunch.

Blends like *paradoxology, alcoholiday, anecdotage, revusical, yellowcution,* often reveal flashes of wit. They carry a momentary appeal, like the coinages in magazines (*cinemagnate, socialite*), but few of them are likely to find a permanent place in the language, since, like epigrams, they lose their lustre when passed about at second hand[1].

Occasional coinages are frequent in advertisements: *bookvertizing* (book + advertizing), *fanzine* (fantasy+magazine), *floor-a-matic* (floor+automatic), *Laundromat* (laundry + automat), etc.

WORD-MAKING PATTERNS
ON THE METASEMIOTIC LEVEL

Pictorial Occasionalisms

Distinction should naturally be made between the ordinary use of word-making patterns and their expressive use on the metasemiotic level in pictorial language for special stylistic purposes. The functional approach to the study of word-making as a living process presupposes the necessity to consider the extralinguistic situations on the background of which a given pattern is actualized in language activity. The validity of linguistic analysis on this level needs little comment. Viewed in these terms, affixation, compounding and conversion merit undoubted attention.

The expressive use of some word-making patterns belongs to language-in-action. By the nature of things, the use of word-making patterns on the metasemiotic level leads to the creation of occasional words

[1] See: P o u n d L. Blends and Their Relation to English Word-formation. Heidelberg, 1914.

created in each case anew — living metaphors whose predictability is not apparent. We find here subtle shades of expressive meaning, emotional colouring, humoristic effects, etc.

Compare, for instance, the use of the prefix *ex-* in such ordinary derivatives, as: *ex-champion, ex-minister, ex-president,* etc. and its use on the metasemiotic level in occasional formations in the following sentence:

The umbrella owner slowed his steps. Soapy did likewise, with a presentiment that luck would again run against him. The policeman looked at the two curiously. "Of course", said the umbrella man, "that is — well, you know how these mistakes occur — I — if it's your umbrella I hope you'll excuse me — I picked it up this morning in a restaurant — if you recognize it as yours, why — I hope you'll —" "Of course, it's mine", said Soapy, viciously. The ex-umbrella man retreated (O'Henry).

Numerous examples of such metaphoric formations will be found in binary syntagmas with implicit comparison, such as:

*He was a small **monkey-faced** man in a pair of flannel underpants* (W. Smith).

*Last night he made it downstairs, discovering in the **moon-soaked** darkness **undreamed-of** continents...* (Updike).

*Mrs. Reating offered no suggestions, no reproaches. There was, instead, a new, **panic-shaped** tenderness towards her son* (A. Rand).

*Sometimes he turned to smile that toothed, **long-jawed** lipless smile...* (Hemingway).

Further examples are: *a horse-faced woman, a gazelle-eyed youth, cobra-headed anger, magnolia-white face, snow-field white sand,* etc.

Compounding is most fertile in producing expressive occasional words intended to produce emotive effect and emphasis when situation demands. Examine also the following coinages:

... *this twisting-eyebrowed baronet* (Galsworthy);
... *un-idea'd girls* (Johnson);
... *nose-looker-downers* (Queen).

In formations of this type the content of a composite lexical unit is not derived from the literal meaning of its components. Metaphoric extension of their meaning carries a new 'metasemiotic' information well adapted to style and purpose in each case. Implicity on this level of word-making merits special consideration.

Occasional formations of this type sometimes occur in Russian: «быкомордая орава» (В. Маяковский), «козлобородые фрачники в белых жилетах», «орлоносый профиль», «грифоголовый мужчина» (Белый).

The aesthetic function of expressive connotation in such coinages makes itself quite evident. Contrast the following compounds made by one and the same pattern:

brown-eyed gaiety	*brown-eyed cat*
black-winged wind	*black-winged bird*
blood-flecked sunset	*blood-flecked handkerchief*
honey-coloured air	*honey-coloured walls*
heavy-clouded silence	*heavy-clouded sky*
long-jawed smile	*long-jawed face*

Occasional formations of this type remain, in fact, on the borderline between word-making and word-combination. They are not characterized by such morphological indivisibility as true compounds are, they can have degrees of comparison, as in *heavy-cloudiest sky*.

There are also compound verbs of this type with the first nominal component in the main, such as: *to baby-sit, to baby-tend, to phone-sit, to keephaul (to rebuke severely), to spring-clean, to label-hunt, to clock-watch, to belly-bump, to pocket-veto (to throw out the bill)*, etc.

She took the opportunity to spring-clean the room.

I don't just fancy a fade out that finds me belly-bumping around Roseland with a pack of West Side hillibillies (Capote).

The President pocket-vetoed the latest bill on additional educational allotments.

It is to be noted that the so-called 'nonce'-words often pass into ordinary use in standard English, e. g. *to floodlight, to honey-moon, to honey-talk, to sleep-walk*, etc. Language is flexible and never remains stable. In process of time the names of new referents constantly enter the language. To draw an absolutely rigid line of demarcation between semantic and metasemiotic lexical units is therefore not an easy thing to do. Some words of this type may be used both in their direct sense and metaphorically, e. g. *to slave-drive, to head-hunt*, etc.

The tendency to use word-making devices on the metasemiotic level seems to be on the increase in present-day English. In colloquial or otherwise em-phatic style coinages of this type are rather a frequent occurrence.

Instances are not few when one and the same suffix in some cases denotes only the appurtenance of a derivative word to a given part of speech, without any special implication, and in other cases it imparts a special concrete meaning or stylistic colouring to the derivative.

The freedom with which English suffixes are combined with various stems leads to numerous occasional formations.

Thus, for instance, the suffix *-y* does not impart any special stylistic value to such words as *angry, leathery, draughty, faulty*, etc., whereas such slangy derivatives as *batty* (=crazy), *headachy, catty* (=slyly spiteful, malicious), *fishy* (= unrealiable, improbable), *nosy* (= one who pokes his nose into other people's concerns), etc. are stylistically marked formations.

How terribly tiresome it was! And then, too, all the time you were so worried and anxious about the food and the serving, you were expected to be keeping the conversation going, terribly bright and **hostessy** (Priestley).

They can say what they like, but she was heavy as porridge most of the time, and **porridgy** *writers have to be greater than she was* (Snow).

She looked warm and **breakfasty** *in her bathrobe* (Friedman).

The sight of those long tiled corridors did not cheer you when you returned, tired, rather cross, **head-achy,** *from work in the evening* (Priestley).

"There's some ridiculous talk", he continued hurriedly and more naturally, "of her joining her mother in some wild-cat scheme for selling old furniture and broken crockery and silly knick-knack down in the country somewhere. You know the sort of place. Ye oldy antique **shoppy!** *Faked warming pans! Rubbish!* (Priestley).

Word-formation on the metasemiotic level must always be distinguished from regular derivation that is part and parcel of the language.

There are important treatments along this line made by O. S. Akhmanova[1] who very rightly points out that vocabulary studies must take into account the social facts against the background of which a particular usage is realized.

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[1] *See:* A k h m a n o v a O. et al. Lexicology: Theory and Method. Edited by O. Akhmanova. M., 1972; *See also:* В и н о к у р Г. О. Заметки по русскому словообразованию. М., 1959.

Separable Nominal Compounds

The description and categorization of the forms which the structure of a given language leads us to identify as compound words depends upon the characteristic features of this language.

„Each language has its characteristic types in order of composition. In English the qualifying element regularly precedes"[1].

English nominals presented by asymmetric patterns N + N are one of the striking features about the structure of English.

Syntactic 'separable' compounds have members which do not combine in syntactic constructions of the language. Thus, for instance, in *apple tree, water lily, book value, gas stove*, etc. we see two nouns in a construction that does not occur in English syntax[2].

The underlying grammatical relations which we observe to be mirrored in nominals N + N merit special consideration.

The transition of the semantic structure of the pattern into its surface syntactic representation is not always direct[3].

Implicit nomination in this area offers certain difficulties of analysis. In forming compounds we are not guided by logic but by association. We see or want to establish a connection between two ideas, choosing the shortest possible way. What the relation exactly is, very often appears only from the context. In this implicity shortness takes priority over clearness.

Premodification of nouns by nouns signals a striking variety of meanings, and it is desirable not only to indicate what these meanings are, but, as far as possible, to connect each meaning with the distinctive features which operate to distinguish it.

An attempt to tabulate such nominals as shown in a body of examples given below will illustrate their great diversity. The formal characteristics within their structure provide significant contrasts to distinguish certain of the meanings that attach to the "modifier" relation:

1. Patterns with verbal nouns — names of action in the position of N_2. Transformational behaviour:

a) subject — predicate relations, e. g. *class struggle, blood pressure, student failure;*

b) object relations, e. g. *coal production, money economy, product control, war talk, chemistry student,*

[1] Sapir E. Language. New York, 1949, p. 67.

[2] See: Bloomfield L. Op. cit., p. 234.

[3] See: Уоллес Ч. Значение и структура языка. М., р. 115.

package delivery, ink transfer, body nourishment, etc.;

c) adverbial relations, e. g. *moon walk* (= walk in the moon), *boat ride* (= ride in the boat);

2. Patterns with verbal nouns — names of agent or instrument with the suffix *-er* in the position of N_2, by implication:

a) $X + V + p + N$, e.g. *city dweller* = X dwells in the city;

b) object relations, e. g. *truck driver, woman hater, carpet sweeper, potato peeler,* etc.

3. Patterns with concrete nouns, by implication: N_1 powers /operates N_2, e. g. *air brake (air-brake), hydrogen bomb, steam engine,* etc.;

4. Patterns with concrete nouns, by implication: N_2 produces/yields N_1, e. g. *cane sugar, hay fever,* etc.;

5. Patterns with concrete nouns, by implication: N_1 has N_2, e. g. *piano keys, table leg,* etc.

6. Patterns implying: N_2 is N_1, e. g. *drummer boy, oak tree, girl draftsman,* etc.;

7. Patterns implying comparison (N_2 is like N_1), e. g. *button eyes, eagle eyes, hawk nose, iron nerves, swallow dive,* etc.;

8. Patterns implying purpose (N_1 is for N_2), e. g. *bath robe, export products, peace movement, resistance fighters, tooth brush, writing table, walking stick,* etc.;

9. Patterns where the modifying noun has a purely qualitative meaning synonymous with "Genitivus Definitivus", e. g.: *child psychology, fellow feeling, mother wit, mother heart, science degree,* etc. (Cf. Syn: *child psychology* = cild's psychology = the psychology of a child = childish psychology).

10. Patterns where the modifying noun denotes the material of which a thing is made, e. g.: *brick house, gold watch, iron bridge, oak table, paper bag, rubber coat, silver box, stone wall.*

11. Patterns where the modifying noun has the adverbial meaning of place, e. g.: *world peace, country air, chimney swallows, England tour, nursery door, river house, study window;*

12. Patterns where the modifying noun has the adverbial meaning of time, e. g.: *day shift, night, morning star, morning exercises, spring time, spring term, summer vacation, summer sunshine, September sun, winter vacation, winter afternoon,* etc.;

13. Patterns where the modifying noun denotes the origin or source, e. g. *oak leaves, medicine smell, river sand, sea bear,* etc.

The possibility to express morphologically the op-position between intimate, permanent relationship and occasional, external connection exemplified by *summer-house* :: *summer residence, winter-crop* :: *winter vacation, Christmas-tree* :: *Christmas traffic, spring-board* :: *spring balance* :: *spring term*, etc. is a peculi-arity of English constitution different from practice in other languages.

Deep-rooted in English idioms N + N patterns differ from true compounds spelled solid. They are always analysable as the additive sum of its immediate constituents. It is an informal non-com-mittal meeting but not a union of the constituents which we generally observe in compound words.

Some grammarians point out that the habit of premodification is reaching Britain from the United States, where in turn it springs from the usage of the many German-born scientists now working in American laboratories. This seems hardly justified since the premodification of nouns by nouns was a common feature before Germans studied science and America was discovered. Modifications of this kind are very frequent in the most commonplace and least scientific English.

This will be seen in the frequent every day use of such word clusters as 'refreshment room', 'railway station', or, say, 'railway station refreshment room', which is seldom broken down into 'room for refresh-ments at the station of that special kind of way which consists of rails'[1].

The high frequency value of N + N nominals in Modern English is clear without special frequency counts.

Established by long use in the language, N + N has given large numbers of such patterns as express a single idea, making up a special term in terminology or a stock phrase in professional vocabulary: *The United Nations Organization, Security Council, labour party, labour movement, face value, horse power, coal mine, Trade Union, trade balance*, etc.; in phra-seology: *mother earth, swan song, Vanity Fair, vanity bag, brain storm, brain wave, chair days* ('old age'), *tragedy king* ('an actor playing the part of the king in a tragedy'), *toy dog* ('a little dog', болонка).

It can be seen from what has been said above that asyntactic nominal compounds are either fixed or free, in other words, when occasion demands they are created anew after the pattern of already existing combination.

* See:
Q u i r k R.
The Use of English.
London, 1961, p. 164.

With regard to the logical relation of the parts of a compound very few are of the same type. The re-lation of the two components may be very different, and is to be inferred from the meaning of each.

Cf.: a) *pilot boat*
b) *iron boat*

a) *home letter*
b) *home life*
c) *home voyage*

The likeness of such patterns with adjectives needs little emphasis.

Nominals of this type are commonplace, and new specimens are constantly being formed.

The linguistic evidence drawn from the analysis of scientific texts in different branches of special literature gives every reason to make distinction bet-ween stylistic aspects of word-making in scientific English and those in literary prose; the simple mono-semic use of word-making patterns in scientific English, where we restrict the notion of information to the cognitive aspect of language, and the deliberate-ly creative use of word-making patterns in literary prose, where connotative aspects and overtones can also be important semantic components of linguistic units.

Separable compounds N + N are widely current in present-day scientific English, where such patterns have not got their equals.

Different correlations of nouns and arrangements of their order present special interest in cases where such modification structures consist not of two but three, four and even five elements. Their diversity and idiosyncrasy in present-day English should not escape the notice of the student.

Examine the following:

hydraulic work carriage traverse speed regulating valve — клапан, що регулює швидкість гідравліч-ного переміщення робочої каретки;

a high grade paraffin base straight mineral lubri-cating oil — високосортне прямої гонки мінеральне мастило на парафіновій основі;

room temperature neutron bombardment effects — явища, викликані бомбардуванням нейтронами при кімнатній температурі;

long playing microgroove full frequency range re-cording — мікрозапис довгограючих пластинок з повним діапазоном частот;

cabin-pressure regulator air valve lever — важіль пневматичного клапана регулятора руху (повітря) в кабіні.

The high frequency value of such modification structures in the language of science is clear without special frequency counts.

When a structure of modification with a noun as head includes several modifiers of different sorts, the result is often rather a complex thing. But in point of fact, it is always organized along strict and precise lines. The most important thing about such an adjunct-group is that unless it contains structures of co-ordination it consists not of a series of parallel modifiers but of a series of structures of modification one within the other, e. g. *hydraulic work carriage traverse speed regulating valve* — клапан, що регулює швидкість гідравлічного переміщення робочої каретки.

Diagrammatically this may best be illustrated by building up such a structure, layer by layer. First comes the noun which is the head:

valve
regulating — valve
speed — regulating — valve
traverse — speed — regulating — valve
hydraulic — traverse — speed — regulating — valve
carriage—hydraulic—traverse—speed—regulating—valve
work—carriage—hydraulic—traverse—speed—regulating—valve

As is known, the lack of consistency in the writing of compounds is entirely in keeping with English practice, on which H. W. Fowler says the following: "The chaos prevailing among writers or printers or both regarding the use of hyphens is discreditable to English education"[1]. Logic would, of course, prescribe that undoubted compounds, like *goldsmith*, should be spelt as single words; that a hyphen should be used when the two elements are only occasionally combined, and, therefore, to some extent preserve their individuality in combination *(she-wolf)*; and that the two words should be written apart when they form a group of adjective + noun, or noun + noun, etc., not a compound *(the London streets)*. The very logic of this division, however, makes it difficult to apply in many cases, with the result that it is often ignored in cases of less difficulty. The best advice to be given in this matter is: When in doubt, consult The *Concise Oxford Dictionary*[2].

[1] Fowler H. W. Dictionary of Modern English Usage. London, 1959.

[2] See: Zandvoort R. W. A Handbook of English Grammar. London, 1957.

[1] See: Francis W. N. The Structure of American English. New York, 1958, p. 256.

[2] Aiken J. R. A New Plan of English Grammar. *Cited in* M. Bryant. A Functional English Grammar. Boston, 1947, p. 208.

[3] Curme G. O. Principles and Practice of English Grammar. New York, 1947, p. 24.

[4] Gratan J. H. and Gurrey P. Our Living Language. London — New York, 1953, p. 80.

[5] Stevick E. W. The Different Preposition.— "American Speech". 1950, p. 214.

[6] Kennedy A. G. Current English. Boston, 1935.

[7] See: Bolinger D. The Phrasal Verb in English. Cambridge, 1971. Curme G. O. The Development of Verbal Compounds in Germanic.— "Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur", Bd. 39, Halle, 1914; A Grammar of the English Language, Parts of Speech and Accidence, Boston, 1935. Kennedy A. G. The Modern English Verb-Adverb Combination, Stanford University, California, 1920. Smith L. P. Words and Idioms. London, 1928. Spasov D. English Phrasal Verbs. Sofia, 1966. Hill L. A. Prepositions and Adverbial Particles. London, 1968.

[8] Goursky S. E. The Idiomatic Heart of the English Language. Lvov, 1975.

Separable Compound Verbs

A very characteristic development of Modern English is the growth of separable verbs of various types. Genuinely English in their character, coinages of this type have gradually developed into very important elements of living speech adding much idiomatic power to the language. Adapted to style and purpose, they enable it to express subtle distinctions of meaning.

Verbs of the type *set up, come out, make up*, etc. function as simple ones except that they are separable.

Formations of this type are decidedly on the increase in present-day English. The most important and typical in the class are verbs with postpositive particles: *away, back, down, in, off, on, out* and *up* (Hornby).

There seems no small justification for adopting W. N. Francis'[1] term 'separable verbs' which brings out both grammatical qualities of these verbs: a) that they function as single parts of speech, and b) that their two parts may be separated from each other by intervening elements.

English verbs of this type may appear with their two parts following each other or separated by one or more other elements of the syntactic structure of which they are a part.

Coinages of this type are not recognized as single units by all grammarians. Some call them verb-adverb combinations.

Other terms are: merged verbs[2], separable compounds[3], compound verbs[4], poly-word verbs[5] and compounds[6]

Postpositive particles forming separable verbs have also been variedly identified by scholars. They have been called postpositions (G. Gurme), preposition-like adverbs, adverbial particles, separable affixes post-positive verbal prefixes (Yu. O. Zhluktenko), adverbial postpositions (J. E. Anichkov), and relatives (S. E. Goursky).

The regularities governing the functional use of separable verbs is an interesting object of linguistic research.

Significant and useful information revealing various important aspects of separable verbs will be found in a variety of individual studies, monographs, reference and excercise books and work-papers[7].

An interesting linguistic approach to the study of separable verbs will be found in S. E. Goursky's[8]

analysis, where the meaning of the most important and typical particles functioning as components of English separable verbs is viewed in terms of their regularity of combining their individual meanings to produce various general senses. Considered in their general meaning, particles functioning in such coinages are accordingly termed 'relatives'.

Separable verbs differ so greatly in semantic closeness of the components and idiomaticity that their classification offers many difficulties. Attempts have been made by many scholars to classify these units in terms of their general sense as well as proceeding from the meaning of the verb and the meaning of the particle attached to it.

A. G. Kennedy, for instance, makes distinction between three groups: **the first group** includes coinages in which the elements of the combination have almost or altogether sacrified their individual meaning, e. g.

to come by	'to acquire'
to get at	'to reach'
to put out	'to extinguish'

in the second group the verb is modified in its meaning by the particle losing much of its adverbial force and assuming a peculiar function, as in:

to blossom out	'to blossom in a showy manner'
to blot out	'to destroy'
to bottle up	'to close in a bottle', etc.;

the third group includes coinages where the meanings of the verb and the particle are quite apparent, as in: *to brush out, to bubble over, to fall down, to leak out,* etc.

It will be noted, in passing, that there is much similarity in origin and function between the second elements of such verbs and the separable prefixes of the German verbs *fortgehen — ging fort, ausnehmen — nahm aus.* Formative elements of this sort are lexico-grammatical morphemes. In German they are known to be only partly free, in English they are, in fact, wholly free word-morphemes.

The growing tendency of coining separable verbs of this type contributes significantly to the development of lexical synonymy.

Synonymically correlated simple and separable verbs often differ in their stylistic aspects:

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[1] Kennedy A. The Modern English Verb-Adverb Combination. Stanford University Press, California, 1920, p. 81.

[2] Dixon R. Essential Idiom in English New York, 1951, p. 150.

Cf.: *come by* :: acquire
look after :: tend
pull out :: ⎫
push off :: ⎬ depart
push along :: ⎭
turn up :: to happen
turn in :: go to bed

Observations of the idiomatic character of separable verbs and their stylistic value give every reason to say that they possess, as A. G. Kennedy has it[1], "a certain amount of warmth and colour and fire which the colder, impersonal, more highly specialized simple verb lacks". As such they are commoner in colloquial than in other varieties of English.

The unity of the two parts of separable verbs may be well illustrated by numerous examples. Let us take the following sentence: *She drank up the coffee.* In a conventional sense, *up* might be an adverb signifying direction, or it might be a preposition introducing the phrase *up the coffee,* but this makes no sense at all. The only answer is that to *drink up* is a single linguistic unit. *Up* in this construction serves to intensify the action, and comes to be synonymous with the adverb completely. In usage, these verbs function as normal single-ones except that they are separable. Examples like this may easily be multiplied.

To distinguish between the prepositional element and the ordinary adverbial adjunct compare the following:

a) *The passenger flew in the plane.*
b) *The pilot flew in the plane.*

We may say: *The pilot flew the plane in,* but
The passenger flew the plane in.

Compare also:

a) *The passenger flew in it.*
b) *The pilot flew it in.*

"The student may learn grammar and, with time, acquire an adequate vocabulary, but without a working knowledge of such idioms as *to get up, to look up, to look through, to look over, to call on, to call for, to get on, to get along, to make up, to make for,* etc., his speech remains awkward and stilted"[2].

The classification of such verbs suggested by Yu. Zhluktenko seems consistent and relevant:

a) verbs with postpositional morphemes r e t a i n i n g   t h e i r   p r i m a r y   l o c a l   m e a n-

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i n g: *come in*, *go out*, *go down*, *fly off*, *sweep away*, etc.;

b) verbs with postpositional morphemes h a v i n g   a   f i g u r a t i v e   m e a n i n g: *boil down* (умовляти), *take off* (збавляти ціну), *take up* (заповнювати час), *get along* (досягти успіху), *speak away* (заговоритись), etc.;

c) verbs with postpositional morphemes i n t e n- s i f y i n g   t h e   v e r b   o r   i m p a r t i n g   t h e   p e r f e c t i v e   s e n s e   t o   i t s   m e a n- i n g, e. g. *eat up*, *rise up*, *swallow up*, etc.;

d) verbs w h o s e   m e a n i n g   c a n   h a r d- l y   b e   d e r i v e d   f r o m   t h e i r   s e p a r- a b l e   c o m p o n e n t   p a r t s, e. g. *bear out* (під- тверджувати), *give in* (уступати), *give up* (покидати), *come about* (траплятися), *turn up* (траплятися).

It is of interest to note that English verbs with homonymic prefixes and particles differ in their meaning.

Cf. upset — перевернути, перекинути; *set up* — організувати, встановити; *uphold* — підтримати; *hold up* — тримати договори, затримувати.

The difference between simple and separable verbs makes itself quite evident if we compare them in context, e. g. *He ran down the road* and *he ran down his rival;* in the first sentence *ran* is a simple verb, in the second sentence *ran down* is a separable compound verb (meaning "depreciate", "disparage"), and his rival is its object. There are naturally prosodic differences between the two sentences: in the first there is a slight pause between *ran* and *down*, whereas in the second the pause is between *down* and *his*; and normally the word *down* would be stressed in the second sentence but not in the first. The two sentences also behave differently syntactically: the first can give such syntactic derivation as the *road down which he ran* but with the second we cannot have it, and if we replace road and rival by pronouns, the first becomes *he ran down it* and the second *he ran him down*, with a characteristic difference of word-order.

In the whole of the Modern English period there has been a great proliferation of these compound verbs (another sign of the analytic tendencies in the language); a glance at any comprehensive dictionary will show an enormous number of such formations. Suffice it to look up the verbs *get*, *put*, and *try*. Moreover, new combinations are being formed still, and new meanings given to existing ones. Recent examples of transitive compound verbs are *look in*

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глянути побіжно (мигцем), *shrug off* = "treat with indifference"; *build up* — "advertise" (new meaning); *start up* = "set (an engine) in motion"; *fall for* = "be captivated by, taken in by" and *brew up* = "brew". *Brew up* can also be intransitive, in the sense "develop, be in process of formation" *(there's storm brewing up);* another verb that can be either transitive or intransitive is *bomb up* = "load with bombs"; here the *up* has the force of "completely", as often in compound verbs *(eat up*, *burn up)*. Examples of recent intransitive compound verbs are: *ice up* = "become coated with ice"; *lose out* = "lose"; *butt in* = "interfere, intervene".

SUGGESTED ASSIGNMENTS.
POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Characterize the categories and types of English word-formation.
2. Be ready to discuss the problem of word-formation in its relation to grammar.
3. Give comments on affixation on a native basis of coining.
4. Comment on foreign affixes in Modern English.
5. Give examples of polysemy and synonymic correlation of affixes in Modern English.
6. Find examples to illustrate the statement that the meaning of a suffix is conditioned by the particular semantic character of the stem to which the suffix is attached and situations in which the coinage is made.
7. Explain the force and origin of the following suffixes: *-ship, -ish, -ly, -en, -ant, -ee, -age, -ness.*
8. Explain the *-a* in the following words:

afraid	*arise*
asleep	*adown*
amend	*aside*
amoral	*away*
asymmetry	*abed*

9. Comment upon the status of the suffix *-y* in the following words: *silvery, daddy, fishy, bushy, catty, fatherly, daily.*
10. Characterize English suffixes of abstraction and generalization.
11. Give examples of homonymous suffixes.
12. Comment on the force and origin of the prefixes *be-, ad-, de-, dis-, en-, ex-.*

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13. Give comments on negative prefixes in English word-formation.

14. Give comments on assimilation of foreign affixes.

15. Get ready to discuss conversion (zero-inflection) in English word-formation.

16. Comment on various types of denominal verbs, made through conversion.

17. Characterize deverbal nouns in English word-formation.

18. Characterize names of agent in English word-formation.

19. Give examples of hybrid words in Modern English.

20. Give a few examples of words formed by reversion.

21. Get ready to discuss compounding in Modern English.

22. Comment on clipping in English word-formation.

23. Characterize blend-words as a special type of compounding.

24. Give comments on lexicalization of word-groups.

25. Analyse the following words into indivisible particles (morphemes):

annihilate	*education*
eliminate	*assigned*
illustrate	*effort*
privilege	*enormous*
immutability	

26. Be ready to discuss the use of word-making patterns on the metasemiotic level for stylistic purposes.

27. Give a few examples to illustrate the statement that nominals N+N result from different kind of transformational shifts.

28. Comment on the underlying grammatical relations observed in noun-adjunct groups. Distinguish significant contrasts in their meaning.

29. Give a few examples of ambiguities and variant interpretations of nominals N + N.

PART III. The Semantic Structure of the English Word

CHAPTER 6

The organic function of language is to carry meaning. Most of the problems in linguistic science are intimately bound to questions of semasiology and call for scientific analysis of communication in words. Human speech is an inexhaustible abundance of manifold treasures. The study of words is not exclusively a study of roots and stems, of prefixes and suffixes. The wonderful world of words has long attracted man as an object for wonderment and for scientific investigation, as a means to a knowledge whose main object is outside language itself, although it is probably fully attainable only through language, and which can be gained only on other assumptions than those implied by language.

Theoretical problems of linguistic form and meaning as relevant to the progressive development of language have attracted the attention of scholars, philosophers and grammarians since the times of Plato and Aristotle.

The general principles of semasiology are equally applicable to all languages, but in certain concrete phenomena of every language we may easily trace its specific peculiarities associated with concrete conditions of language development.

Questions of semasiology figure quite prominently in vocabulary studies of recent years[1].

Word meaning is one of the controversal terms in linguistics. Open to thought and discussion "the meaning of meaning" has always been much debated by grammarians, logicians and psychologists. There is no universally accepted definition of meaning.

In their study of the influence of language upon thought and of the science of symbolism C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards give a representative list of sixteen main definitions which reputable students of meaning have favoured. It will be instructive to make a brief survey of the problem as it is viewed in terms of modern linguistics.

In modern linguistics word-meanings are studied from different angles of view: a) through establishing the interrelations between words and concepts which they denote — the so-called referential approach; b) through the observations of the functional use of a word in speech — the functional approach.

[1] See:
Ogden C. K., Richards I. A. The Meaning of Meaning. London, 1966.
Ullmann S. The Principles of Semantics. Oxford, 1963.
Arnold I. V. The English Word. M.— L., 1966.
Quirk R. The Use of English. London, 1962.
Stern G. Meaning and Change of Meaning. With Special Reference to the English Language. Göteborg, 1931.
Виноградов В. В. Основные типы лексических значений слов. — Вопросы языкознания. М., 1953.
Смирницкий А. И. Значение слова. — Вопросы языкознания. М., 1955, № 2.
Ахманова О. С. Очерки по общей и русской лексикологии. М., 1957.
Степанов Ю. С. Основы языкознания. М., 1966.
Уфимцева А. А. Опыт изучения лексики как системы. М., 1962.

The referential approach seeks to formulate the essence of meaning by establishing the interdependence between words and things or concepts they denote, and functional approach is less concerned with the word-meaning as such than with how it works in the act of communication. This approach appeared with the development of structural linguistics.

The common feature of any referential approach to word-meaning is the assumption that meaning is in some form or other connected with the referent. In other words, *meaning* is defined as an object, relationship, or class of objects or relationships in the outside world that is referred to by a word.

Some advocates of the referential approach point out that the meaning of a linguistic sign is the concept underlying it and thus substitute meaning for concept. Others identify meaning with the referent. Suggestions have also been made about meaning as the interrelation of the sound-form, concept and referent, but not as an objectively existing part of the linguistic sign[1].

This, however, is open to thought and questioning because viewed from this angle meaning will go outside the subject matter of the science of language. Objects and relationships in the outside world can be scientifically subjected to scrutiny, objective description and generalization, but it is not truly a branch of linguistics and remains beyond our range. What remains to say is that with this approach to word-meaning the analysis will often inevitably operate with subjective and intangible mental processes and make conclusions based to a certain extent on "the feeling of the language" which will bring little scientific order in semantic analysis.

It is therefore most important to be clear about the distinction between meaning and referent, i. e. the thing denoted by the linguistic sign.

The meaning of a word is closely connected with the underlying concept but not identical with it. Concept is a category of human cognition. Our concepts abstract and reflect the most common and typical features of the different objects and phenomena of the world. Words expressing identical concepts may have different semantic structures in different languages.

[1] See: Ullmann S. The Principles of Semantics. Oxford, 1963.

Examples to illustrate the statement are not far to seek.

It seems reasonable to distinguish three essential types of lexical meaning of words:

a) n o m i n a t i v e   m e a n i n g determined by reality.

The direct nominative meaning stands in one-to-one relationship with a word.

In actual speech words come so naturally that they seem rather simple tokens of reality. This is partly because when we do think about the relationships between words and things we almost always pick the simplest category, e. g. *cat, dog, house, day, night, sun,* etc. Yet, as a matter of fact, any combination of things, traits or ideas can be segmented.

b) p h r a s e o l o g i c a l l y   b o u n d m e a n i n g   o f   w o r d s depending on the peculiarities of conventional usage in a given language, e. g. *to throw light, to take care, to have a swim, to take steps, to catch cold,* etc.;

c) s y n t a c t i c a l l y   c o n d i t i o n e d   m e a n i n g s   o f   w o r d s. This is often the case, for example, in syntactic structures with verbs governing their object by means of different prepositions.

> *Cf.: The book treats of poetry.*
> *She treated us to wine.*

Compare also the variant meanings of the verb *to consist* in the following phrases:

to consist in = to be comprised (in);
to consist of = to be composed or made up (of);
to consist with = to be consistent or harmonious (with).

The verb *to return* when used transitively refers to the source of something; its synonym *to take back* is non-committal on this point.

The verb *to know* is always applied in the light of all the information that the speaker has at his command at the moment of speaking. In this respect it differs from *to think, to be sure, to be absolutely certain, to believe* and so on. So referring to the present one may choose between "*I know the answer was correct*" and "*I am absolutely certain the answer was correct*", but referring to the past, "*I was absolutely certain the answer was correct but it turned out to be false*" is normal, while "*I knew the answer was correct but it turned out to be false*" is not. If "*knew*" is used

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it must be qualified verbally or by tone of voice: "*I thought I knew...*" or "*I just knew it, but...*".

The verb *to read* includes not only the visual perception of the symbols but the ability to interpret them; it actually means "*to see and understand*". There is no companion verb on the auditory side meaning both "*to hear*" and "*understand*". This leads to such awkward parallels as "*If you know Spanish, you will find Portugese easier to read but Italian easier to understand by hearing it*".

Furthermore, the interpreting that we do when we read, is not full understanding but signifies just the ability to react to the symbols as elements of language. It is normal to say "*He read it but didn't understand it*". Again there is no parallel on the auditory side and we must say something like "*I could not make out what he was saying but I couldn't understand it*"[1].

It comes quite natural that variation in lexical meaning of words differ significantly in different languages. Thus, for instance, in French the lexical meaning of adjectives is known to depend on their position in the sentence. Adjectives following the noun generally retain their proper lexical meaning whereas adjectives in pre-position are often used in their secondary derivative meanings. Examples are numerous:

> *Cf.: un homme curieux = curieux individu*
> *une personne franche = un franc coquin*
> *une branche verte = une verte vieillesse*
> *une histoire vraie = une vraie folie*
> *vin pur = pur génie*[2].

Polysemy[3]

P o l y s e m y is a semantic universal inherent in the fundamental structure of language. All languages have polysemy on several levels.

A wide-spread polysemy in English is rightly considered one of its characteristic features conditioned by the peculiarities of its structure.

The main source of the development of regular polysemy is metaphoric and metonymic transference of meaning, which is commonplace and appears to be fundamental in living language.

Polysemic words make up a considerable part of the English vocabulary. Potential polysemy of words is a most fertile source of ambiguities in language.

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[1] See:
Bolinger D.
Aspects of Language.
New York — Chicago,
1968, pp. 220—224.

[2] See:
Georgin R.
Difficultés et finesses
de notre langue. Paris,
1952.
[3] Gr. *polys* — many:
onyma — name.

In a limited number of cases two meanings of the same English words are differentiated by certain formal means, as, for instance, by spelling: *born — borne, draft — draught*; by word-order: *ambassador extraordinary — extraordinary ambassador*; by inflection: *hanged — hung*.

The distinction between thing-words (countables) and mass-words (uncountables) is easy enough if we look at the idea that is expressed in each single instance. But in practical language the distinction is not carried through in such a way that one and the same word stands always for one and the same idea. On the contrary, a great many words may in one connection stand for something countable and in another for something uncountable. Compare: a) *Have an ice.* b) *There is no ice on the pond.* (a) *an ice* — any frozen dessert, esp. one containing cream, as *a water ice, sherbet* or *frappé*; (b) *ice* — water frozen, icing, frosting, any substance looking like ice.

In the vast majority of cases the context, linguistic or situational, will narrow down all irrelevant senses.

Words are often signs not of one but of several things. The linguistic mechanism works naturally in many ways to prevent ambiguity and provide the clue to distinguish the necessary meaning. It is always important to take into account the significance of the context, linguistic or non-linguistic; many ambiguities are never noticed because the various possible meanings are excluded by the situation. Important observations in this area of the vocabulary have been made by contextual, distributional and transformational analysis.

The problem of polysemy, in other words, the use of the same word in two or more distinct meanings is relevant to a number of other important questions. These are: the development of different types of synonyms, as a result of semantic transpositions of lexical units and homonymy.

Defining polysemy as a linguistic development, Ch. Bally made distinction between its two aspects: first, when one linguistic sign has several meanings, and then, when one meaning is expressed by several linguistic signs[1].

Words may grow in connotative power in accordance with the nature of the meanings connected with them. In the power of connotation lies the reserve force of language. Without this language would lose much of its expressivity and flexibility.

[1] Bally Ch. Linguistique générale et Linguistique Francaise. Berne, 1950, p. 189.

The frequency of polysemy in different languages is a variable depending on various factors. Languages where derivation and composition are sparingly used tend to fill the gaps in vocabulary by adding new meanings to existing terms.

Polysemy more often occurs in generic words than in specific terms whose meanings is less subject to variation.

It is extremely important not to lose sight of the fact that few words have simple meanings. Practically most words have, besides their direct meaning, a fringe of associated meanings. As a matter of fact, language owes very much of its expressive power to the ideas and emotions associated with words. There is usually a variety of associated meanings which appear in varying degrees of prominence determined by the context.

The course followed by words used in different contexts and the shifts of meaning presents a major interest in contrastive lexicology and typological study of languages.

In analysing the semantic structure of words we have already seen that some meanings invariably come to the fore when we hear the word in actual speech or see it written. Other meanings make themselves evident only when the word is used in certain contexts. The context makes the meaning explicit, in other words, brings them out.

This is not to say that polysemic words have meanings only in the context. As has already been emphatically stressed that the semantic structure of the word is a dialectic entity which involves dialectical permanency and variability.

Meaning should always be understood as involving the relation of language to the rest of the world and such meaningfulness is an essential part of the definition of language.

The distributional analysis of meaning makes it possible to reveal a great deal about the total functioning and use of words in a language. It gives sufficient evidence to recognize that part of the total meaning of many words in all languages is to be determined by their relations with other words in both the basic dimensions of linguistic analysis, syntagmatic and paradigmatic. Words as individual lexical items are structurally related to each other.

A special interest is presented by the polysemic words whose meaning is based on a wide notional basis. Such lexical units can be used as function words

revealing the tendence to partial or complete semantic depletion.

The first to be mentioned here are the verbs *to be*, *to do*, *to get*, *to have*, *to make*, *to set*, *to take*. The semantic value and functional use of these polysemic verbs offers difficulties in language learning and lexicography.

Consider for illustration the semantic range and functional use of the verb *to be* observed in its different lexico-semantic variants:

1) *to be* — *to exist* or *have reality; to live;* as, *I think, therefore I am* — Я мыслю, значит, я существую;

2) *to be* (иметь место, случиться) *to occur*, *to take place*, e. g. *the fight was here*;

3) *to be* (бывать, посещать) — *to go to see, to visit*, e. g. *Have you ever been to London?*

4) *to be* with the implication of locative sense, e. g. *The house is not far from the river;*

5) *to be* — a copulative verb, e. g. *Peter is my friend. Peter is young.*

6) *to be* — an auxiliary verb in tense-formation;

7) *to be* — a modal verb, e. g. *I am to leave tomorrow.*

The given lexico-semantic variants of the verb *to be* reveal their synonymic correlation with certain other verbs, and make the basis of different lexico-semantic paradigmatic groups.

Thus, for instance, the verb *to be* in its variant meaning '*to take place*' is correlated with: *to befall*, *to occur*, *to happen*, *to take place*, *to come by chance*, *to come to pass*.

The componential description of these verbs will reveal their semantic value with sufficient evidence.

As we have already pointed out, componential analysis presupposes the revealing of differential and integral semantic features of lexical units and their variant meanings, in other words, semantic oppositions on the lexico-grammatical level.

Compare, for illustration, the semantic group of verbs which, besides the verb *to be* in its locative meaning 'быть, находиться', includes at least such verbs as: *to live*, *to stay*, *to dwell*, *to reside*.

The distinctive features of the members of the group observed in their meaning reveal themselves in the information which they carry about the duration of the action:

The verbs *to live* and *to dwell*, for instance, do not show any special contrast in this respect. In

spoken English '*dwell*' is now usually replaced by '*live*'.

But if we compare such verbs as *to be*, *to stay* and *to live*, we shall see that they differ essentially in expressing the durative character of the action. and are not always interchangeable.

Cf.: She is in the house.
She stays in the house.
She lives in the house.

The verb *to reside* is a stylistically marked member of the synonymic group characterized by its use in formal English.

It is of interest to note that transferred meanings of words in different languages do not always coincide. By way of illustration:

back (n) — спина, *the back of a chair* — спинка стільця, *the back of a book* — корінець книжки, *the back of a hand* — тильна поверхня руки, *the back of a ship* — кіль судна.

Similarly in French: *le dos* — спина, *le dos de la chaise* — спинка стільця; *le dos d'un livre* — корінець книжки; *le dos d'un couteau* — тупий край леза ножа, *le dos de la main* — тильна поверхня руки, etc.

In some types of regular polysemy ambiguity is resolved by the opposition of the articles, e. g. *youth*—молодість, юність, *a youth* — юнак; names of material can thus be used to denote things made of this material, e. g. *iron* — залізо, *an iron* — праска, *irons* — окови, кайдани.

Cf. French: *jeunesse* — молодість, молодь, *une jeunesse* — молода особа.

A variety of associated meanings which appear in varying degrees of prominence determined by the context may be illustrated by the semantic value of the adjective *great* which implies 'being much above the average in size', magnitude or intensity; in certain contexts of its use *great* comes to mean: *eminent*, *important*, e. g. *great writers*, *great scholars*, *great musicians*, etc. In colloquial use *great* often suggests distinction or proficiency.

Cf.: a) *Compared with the great distance that had separated him from Daisy it had seen as close as a star* (Scott Fitzgerald).
b) *He smoked a full little pipe like a glass of beer, was a great reader of newspapers and always talked in a very solemn and confidential manner* (Priestley).

c) *These people* aren't *great on tea but they can make it all right* (Priestley).
d) *That's the way Miss Matfield. You put it down in great style. Try another* (Priestley).
e) *That's great!* (= *That's splendid! That's amusing!*)
f) *He is great in music* (= *He is excelling in music*).

What we have discussed so far guides our attention to different types of contexts making the meaning of a polysemic word quite explicit in any of its variant uses.

POLYSEMIC WORDS IN CONTEXT

Against the background of linguistic thought as it has developed in modern linguistics we define context as the minimal stretch of speech necessary to signal individual meanings of words.

Accordingly we make distinction between **linguistic** and **non-linguistic (extra-linguistic)** contexts.

Linguistic contexts include lexical and grammatical context. These two types of contexts are differentiated depending on whether lexical or grammatical aspect is predominant in making the meaning of the word explicit.

The interaction between lexical and grammatical aspects in the semantic structure of the word is most complex and needs special comments.

Lexical Context. This type of context is best illustrated by the fact that there are groups of words in any language that are semantically compatible only with certain classes of agents. Lexical incongruity of words often serves to make the necessary meaning clear narrowing down the various potential meanings of the word, and no ambiguity arises[1].

The verb *to run*, for instance, has primarily the meaning 'to move swiftly or with quick action', as a stream, wagon, person, etc.;

with words denoting something written, inscribed, worded, or the like, the verb *run* means звучати, гласити, e. g. *This is how the verse runs*;

with agents denoting various plants the verb *run* is synonymically correlated to *grow* (рости, обвиватися);

with agents denoting engines or machines by which physical power is applied to produce a physical effect,

[1] The meanings determined by lexical contexts are sometimes referred to as phraseologically bound meanings.

the verb *to run* means не виключати мотора, e. g. *to leave the engine running*, etc.

In all the examples given above the meaning of the verb *to run* is signalled by the lexical meanings of the nouns in the position of the subject. The predominance of the lexical context in determining the meaning of the verb in such uses is quite evident.

Examples of lexical contexts which operate to convey the necessary meaning of a polysemic word may be given in numbers. Resolution of structural ambiguity by lexical probability is a frequent occurrence.

Compare also the following variant meanings of the adjective *green* which has primarily the meaning 'of the colour green':

a) *green walls*, b) *green fruit*, c) *green wound*, d) *green winter*, e) *green memories* — variation in meaning in each case is signalled by the lexical meaning of the noun involved in a given syntagma.

The adjective *heavy* in its primary sense means 'weighty, not easy to lift, of great weight'.

In combination with words denoting natural phenomena *heavy* means violent, e. g. *heavy storm*, *heavy rain*, *heavy snow*, etc.

Not less characteristic are such uses of the adjective as: *heavy work*, *a heavy gait or style*, *a heavy sky*, *with a heavy heart* — the meaning of the adjective in each case is signalled by the lexical meaning of the noun with which it occurs.

Further typical examples of lexical context determining the word meaning will be found in the distribution of various classes of adjectives.

Observe, for instance, the use of the following phrases with the adjective *warm* whose meaning in each case is signalled by the lexical meaning of the noun involved.

Cf.: *warm milk*, *warm climate*, *warm clothing*, *warm welcome* (syn. *cordial welcome*), *warm temper* (revealing passion, irascible temper), *warm support* (fervent support), *warm imagination* (syn. *lively imagination*), *warm colours or tones*, *a warm man* (colloq.) — *well-to-do, rich*, e. g. *Soames was reserved about his affairs, but he must be getting a very warm man* (Galsworthy).

As can be seen from the above examples, the lexico-semantic variation of the adjective *warm* makes it synonymous with such words as *mild, heated, clement, cordial, enthusiastic, eager, keen, responsive*.

Lexical incongruity will signal the necessary meaning and narrow down all irrelevant senses.

Compare also the following phrases with the polysemic adjective *cold*:

cold weather, cold bath; cold arms, cold war, cold reason, cold greeting (syn. unemotional greeting), cold comfort (smth. discouraging, dispiriting), cold scent (syn. faint scent), cold truth (cf. bitter truth), etc.

By function in speech the polysemic adjective *cold* can thus be synonymically related to: *chilly, freezing, icy, passionless, unfeeling, unimpassioned, indifferent.*

In vocabulary studies collocation of words in accordance with their lexico-phraseological relations should be granted priority in consideration.

Observe also such examples as:

yellow fever	'fever that causes yellow discoloration'
nuclear scientist	'scientist who studies nuclear phenomena'
infrared lamp	'lamp that emits infrared rays.'[1]

[1] See:
Vendler Z.
Adjectives and
Nominalization. The
Hague — Paris,
pp. 97—98.

In cases like those given above the nominal phrase seems to be the result of a deletion of redundant elements. Hence the ambiguity in such cases as, for instance, *red lamp* which may mean 'a lamp which is red' or 'a lamp which emits red light'.

Grammatical Context. Instances are not few when the individual lexical meaning of a polysemic word is determined by the grammatical structure in which it occurs, syntactic patterns in the main.

Familiar examples of grammatical context will be found in cases like the following:

(a) *The horse stopped drinking*

(b) *The horse stopped to drink* — the variant lexical meaning of the verb *to stop* : (a) перестати, (b) зупинитися are signalled by the grammatical form of the verb *drink* — V_{ing} in (a) and V_{inf} in (b).

Highly indicative in this respect are verbs of generic force, such as *do, make* and the verbs of the *'move* and *change'* class: *go, come, grow, get, fall, run, take, turn,* etc.

A glance at corresponding pages of any comprehensive dictionary will give sufficient evidence to observe the variant meanings of such verbs in terms of their context-sensitive implication[2].

The verb *to make*, for instance, implies primarily 'to form or constitute in external nature, to fashion

[2] See:
Francis W. N.
Resolution of
Structural Ambiguity
by Lexical Probability:
the English Double
Object.— "American
Speech", 1956, No. 2,
pp. 102—105.

or construct'. The variant meaning of the verb is often determined by the syntactic pattern in which it occurs. Followed by the infinitive, the verb *to make* is known to be more or less equivalent of *to force, to induce;* when followed by nouns used predicatively *make* is equivalent of 'become', 'turn out to be', e. g. *She made a good musician, She made a good wife,* etc.

It is to be emphatically stressed that no rigid line of demarcation can always be drawn between 'lexical' and 'grammatical' contexts. In making distinction between the two types we consider rather the predominance of one of the aspects determining the word-meaning than the absence of any others at all.

Extra-Linguistic Context. Instances are not few when the meaning of a word is signalled by the context much larger than a given sentence or by a whole situation of the utterance, in other words, by the actual speech situation in which this word occurs.

Numerous examples of such utterances will be found in syntactic structures including idioms of different types.

Semantic Change

Language tends to change in time and space. This universal characteristic of language is a permanent interest of scholarship. It illustrates not only the cultural progress and development of the material elements of civilization but the progress in knowledge and the changes that have affected modes of thought. Etymological dictionaries are a true historical romance. Observations in this area give so much of the unexpected and strange that the subject-matter suggests a host of problems and projects for further and further research.

The gradual change of signification in words is a universal feature of human language.

This tendency is apparent in the language of our own time. Even the richest vocabulary must, in the nature of things, be inadequate to represent the inexhaustive variety of possible distinction in thought. We can melt the continually occurring necessity of expression only by using words in deviations from their ordinary senses. Very often such sense-shifts do not survive the temporary occasion which gave them birth, but when a new application of a word supplies a generally felt want it naturally becomes a permanent part of the language, and may in its

turn, by a repetition of the same process, give rise to other senses still more remote from the original meaning. Sometimes the primary sense remains in use, along with the senses derived from it.

It is owing to such progressive changes that so many words now have two or more meanings that seem to be altogether dissimilar, and sometimes even contradictory.

The problem of word meaning has been explored in all its manifold aspects. The modern features of the subject are made prominent in recent investigations along this line.

Every language changes and develops constantly. There are many causes of this process: some internal, to do with the nature of the language itself; some external caused by changes in the culture and society of the speakers, and the environment in which that culture is set. The rate of change varies from language to language, and from time to time within the same language.

«Человеческие понятия не неподвижны, а вечно движутся, переходят друг в друга, переливают одно в другое, без этого они не отражают живой жизни»[1].

Meanings change when people attach a new significance to a word. Various kind of sense-shift may be well illustrated by a diachronic semantic studies of many commonly used words which in the course of language development have acquired new meanings[2]. Words and phrases can have wide ranges of meanings, depending mainly on the different sorts of environments in which they occur. These ranges are often so wide that their ends are incompatible, both distributionally and notionally, and they can overlap with many other ranges. Common use regulates the meanings of words pretty well. Synchronic semasiology dealing with the existing state of things now reasonably concentrates its attention on semantic structures typical of the language studied as a system.

The history of words and the changes they undergo through space and time is in a way the history of human life and thought. Words, when studied properly, make it possible to recreate vividly a past that is otherwise lost to record.

At the present time the problem of word meaning has been explored in all its manifold aspects. There are now underway remarkable changes in the use of words, changes which reflect the changing conditions of the modern world.

[1] Ленин В. И. Полн. собр. соч., Vol. 29, pp. 226—227.

[2] Ярцева В. Я. О соотношении количественных и качественных изменений в языке.— В кн.: Ленинизм и теоретические проблемы языкознания, М., 1970.

[1] See:
Jespersen O. Growth and Structure of the English Language. Oxford, 1945; See also: The Philosophy of Grammar, London, 1924; A Modern English Grammar of Historical Principles, Part VI (Morphology). Copenhagen, 1942; Bradley J. The Making of English. London, 1937. Ullmann S. Words and Their Use. Glasgow, 1951; See also: Principles of Semantics. Glasgow, 1959; Semantics. An Introduction to the Science of Meaning. Oxford, 1962. Bolinger D. Aspects of Language. New York — Chicago, 1968. Greenough J. B. and Kittredge C. L. Words and Their Ways in English Speech. London — New York, 1931. McKnight C. H. English Words and Their Background. New York — London, 1931.

There is much valuable information in the science of meaning in the various works of Skeat, Jespersen, Emersen, Bradley, Ullmann, Bolinger, Leech, McKnight, Greenough and Kittredge and others[1].

A valuable source of significant information revealing important aspects of word-meaning will be found in linguistic investigations of Soviet scholars making the vocabulary studies more illuminating and contributing to a scientific understanding of language development.

Scholarly accounts in current work along this line are made with much new insight on the subject in the light of modern linguistics. These accomplishments in the science of meaning are presented by the great wealth and variety of individual studies in various monographs, books of English lexicology and workpapers which appeared in our time. Investigations of Soviet scholars throw much additional light on numerous aspects of word meaning encouraging fresh attempts not only in the theory of English but also comparative studies in lexicology.

Diachronic semantic analysis will explain the steps by which words may radiaclly change their meaning over the years.

Take the following for illustration: the word *sad* once meant 'full to the brim', 'well fed'; one could be thoroughly *sad* with food and drink *(sated, satiated, satisfied,* and *saturated* are etymologically related to it). From this it came to mean 'solid' as well; a good spear could be *sad*, and one could sleep *sadly.* This idea of solidness was then metaphorically applied to human character, and a person who was reliable and firm could be called *"sad".* It is now easy to see how the chief modern sense could come into existence; a well-fed person may feel solid, heavy and dull, and thus be sober-faced on that account.

The word *fond* once meant 'foolish', 'foolishly credulous', 'glad' (O. E. glaed), hence — 'bright', 'shining'.

Semantic changes may reasonably be classified according to the logical relations that connect the successive meanings.

Change of meaning is one of the most important ways of enlarging the vocabulary.

External causes of changes in word meaning are:
1) c h a n g e s i n s o c i a l l i f e o f a c o m m u n i t y, resulting in the appearance of new words;

2) c h a n g e s o f t h i n g s the names of which are retained;

3) t e r m i n o l o g i c a l u s e o f w o r d s b y p e o p l e o f v a r i o u s p r o f e s s i o n a l g r o u p s, where words modify their meaning, acquire a new sense;

4) a d a p t a t i o n t o s p e c i a l p u r p o s e s:

a) intensity of meaning;

b) the desire to speak in gentle and favourable terms of some person, object, or event, which is ordinarily seen in a less pleasing light (euphemisms).

Change of word meaning in various languages has been described in books and monographs of many scholars, where we find logical and psychological classification of its types. Traditional logical classification seems to be more adequate and helpful. We find here a valuable source of significant information revealing important aspects of semantic processes. In these terms we shall distinguish the following tendencies in the development of the vocabulary:

1) e x t e n s i o n of meaning (or generalization);

2) n a r r o w i n g of meaning (or specialization);

3) t r a n s f e r e n c e of meaning (metaphor and metonymy);

4) e l e v a t i o n of meaning (or amelioration)

5) d e g r a d a t i o n of meaning (or pejoration).

It seems practical to classify the direction which a change in meaning takes, but it must be remembered that the tendencies do not necessarily operate independently of each other. In the following pages our task will be to examine the principal causes that have been operative in the development of new meanings and the disappearance of meanings that were formerly current. Observations of this kind are most helpful to understand the semantic structure of the English word.

EXTENSION (GENERALIZATION) OF MEANING

Extension of the word-range is commonly combined with a higher degree of abstraction than implied in the earlier meaning of the word.

Most words begin as specific names for things. Often, however, this precise denotation is quickly lost and the word's meaning extended and generalized. Extension of meaning is one of the most common

features in the history of words. In order that a widening sense should occur, it is necessary that the common features of the several things denoted should be such as to form an important part of the description of each of them. A good examples of the process is afforded by the word *pipe* which originally meant a simple musical instrument, and afterwards was applied to other things resembling this in shape. It thus became a general name for a hollow cylindrical body. Sometimes the widening of the sense of the word is progressive.

Picture — originally 'something painted', now is also used to denote an image, likeness or copy, a description so vivid as to suggest a mental image of the thing, a transitory visible image made by the lens of the eye or a telescope, a tableau, living picture, a motion picture.

Similarly:

Middle English *bridde* 'young birdling' > bird.

Middle English *dogge* 'dog of a particular (ancient) breed' > dog.

Box originally meant a small receptance, furnished with a lid, and intended to contain drugs, oinments, jewels and money. The sense grew gradually wider, as the word was used to denote other things bearing a close resemblance in form and use to those which were previously designated by it; down to the end of the seventeenth century the word continued to be regarded as appropriate only to objects of comparatively small size. Then the restriction disappeared, so that, e. g. a chest for holding clothes could be called *a box*. The notion corresponding to the word is now so general that it is equally applicable to what would formerly have been called *a box*, and to what would formerly have been called *a chest*. It is of interest to remark that the word has many modern applications, which though connected with the older senses by similarity, have not brought about any generalization of sense, e. g. *a box in a stable* (a stall for a horse), *a box in a theatre*, *a signalman's box*, *a sentry box*, *a shooting box*, etc. Through metaphoric extension *box* has come to mean a predicament, e. g. *to get in a tight box*. The word *box* can also be used to denote the quantity that a box contains.

The following list may help to suggest other examples of generalization of meaning:

manuscript — originally meant only something handwritten, now refers to any author's copy whether written by hand or typed;

pioneer — originally a soldier, now 'one who goes before, preparing the way for others';

salary — originally meant salt money;

scene — from the Greek for tent or covered place (in the earlier stages of its history in Greek the word *scene* expressed successively the meaning 'tent', then 'booth' (on a stage), then 'stage'. Now used in the most general way for anything that lies open to the view;

barn — originally meant a place for storing barley, now a covered building for storing grain, hay, etc.;

paper — from the Greek *papyros* — an Egyptian plant, now is also used to denote a document, a writing, as a note or essay, a newspaper, decorated coverings for walls;

bribery — meant originally 'scraps', 'leavings', 'lumps of bread given to beggars';

journal — meant 'daily', but now applies to any periodical publication.

The adjective *fine* affords another instance of the development that has given senses mutually contradictory. It sometimes means 'slender' or 'small' as in *a fine needle, fine sand, fine grain;* the original sense of the word is 'highly finished'. As high finish can render the object worked upon delicate and slender, the adjective came in certain applications to denote these qualities, even when they are not the result of any process of elaboration. On the other hand, the notion of high finish naturally passed into that of beauty. Hence the word was used as a general expression of admiration; and in cases where large growth is a quality to be admired it practically assumes the sense of 'large'.

Many of English words are known to have been derived from proper names by the process known as antonomasia, e. g.

calico — from Calicut, India

cravat — from the French word for Croatian

epicurean — from the Greek philosopher Epicurus

lynch — probably from Charles Lynch, a planter in Virginia in the 18th century

utopian — from Sir Thomas More's book "*Utopia*"

vandal — from the Vandals, a Germanic tribe

worsted — from Worstead, Norfolk.

A *wretch* is now "any miserable or vile person". Originally *wretch* meant "exile".

A *foreigner* was originally "one who lived out of doors".

Extension of meaning is generally due to metaphor based on some points of resemblance in form, position, colour, on similarity in function or metonymy based on contiguity between the senses. It includes not only the change from concrete to abstract but also from specific to general.

Examine the following meanings of the word *земля* in Russian:

Земля вращается вокруг солнца.
(*Земля* — планета)
Наконец моряки увидели на горизонте *землю*.
(*земля* — суша)
Плодородная *земля*, удобренная *земля*.
(*земля* — почва)
Упал на *землю*, опустил глаза в *землю*.
(*земля* — поверхность, по которой мы ходим)
Родная *земля*.
(*земля* — родина)
Колхозная *земля*, приусадебная *земля*.
(*земля* — участок земли)

The word *земля* has similar variant meanings in Ukrainian.

Different processes of shifts of meaning explain the length of the lists of meanings recorded for many English words in various large dictionaries.

The word *country*, for instance, may mean: країна, вітчизна, народ, село, сільська місцевість, галузь, сфера, e. g.

to leave the country — виїхати за кордон;

in the country — за містом, на селі, на дачі;

in the open country — на лоні природи;

this subject is quite unknown country to me — це питання — невідома мені галузь.

Not less characteristic are the significations of the word *salt* given below:

salt — sodium chloride;

salt — piquancy, wit, pungency, as Attic salt;

to take a story with a grain of salt;

the salt of the earth (fig.).

Compare the meanings of the Russian word *соль* in such examples as:

Соль на столе.

В чем *соль* этого рассказа?

Вот крупной *солью* светской злости

Стал оживляться разговор (Пушкин).

А ведь самолюбие — *соль* жизни (Гончаров).

By the nature of things as they are observed in linguistic reality, the power and flexibility of language lies in the ability of speakers to multiply their vocabulary in any given field in the interests of greater precision, clarity or emotive force. It is apparent that the more words there are closely associated in meaning, the more specific each one's meaning may be in the particular field. The meaning and use of most words are to a certain extent governed by the presence in the language of availability to a speaker of other words whose semantic functions are related in one or more ways to the same area of situational environment.

In studying a foreign language gains in vocabulary come step by step with increasing sureness in the use of words. To acquire a sense of their right use words should be studied in context in the light of their relations to each other.

Contextual meanings of words present a special interest in the development of "indefinite pronominal" senses of words, wherein nouns seem to lose their concrete meaning and acquire a pronominal force.

This process may be well illustrated by the multifarious use of such English words as: *thing, matter, question* which in Modern English have come to mean:

thing — 1) an affair, matter, circumstance: — often in plural; as *things will improve*; 2) something done or to be done, a deed; as *to do great things*; also something said, thought, etc.; 3) that which is the product or the end of activity, or a step or moment in a round of activities; as, *the thing was to get home;* 4) whatever exists, or is conceived to exist, as a separate entity; any separable or distinguishable object of thought; as, *there is a name for every thing*; 5) a) a concrete or tangible object; as, *goodness is not a thing, but an attribute of a thing;* b) an inanimate object; hence pl., *possessions, goods,* also, *clothes, apparel;* c) equipment; utensils; 6) a detail; particular; item; as, *not a thing escaped attention*; 7) *colloquial* — a) something not named because of forgetfulness, disdain, or the like; as, *bring that thing here*; b) a creature, a person; — often used in pity or the like.

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Consider the pronominal use of the noun *thing* in the following examples:

She had been depressed because though all kinds of things seemed to be happening to other people, nothing was happening to her (Pristley);

I wondered if I might look into things and see if, by any chance, the cause of the trouble might be there (Cronin)

You seem to have a knack for finding out things (Abrahams).

matter — 1) that of which any physical object is composed; material; constituents; also, a particular kind or portion of material; as colouring matter. 2) amount, quantity; — often indefinite. 3) *archaic* — that which pertains to a subject or sphere; as, *this is not matter for discussion*. 4) indefinitely, a thing or things; as, *personal matters;* material treated or to be treated in a book, speech, etc. 5) affair worthy of account; importance;— in the phrases *what matter? no matter*, etc. 6) in physics whatever occuples space; that which is considered to constitute the substance of the physical universe. 7) mail to matter. 8) in printing anything to be set in type: copy.

question — 1) act of asking; inquire; that which is asked; query. 2) discussion, debate, hence objection; doubt; as, *true beyond question*. 3) investigation, a judical or official investigation. 4) a problem; matter to be inquired into. 5) a subject or point of debate.

Analogous examples will be found in other languages:

Cf.: the Russian and Ukrainian words: *субъект, тип, штука, факт, вещь, вопрос, дело; річ, справа, питання* and the like.

Воспитание — важная *вещь*, очень важная *вещь* (Тургенев).

Остроумие — великолепная *вещь* (Достоевский).

The French: *quelque chose* is of the same nature. e. g.

Dites moi quelque chose de nouveau. — Скажіть мені що-небудь новеньке.

On m'a dit quelque chose de fort plaisant.— Мені сказали щось дуже приемне.

J'en sais quelque chose.— Я щось про це знаю.

Compare the use of the German *Ding*:

vor allen Dingen — перш за все, в першу чергу;

wie die Dinge liegen (stehen) — при таких обставинах;

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geschehenen Dingen ist nicht zu raten; geschehen Ding ist nicht zu anderen — що трапилось, того не повернеш.

An isolated word in a dictionary is usually given with all the meanings included in the traditional range of the word while in actual use the meaning of the word is determined by the context.

The word taken in any definite context has only the meaning required by the text.

In the course followed by words used in different context and in the shifts of meaning which lead to polysemy, two main processes occur: a) radiation and b) concatenation.

R a d i a t i o n is a semantic process in which the primary meaning stands at the centre and the secondary meanings proceed out of it in every direction like rays. Each of them is independent of all the rest and may be traced back to the central signification.

Graphic examples of radial polysemy are given below.

In Modern English the word *face*, for instance, may signify:

1) the front part of the head; 2) expression of countenance; 3) outward appearance; 4) the principal side of surface of anything; 5) the front of a building, an arch, a cliff, etc.; 6) the marked side of a playing card, watch, etc., e. g. *clock face.*

Besides the above given meanings the word *face* has several technical meanings but each of them may be traced back to the central signification, e. g. the upper or printing surface of a type, plate; the style or cut of type and still others.

By successive radiations the development of meanings may become very complex.

Not less characteristic is the variety of meanings of the word *power* which in Modern English has come to mean: 1) ability to act; capacity for action or being acted upon; 2) control over one's subordinates, as: *the power of the government;* 3) physical strength, as: *all the power of his muscles;* 4) delegated authority: *the ambassador exceeded his power*; 5) moral or intellectual force, vigour, energy; 6) force or energy applied or applicable to work: mechanical or electrical force or energy; 7) in mechanics — an instrument by means of which energy may be applied to mechanical purposes: the lever, wheels, wedges; 8) in optics - magnifying strength, as: *the power of a lens*; 9) in mathematics — the product obtained by multiplication of

a quantity by itself any given number of times: *the fourth power of 2 is 16*; the fifth power *of 3 is 243*; 10) a person of influence; 11) an effective quality of style in writing or oratory: *a writer of great power*; 12) personal influence; 13) one of the great nations of the world: *the conference of the powers*; 14) *(vulgarism)* a lot: *it will do him a power of good;* 15) an army or troop of soldiers *(now obsolete).*

Besides the above-mentioned meanings the word *power* has several technical meanings, but in all of them the primary meaning of power — the state of being able to do something, force, strength is still present.

(Old French *pouer*, Modern French *pouvoir* — to be able, from Latin *potere* which replaced the classical *posse*).

Observe the intransitive and transitive use of the verb *work*. In its denotation it is known to mean "to exert oneself for a purpose; to labour; to toil". Hence a) to operate, to act; as, *a machine works well* (operates effectively, has a desired effect or influence); b) to be engaged or employed customarily in some occupation; c) to move, to progress, or to proceed; d) to react, in a specified way, to being worked, as, *butter works more easily in certain weathers*; used as a transitive verb, *to work* can mean: a) to fashion by or as if by labour; to shape; to form; to accomplish, e. g. *to work a portrait, a sample*; *I'm trying to work a portrait* (Maugham); to effect, as, for instance, *the frost worked havoc with the crop*; b) to prepare for use by manipulation with the hands or with an implement, as, *to work butter*; c) to set or keep in motion, operation or activity; to operate, to manage, e. g. *to work a machine, a ship*; to make an ornament by weaving, knitting or needlework of many kind, e. g. *to work a shawl*; to solve, as, for instance, in mathematics, etc.

Other graphic examples of radial polysemy are:

piece (O. Fr. *pece* (Fr. *piece*), of Celtic origin) — 1) a fragment or part separated from the whole in any manner. 2) any single object or individual (of a class or group): a) *archaic* and *dialectal* — a person, individual; b) *obsolete* — (1) a short while, (2) a short distance; c) a definite quantity regarded as distinct; as, *a piece of land*; d) a single instance or example; as *a piece of news*. 3) a quantity, as a length, weight, or size, usually fixed, in which various articles are made or put for sale or use; as, *a piece*, or roll (8—16 yards, in England usually 12) of wallpaper. 4) short

for piece of work: a) literary composition; b) a picture painting; c) a play or drama: d) musical composition; e) a passage to be recited or declaimed. 5) a firearm, as a cannon; as, *a battery of six pieces.* 6) a piece of money; a coin; as, *pieces of silver.*

sweet (AS *swēte*) — 1) pleasing to the taste; having an agreeable taste such as that of sugar; — opposed to *sour* or *bitter*. 2) hence, pleasing or agreeable in general. 3) dear; beloved; formerly common in address; as, *my sweet sir.* 4) not salt or salted; fresh; as, *sweet water; sweet butter.* 5) having a fresh taste; fresh; — opposed to *sour, rancid, stale, putrescent,* etc. 6) of land, suitable for crops; not dark or acid;— opposed *to sour.* 7) easily managed, smooth-running; noiseless; as *a sweet motor.* 8) *chem.* a) free from excess of acid, sulphur, or corrosive salts; b) of gasoline, etc., free from sulphur compounds. 9) *liquors.* sweet to the taste; not dry — said esp. of wines.

Analogous examples may easily be found in other languages. Examine the combinative power of a few polysemic words in Modern French. Take for illustration the noun *pièce* which has come to mean: 1) шматок, частина, деталь; 2) штука, окремий предмет 3) монета; 4) ділянка; 5) документ, папір; 6) п'єса; 7) кімната; 8) гармата; 9) фігура (шахматна); 10) латка.

1) Cette machine se compose de trois *pièces.*
   Ця машина складається з трьох частин.
2) Les oranges coutent 30 kopecks la *pièce.*
   Апельсини коштують 30 копійок штука.
3) Le garçon laissa tomber une *pièce* d'argent.
   Хлопець упустив срібну монету.
4) Prés de la ferme il y a une *pièce de* bois.
   Біля ферми є ділянка лісу.
5) Le tribunal examina toutes *les pièces* du proces.
   Суд розглянув усі документи справи.
6) A present on joue souvent *les pièces* de Molière.
   Тепер часто ставлять п'єси Мольєра.
7) Les meilleures *pièces* de cet appartement donnent sur la cour.
   Кращі кімнати цієї квартири виходять v двір.
8) On mit deux *pièces* a la lisière du bois et on les camoufla de verdure.
   Дві гармати поставили на узліссі і замаскували їх в зелені.

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9) Sur l'échiquier il ne reste que quatre *pièces.*
   На дошці залишається лише чотири фігури.
10) La mere a mis une *pièce* au veston de son fils.
   Мати поклала латку на куртку сина.

Variations in the use of words may easily be traced in quite a number of other examples from French.

The adjective *doux/douce,* for instance, has come to mean: 1) солодкий: *une poire douce* — солодка груша; 2) ніжний: *une voix douce* — ніжний голос; 3) м'який, спокійний: *une lumiere douce* — м'яке освітлення, *un caractère doux* — м'який характер; 4) теплий: *un temps doux* — тепла погода; 5) прісний: *l'eau douce* — прісна вода; 6) пологий: *une descente douce* — пологий спуск; 7) ковкий: *un metal doux* — ковкий метал.

The meaning reached by the first shift may in turn be shifted a second time, and so on for many times, so that the original meaning of the words may be quite lost. This is the process of c o n c a t e n a t i o n.

Etymologically the word *concatenation* may be explained as *linking together.* The term may be defined as follows: c o n c a t e n a t i o n is the name of the semantic process in which the meaning of a word moves gradually away from its first signification by successive shifts of meanings until, in many cases, there is not a shadow of connection between the sense that is finally developed and that which the term had in it at the outset.

It is self-understood that radiation and concatenation are closely connected, being different stages of the same semantic process, the result of the use of a word in different situations. In fact, radiation always precedes concatenation.

The word *board* is an illustrative example of this process. It may signify: 1) a piece of timber sawn thin; 2) an extended surface of wood: a) as in *blackboard, notice-board;* b) the tablet on which games are played: *chess-board, draught-board;* 3) a surface not necessarily of wood, as: *cardboard; pasteboard,* and *board* as a kind of book-binding; 4) a table; 5) any piece of furniture resembling a table, as: *dressing-board, side-board;* 6) the border or side of anything. An edge, a coast (obsolete, except in *sea-board* = *sea-coast*); 7) bed of boards — нари; 8) to be on the boards — бути актором; 9) board and lodging —квартира та стіл, пансіон.

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Used as the name for a table, the meaning becomes shifted to the council or committee that meets about the table, as in *Board of Trade*, *Board of Directors*, *School Board*, *Board of Health*, etc. The name for the flat surface of wood is applied to a variety of other uses, and the word becomes shifted so as to be applied to the side of a ship. From side of a ship the meaning shifts to the deck and then to the ship itself, a meaning which survives in *aboard* (to board).

The variety of meanings of this word is especially interesting since most of its different meanings survive in Modern English.

Here is an extract from Oliver Twist by Ch Dickens, with the puns on the words *board* and *table*:

*Oliver had not been within the walls of the workhouse a quarter of an hour, and had scarcely completed the demolition of a second slice of bread, when Mr. Bumble, who had handed him over the care of an old woman, returned; and, telling him it was a **board** night, informed him that the **board** had said he was to appear before it forthwith.*

*Not having a very clearly defined notion of what a live **board** was, Oliver was rather astounded by this intelligence, and was not quite certain whether he ought to laugh or cry.*

*... — Bow to the **board**, said Bumble. Oliver brushed away two or three tears that were lingering in his eyes, and seeing no **board** but the table, fortunately bowed to that.*

In all these sentences *board* is a noun. Converted into a verb *board* may also be used in different senses, e. g.

They *boarded up* walls, they *boarded* the house, the landlady *boards* you, you *boarded* at her house, they could *board* the horse at the livery stable.

Consider also the following examples:

*He entered the **board** room with a smile. All there — even Lord Fontenoy and "Old Mont" — given up his spinneys, had he!*

*Fontenoy, Meyricke, back to himself — decisive **board** of the year (decisive **board** — board of directors having power to vote for or against any policy advanced by the managing director).*

*The **Board** can have what details it likes, of course... And in my view it should be the **Board's** opinion after very careful discussion of the actual figures* (Galsworthy).

You se· how widely the meaning of the word has been extended. Yet there is no misunderstanding. All these meanings are derived naturally from the original sense by comparisons. As a dining table is made of boards, the word is transferred to the idea of eating, of sitting round the board.

So easily does the idea of food become attached to the word, that they even *board horses*, though the animals do not sit at table.

The board of directors also gathers round *a board*, or table. The stage in a theatre is made *of boards*. Though your blackboard, usually abbreviated to *board*, is now made of slate it resembles a big flat board. In bookbinding, *pasteboard* is conveniently shortened to *board*.

Every word is a heritage from the past, and has derived its meaning from application to a countless number of particulars differing among themselves either much or little.

In uttering a word, the speaker necessarily offers to the listener the whole range of its meanings. So far as that one word is concerned he has no alternative, though he may, and often does add other words which indicate what part of the meaning he had in view. To take an example: if we say *ball*, this word comes to the listener charged with the possibilities of *cannon ball*, *football*, *tennisball* as well as a *dance*, and much else. It remains for the listener to select from the whole range of meanings offered that aspect or part of it which suits the context or situation.

As we have seen, in course of time word meanings sometimes shrink and sometimes grow. But as a matter of fact, the growing process is by far the commoner. As a result of this growth most of our everyday words have acquired many different senses or connotations. The commonest way in which word meanings grow in all languages is by the addition of figurative senses to the literal sense.

When new ideas develop, when new contrivances are invented, when new social situations arise, we need words to express them. These words are generally made by extending old words to cover the new idea, or else by inventing new words.

An etymological dictionary is a true historical romance. We find there a lot of most interesting examples of these processes. A special interest attaches to such cases when due to extension the original or literal meaning becomes nonsensical.

Penknife is no longer used for sharpening quill pens We still *sail for Europe*, though we *go on a steamer*, what remains a steamer even if its engines

are electrically driven. An airplane may *land on water*. We continue to speak *of the rising* and *setting of the sun*, though science has taught us otherwise. The *atom* was so named because it was thought to be the particle of matter so small as to be indivisible (Greek *a + tom*, incapable of being cut). We now split the atom. That is, we "cut the uncuttable".

In many instances the extension of meaning to meet new ideas is far more reasonable. The transfer of the whole vocabulary of the sea and its ships to aircraft is the result of a natural metaphor. Modern English has such words as *airships*, with their *pilots*, *cabins* and *cockpits* controlled by devices of navigation, similar to those of vessels.

Some styles of automobile bodies are quite naturally named from the old styles of carriage bodies, such as *sedan*, *coupé* and *brougham*, though the resemblance in form is but vague. It was also quite natural to extend the word *car* to cover automobiles.

Radius which has a doublet *ray*, originally meant "the spoke of a wheel".

Arena is the Latin word for *sand* — a reminder that sand was used to strew the floors of the ancient amphitheatres. Such original meanings are implicit in many Latin words.

The root of *eliminate* is *limen*, a threshold or doorstep; so that *eliminate* means literally "throw out of door".

We may see a familiar process of change in some groups of derivatives from Latin roots. A couple of examples will suffice here. The Latin *spiro* (breathe) has given the verbs (with their corresponding nouns): *aspire*, *expire*, *inspire*, *respire*, only one of which *respire* is now normally used in its literal sense. (In older English the literal and metaphoric meanings existed side by side).

The secondary or metaphoric meaning of many such words had already developed in Latin itself. Examples of the given type show how deep are the roots of language, and how clearly words themselves reflect the changing of conditions of life, the social development and progress of people.

By comparative study of languages we can observe the general laws which govern such sense development and understand why meanings become enlarged or narrowed.

These curious phenomena may be traced in other languages. Compare the Russian and Ukrainian:

[1] *See:* Булаховський Л. А. Нариси з загального мовознавства. Kiev, 1955, p. 63.

прослушать — to hear, to listen; прослушать — to miss, not to catch; бесценный — invaluable, inestimable; бесценный — of no value, worthless; взагалi - always, constantly, in all; взагалi — in general outline, approximately[1].

The etymology of words presents a special philological interest when as a result of sense-changes and the loss of the original meaning of the word, there are produced expressions of paradoxical nature.

This is c a t a c h r e s i s. *Catachresis* means "misuse". The term comes from Greek (*kata* — against + *chresthai* — to use).

Take such English words, as: *grandfather*, *grandmother*, *grandchild*, *grandson*, *grand-daughter*, *grandchildren*.

Sense-association between the component parts of such compounds as *grandfather* and *grandmother* seems quite natural, which cannot be said of the words: *grandchild*, *grandson*, *grand-daughter*, *grandchildren*, *great-grand-children*, *great-grandson*, *great-grand-daughter*.

Catachresis is not less characteristic in such collocations, as: *monthly journals* which literally means *monthly dailies*, from French *jour* — day; *eloquent silence*, *a brown blackboard*; *an aeroplane landed on the sea*.

Closely related to catachresis is the so-called o x y- m o r o n[2] by which we mean a stylistic device for epigrammatic effect of contradictory or incongruous words, as in: *cruel kindness*, *awfully good*, *pretty bad* (*Cf.* French *bien mal*), etc.

[2] Oxymoron — from Greek: *oxys* — sharp + *moros* — foolish.

The use of oxymoron for stylistic purposes may be well illustrated by such examples as:

His *honour* rooted in *dishonour* stood
And *faith unfaithful* kept him falsely true. (Tennyson)

...O *brawling love!* O *loving hate!*
O *any thing!* of *nothing* first create.
O *heavy lightness!* serious vanity!
Mis-shapen chaos of *well-seeming* forms! (Shakespeare)

Compare the Russian and Ukrainian:

красноречивое молчание	красномовне мовчання
красные чернила	червоне чорнило
синие чернила	синє чорнило

There is a playful riddle based upon catachresis in Russian:

«Она красная? Нет, она черная. Почему же она желтая? Потому что зеленая» (Black currant).

French: *fer à cheval d'argent; silence éloquent; un vieux garçon.*

German: *silberne Hufeisen.*

Latin: *cum tacent clamant, festina lente.*

A very large number of English words have undergone a peculiar kind of change of meaning which consists in the addition of emotional connotation to their primary sense. That is to say, a word that originally served as a mere statement of fact comes to be used to express the speaker's feeling with regard to the fact. Thus, for instance, the adjectives *enormous*, *extraordinary*, and *extravagant*, in their etymological sense, express the fact that something passes the ordinary or prescribed limits; and in the English of former times they often occur in this matter-of-fact use. Thus '*an enormous appetite*' formerly meant only what should be called now an abnormal appetite; '*an extraordinary occurrence*' was one not in the ordinary course of things; '*extravagant behaviour*' was behaviour which did not conform to the accepted rules of property. In modern use these words indicate not only that what is referred to is unusual or abnormal, but that it is so in such a degree as to excite our wonder, indignation, or contempt. In some cases, such as those just mentioned, the acquisition of an emotional sense has been helped by something in the sound of the word; the long Latin derivatives, especially when they contain a syllable that admits readily of being either drawled out, or pronounced with exceptional force, seem to be peculiarly liable to develop emotional senses. But the same thing has happened with many short words of native English origin. *Great and large*, for instance, mean to the understanding very much the same thing; but the former is an emotional word, and the latter is not.

When we wish to express some notion for which we know no exact word, our easiest resource commonly is to use the word that stands for whatever other idea strikes us as most like that which we have in our mind. This process accounts for a very great proportion of the new meanings that words acquire. Th nature of the likeness perceived or fancied differs in different cases. If it is a material thing that we wish to find a name for, the resemblance that helps us may be in form or appearance, as when we speak of the *eye of a needle*; or in some physical quality, as when the hard kernel of certain fruits is called *a stone*;

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or in relative position, as when the top and bottom of a page are called *the head and foot*; or in use of function, as when the index of a clock-dial is called *a hand*, because it serves to point to something. Sometimes two or more of these kinds of resemblance are combined; *the ear of a pitcher* is something like a human ear both in form and in position; in some English dialects the index of a clock is called not hand but *finger*, because it resembles a finger in form as well as function. Thousands of English substantives have in this way been provided with new senses. The word *chest* in Old English, and until the sixteenth century, meant merely a box; it has since become the name for that part of the body which contains the lungs and heart. *A needle*, as its etymology indicates (compare the German *nähen* 'to sew'), is primarily a tool for sewing; but we now apply the word to many things, such as the magnetized bar of a compass, which resemble a sewing needle in shape. The name of *horse* has been given to various mechanical contrivances which, like the animal, are used to carry or support something. *The key* with which we wind up a watch is so called, not because it resembles in shape or purpose the instrument with which we lock or unlock a door, but because in using it we turn it round as we turn a key in the lock.

NARROWING (SPECIALIZATION) OF MEANING

While generalization of meaning is one of the most common features in the history of words, there occur quite as many instances of the contrary process of specialization whereby a word of wide meaning acquires a narrower sense, in which it is applicable only to some of the objects which it previously denoted.

Old English *mete* 'food' > *meat* 'edible flesh'
Old English *dēor* 'beast' > *deer* 'wild ruminant of a particular species'
Old English *hound* 'dog' > *hound* 'hunting-dog of a particular breed'.

Further examples are:

Meat — originally meant food and drink in general. Old meaning sometimes remains in the language, e. g. *at meat; after meat; (meat for thought* — used figuratively; *sweetmeat* — леденцi).

Bread — originally meant 'a fragment or a small piece'.

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Fruit — originally meant 'a product or something enjoyed'. Compare *fruition*.

Wife — originally meant simply 'woman' (wif-man); now restricted to 'a married woman', the word *housewife* reminds us of the wider significance;

Business in its wider sense of general affairs survives only in such colloquial phrases as: *mind your own business*, and *go about your business*.

Girl once meant 'a young person of either sex, a child, boy or girl'.

Spinster — originally meant 'a woman spinner'; now the word means 'an unmarried woman'. Its ancient connection with spinning has been forgotten.

Worm — once meant any kind of reptile or insect. The dragon which Beowulf in the Old English epic went to fight was a few yards long and in the usual manner of dragons breathed out fire and smoke, but the old poet refers to this fearsome creature as 'a wyrm'.

Words used in special trades or occupations often lose their general significance and take on specialized meanings. The French term *chauffeur*, which meant 'a man who stokes a fire' acquired the general meaning of 'driver', but has now been specialized to mean 'driver of a motor vehicle'. The verb *to drive* now means 'to conduct or operate'. Other examples of French words specialized in meaning are:

Hangar — meant 'a hed' and now applies to a shelter for aircraft.

Garage — once meant 'any safe place'. Allied words are *guard, warden*, and *guarantee*. It now means specifically a building for housing automobiles.

Grocer — formerly, a "wholesale dealer"; now a "retail dealer" in tea, coffee, sugar, spices, fruits and other commodities.

An engine in former times was "anything used to do something". *Engine* now means a "machine" or "mechanical device".

The old meaning of *artillery* was "munitions of war". Today, it means "mounted guns".

Cattle used to refer to "livestock in general". Now it is usually restricted to bovine animals.

Fowl originally meant "any kind of bird". Later it came to mean only large edible birds, and now when the word is used alone it is further restricted to domestic birds such as "the hen".

In Modern English narrowing of meaning may also be illustrated in such words as:

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Romance — once meant "anything written in a "romance" language such, as French". The word has several specialized meanings today.

Fond — originally meant "foolish" and now means "affectionate".

Team — in Old English meant "family or offspring".

Corn — means generally "seeds of cereal grasses". In America it has the specialized meaning of "maize", whereas in England it means "wheat" and in Scotland and Ireland, "oats".

Commerce (Latin *com* + *merx*, mercis, merchandise) goes back to the 16th century and meant originally "exchange of merchandise", especially on a large scale between different countries or districts.

Traffic in the sense of trade has become almost obsolete in Modern English, except in a bad sense.

City — Latin *civitas* meant "the quality of citizenship".

Voyage — meant "a trip or journey", as it still does in French. In English, *voyage* means a "journey by sea or water".

Hospital — originally, "a place for shelter or entertainment of travellers". (Compare the words *hostel* and *hotel*).

Poison — Latin *potio* meant "a drink".

Arsenal — the original Arabic word meant "a house of industry". Now it means a "building where arms are made or stored".

Slang and technical terms are usually good illustrations of this process by which a word's meaning is narrowed or limited.

The narrowing of meaning is frequently brought about by the omission of a noun and the retention of an adjective in the sense which the whole phrase intended to express.

Main, for instance, means *principal* or *strong*. Its special use for *the sea* comes from the omission of the noun in the phrase *the main ocean*.

Thus many adjectives have been wholly substantivized, e. g.

a private — a private soldier
a general — a general officer
an editorial — an editorial article
a meridian — a meridian line
a native — a native man

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It is a well-known fact, for instance, that people tend to specialize and thus to narrow the meanings of words connected with their special activities.

Take the word *operation*. It has quite different meanings to a financial worker in banking, to a mathematician, to a military man and finally to a physician.

Common nouns are not infrequently turned into proper names and their meaning is narrowed in that way, e. g.

the Peninsula — the Iberian Peninsula.
the City — London city (the business centre of London).
The Narrow Seas — English and Irish channels.

Words may become narrowed in meaning and their specialized sense often becomes generally known through the nature of the context in which they habitually occur. The word *room* affords an illustrative example of this process. This word originally had the broad meaning — "space" (German *Raum*), a meaning which survives in such expressions as: *make room* — посторонитися, *plenty of room* — багато місця, *roomy* — просторий, *there is room for improvement* — могло б бути краще; *in the room of* (instead of) — замість.

The narrowing of meaning is often the result of radiation and concatenation. As we have said, words are often specialized in technical vocabulary. Here are some examples to illustrate the statement:

dog — собачка, крюк
pig — болванка, чушка, штик, брусок
arm — ручка, рукоятка, стрілка, плече
ear — дужка, вушко
eye — ушко, петелька, очко, гирло шахти
face — поверхня, фаска, циферблат, грань
foot — ніжка (мебелі), підніжка, стійка, опора, нижня частина
hand — стрілка годинника, крило семафора
sleeve — муфта, втулка, гільза
lip — поріг (гідр. термін)
shoulder — буртик, фланець, поясок
throat — колошник (домни), горловина, шийка, цапфа

Similar instances might easily be multiplied.

The *devil*, for example, is a technical term meaning — вовк-машина.

The process of narrowing of meaning leaves no doubt in such Russian and Ukrainian terms as:

ручка, ніжка, рукав, собачка, муфта, крило, горло, спинка, etc.

Narrowing of meaning is obvious in the use of the name of the material of which a thing is composed for the article itself (see "Metonymy").

Thus *silver* came to mean: "silver coins", "silver ware", "silver goods"; "iron" besides its primary meaning it is used in the sense of an iron tool for smoothing out linen (утюг); *irons*—fetters, chains.

The polysemy of the word *glass* proves this point conclusively: *glass* means all of the following: "a drinking vessel", "barometer", "a mirror" (= looking-glass), "an optical instrument", "a telescope", "an opera-glass or lens".

ELEVATION OF MEANING

The process known as e l e v a t i o n or a m e-l i o r a t i o n is the opposite of degradation. Words often rise from humble beginnings to positions of greater importance. Such changes are not always easy to account for in detail, but, on the whole, we may say that social changes are of the very first importance with words that acquire better meanings. We observed that some words acquire a worse meaning as the result of being restricted in meaning. So it is with many of the words that have acquired better meanings.

Some highly complimentary words were originally applied to things of comparatively slight importance, e. g.

Fame – originally meant only "report", "common talk", "rumour".

Splendid goes back to the simple meaning "bright". The sense change in the words *splendid* (Lat. *splendidus*) and *fame* (Lat. *fama*) is recorded already in classical Latin.

The following list includes some familiar examples of the process of elevation of meaning:

Minister — now means an important public official, but in earlier times meant merely "servant".
Comrade — from the Spanish for "roommate".
Marshal — a Germanic word meaning "horse-ser ant" was adopted into French from Old High German.
Chiffon — meant "a rag" in French.
Smart — now synonymous with "chic", but in earlier times meant "causing pain",

Nimble — originally meant "adroit in stealing", now means "agile".

Nice — in earlier times meant "foolish", being derived through French from the Latin *nescius* (This is the regular sense in Chaucer's writings). The word was gradually specialized in the sense "foolishly particular about trifles". Then the idea of folly was lost, and "particular about small things", "accurate" came into existence. In this sense *nice* was naturally applied to persons, as *a nice observer*, *a nice distinction*. So the word passed through different stages of radiation and became elevated in meaning.

Many words have been elevated in meaning through the association with the ruling class.

The word *knight*, for instance, once meant "a boy", but through military and feudal associations it came to its later use as a title of rank.

DEGRADATION OF MEANING

Along with elevation of meaning there exists the reverse process, that of degradation (or degeneration) of meaning.

Degeneration is the process whereby, for one reason or another, a word falls into disrepute. Words once respectable may become less respectable. Some words reach such a low point that it is considered improper to use them at all.

Instances are not few when the degraded meaning of the word has ousted its original signification.

Here are some common English words originally neutral but now used in disparagement (that is, with an unfavourable implication):

churl — in Old English meant "a man"
boor — originally meant "farmer"
knave — in Old English meant "a boy"
vulgar (Lat. *vulgaris*; *vulgus* — the common people) — originally meant "common", "ordinary"
gossip — originally meant "a god parent"
silly — originally meant "happy"
insane — (Lat. *insanus*) originally meant "not well"
idiot (from Greek *idiotes*) — originally meant "a private person".

The flavour of the word — its connotation — is often affected by social backgrounds. In early times, the term *actor* was uncomplimentary. Actors were classed as rogues and vagabonds in Shakespeare's day but at the present time the stage has great prestige, and the word *actor* has undergone elevation in meaning.

A *villain* (Lat *villanus*), for example, was originally a man who worked on a farm or villa. Such a person was felt by his social superiors to have a low sense of morality, and the word *villain*, at first a term implying nothing unfavourable, came to be a term of reproach. These transformations of meaning reflect class relations in the country, the attitude of the ruling classes towards the toilers and social injustice in bourgeois society.

SUGGESTED ASSIGNMENTS.
POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Be ready to discuss semantic development of words, proceeding from the statement that the lexical meaning of the word is the realization of the notion by means of a definite language system.

2. What do we mean by the denotative and connotative meaning of the word?

3. What is understood by the emotional content of the word?

4. Can you give examples to show that apart from the lexical meaning including denotation and connotation, the word meaning is always combined with its grammatical meaning?

5. Be ready to discuss the problem of asymmetry of the linguistic sign, proceeding from the statement that one linguistic sign can have several semantic elements, and one semantic element can be expressed by different linguistic signs.

6. Illustrate different types of contexts making the meaning of a polysemic word explicit in any of its variant uses.

7. What do we mean by lexical incongruity (incompatibility)?

8. Analyse the valency of the adjectives *large*, *great* and *small*.

9. Give examples of attributive phrases in which the meaning of the adjective is signalled by the lexical meaning of the noun involved.

10. Illustrate the statement that polysemy is relevant to the problem of synonymity and homonymy.

11. Give comments on the lexico-semantic variants of the verbs *grow*, *stand*, and *fall*, to reveal their synonymic correlation with certain other verbs.

12. Describe various types of semantic change of words.

13. Give examples of extension and narrowing of meaning. Make comparison with other languages.

14. Illustrate the process of degradation and elevation of word meaning.

SEMANTIC TRANSPOSITION OF WORDS

METAPHOR[1]

CHAPTER 7

The study of semantic transpositions of words is a permanent interest of scholarship pursued in all the languages.

Transpositions of linguistic units resulting in the neutralization of meaning cannot be studied without a considerable relevance to a system of oppositions of which the given unit is part. The problem of neutralization on the lexical level is relevant to a number of other important questions. The variety of meaning as potentially implicit in a word is naturally associated with the development of lexical synonymy and stylistic resources of the language. Observations in this area have proved the afficiency of contextual, componential and transformational methods of linguistic analysis.

Transference of meaning plays a vital role in our ability to lend variety to speech, to give 'colour' to the subject or evaluate it, to convey the information more affectively.

M e t a p h o r is a deep semantic transformation of a word going far beyond its primary semantic range. It is the most important factor in the renewal of language.

The metaphoric aspects of the greater part of language, and the ease with which any word may be used metaphorically present a major interest in linguistic studies. Words with figurative senses are frequently found in different combinations of words. The meaning of many polysemic words can be conceived as consisting of direct senses, transferred senses, specialized senses, figurative senses, and occasional significations. Metaphor involves the same kind of contexts as abstract thought, the important point

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being that the members shall only possess the relevant feature in common, and that irrelevant or accidental features shall cancel one another.

«Метафора есть открытие нового в известном, серьезное искание истины»[1].

Metaphoric extension, by which we mean the application of a name or descriptive term to an object to which it is not literally applicable is always at work in the acquisition of a vocabulary and the development of thought. It is an effective semantic way contributing much to the expressive power of the language. The best metaphors speak volumes. They give vivaci y and expressiveness to speech and are especially necessary when an accustomed term loses its force through familiarity.

In actual usage the motivation of the word-meaning may be obscured or completely lost. The latter leads to the development of so-called fossilized or trite metaphors, sometimes referred to as "ex-metaphors" or metaphors by origin. Fossilized metaphors belong to the vocabulary of a given language as a system. In such cases the connection between the original and transferred word-meaning is lost.

Semantic transpositions may lead to a complete sense-shift of a word, wherein the secondary figuratively derived meaning becomes, in fact, primary. Take such examples as: *remorse* (Lat. *re* + *mordere*— to bite) — докори совісті, сумління, розкаяння, *impress* — справляти враження; *astonish* (Lat. *ex* — out, *tonare* — to thunder) — дивувати.

Cf.: **Russian:** *угрызения совести*, *поражать*, *откровенный*, *увлекать*, etc.

Ukrainian: *вражати*, *відвертий*, *вразливий*, etc.

Natural metaphor often comes before us only at so advanced a stage, that the presence of imagery demands linguistic scrutiny for its recognition.

Graphic examples of metaphoric extension will be found in the use of adjectives of colour. Semantic transpositions of this class of words may also be traced in other languages. Consider for illustration the semantic range of the adjective *black* in Modern English:

black book, *black list* ("черный список"), *black deed* (темное дело, гнусный поступок), *black ingratitude* (черная неблагодарность), *black injustice* (черная несправедливость), *black magic* (черная магия), *black market* (черный рынок) *black propaganda* (черная пропаганда), *black envy* (черная зависть), etc.

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Cf.: **Russian:**

черная неблагодарность, черная несправедливость, черный день — тяжелое, трудное время, откладывать деньги на черный день; черное дело, черная пропаганда, черная зависть, черная измена, черная клевета, etc.

Similarly **in German:**

die schwarze Liste („черный список"), *ein schwarzes Herz* (злое сердце), *eine schwarze Tat* (темное дело, гнусный поступок), *eine schwarze Seele* (низкая душа), *ein schwarzer Tag* (черный, роковой день), *der Schwarze Markt* (черный рынок), etc.

Cf.: **French:**

humeur noire (черная меланхолия), *pensées noires* (мрачные мысли), *froid noir* (лютый холод), *idées noires* (черные идеи), *affaire noire* (черное дело), *marché noir* (черный рынок), etc.

Observe also the multifarious use of the adjective *white: white lie* (невинная, святая ложь), *white man* (порядочный человек), *white night* (ночь без сна), *white crow* (белая ворона, редкость), *white squall* (внезапный шквал), *white frost, white light* (белый свет, беспристрастное суждение), etc.

Similar examples might be multiplied indefinitely. As a mater of fact, metaphor signifies a diversion of words from their literal meaning.

The interrelation between primary and secondary meaning alters and complicates the nominative function of a word which in this case serves not only to name a thing but to express the speaker's appraisal of a given thing or phenomenon.

Metaphoric sense-shift is well understood in terms of lexical transposition, i. e. transference of a given word into a new lexico-semantic environment unusual to its primary meaning.

The commonest of all figures of speech, metaphor springs from a lively fancy and furnishes much of the life-blood of all language. It draws its examples from every sphere of human and animal activity; from our knowledge and from the imagination; every social activity, like itself, supplies a multitude of felicitously, accessible combinations and permutations. The metaphoric aspect of the greater part of language, and the ease with which any word may be used metaphorically, indicate the degree to which words have gained contexts through other words.

Metaphor is an important means of gaining conciseness because it may suggest much in a few words. Intuitive ideas of "transferred meaning" were formali-

zed already by Aristotle: "metaphor consists in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else". And this appears to have been the first use of "metaphor" as a special term in rhetoric." ...The greatest thing is a gift for metaphor"[1].

There is a picturesque saying: "Language is a book of faded metaphors".

The use of a linguistic sign in its secondary function is a matter of great significance in linguistic activity.

Semantic neutralizations and oppositional substitution of linguistic signs contribute greatly to the development of language. And this is not specifically English but may be traced in other languages.

Asymmetry of the linguistic sign has always been and still remains a source of constant interest in modern linguistic studies. There is no lack of promising directions of linguistic research along this line.

Linguistic signs in the position of neutralization can perform nominative and expressive functions or may be used as formative elements. Suspension of oppositions is well known to occur at different levels of linguistic structure:

(a) Possessing its paradigmatic forms for expressing contrasted categorial meanings language sometimes has no special means to express certain generic notions and therefore has resourse to use one of the contrasted forms of a given opposition. Such semantic neutralizations can readily be seen, for instance, in functional morphology, where we turn our attention to the situational re-evaluation of various tense-forms characterized by their special potential polysemy.

(b) Oppositional substitution may be observed in minor and major syntax, in sentence-patterning where context-sensitive implication always guides our attention to semantic neutralizations of their own value.

(c) Semantic neutralizations merit special consideration on the lexical level. One and the same lexeme may be used, for instance, in its special and generalized meaning. *Cf. man* — «мужчина», *man* — «человек»; French — *femme* — жена, *femme* — женщина.

Words had to be found to express mental perceptions, abstract ideas, and complex relations for which a primitive vocabulary did not provide; and the obvious course was to convey the new idea by means of the nearest physical parallel. The commonest Latin verb for *think* is a metaphor from vine-pruning, '*seeing*' of the mind is borrowed from literal sight; *pondering* is metaphorical '*weighing*'. Evidently these

metaphors differ in intention and effect from such a phrase as 'smouldering' discontent; the former we may call, for want of a better word, 'natural' metaphor, as opposed to the latter, which is artificial. The word metaphor as ordinarily used suggests only the artificial kind; but in deciding on the merits or demerits of a metaphorical phrase we are concerned as much with the one class as the other; for in all doubtful cases our first questions will be, what was the writer's intention in using the metaphor? is it his own, or is it common property? if the latter, did he use it consciously or unconsciously?

This leads us to making distinction between c o n-s c i o u s or 'l i v i n g' and u n c o n s c i o-u s or 'd e a d' m e t a p h o r, whether natural or artificial in origin: and again, among living metaphors, we shall distinguish between the i n t e n-t i o n a l, which are designed for effect, and the u n-i n t e n t i o n a l, which, though still felt to be metaphors, are used merely as a part of the ordinary vocabulary. It may seem at first sight that this classification leaves us where we were: how can we know that we should have used it consciously ourselves; experience will tell us how far our perceptions in this respect differ from other people's.

We shall not be far wrong to say that metaphor is older than any literature — an immemorial human impulse, perhaps as much utilitarian, adding to the stock of words, as literary and poetic. For there is, indeed, little reason for assigning poetic motives to the first man who called the hole in a needle its *"eye"*, or the projections of a saw its *"teeth"*.

It is astonishing how much ordinary language is built on fossilized metaphors. In the words of W e e k-l e y[1], "Every expression that we employ, apart of those that are connected with the most rudimentary objects and actions, is a metaphor, though the original meaning is dulled by constant use". Consider the words of that very sentence given above: *an expression* is something squeezed out; *to employ something* is to wind it in (Lat. *implicare*); the original meaning of *to connect* is to join, to fasten together (Lat. *connectere* — to bind), through metaphoric extension the verb *to connect* has come to mean "to associate in thought"; *rudimentary* comes from (Lat. *rudis*) and is "something imperfectly developed", "unfinished", "thrown in the way"; *an action* — something driven or conducted"; original meaning "rising up", "becoming visible", like a plant or spring or heavenly

[1] *Quoted by* L u c a s F. L. from Weekley's "Romance of Words", 1912, p. 97.

body; *constant* has also developed its present meaning through metaphoric extension (Lat. *constare* — to stand firm). The word "metaphor" itself is a metaphor, meaning *to carry over*, or *carry across a term or expression from its normal usage to another* (Lat. *meta* — beyond, over + *pherein* to bring, bear). It may be a fascinating study to observe the changes which may affect words through their figurative use. Verbs of physical notion used for naming human activity of different kind will give sufficient evidence to illustrate the process. Other examples are:

the word *zest* (Fr. *zeste*) originally meant "the inner bark of a tree"; then it came to mean "citrus rind squeezed in cookery", then "the finest flavour", and eventually, it arrived at its modern meaning and is used for "flavour", relish or something that gives a pleasant taste, piquancy, hence, keen enjoyment;

The meanings of the verb *beam* — сіяти, світити, дивитись радісно or, say, such phrases as *a sun beam*, *a beam of light* are hardly felt now as allusions to a tree, although the word *beam* is, in fact, derived from O. E. *beam* — "tree". German *Baum*, whence the original meaning of *beam* — any large and relatively long piece of timber has also developed.

There are hardly any semantic associations with *hens* in the verb *brood* when it is used in the meaning "to think anxiously or moodily upon; to ponder".

The Modern English verb *to depend* (Lat. *de* + + *pendere* — to hang), besides its physical notion— "to hang down", has come to mean: "to be conditioned"; "to be based, as through subjection or relatedness" (the sciences depend on one another); "to be pending, or undecided", "to trust, to rely, to be dependent".

Compare the variant contextual meanings of the verb *depend* in the following sentences:

Dombey, exulting in the long-looked-for event, jingled and jingled the heavy gold watch-chain that **depended** *from below his trim blue coat, whereof the buttons sparkled phosphorescently in the feeble rays of the distant fire.*

"...but this is a world of effort you know, Funny, and we must never yield, when so much **depends** *upon us.* (Dickens).

It is also worthy of note that sense-shift is always conditioned by concrete lexical word-relations established by long use in a given language.

Observations in this field are relevant to the functional grammar of parts of speech. The word meaning is defined not only by the notion expressed by

a given word, but by the linguistic features of the part of speech to which the word belongs, such as, for instance, the lexico-grammatical class of nouns and verbs, their thematic groups, the class of adjectives (qualitative and relative), or, say, transitivity in verbs, etc.

Metaphoric extension is, in fact, based on the relation of any fully lexical (notional) word to another word denoting an object or thing. This is most frequent with nouns, "abstract" and "concrete", "animate" and "inanimate" classes, in particular. Examples follow.

a) Inanimate nouns of different lexico-semantic classes:

cold water	cold reason
grain of corn	grain of salt
grain of wheat	grain of truth
wooden tables	wooden manners
iron bridge	iron will
	Iron Heel (London)

Cf.:

зерно пшениці	зерно істини
залізний міст	залізна воля
холодна вода	холодна відповідь
тепла вода	тепла зустріч

b) Animate nouns of different lexico-semantic classes:

lion's strength	lion's share

c) Inanimate nouns instead of animate ones:

shy girls	shy stars
the wolf wailed	the wind wailed
clever boys	clever fingers

Cf.:

боязкі дівчата	боязка зірочка
вовк вив	вітер вив

d) Animate nouns instead of inanimate ones:

gilded sword	gilded youth
blooming flowers	blooming girls

Cf.: золотий годинник   золота людина

Compare also:

the boy runs	the newspaper runs
	the verse runs
	the play ran for six months
	all his arrangements ran smoothly
	he ran the car into the garage

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Cf.:

бузок розцвів	дівчина розцвіла
хлопчина біжить	час біжить

We are scarcely aware of the image in the speaking of *the arm of the chair, the mouth of a river, the neck of a bottle* or *the veins in a piece of marble.* Metaphor is moribund when we say that *prices sink, or rise,* that *a voice is high or low,* that *someone's character is hard or coarse.*

It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the well-known fact that most of the words which are now used to describe mental states or qualities have obtained their meaning through metaphorical use, their earlier sense having been purely physical, e. g. *low fellow, low manners, low conduct; sharp temper; short manners; narrow look; cold reason; ripe age,* etc.

*In his cousin's face, with its unseizable family likeness to himself and its chinny, **narrow, concentrated look,** Jolyon saw that which moved him to the thought: "That chap could never forget anything — nor give himself away"* (Galsworthy).

So, too, in descriptions of such mental happenings: *the train of thought* (хід думок), *to direct one's attention, to attach importance, to break silence, to catch someone's meaning,* etc.

The train of thought *suggested to him to inquire if he had ever seen his mother; for he could not remember whether they had told him, yes or no, the river running very fast, and confusing his mind* (Dickens).

*Lady Alison **fell into a train of thought.** The new generation. Did she want her own girls to be of it?* (Galsworthy).

Real meanings are often so rapidly obscured that words cease to call up the image or the poetic idea with which they were first associated. Take a simple instance: *the day's eye* is hardly recognizable in the modern word *daisy.*

Wele by reason men it calle may
The *dayes eye* or ellis the 'eye of day' (Chaucer).

No doubt, some of present-day metaphors, especially the vivid ones, will some day pass into language as ordinary words and will be used by later generations unaware of their origin.

See how vivid and pictorial are metaphors in Russian and Ukrainian, how they make for clearness and for beauty: *луч надежды, искра надежды, ни тени сомнения, свет знания, полет фантазии, убийственная жара, заря юности, зерно истины,*

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блестящие способности, горькая истина; літ думок, зерно істини, світло науки, світло розуму, блискучі здібності, гірка правда.

As we see, like other fossil figures of speech, metaphors contribute to the stock of words when they are no longer felt as such, when their metaphorical character is no longer noticed.

Linguistic students should distinguish between living contextual metaphor used as a stylistic device and metaphoric extension in coining new words.

Here are a few examples of living metaphors.

*She **lent wings** to his **imagination,** and great, luminous canvases spread themselves before him, whereon loomed vague, gigantic figures of love and romance, and of heroic deeds for women's sake — for a pale woman, a **flower of gold** (London).*

*And into this hurly-burly of bad manners and loose morals his daughter — **flower of his life** — was flung.*

*Still the scent as of warm strawberries, still the little summer sounds that should make his song, still all his promise of youth and happiness in **sighing, floating, fluttering July** — and his heart torn; yearning strong in him; hope high in him yet with its eyes cast down, as if ashamed (Galsworthy).*

Compare the Ukrainian:

Ніколи перше не почував я так ясно зв'язку з землею, як тут. В городах земля одягнена в камінь і залізо і недоступна. Тут я став близький до неї. Свіжими ранками я перший будив сонну ще воду криниці. Коли порожнє відро плескалось денцем об її груди, вона ухала гучно спросоння у глибині і ліниво вливалась у нього. Потому тремтіла, сиза на сонці. Я пив її свіжу, холодну, ще повну снів, і хлюпав нею собі в лице (Коцюбинський, Intermezzo)[1].

A classic example of such metaphor occurs in the first lines of Shakespeare's seventy-third sonnet:

That time of year thou mayst in me behold,
When yellow leaves or none or few do hang
Upon those boughs which shake against the cold, —
Bare ruined choirs, where late the sweet birds sang.

Here is metaphor within metaphor, with such a wealth of suggestion as one may perhaps not find in any other four lines of English poetry ever written.

[1] Чередниченко У. Г. Нариси з загальної стилістики сучасної української мови. Kiev, 1962, p. 120.

Interesting examples of the transference of meaning on the basis of similarity will be found in the names of plants and flowers. The most primitive way of naming a flower is from some observed resemblance, and it is curious to notice the parallelism of this process in various languages. Here are some examples:

bluebell — дзвоник
crane's bill — дика герань
crowfoot — жовтець
cockshead — еспарцет (вид конюшини)
larkspur — дельфініум
monk's-hood — аконіт
snapdragon — жабрій (ротики).

The stories behind the names of flowers are most engaging. Sometimes flowers are named for a fancied resemblance like for instance *bachelor's buttons,* or the *dandelion* that an imaginative poet thought looked like *the teeth of a lion* (Lat. *dens* — tooth + + *leo* — lion; Fr. *dent de lion* — lion's tooth).

Aster. The white and pink and purple blossoms to look a bit like "stars". And *aster* is a Latin word that means just that.

Canterbury Bells. These dainty flowers are so named because they resemble the bells that jangled on the horses of the Canterbury pilgrims.

Peculiar is the metaphoric use of the so-called "move and change" class of verbs, such as: *to come, to go, to fly, to fall, to run, to jump* and others, e. g.

to come to a conclusion ⎫
to jump to a conclusion ⎭ — прийти до висновку
to come to an agreement — прийти до згоди
to go by — проходити, e. g. *years went by* — минали роки
to go hot and cold — червоніти та бліднути
(*cf. его бросает в жар и холод,*
його кидає в жар і холод),
to fly into a rage — розлютуватися
to fly high — бути честолюбним
to make the money fly — переводити гроші.

*Also he had money in his pocket, and, as in the old days when a pay day, he **made the money fly*** (London)
to run into debt — заборгувати
to leap into fame — прославитися
to fall in love — закохатися

pass by (over) in silence — обійти мовчанням
to fall a victim — впасти жертвою
to run too far — заходити надто далеко
to run wild — рости недоуком
to sink in one's estimation — впасти в чиємусь довір'ї
to sink one's own interests — не думати про свої інтереси
sink or swim — хоч пан, хоч пропав.

Examine the two uses of the verb *to fall* in the following sentence:

*You've got her to the life. It pleased him to think that June had evidently not seen in it what he saw. But when **his eyes fell on the picture** of Anne, **his face fell,** too, and he looked quickly at Fleur, who said: "Yes, Dad? What do you think of that?"* (Galsworthy).

See analogous examples in Russian, Ukrainian and other languages:

Russian

войти в доверие, войти в силу, прийти в себя, впадать в детство, прийти в ярость, пасть жертвой, упасть в чьем-либо мнении, обойти молчанием.

Ukrainian

ввійти в довір'я, спасти на думку, прийти у веселий настрій, впасти в чиїхсь очах, обійти мовчанням.

French

tomber dans l'erreur — помилитися
tomber en enfance — впасти в дитинство
sortir de son caractère — скипіти
passer qch sous silence — обійти мовчанням.

German

ausser Gebrauch gehen — виходити з ужитку
von Kräften kommen — знесилюватися, вибитися із сил, знемогтися
mit Stillschweigen übergehen — обійти мовчанням.

* * *

A metaphor is said to be p e r s o n a l, when it speaks of inanimate objects or abstract notions as if they were living persons, for instance, *the childhood of the earth, the anger of the tempest.*

Personal epithets are often applied to inanimate things such as: *a treacherous calm, a sullen sky, a frowning rock, pitiless cold, cruel heat, a learned age, the thirsty ground, a virgin soil.*

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Personal verbs are sometimes used as predicates to impersonal subjects, for instance, *everything smiled on him, the moon is riding in the sky.*

Here are some more examples of so-called personal metaphors:

In the Vale of Tawasentha,
In the green and *silent* valey,
By the pleasant water-courses,
Dwelt the singer Nawadaha.
Round about the Indian village
Spread the meadows and the corn-fields
And beyond them stood the forest,
Stood the groves of *singing pine-trees,*
Green in summer, white in winter,
Ever sighing, ever singing (Longfellow).

Came beautiful fall day, warm and languid, palpitant with the hush of the changing season, a California Indian summer day, with hazy sun and wandering wisps of breeze that did not stir the slumber of the air. Filmy purple mists, that were not vapours, but fabrics woven of colour, hid in the recesses of the hills. San Francisco lay like a blur of smoke upon the heights. The intervening bay was a dull sheen of molten metal, whereon sailing craft lay motionless or drifted with the lazy tide. Beyond, the Pacific, dim and vast, was raising on its sky-line tumbled cloud-masses that swept landward, giving warning of the first blustering breath of winter (London).

There was no wind, and not a whisper in the old oaktree twenty yards away. The moon rose from behind the copse, nearly full, and the two lights struggled, till moonlight conquered, changing the colour and quality of all the garden, stealing along the flag-stones, reaching their feet, climbing up, changing their faces (Galsworthy).

Vivid and pictorial are personal metaphors in Russian and Ukrainian:

Она любила на балконе
Предупреждать зари восход,
Когда на бледном небосклоне
Звезд исчезает *хоровод*
И тихо край земли светлеет
И, *вестник утра, ветер* веет
...И доле в праздной тишине,
При отуманенной луне,
Восток ленивый почивает (Пушкин).

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...И не пуская тьму ночную
На золотые небеса,
Одна заря сменить другую
Спешит, дав ночи полчаса. (Пушкин).

...Или взломав свой синий лед
Нева к морям его несет
И, *чуя вешни дни, ликует.* (Пушкин).

... Ветер по морю *гуляет,*
И кораблик подгоняет...
Пушки с пристани палят
Кораблю пристать *велят.* (Пушкин).

Водяные холмы гремят, ударяясь о горы, и с блес-
ком и **стоном отбегают** *назад, и* **плачут,**
и **заливаются** *вдали* (Гоголь).

Мороз *лютує,* аж скрипить,
Луна червона побіліла. (Шевченко).

Широкий Дніпр не *гомонить,*
Розбивши вітер чорні хмари,
Ліг біля моря *одпочить.* (Шевченко).

Every occupation of mankind, every subject (how-
ever remote) that engages man's attention has fur-
nished the language with metaphoric expressions.

Metaphors are often classified proceeding from the
physical properties on the similarity of which they
are created, e. g.:

A p p e a r a n c e   i n   f o r m:

maypole	— здоровило, каланча
egg	— яйце, бомба
arch	— дуга, радуга
chimney	— камін, лампове скло
bridge	— міст, перенісся, кобилка (на скрипці)
head of a cabbage	— головка капусти
nose	— ніс (літака)

F u n c t i o n   o r   u s e:

arm	— ручка, рукоятка
arms of a balance	— коромисло ваги
hand	— рука, стрілка годинника, крило семафора
finger	— палець, штифт, покажчик на шкалі

wing (aeronautics)	— крило літака
pen (from Latin penna)	— перо
to sail	— а) іти під парусами
	— б) плисти, відпливати

M o v e m e n t:

caterpillar (tractor) — гусениця, трактор

P o s i t i o n:

entrails — нутрощі, кишки; земні надра

T e m p e r a t u r e:

heated	— розпалений, збуджений, схвильований
hot (= ardent, fiery)	— темпераментний
hot scent	— «гарячий» слід
cold reason	— холодний розум
cold shoulder	— холодний прийом
cold comfort	— мала втіха
cool (= indifferent)	— байдужий
warm heart	— добре серце
warm language, warm words (Amer. sl.)	— лайка
in warm blood	— згарячу, зопалу.

ZOOSEMY

Nicknaming from animals is quite common.
Names of animals are often used metaphorically to
denote human qualities. This is zoosemy.

A few typical illustrations are the following: a cru-
el fellow may be called *a tiger*; a crafty person may be
called *a fox*, or *a sly dog*; a lively child may be called
a chicken; a stupid person may be called *a goose, an
ass*; a clumsy person may be called *a bear*; if a person
is stubborn, we may refer to him *as mulish*.

Wherefore, *Bees of England,* forge
Many a weapon, chain and scorge,
That these stingless *drones* may spoil
The forced produce of your toil?   (Shelley).

(Compare the Russian and Ukrainian: *голубчик,*
голубушка, змея подколодная, Лиса Патрикеевна;
голубонька, рибонька, Лис Микита, etc.).

A person almost exclusively devoted to books and
study may be called *a bookworm.*

Zoosemy needs no explanation when people are
nicknamed (*cock, lion, parrot, hen, sheep, snake,
duck, goose, mole, viper,* etc.), e. g.

cock of the school — перший в шкільних іграх, у спорті;

lion — знаменитість;

wolf in sheep's clothing — вовк в овечій шкурі.

*She actually recommended Miss Sharp for the situation, firebrand and **serpent** as she was* (Thackeray).

*You and Fleur. Two little lame **ducks** — charming yellow callow little **ducks*** (Galsworthy).

Thus we find quite a number of instances when names of animals are metaphorically used to denote human qualities. Most expressions of this type are of popular origin.

There are a great many idiomatic phrases and proverbial sayings containing names of animals birds, insects, etc. used metaphorically, e. g.:

A dog in the manger — собака на сіні (*See* French: "*Le chien du jardinier*").

Snake in the grass — скрита небезпека.

To make a mountain out of a molehill — робити з мухи слона.

Frog in the throat — хрипота.

It is raining cats and dogs = it pours heavily — дощ лле як із відра.

To take a bee line — іти прямою дорогою, іти навпростець.

As the crow flies — по прямій лінії.

To cherish a viper in one's bosom — пригріти змію на грудях.

Other examples of names of animals are:

calf — a young man
a gay dog — a lively person
donkey — a foolish person
monkey — a mischievous child
pig — 1) a greedy person
       2) an ill-mannered person
whale (Amer.) — a clever person

The application of animal's names to diseases is a frequent occurrence, e. g. *cancer* — рак; *lupus* — вовчанка.

(Other examples in Russian and Ukrainian: *грудная жаба, куриная слепота; грудна жаба, куряча сліпота*).

Peculiar is the metaphoric use of desubstantive (denominative) verbs coming from animal names. Such verbs are generally made by means of conversion.

Here are some examples for illustration:

worm — to worm into one's confidence
dog — to dog a person's footsteps
fish — to fish out, try to make somebody to tell something, to fish in troubled waters, to fish for compliments
fox — to fox, to beguile, to trick
ape — to ape, to imitate
mouse — to mouse, to pursue in a sly manner
wolf — to wolf, to eat greedily as does a wolf

Closely related to metaphor is s i m i l e. Tetaphor is an implied comparison made by directly calling one thing another. S i m i l e is again a comparison, but an indirect one, using words, such as *seem*, *like*, or *as* to link two objects of the comparison.

I wandered lonely as a cloud (Wordsworth).

My love is like a melody,
That's sweetly played in tune (Burns).

As can be seen, the simile sets two ideas side by side; in metaphor they become superimposed.

A metaphor may usually be extended into simile, and a simile may be condensed into a metaphor:

The moon is a silver coin (metaphor).

The moon is like a silver coin (simile).

Metaphor and simile as devices are so integral a part of language that we are often unaware of their use until they are specially pointed out.

As we have seen, what is only implied in the metaphor is distinctly expressed in the simile.

Metaphor is to be preferred to the simile when the comparison is sufficiently easy to be understood, when a likeness is felt so vividly that the writer can directly call one thing by the name of another.

Both metaphors and similes illustrate the fact that words change in meaning through the process of comparison·

The simile has had a wide literary use. Great writers have given unforgettable similes. Here are some such examples in Russian and Ukrainian:

Всегда скромна, всегда послушна,
Всегда *как утро* весела,
Как жизнь поэта простодушна,
Как поцелуй любви мила. (Пушкин).

Буря мглою небо кроет,
Вихри снежные крутя.
То, *как зверь*, она завоет,
То заплачет, *как дитя*. (Пушкин).

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I блідий місяць на ту пору
З-за хмари де-де виглядав,
...*Неначе човен* в синім морі
То виринав, то потопав. (Шевченко).

Між ярами, над ставами,
Верби зеленіють.
Сади рясні похилились.
Тополі по волі
Стоять собі, *мов сторожа,*
Розмовляють з полем. (Шевченко).

Such comparison owes its force to its ability to suggest powerfully one salient point of resemblance between two objects otherwise unlike.

Through such comparisons we can convey our peculiar way of seeing things.

METONYMY¹

M e t o n y m y is a universal device in which the name of one thing is changed for that of another, to which it is related by association of ideas, as having close relationship to one another. The strength of metonymy lies in the pictorial appeal of the concrete and visual and prominent, as opposed to the abstract and general.

The nature of the contiguity involved in such figures of speech is greatly varied. The dictionary has many interesting stories to tell from word history along this line.

The simplest case of metonymy is s y n e c d o-c h e² by which we mean giving the part for the whole (Lat. *pars pro toto*) or vice versa.

In metonymy and synecdoche the shift of names is between things associated by actual contiguity, either physical contact, or contact in various thought relations.

Instances are familiar enough in common use, in such expressions as: *"a fleet of fifty sail"*, and uses of words such as *wheel* for *bicycle*, *Nimrod* for *hunter*, *motor* for *motor car*, or the slang *hard tails* for *mules*. The shift in the reverse direction appears in *engine* for *locomotive, corn* for *maize* (Indian *corn*), *provisions* for *food, cattle* for *cows*, etc.

Under the head of metonymy are included a number of shifts of wide variety, due to association in

a wide variety of relations: that of cause and effect, in *tongue* for *language;* that of material and product, in *copper* or *nickel* for *small coins, cold steel* for *bayonet,* that of sign and thing signified, in *gray hairs* for *age,* *berch* for *judge pulpit* for *eiergy cock-crow* for *dawn;* *container* for *contained,* in *kettle boils* for *water boils, head* for *brains; instrument* for *agent,* in *pen* for *writ-ter sword* for *soldier; attribute* for *subject,* in *youth* for *young people, salt* and *deep* for *ocean; author* for *his works,* as in *"read Shakespeare"* for *read the works of Shakespeare.*

In the instances cited. the figurative shift is evident enough. But, as in the case of the metaphor, the wealth of instences of faded or disguised figures of this kind ·s something little realized. Embodied in everyday speech are countless examples of fossil metonymy and synecdoche of every kind. The word *front* originally meant "forehead" (Latin *frons, frontem*), but came to apply by synecdoche to the whole face, before the metaphorical shift by which it came to apply to the forepart of a building, of a stage, or to the scene of war. In the same way the word *leer* originally meaning "cheek" has come to apply to a form of facial expression in which the cheek is a conspicuous feature. The Latin *lingua,* meaning "tongue" has yielded the name language, a shift repeated in English, where the name *tongue* is figuratively applied to the speech in which the tongue plays an important part. The word *coin* (Fr. *coin* 'wedge', 'die for stamping', Lat. *cuneus,* 'wedge') has been shifted from the stamping instrument to that which is stamped. The word *desire* (Fr. *desirer,* Lat. *desiderare*) which originally meant 'to regret the absence of' now expresses the closely associated meaning, 'to wish for'. The development of meaning is paralleled in the case of want which originally meant 'to be lacking' (O. N. *wanta*). The word *chafe,* which originally meant 'to warm' (Fr. *chauffeur*), is applied to the friction which accompanies one method of warming. The word *calm,* which originally referred to warmth, has come to apply to the atmospheric quiet which usually accompanies warmth. The word *yard,* which originally meant 'piece of wood', as it does still in such words as *crossyards,* becomes applied to the unit of measure indicated by the word.

Compare the Russian and Ukrainian: *Синяя бо-рода, Красая шапочка, Синя борода, Червона ша-почка.*

or: И слышно было до рассвета,
Как ликовал *француз* (Лермонтов).

Эй, *борода*, а как проехать отсюда к Плюшкину? (Гоголь).

The chair may mean голова зборів, e. g. *to address the chair* — звертатись до голови зборів.

the bar — the lawyers.

Metonymy based on association of place is fairly common:

the word *town* may be used with the implication of the inhabitants of a town;

the word *House* — may denote the members of the House of Commons or Lords;

the whole town was awake; the whole village was afoot; the larger part of the auditorium stood up; the parterre and the loges applauded the actress, etc.

Compare the similar transfers by contiguity in Ukrainian:

Увесь університет брав участь у святковій демонстрації.

Уся аудиторія зустріла гостей бурхливими оплесками.

Similarly in French:

Tout l'Université a pris part a la manifestation.

Le parterre et les loges applaudissaient les spectateurs.

Tout le vagon etait en emoi.

German:

Die halbe Stadt war auf den Beinen.

Das ganze Hotel wurde wach.

Die Schule macht einen Ausflug.

Das Auditorium war hingerissen.

Here is an excellent example of metonymy in Russian taken from A. P. Chekhov's «Контрабас и флейта»:

«Приятели сильно расходятся и в своих привычках. Так, контрабас пил чай в прикуску, а флейта в накладку...

Флейта спала с огнем, контрабас без огня. Первая каждое утро чистила себе зубы и мылась душистым глицериновым мылом, второй же не только отрицал то и другое, но даже морщился, когда слышал шуршанье зубной щетки или видел намыленную физиономию».

The association between the existing meaning and the new is based on the contiguity of meaning. In terms of the referential approach we may speak here of the contiguity of referents.

Sense-shift may result in the change of denotational or the connotational meaning. A change in denotation may result in the extension or the narrowing of meaning. A change in the connotational component may result in either elevation or degradation of meaning.

The effects of metonymy are frequently achieved by substituting the part for the whole or by using an idea connected with an event or person in place of the event or person itself. We use metonymy in daily conversation, in expressions like: *head of cattle*, *to keep a good table* — годувати добре, *unfit for table* — неїстівний, *to keep the guests amused* — розважати гостей за столом, *in the clouds* — нереальний, уявлюваний.

Metonymy is a useful device for placing emphasis where we wish it to fall.

E. Poe, for instance, speaks of
...the *glory* that was Greece
And the *grandeur* that was Rome

By suggesting ideas to be connected with the two notions, the poet creates a subtle and meaningful distinction between them. This is based upon the connotative value of *glory* and *grandeur*. With its implications of authentic distinction, deserved praise and distinction, *glory* assumes a higher standing than *grandeur*, with its connotations of more wordly splendour and exterior display of wealth.

Cf.: **French**: *un bon fusil* — may used to mean *un bon chasseur; une bonne fourchette* — *un gourmand; les pantalons rouges — les soldats français; prendre une tasse de thé, de café, de lait; une assiette de soupe.*

German: The word *Wahlzeit* originally meant *mealtime*, now it is used to denote meals (dinner, supper), e. g. *eine Mahlzeit einnehmen; kräftige Mahlzeit*, etc.

Through later transference of meaning based on the contiguity of referents *Mahlzeit!* comes to mean Здрастуйте! Прощавайте! (greetings at dinner or supper). Association by contiguity brought the third meaning 'Good appetite'.

Temporal associations brought the use of the word *Mittag* in the meaning of "meals at midday", i. e. dinner as well as the interval for dinner — обідня перерва, e. g. *der Arbeiter macht Mittag.*

It is of interest to note that *Mittag* meaning "dinner", is used with the article of the neuter gender on analogy with *Mittagessen: der Mittag* — midday;
das Mittag — dinner.

Faded metonymy will be found in political vocabulary when the place of some establishment is used not only for the establishment itself or its staff but also for its policy: *The White House*, *The Pentagon*, *Wall Street*, etc.

Other examples of metonymy include:

a) **The sign for the thing signified**:

From the cradle to the grave (from childhood to death). *Gray hair* (old age or old men). *Arena* is the Latin word for *sand* — a reminder that *sand* was used to strew the floors of the ancient amphitheatres.

b) **The instrument for the agent**, e. g.

The best pens of the day — найкращі сучасні письменники; or *Give every man thine ear but few thy voice* — pay heed to what every man says, but say little yourself.

The pen is stronger than the sword — those who use the pen have more influence than those who use the sword.

c) **The container for the thing contained**, e. g.

He drank a cup (the contents of the cup). *The kettle* (the water in the kettle) is boiling.

d) **The names of various organs are used in the same way**, e. g.

to play by ear — грати по слуху; *an ear for music* — музикальний слух, *a ready tongue* — знахідливість.

Head is often used for brains, *heart* — for emotions, e. g.

to wear one's heart on one's sleeve — не вміти приховувати своїх почуттів, *out of heart* — в сумному, поганому настрої; *to lose one's head* — втратити розум.

He that has a tongue in his head may find his way where he pleases — язик до Києва доведе.

Compare the Russian: *с легким сердцем, с тяжелым сердцем, с глаз долой — из сердца вон; потерять голову; держать ухо востро.* Ukrainian: *як з очей, так і з думки; з легким серцем.*

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e) **A part of species substituted for a whole or genus**:

He manages to earn *his bread* (the necessaries of life). *A fleet of fifty sails* (fifty ships).

f) **A whole or genus substitutes for a part or species**:

He is *a poor creature* (that is *man*).

In the same way *vessel* is used for *ship*, *a measure* is used for *a dance* or for *poetry*, *the smiling year* for the *smiling season* or *spring*.

A great many English words have been traced to proper names. Familiar examples are: *Adonis, Apollo, Don Juan, Don Quixote, Tartuffe*, etc. This is one of the sources from which new words are still being derived (the so-called *antonomasia*).

The following cases of metonymy are also worthy of notice:

a) **The concrete substituted for the abstract**, i. e. a common noun denoting a person is used in an abstract sense, e. g.

*There is a mixture of the **tiger** and the **ape** in the character of a Frenchman* (Voltaire).

I do the most that friendship can,
*I hate the **Viceroy**, love the man* (Swift).

b) **The abstract substituted for the concrete**. Here an abstract noun is used as a concrete noun. e. g.:

The authorities were greeted.

c) **The material substituted for the thing made**, i. e. a material noun is used as a common noun, e. g.:

The marble speaks, that is the statue made of marble.

Silver — coin made of silver; silver money; money (in general).

Iron — instrument, utensil, appliance made of iron.

Glass — articles made of glass.

Boards — the stage in a theatre.

Metonymy and synecdoche have contributed to the stock of words by becoming fossilized.

The subject of metonymy is a very complex one. Due to a great variety of associations there are a lot of instances where metonymy is disguised and hardly recognizable.

The following will afford good examples of the so-called faded metonymy:

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book (O. E. *boc* — beech-tree) — the name of the material is applied to the product;

library (Lat.); librarius; *liber* — book, originally "the bark of a tree");

yard (O. E. *gyrd*) — originally meant "a piece of wood"; Modern English — a unit of measure.

sandwich — two slices of bread usually buttered and having a thin layer of meat, cheese or savory mixture, spread between them (after John Mantagu, earl of Sandwich who lived in the 18th century).

hooligan — a loafer or ruffian, like the hoodlum (after an Irish family in London).

mauser — a trade mark applied to a certain kind of firearm (after Paul Mauser — 1838).

ampere — the practical unit of intensity of electric current, being that produced by one volt acting through a resistance of one ohm (after A. M. Ampere, French physicist).

lilliputian — a pygmy (pertaining to Lilliput, an imaginary island in Swift's "Gulliver's Travels").

calico — so called because first imported from Calicut, India (originally, any cotton cloth from India and the East).

volt — the unit of electromotive force (after Alessandro Volta, Italian physicist).

ohm — the practical unit of electrical resistance, being the resistance of a circuit in which a potential difference of one volt produces a current of one ampere (after the German electrician G. S. Ohm).

silhouette — (after Etienne de Silhouette, French politician, who was often caricatured in this way. *Larousse*).

nankeen (= nankin) — brownish-yellow cloth of firm texture and great durability, originally from China.

mousseline (= muslin) — a very thin, fine and soft plain cloth made in India, or an imitation of it (from Mosul — a city of Mesopotamia).

tulle — a thin fine net, commonly of silk, for veils, dresses, etc. (from Tulle — a town in France).

bordeaux — wine from the Bordeaux region, France.

madeira — wine made on the island of Madeira.

malaga — a white wine, Malaga — a city and province of Spain.

champagne — a white sparkling wine, made in the old province of Champagne, France.

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vaudeville — commonly, a variety show (from Vau-de-Vire, lit., valley of Vire — a village in Normandy).

dahlia — a flower (after A. Dahl, Swedish botanist).

nicotine - a poisonous alkaloid (after Jean Nicot, who introduced tobacco into France).

Illustrative examples of faded metonymy will be found in names of animals which arise from their places of origin. The big, shaggy *Newfoundland* came from the island of Newfoundland; the *Pomeranian* from Pomerania; and *the Airedale* from the valley of "dale" of the Aire in Yorkshire, England (a large terrier of a breed with hard and wiry coat).

HYPERBOLE[1]

H y p e r b o l e is another name for an exaggeration. By this figure we mean a s t a t e m e n t e x a g g e r a t e d   f a n c i f u l l y   f o r   t h e p u r p o s e   o f   c r e a t i n g   a n   e f f e c t. It is frequently used in fiction and poetry but not in scientific texts where precision of expression is necessary. Colloquial speech is rich in hyperbolic expressions. Exaggeration serves to convey intensity of feeling. One of the most typical features of hyperbole is its emotional saturation. In colloquial discourse hyperbole makes use of especially striking intonation with great rises and falls of voice.

Familiar examples of hyperbole are: *A thousand and one cares*. I have not seen you *for ages*: *It is ages* since I saw him. Shed *floods of tears. Heaps of time.* The waves were *mountain-high*. I'd give *the world* to see her. *Millions of reasons*. I beg *a thousand pardons*. The *whole town* was there. He *went like a shot*. That will do him *a world of good. Seas of bloom.*

Examine the following lines from Dickens ("Dombey and Son"):

"*This is a world of effort you know, Fanny, and we must never yield, when so much depends upon us*".

Thus, with no one to advise her — for she could advise with no one without seeming to complain against him — gentle Florence tossed on an uneasy sea of doubt and hope; and Mr. Carker, like a scaly monster of the deep, swam down below, and kept his shining eye upon her.

The tendency to exaggeration is aptly illustrated by the word *skyscraper*, which contains in itself both a hyperbole and metaphor.

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[1] Gr. *hyper* — beyond; *ballein* — to throw.

Hyperbole often loses its force and all its hyperbolic character.

Some hyperbolic expressions have become so well established in popular use, that their stylistic nature is no longer noticed.

The process of the fading of emotional colouring resulting from the use of exaggeration constantly goes on in the language.

"*How is Fleur?*" *said Michael's neighbour.*
"*Thanks, **awfully** well*".
"*Do you like your house?*" "*Oh, **fearfully***".
"*Won't you come and see it?*" "*I don't know whether Fleur would?*"
"*Why not?*" "*She's **frightfully** accessible*" (Galsworthy).

*I see a **frightful lot of writers and painters,** you know, they're supposed to be amusing* (Galsworthy).

Frequent hyperbolic use of highly emotional words leads to their weakening and to be subsequent creation of more emphatic terms, which gradually lose their force and are in their turn replaced by more emphatic terms.

We observe it in such words as: *to amaze, to astonish, to surprise.*

Astonish originally meant to "thunderstrike" (Lat. *extonare; ex* — from, out of; *tonare* — to thunder) and was in its earliest stages used in the physical sense of "stun".

The word was also used metaphorically for the extreme effect of dismay or wonder that paralyses the faculties for a moment. The word lost its force, till nowadays it is hardly more than an emphatic synonym for *surprise* or *excite wonder.*

Amaze has almost the same history; originally it meant utter physical stupefaction.

The use of hyperbole for stylistic purposes in Russian and Ukrainian may be illustrated by the following examples:

... глядишь и не знаешь, идет или не идет его величавая ширина, и чудится, будто весь вылит он из стекла и будто голубая зеркальная дорога, *без меры в ширину и без конца в длину*, реет и вьется по зеленому миру.

...В середину Днепра никто не смеет взглянуть: никто, кроме солнца и голубого неба, не глядит на него. *Редкая птица долетит до середины* Днепра.

Ему *нет равной реки* в мире (Гоголь).

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А сльоз, а крові. Напоїть
Вс`х імператорів би стало
З дітьми і внуками, втопить
В сльозах удов'їх. (Шевченко).

Hyperbolic expressions are a frequent occurrence in our every day colloquial speech. Such as: *Тисячу разів я говорив тобі Цілий вік Вас не бачив*, etc.

As we have seen, hyperbole is not infrequently combined with metaphor Examples of such unusual metaphoric suggestion may be found in numbers. Here are some of them:

The word *sea* may be used figuratively in such collocations as: *a sea of faces a sea of troubles;* the word *ocean* is often used in the sense of any unlimited space or quantity. Hence a well-known set-expression *oceans of time.*

Take Hamlet's soliloquy, for example:

To be, or not to be: that is the question
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or to take arms against *a sea of troubles,*
And by opposing end them? To die: to sleep:
No more; and by a sleep to say we end
The heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks
That flesh is heir to, 'tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wish'd...

Just as hyperbole owes its suggestibility to our recognition of conscious overstatement, l i t o t e s[1], its opposite, derives its effect from deliberate understatement Litotes or meiosis, as this device is often called, may be easily illustrated by reference to both literary and popular speech.

Beowulf, England's earliest epic poem, is filled with understatement. Instead of speaking of a multitude of fighting men, the poet says, to indicate a great number, there was *no dearth of warriors.*

Of the calculating inconstant Cressida, Chaucer wrote *Cressida was not so kind as she ought to be.*

As we shall further see, litotes should not be confused with euphemism.

Through adroit understatement Dickens shows the effects of wine upon two already chatty youths:

*Martin (who was very generous with his money) ordered another glass of punch, which they drank between them, and **which had no effect of making them less conversational than before.***

[1] Gr. *litotes,* from *litos* — plain, simple.

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Similar instances might be given in numbers. Belittling terms are commonly applied for emphasis to what is most highly valued, to the tremendous and so forth. The *ocean* is referred to as the *pond*. Anything *highly praised is far from bad*, or *not half bad*, *it is too bad* instead of *I am disgusted*, etc.

EUPHEMISM[1]

Different from degeneration is e u p h e m i s m, which tries to conceal unpleasantness under a seemingly pleasant exterior, i. e. to use a pleasant or innocuous term to describe a disagreeable fact.

By this figure we speak in gentle and favourable terms of some person, object or event, which is ordinarily seen in a less pleasing light.

Thus, for instance, a partial historian in speaking of Henry VIII, the second of the Tudors, who divorced two and beheaded two more of the six wives, to whom he was married in succession describes him as having been *singularly unfortunate in all his relations with women*.

The origin of euphemism is to be sought in the remotest past, at early stage of civilization, when religious taboo dictated the avoidance of certain terms. People refuse, for instance, to utter the name of a person who is no longer living, or to give it to a child, so that the name actually becomes obsolete among the tribe. Words connected with sacred beings and objects are tabooed; such beings and objects should not be directly named. The same motives lead to the forbidding of direct names for the tribal chief or anything connected with him. The same interdiction, for similar reason, applies to things associated with death — it is unlucky to speak of death or misfortune.

Euphemism is a frequent occurrence in most modern languages but it will be remembered that it is not the same as religious taboo with which it is connected historically. Euphemism is a much wider phenomenon which has spread to all relations of life. It may have a variety of causes, not only superstition but prudery, courtesy, etc. To it we owe hundreds of expressions introduced because their equivalent had somehow or other gone out of use or had come to be regarded as too crude for polite use. These are euphemisms employed for stylistic purposes. During the eighteenth century there was such a horror of calling *a spade* a spade that *leg* was always *limb*,

and in a poem *boot* was called *the shining leather that encased the limb*.

The influence of euphemisms in modern speech is possibly most apparent in the words associated with death. In early English poetry the heroes did not literally *die*, but euphemistically *lay* or *fell*. The same feature of language is familiar in modern English. For the direct verb *die* are substituted such expressions, as: *to decease, to join the majority, yield up the ghost, to go to one's last reckoning, go the way of all flesh, expire, pass away, breathe one's last, go west, go hence.*

Instead of *dead* it is common to say *the deceased, the departed, the late Mr. Smith*, etc. There are like synonyms for *kill*, for instance, *to finish, make away with, put away, remove, settle*, etc.

There is a squeamish reluctance to use direct names for certain physiological acts, physical defects and for various forms of disease. Popular words *belly* and *bowels*, too vivid in their suggestive power, are replaced in polite use by such words as *abdomen* and *viscera*.

Words having an unpleasant connotation are sometimes replaced by letters, e. g.

T. B. — *tuberculosis; to hell* — *to "h" with it.*

Unpleasant words are sometimes replaced by foreign names, such as: *with child, pregnant — enceinte* (French).

Unpleasantness is sometimes concealed by using a more general term, e. g. instead of *drunk — intoxicated, inebriated, elevated, flustered*, etc., instead of *mad — insane*.

We also find figures of speech used instead of unpleasant words, e. g. *to die — to pass away, mellow* or *elevated* for *drunk, deranged* for *insane* (the given words are used metaphorically).

The meaning of an unpleasant word is sometimes expressed by a whole group of words. The following examples will indicate this tendency to use understatement or circumlocution to avoid giving offence:

to lie — to distort the facts, misrepresent the facts, to distort the truth; deaf — hard of hearing.

...Your grammar is ...She had intended saying **awful**, *but she amended it to is* **not particulary good** (London).

Euphemism is illustrative in the following epigram of Pushkin:

Иная брань, конечно, неприличность. Нельзя сказать: такой-то де старик, козел в очках, плюга-

вый клеветник, и зол, и подл. Все это будет личность.

Но можете печатать, например, что господин парнасский, старовер (в своих статьях бессмыслицы оратор) отменно вял, отменно скучноват, тяжеловат и даже глуповат.

Squeamishness is supposed to have led to the curious substitution of various names for articles of clothing, such as: *chemise* for *shirt*, *pantaloons* (pants) for *breeches*, *indescribables* or *must-notmentionem's* for *trousers*.

There are a lot of playful euphemistic expressions and stock-phrases showing stupidity, e. g. *He will not set the Thames on fire* — Він пороху не вигадає.

Compare the French and German:

Il n'a pas trouvé la pierre philosophale.
Er hat das Schiesspulver nicht erfunden.

Other examples are: *he has a cylinder missing* and *he has a tile loose* for *he is not right in the head*.

One should distinguish between euphemisms of the literary language and those of class slang which perform different functions.

Here are some examples of euphemisms in class slang in Russian:

Дамы города Н. отличались, подобно многим дамам петербургским, необыкновенною осторожностью и приличием в словах и выражениях. Никогда не говорили они: я высморкалась, я вспотела, я плюнула, а говорили, я облегчила себе нос, я обошлась посредством платка. Ни в коем случае нельзя было сказать: «Этот стакан воняет. А говорили: этот стакан нехорошо ведет себя» (Гоголь).

SUGGESTED ASSIGNMENTS.
POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Get ready to discuss semantic transpositions as a universal development of language.
2. Comment on implicity resulting from semantic transposition of words.
3. Comment on the semantic range of the following English words: *face, head, move, piece, power, spirit, sweet, touch.*
4. Give examples of trite and living metaphors in the English vocabulary. Make comparisons with other languages.
5. Find examples to illustrate transference of the name of one thing on the other on the basis of similarity in function.

6. Illustrate the so-called personal metaphors that speak on inanimate objects or abstract notions as if they were living persons.
7. Give English equivalents to the following vivid metaphors: *луч надежды, искра надежды, ни тени сомнения, свет знания, угрызения совести, искра любви, полет фантазии, прилив чувств, зерно истины, горькая истина, убийственная жара, человек железной воли, заря юности, каменное сердце, пламень чувств, голос совести, порывы пламенных желаний, порыв страстей и вдохновений, буря чувств, мыслей, воспоминаний.*
8. Pick out metaphors and analyse them from the following points of view: a) whether they are trite or living; b) whether only one word is the bearer of metaphor or they are developed in detailed picture, c) whether they serve as a means of humour, a means of poetic expressivity or intensity in pictorial language, etc. Paraphrase the sentences so as to make explicit the comparison implied:

(a) *He had felt that some power was divesting him of that sudden woven anger as easily as a fruit is divested of its soft ripe peel* (Joyce).

(b) *Once again in his cab, his anger evaporated, for so it ever was with his wrath — when he had rapped out, it was gone... but the pain he hid... began slowly, surely to vent itself in a blind resentment against James and his son* (Galsworthy).

(c) *The blood went bounding along his veins; and the thoughts went rioting through his brain, proud, joyful, tender, valorous* (Joyce).

(d) *A metallic hand drew his consicousness together, turned it into punchbag and was battering at the fibres of his exhaustion* (Sillitoe).

(e) *A swarm of jealous suspicions stung and stung her* (Galsworthy).

(f) *The smile again — radiant, blattenly artificial — convincing, looking nowhere in particular* (Priestley)

9. Identify and describe a possible connection between the literal and figurative meanings of the following expressions: *give way, that's not my cup of tea, run straight in chancery, at large, all right, lay down the law, spill the beans, a fly in the ointments, a fish out of water.*

10. Give comments on the semantic range of the words *key* and *fire* in the following examples:

(a) *open a lock with a key;*
(b) *the key to a riddle;*
(c) *key to the problem;*

(d) *piano keys;*
(e) *key to the plants in the area;*
(f) *keys along the coast;*
(g) *a plaintive key;*
(h) *a match key.*

(a) *He will fire the gun;*
(b) *Your words could fire him with the idea;*
(c) *He could not fire the man;*
(d) *They fired a boiler.*

11. Describe the supplementary components which might serve as links between the figurative meanings and the corresponding base meanings of the following:

> *She is a duck.*
> *The cop is a pig.*
> *She was a jewel.*

12. What do we mean by metonymy?

13. Give a few examples of synecdoche.

14. Embodied in everyday speech are countless examples of fossil metonymy and synecdoche. Can you give examples of such disguised shifts of names?

15. Metonymy is a semantic universal. Find examples of such semantic transpositions in other languages.

16. Give comments on hyperbole. Make comparisons with other languages.

17. Euphemisms are a frequent occurrence in most languages. Give a few examples of this figure of speech. Make comparisons with other languages.

SEMANTIC GROUPS OF WORDS

SYNONYMS[1]

[1] Gr. *syn.*— with; *onyma* — name.

Synonymy as a Semantic Universal

CHAPTER 8

Linguistic investigations of recent years give much valuable information on the problem of meaning equivalence. There are many book-length monographs, special articles, collections and individual studies in which the problem of synonymy is discussed in its various aspects. There is much significant and useful information on the subject in this country and abroad.[2] The accomplishments of Soviet linguists in this area are presented by a large number of books, dissertations and work-papers contributing significantly to a scientific understanding of linguistic processes in this field.

[2] See:
U l l m a n n S.
The Principles of
Semantics. London,
1951.

The existence of synonymic forms of expression is a fairly common development and has long attracted the attention of linguists as relevant to a number of other aspects of language, potential polysemy of linguistic units, in particular.

The question of synonymy at different levels is a very difficult and most disputable one. Disagreements over the nature of semantic correlations between words are likely to be based not on conflicting observations of the linguistic facts but on different criteria and approach to the identification of the linguistic facts involved.

A well-developed literary language is a most complex system of more or less synonymous means of expression which are mutually correlated one way or another[1].

[1] See:
В и н о г р а д о в
В. В. Русский язык.
Грамматическое
учение о слове. М.,
1947, pp. 17—18.

The very concept of synonymy implies variation. There is always selection in the distribution of semantically correlated words in actual speech because the words should match the thought and the occasion

The accumulation of a rich store of synonyms in the vocabulary of any language is one of the most important results of the speech activity.

The choice between alternative words afforded by the development of synonymy is the principal source of the capacity of the language for the expression of refined subtle shades of meaning.

The complex variety of words proves at times almost an embarrassment. One of the sources of difficulties in gaining effective command of a foreign language lies in the richness of its vocabulary.

Synonyms have been variously treated by different linguists. It has been customary to describe them as words different in sound but identical or similar in meaning. This definition is, however, open to thought and questioning.

We call the vocabulary systematic because the sum total of all the words in it may be considered as a structural set of interdependent and interrelated elements.

The overall system of language consists, in fact, of subsystems, all based on oppositions, differences, sameness and positional values. In many interdependent subsystems at all levels the functions of every linguistic element depend on its relative position therein. The central interest in vocabulary studies lies in determining the properties of words and

different relationships existing between them in language, their semantic correlation.

Recent investigations in various languages have raised a number of questions relevant to the classification of vocabulary into thematic groups as based on common contextual associations formed as a result of regular co-occurrence of words in similar repeatedly used contexts within the frame work of sentences.

Vocabulary studies of our day are characterized by a growing interest to the problem of semantic equivalence of words within various thematic groups. A long-standing result of linguistic study gives every reason to define synonyms as those members of a thematic group which a) belong to the same part of speech and b) are so close to one another semantically that their correct use in speech can be assured only if the shades of meaning and stylistic aspects which keep them apart are carefully investigated.

It should be emphatically stressed that the study of delimitation of the meanings of a word cannot be substituted by its combinability. S. Ullmann has shown good judgement in pointing out that some linguists, in their eagerness to underline the importance of context and to demolish the belief that there is a 'proper' meaning inherent in each word distort the facts of a living language. Statements like the "word exists only through the context, and is nothing in itself" are neither accurate nor realistic. While it is perfectly true that words are almost found embedded in specific contexts, there are cases when a term stands entirely by itself, without any contextual support, and will still make sense. If words had no meanings outside contexts it would be impossible to compile a dictionary.

The life of synonyms in language, subtle distinctions between semantically correlated words, their stylistic connotations and idiomatic peculiarities are a very interesting object of linguistic observations.

The study of synonymic forms of expression peculiar to a given language helps to determine its living active styles and the laws of their development. Multiformity of synonymic forms of expression is closely connected with the stylistic differentiation of a language. The existence of numerous groups of synonyms is one of the characteristic features of the vocabulary. Synonymy testifies to the originality and specifity of a given language.

The basis of synonymic oppositions of words is naturally their denotational component.

A common denotational component can make words closely akin and brings them into a correlative synonymic group. All the other semantic components can vary revealing the distinctive features of synonymic oppositions.

The criteria of synonymity are based on semantic similarity, which stands in contrast to the criteria of antonymous polarity in meaning. Componential analysis determines the components of each meaning and represents this as a combination of elementary senses.

It is worthy of note at this point that antonymy and synonymy may sometimes overlap. This can be made abundantly clear if we take, for instance, stylistic synonyms which are known to be contrasted in terms of polarity in their stylistic reference but are similar in their denotative meaning, e. g. *dad*: : *daddy, mother* :: *mam, mammy*.

An interesting attempt at tabulating the most typical differences between synonyms was made by W. E. C o l l i n s o n who made distinction between the following nine possibilities;

(a) one term is m o r e g e n e r a l than another: *refuse — reject*;

(b) one term is m o r e i n t e n s e than another: *repudiate — refuse*;

(c) one term is m o r e e m o t i v e than another: *reject — decline*;

(d) one term may imply m o r a l a p p r o b a t i o n or c e n s u r e where another is n e u t r a l: *thrifty — economical*;

(e) one term is m o r e p r o f e s s i o n a l than another: *decease — death*:

(f) one term is m o r e l i t e r a r y than another: *passing — death*;

(g) one term is m o r e c o l l o q u i a l than another: *turn down — refuse*;

(i) one term is m o r e l o c a l or dialectal than another: *Scots flesher — butcher*;

(j) one of the synonyms belongs to c h i l d t a l k: *daddy — father*.

Delimitation of synonyms based on the substitution test reveals in the best way possible how far synonyms are interchangeable. If the difference is mainly objective there is often a partial overlap in sense, in other words, the words involved are interchangeable in some contexts but not in others.

L. B l o o m f i e l d's fundamental assumption implies that each linguistic form has a constant and specific meaning. "If the forms are phonetically different, we suppose that their meanings also are different — for instance, that each one of a set of forms like *quick, fast, swift, rapid, speedy* differs from all the others in some constant and conventional feature of meaning. We suppose, in short, that there are no actual synonyms[1]. One of E. N i d a's principles in his descriptive analysis of words is that no morphemes or combinations of morphemes are identical in meaning. This principle means that there are no real synonyms, i. e. forms which have identical meaning. Such words as *peace* and *tranquillity* are ordinarily listed as synonyms, but they are far from being identical in meaning. One may speak of *a peace conference*, but the expression *tranquillity conference* is certainly no identical equivalent. Forms such as *childish* and *puerile* or *truth* and *reality* illustrate this same principle, namely, that there are no semantically equivalent terms[2].

R. Y a c o b s o n's[3] view is that in any languages instances may occur where two words are synonymous, i. e. semantically coinciding or rather nearly coinciding with each other, while differing in their phonemic constitution (though cases of total semantic coincidence and unrestricted permutability within the same code are most uncommon, and often close semantic approximation is mistaken by students for a complete identity). It is obvious that as a rule a distinctive feature in any language serves to differentiate words (or their grammatical constituents) which are semantically distinct; and, above all, language has no other way to convey a semantic difference than through the distinctive features.

A different standpoint will be found in A. H i l l's *Introduction to Linguistic Structures* : "Synonyms are the most probable substitutes in any given situation but in one situation only, which is an important limitation. The attempt to set up perfect synonyms fails because the substitution is studied without reference to particular situations"[4].

S. U l l m a n n makes distinction between two possibilities of combination of synonyms: "variation" — when synonyms involved occur at intervals, and "collocation" — when synonyms are in close contact with each other. Synonymic structure implies the formation of associative groups between senses in actual lively speech, in pictorial language or other-

[1] *See:*
B l o o m f i e l d L.
Op. cit., p. 145.

[2] *See:*
N i d a E.
The Descriptive
Analysis of Words.
2nd Ed. The
University of Michigan
Press, 1965, p. 151.

[3] *See:*
Y a c o b s o n R.
Selected Writings.
Vol. 2. The Hague —
Mounton, 1965.

[4] H i l l A.
Introduction to
Linguistic Structures.
New York, 1958,
pp. 411—412.

wise emphatic style. A purely synchronistic indication that speakers are synonym-consious is provided by the frequent collocation of synonyms, in other words, synonymic condensation[1].

Examine the following sentences:

"She made a sensation in the drawing room. Winifred thought it "most amusing". Imogen was enraptured. Jack Cardigan called it "stunning", "ripping", "topping" and "corking". Monsieur Profond, smiling with his eyes, said:

That's a nice small dress!" (Galsworthy).

In his *Essai de sémantique*, M i c h e l B r é a l put forward a linguistic law which he called 'the law of distribution': words once synonymous are subsequently differentiated in various ways and thus cease to be interchangeable. Another general principle of synonymy is what might be called the 'law of synonymic attraction'.

A special form of attraction is the so-called 'radiation of synonyms' which was first noticed in French slang. It was found there that when a particular word was given a transferred sense its synonyms tended to develop on parallel lines. Thus the verb *chiquer* 'beat' came to be used in the meaning of 'deceive', whereupon other verbs for 'beat' — *torcher, taper, estamper, toquer* — received the same secondary sense. Such developments are sometimes confined to two words: when the English verb *overlook* acquired the transferred meaning of 'deceive', its synonym *oversee* underwent a parallel change. It would be interesting to find out how widespread these processes are in different languages.

[1] *See:*
U l l m a n n S.
The Principles of
Semantics. London,
1951.

PROBLEM OF CLASSIFICATION

We shall hardly find total semantic coincidence and unrestricted permutability of synonymically correlated words. Complete (absolute) synonyms, i. e. words quite alike in all functions, probably do not occur.

We should rather speak of ideographic (= relative) and stylistic synonyms.

The abundance of ideographic and stylistic synonyms in any language is well known.

By the nature of things, semantically correlated words used for the same reference do not correspond in every particular. In some contexts they may be used indifferently, in others they are not interchangeable. The choice of words suited to a given situation makes it possible to express subtle shades of

connotation, referential or emotive meaning, stylistic or aesthetic tinge of meaning.

Stated very generally, all the components of lexical meaning that do not belong to the designation can be covered by the general term 'connotation'.

Connotation consists of all components of the lexical meaning that add some contrastive value to the basic designative function.

There are expressive words with inherent emotive connotation. Such words are stylistically marked units of the vocabulary. A far greater interest is presented by adherent connotation resulting from numerous stylistic transpositions of words, metaphoric extension, metonymy, etc.

In the words of C. Ogden and A. Richards, purpose affects the vocabulary in two ways: "Sometimes without affecting reference it dictates the choice of symbols specially suited to an occasion. Thus, the language of a teacher in describing his spectroscope to a child may differ from that in which he describes it to his colleague or to his fiancée without there being any difference in his reference. Or an elegant writer will ring the changes on a series of synonyms without changing his reference. On the other hand, a physicist uses different language from that employed by his guide in order to discuss the Spectre of the Brocken; their different purposes effect their language in this case through altering their references"[1].

[1] Ogden C. K. and Richards I. A. The Meaning of Meaning. London, 1966, p. 126.

Ideographic synonyms denote different shades of meaning or different degrees of a given quality, e. g.

beautiful — fine — handsome — pretty
different — various
idle — lazy — indolent
large — great — huge — tremendous — colossal
pitiable — piteous — pitiful
silent — tacit
strange — odd — queer

Beautiful conveys, for instance, the strongest meaning; it marks the possession of that quality in its fullest extent, of which the other terms denote the possession in part only. Fineness, handsomeness and prettiness are to beauty as parts to a whole.

Ideographic synonyms are nearly identical in one or more denotational meanings and interchangeable at least in some contexts.

The basis of synonymic oppositions of words is naturally their denotational component.

A common denotational component can make words closely akin and brings them into a correlative synonymic group. All the other semantic components can vary revealing the distinctive features of synonymic oppositions.

Cf. To do — to make. To do and to make in regard to persons are both used in the sense of voluntarily exerting a power to bring a thing to pass; but to do applies to the ordinary business of life or what is done by a given rule, as to do a work, to do justice; make applies to that which is done by a particular contrivance or for a particular purpose, as to make a pen, to make a table. What is done once may have been done before and may be done again.

Componential analysis is always helpful to show the oppositional relations between such correlated words:

(a) famous, celebrated, notorious, notable, noteworthy, eminent.

All these words have the common denotational component "well known" but reveal noticeable distinctive implications: eminent refers only to persons, the other words to persons and things;

notable and noteworthy in some contexts mean "remarkable", "striking" or "worthy of being known";

eminent is used with reference only to what a person is or was while alive;

notorious implies that what a person or thing is well known for are bad qualities (though the sense is not so strong as that underlying its antonym "infamous");

(b) face: : visage, countenance.

A common denotational meaning makes these words closely akin: "the front of the head, thought of with reference to the various features that comprise it"; face is the dominant direct word; countenance is the same part with the reference to the expression it bears;

visage is a formal word, chiefly literary, for face or countenance;

(c) habit :: custom — a common denotational component is a habitual course of action, a way of behaving that has fixed by repetition. A habit is usually personal. Habits common to many people are customs (generally accepted conventions).

(d) surprise :: wonder :: astonish :: amaze :: astound :: marvel

surprise is a dominant word emphasizing the element of unexpectedness, the feeling caused by something sudden or unexpected;

wonder implies the emotion excited by novelty or something unusual, strange or not well understood;

astonish and *amaze* intensify this meaning and are used with the implication of a great surprise, great wonder;

amaze includes a certain element of confusion (*cf. to bewilder, to perplex*);

marvel — includes the element of a wondering curiosity.

(e) *to beg* :: *to beseech; to beg* denotes a state of want; *beseech* — a state of urgent necessity. One *begs* with importunity, one *beseeches* with earnestness.

(f) *to shine* :: *to glitter* :: *to sparkle* :: *to glare.*

The emission of light is the common idea conveyed by these terms.

To shine expresses simply the general idea; *to glitter* and the other verbs include some collateral idea in their signification. *To shine* is a steady emission of light; *to glitter* is an unsteady emission of light occasioned by the reflection of transparent or bright bodies; *to glare* denotes the highest degree of light; *to sparkle* — is to emit light in small portions.

(g) *Chill* and *cold* differ in expressing a degree of cold, e. g.

The water is often chill in summer but it is cold in winter.

(h) *frighten; terrify; alarm; intimidate; scare:*
the common denotational component of these words is 'to cause fear'; the distinctive features are: *to terrify* is to frighten to an extreme degree. *To alarm* generally implies the causing of a milder degree of fear than *to frighten*, sometimes rather a state of extreme anxiety. *To intimidate* is formal if used only for *to frighten*, but it generally implies pressure, threat, bullying with the object of influencing conduct. *To scare* implies the causing of sudden and often unreasoning fear or panic.

(i) Rapidity in movement or action can be expressed by such synonyms as: *fast, rapid, swift* and *quick.*

The common denotational component is 'progressing or accomplished in much less than normal time', e. g. *Fast* and *rapid* are often used without distinction, but *fast* often applies to the moving object whereas

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rapid is apt to characterize or suggest the movement itself. *Swift* suggests great rapidity, often with ease or facility in movement, happening without warning or delay in a very short time. *Quick* applies especially to that which happens promptly or occupies but little time; it suggests celerity rather than velocity, promptness in action or thought.

Cf.: run fast, fast train, a fast race, it is raining fast, the watch is fast, etc.;

rapid growth, rapid movement, rapid fire, etc.;

swift anger, be swift to hear, slow to speak (prov.). *swift hand,* etc.;

quick step, quick march, quick luncheon, quick look, quick wit, quick to respond, etc.

Excellent quality can find its expression in such adjectives as: *excellent, admirable, beautiful, brilliant, capital, delightful, exquisite, fair, first-rate, glorious, gorgeous, grand, magnificent, marvellous, perfect, pre-eminent, perfect, remarkable, ripping* (sl.), *splendid, superior, sublime, superb, surpassing, second to none, stunning* (Am. sl.), *topping, wonderful, wondrous.*

Cf. the **Russian** and **Ukrainian:**

блестящий, восхитительный, великолепный, замечательный, изумительный, очаровательный, первоклассный, потрясающий, превосходный, прекрасный, удивительный, чудесный, ошеломляющий, очаровательный, умопомрачительный, сногсшибательный;

блискучий, відмінний, дивний, прекрасний, чарівний, чудовий, розкішний надзвичайний, незрівнянний, першокласний, першорядний, прегарний, разючий, карколомний.

German: *ausgezeichnet, herrlich, vortrefflich, vorzüglich, prima, perfekt, patent,* etc.

French: *admirable, charmant, éminent, excellent, exubérant, glorieux, miraculeux, sublime, superbe, supérieur.*

The synonymic groups given above have a common semantic element and express one notion with either different semantic shades or expressivity and stylistic value.

The linguistic evidence drawn from the study of synonyms gives every reason to say that subjects prominent in the interests and activities of a community tend to attract a large number of synonyms. Some significant concentrations have, for instance, been discovered in Old English literature. In *Beowulf* there are 37 words for 'hero' or 'prince' and at least

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a dozen for 'battle' and 'fight'. The same epic contains 17 expressions for 'sea' to which 13 more may be added from Old English poems[1].

It should be noted in passing that though foreign borrowings contributed to the development of synonymy in English most significantly, numerous phrasal combinations illustrate the native capacity of English for enriching its stock of synonyms from its own material. The list of synonyms of a large number of lexical units embraces words of all classes in the creation of which the debt of foreign adoptions is comparatively slight.

Stylistic Synonyms

Among synonymically correlated words we find such as differ not so much in meaning as in emotive value or stylistic sphere of application. These are stylistic synonyms. They differ in their evaluative and emotional-expressive overtones. Pictorial language often uses poetic words as stylistic alternatives of neutral ones, e. g.

nouns: *billow* for *wave; maid* for *girl; vale* for *valley; ire* for *anger; woe* for *sorrow; guile* for *deceit; bliss* for *happiness; eve* for *evening; morn* for *morning; mead* for *meadow; thrall* for *distress;*

adjectives: *lone* for *lonely; yon* for *yonder; forlorn* for *distressed; jocund* for *merry; mute* for *silent; dire* for *dreadful; sylvan* for *woody; ope* for *open;*

verbs: *quit* for *leave; quoth* for *said; list* for *listen; vanquish* for *conquer; hie* or *speed* for *hasten; smite* for *hit* or *strike;*

adverbs: *scarce* for *scarcely; of yore* for *of old; full* for *very; sore* for *sorely; haply* for *perhaps.*

Oppositional relations of correlated words will also be observed in synonymic trichotomy. *Cf.:*

neutral	elevated	colloquial
child	infant	kid
face	countenance	phiz
father	parent	dad (daddy)
girl	maiden	lass (lassie)

The use of archaic words is a common stylistic device. Older words are often rich in connotation. Archaisms owe attempts at their revival to a desire for novelty, a feeling for a less worn expression. Poets have always been the most active in reinstating the old words.

[1] *See:* Ullmann S. Semantic Universals. Universals of Language. Oxford, 1964.

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Here are some such examples of such archaisms:

oft — often
belike — probably, possibly
enow — enough
aloft — high
save — except, besides
well nigh — almost, nearly
yonder — there
woe — affliction, grief
changer — merchant
mere — pond, lake

For *oft,* when on my couch I lie
In vacant or in pensive mood,
They flash upon that inward eye
Which is the bliss of solitude
And then my heart with pleasure fills
And dances with the daffodils (Wordsworth).

*And when, days later, he applied for the results of his examinations, he learned that he had failed in everything **save** grammar* (London).

Words may undergo a peculiar kind of change of meaning which consists of the addition of what has been called an emotional connotation to their primary sense. That is to say, a word that originally served as a mere statement of fact gradually comes to be used to express the speaker's feeling with regard to the fact.

In many cases a stylistic synonym has an element of elevation in its meaning.

*The spirit of universal beauty, deep, mysterious, which the old painters, Titian, Giorgione, Botticelly, had known how to capture and transfer to the faces of their women — this flying beauty seemed to him imprinted on her **brow**, her hair, her lips, and in her eyes* (Galsworthy).

Compare the differentiation of emotional colouring that makes itself evident in the following stylistic synonyms in Russian and Ukrainian:

глаза — очи; лоб — чело; щеки — ланиты;
грядущий — будущий; вешний — весенний; город — град;
говорити — рскти; прийти — одвідати, завітати

*У Вали глаза были светлые, добрые, широко расставленные... А у Ули были большие, темнокарие — не **глаза, а очи,** с длинными ресницами,*

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молочными белками, черными таинственными зрач-
ками (Фадеев).

Грядущие годы таятся во мгле (Пушкин).

Его грядущее иль пусто иль темно (Лер-
монтов).

    И юный **град,**
    Полнощных стран краса и диво,
    Из тьмы лесов, из топи **блат**
    Вознесся пышно, горделиво (Пушкин).

Along with elevation of meaning there is the re-
verse process, that of degradation of meaning. See
such stylistic synonyms as: *begin — fire away* (com-
pare the Russian: *начинай, валяй, жарь*); *face —
muzzle; to steal — to pinch; to eat — to devour, to
gorge, to guzzle.*

"*It isn't what you say, so much as how you say it.
You do not mind my being frank, do you? I don't want
to hurt you*".

"*No, no*", he cried, while he secretly blessed her for
her kindness "**Fire away.**" *I've got to know an'
I'd sooner know from you than anybody else*" (London).

"*...I was*", Jim went on with a boastful, nervous
giggle. "*I was* **loaded right to the neck**..."
(London).

Elevation and degradation of meaning in stylistic
synonyms can be exemplified in such Ukrainian words
as: *говорити, мовити, ректи, верзти, базікати,
торочити, варнякати; прийти, завітати, оді-
дати, притягтися, пришвендяти*[1].

Compare the following Russian and Ukrainian sy-
nonyms belonging to stylistic types: *труд — ра-
бота, доказательство — аргумент, враг — недруг;
труд — робота, доказ — аргумент, ворог — недруг.*

Stylistic synonymy is not less characteristic in
replacing a word by a group of words or vice versa,
e. g. *to win, to gain a victory, to score a victory;
to prefer — to show preference, to resist — to offer re-
sistance,* etc.

See corresponding examples in Russian and Uk-
rainian:

*победить — одержать победу, бежать — обра-
титься в бегство, предпочитать — оказывать пред-
почтение, сопротивляться — оказывать сопро-
тивление;*

*перемогти — здобути перемогу; вірити — ви-
являти довір'я, чинити опір — опиратися.*

Numerous stylistic synonyms have been created
by shortening, e. g.

[1] Курс сучасної
української
літературної
мови/Під редакцією
акад. Булаховського,
vol. 1, 1951, p. 60.

brolly — umbrella
comfy — comfortable
cute — acute
gent — gentleman
lab — laboratory
mo — moment
math — mathematics
prof — professor
pram — perambulator
specs — spectacles
trig — trigonometry
tween — between

*Queerly affected, Soames went to the door; he heard
his father say: — Here, I am tired... And his mother
answering: — That's right, James; it'll be ever so much
more* **comfy** (Galsworthy).

"*Sir*", he said, "*you've been a* **gent** *to me, and
it's hard to say things*" (Galsworthy).

"*What is* **trig?**

"*Trigonometry*", Norman said. "*A higher form of*
math".

"*And what is* **math?**" *was the next question which,
somehow, brought the laugh on Norman* (London).

Words must harmonize with the context as appro-
priate to the subject under discussion, the linguistic
situation, the audience addressed and the writer's
or speaker's attitude towards the subject.

Emotional connotation makes words richer, more
expressive and colourful.

The following, for instance, are synonyms for the
word *home: domicile, dwelling, residence.*

Let us try to find usable synonyms for the word
home in such familiar sayings as *East or West home is
best* or *There is no place like home.* As a matter of fact,
none of the synonyms which we have mentioned would
give us exactly the same meaning and overtone as
the word *home* in this sentence. To substitute *domi-
cile, dwelling,* or *residence* deprives the sentence of its
flavour.

The same is true of such stylistic synonyms as,
for instance, *good-bye, adieu, farewell, so long* and
ta-ta. They are identical in meaning but quite diffe-
rent in their stylistic connotation and therefore not
always interchangeable:

good-bye (neutral) — *farewell* (elevated) — *adieu*
(facetious) — *so-long* (colloquial) — *ta-ta* (familiar
colloquial).

Sources of Synonyms

Distinction will be made between:

a) Synonyms which originated f r o m t h e n a t i v e e l e m e n t, mostly denoting different shades of common meaning, e. g.

fast — speedy — swift
handsome — pretty — lovely
bold — manful — steadfast.

Compare the Russian and Ukrainian: *большой, огромный; смелый, мужественный, стойкий, отважный; сміливий, хоробрий, мужній, стійкий, відважний.*

b) Synonyms created through t h e a d o p - t i o n o f w o r d s f r o m d i a l e c t s, e. g.

bairn — *child* (Scot.)
charm — *glamour* (Scot.)
long ago — *langsyne* (Scot.)
ghost — *bogle* (Scot. and North Engl.)
mother — *minny* (Scot.)
dark — *murk* (O. N.)
stammer — *mant* (Scot.)

c) Synonyms which owe their origin to f o r e i g n b o r r o w i n g s through crossing with other languages, such as

begin — *commence*
finish — *end*
help — *aid*
heaven — *sky*
raise — *rear*, etc.

The variety of sources from which English synonyms are assembled under the influence of foreign adoptions may be well illustrated by the following list:

Balk and *hinder* and *hamper* and *stay*, and, possibly, *clog*, are of native English origin. *Block* comes from early Teutonic through the French; *thwart* comes from the Norse; *stop* is probably a nautical term, meaning 'plug up', from a Low German, probably Dutch word, meaning 'tow'; *check* comes from the Persian through the French; *baffle, bar, delay, embarrass, encumber, foil, oppose, resist* and *retard* are from the French, though most of them are ultimately of Latin origin; *Frustrate, impede, interrupt, obstruct, prevent* and *act* (in *counteract*) are direct from Latin or formed in English from Latin elements.

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d) Synonyms connected with t h e n o n - l i t e - r a l f i g u r a t i v e u s e of words in pictorial language, e. g.

walk of life — *occupation, profession*
star-gazer — *dreamer*
pins and needles — *the creeps, the shivers*

e) synonyms — euphemisms and vulgarisms employed for certain stylistic purposes, e. g.

to lie — *to distort the fact*
drunk — *elevated*
university — *varsity*
business — *biz*
to spend — *to blow in*
to scold — *to call down*
repetition — *rep*
to steal — *shoop*

Ejaculations of pleasure afford good examples of synonymic forms of expression belonging to different stylistic types. Among such synonyms we find words which have a distinctly literary or poetic flavour, as *sublime* and *superb*, others seem to be more informal, colloquial, as *first-rate*, A1, A No. 1 (Am.), others are slangy words, as *stunning, ripping, topping, corking, bang-up, tiptop* and still others.

A great number of ideographic synonyms have the same meaning in certain collocations and another in others. Such synonyms are generally called **phraseological synonyms**. Words of this group belong to the same stylistic type.

We may say *wild berries* or *wild animals*, but we cannot say *savage berries* or *savage animals*.

Ardent and *earnest* are synonyms. We may say that *a fire is ardent*, but we should probably not describe *the flames* as *earnest*.

We may say *the word has two senses* or the *word has two meanings*, but we can't say *he is a man of meaning*, we should say *he is a man of sense*. We say both *the English language* and *the English tongue* but we say *mother tongue* and not *mother language*.

Phraseological synonymy may be illustrated by the use of such English words as: *piece, lump, morsel, slice, chunk* and *cake*.

Piece has a relatively wide range of application; it means "a fragment or part separated from the whole in any manner"[1], while its synonyms *lump, morsel, cake, slice* and *chunk* may be used only in certain collocations. We say, for instance, *a morsel of cake* or

[1] W e b s t e r's Collegiate Dictionary. Fifth Edition.

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some other tasty dish, *a morsel of bread*, but *a lump of sugar*, *a cake of soap* and *a chunk of wood*. We say *a slice of cheese*, *a slice of sausage*, *a slice of bread*.

The following words will exemplify phraseological synonyms in Russian: *ряд — шеренга; базар — рынок*.

We may say, for instance, *ряд соображений*, but we cannot say *шеренга соображений*. The words *ряд* and *шеренга* are synonyms, but we cannot use them in any collocation without differentiation. We say *мировой текстильный рынок*, for instance, but not *базар*.

Another point of interest is this: synonyms often belong to several groups. Frequently a synonymic group consists not of pair but of several synonyms. One of them is often a synonymic dominant defined by elements common to two synonyms of a given group. Due to polysemy one and the same word may enter different groups of synonyms, e. g.

ill — sick	*ill — mean, foul*
high — tall	*high — excellent*
close — shut	*close — end*
fast — durable, solid	*fast — swift*

In this way we have several antonyms, for instance:

ill — well	*ill — honest, decent*
high — low	*high — poor, cheap*
close — open	*close — begin*
fast — insecure, flimsy	*fast — slow*

In a number of instances a word which is an antonym to one of the words of the synonymic group is not the opposite to the other word of this group, e. g. *clear, limpid, transparent*, the word *dim* is an antonym to *clear*, but cannot serve as an antonym to *limpid*.

Compare the Russian and Ukrainian:

а) *ценный — дорогой, драгоценный*

б) *ценный — важный, значительный, существенный*

а) *цінний — дорогий, дорогоцінний, коштовний*

б) *цінний — важливий, значний, істотний*

а) *дешевый — несущественный*

б) *дешевий — неістотний*

But words that are very similar in meaning have fine shades of difference, and a student needs to be alive to these differences. For illustration examine

also the range of meanings that can be expressed by the various words we have to describe *walking*:

march	— марширувати, іти похідним порядком
pace	— шагати, ходити туди-сюди
patrol	— патрулювати
stalk	— 1) простувати; 2) підкрадатися
stride	— крокувати (великими шагами)
tread	— ступати
tramp	— іти пішки, тягтися
step out	— а) виходити; б) крокувати
prance	— ходити важно
strut	— ходити важно, напищено
plod	— блукати, тягтися
stroll	— прогулюватися, блукати
stagger	— іти хитаючись
sidle	— ходити бочком
trud	— іти з трудом, тягтися
toddle	— шкандибати, прогулюватися
ramble	— блукати без цілі для вдоволення
roam	— блукати, мандрувати
saunter	— прогулюватися, проходжуватися, фланірувати
meander	— блукати без цілі
lounge	— ліниво бродити
loiter	— тинятися без діла

Among synonyms we find words which have the same literal meaning but are appropriate only to definite contexts, on particular linguistic occasions, e. g. *horse*, colourless, general and neutral in tone; *steed*, literary; *nag*, colloquial; *plug*, slang; *courser*, *palfrey*, *charger*, poetic.

There is difference, for instance, between *violin* and *fiddle*, *a sailor* and *a mariner*. There are *violinists*, but no *fiddlers* in a symphony orchestra; there are probably *old sailors*, but certainly no *ancient mariners* in the British Navy.

It must be held in mind that in living speech the meaning of a word is greatly affected by the phrasal combination in which the word habitually occurs. Examples to illustrate the statement may be given in numbers.

Let us take for illustration a synonymic group involving the idea of number. One may speak of *a bevy of quail*, but in speaking of birds in general, the collective word called for is *flock*. In other instances still different words are called for, as exemplified by the following phrasal combinations: *Pack of wolves, gang of thieves, shoal of porpoises, herd of*

buffalo or *cattle, troop of children, covey of partridges, galaxy of beauty, horde of ruffians, heap of rubbish, drove of cattle, mob of blackguards, school of whales, congregation of worshipers, corps of engineers, band of robbers, swarm of locusts, crowd of people, a host of golden daffodils.*

A long standing result of vocabulary studies is the recognition of the fact that the development of synonymic differentiation of linguistic units reveals the systematic character of the vocabulary.

It should be apparent that synonymy has its own peculiarities in any language. English is characterized by the abundance of foreign borrowings which contributed significantly to the development of synonymic group of words in various semantic fields, but the importance of the native element should not be ignored. New oppositions are continually developing due to coinages on the native basis. Vocabulary always remains the 'open end' of language. Affixation, compounding, conversion, clipping and blends give new formations and bring them into synonymic correlation with already existing words.

Word-making on the metasemiotic level compounding, in particular, presents at this point a major linguistic interest.

¹ Gr. *anti* — against. *onyma* — name.

ANTONYMS¹

Semantic opposition of words is a fairly common linguistic development. By a n t o n y m s we mean words different in sound, and characterized by semantic polarity of their denotational meaning. The concept of antonymy bears obvious relevance to synonymity. Synonymic words have essentially the same diagnostic components and can be interchangeable in many but not all contexts. Antonymous semantic relations are also restricted to certain contexts. Like synonyms, perfect and complete, antonyms are not a frequent occurrence.

Linguistically, distinction must naturally be made between p a r a d i g m a t i c antonyms, i. e. two words revealing regular semantic polarity in their invariant meaning, e. g. *thin layer* :: *thick layer; thin forest* :: *thick forest; thick slice* :: *thin slice,* etc. and words which may be contrasted on the s y n t a g- m a t i c axis, only in certain contexts of their use. Thus, for instance, the adjectives *fat* and *thin* are brought together as antonyms in collocations like *a fat man* :: *a thin man.*

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The opposite *to peculiar* in '*It is a custom peculiar to some countries*' is *common;* but the opposite of '*He has peculiar tastes*' is not '*He has common tastes*' but '*He has average tastes*'. Thus, for instance, *man* :: *woman, lion* :: *lioness, young* :: *old* stand in regular contrast with the second member of each pair marked and we can use the first member, the unmarked one, to subsume the second but not vice versa. If we say '*There was a lion in the cage*', we do not exclude the possibility that it might be a lioness, but '*There was a lioness in the cage*'is specific. Similarly, we may speak of *man of worth,* we may say all to a man without excluding women. Although *horse* in some contexts may stand in contrast with *mare, horse* can often be employed to include mares, as we can use *geese* including *ganders.*

Further examples are: *long* and *short, light* and *heavy, big* and *small, short* and *tall.* In these pairs one member is unmarked, as can be seen in the fact that we can ask: *How long did your work last?* or *How tall was your fence* without implying that the one was *long* and the other was *tall.* The lack of antonymous mark allows also to say *It is three feet high* and the like. The semantic value of the word is signalled by the context.

It is of interest to note that semantic polarity of words reveals itself only in certain categories of words. The first to be mentioned here are words denoting some qualitative feature of a substance such as: *cold* :: *warm; long* :: *short; difficult* :: *easy; beautiful* :: *ugly; beauty* :: *ugliness,* etc.; words denoting relations of space and time, e. g. *above — under, early* :: *late, begin* :: *finish,* etc.

Instances are not few when a polysemic word has several antonyms. In its variant meanings the adjective '*cold*', for example, has such antonyms as *ardent, passionate, fervid;* the adjective '*warm*' in its figurative senses stands in contrast to such words as: *indifferent, dull.*

A word in its central (primary) meaning can have no antonym at all but when used figuratively it develops oppositional semantic relations and has corresponding antonyms. Thus, for instance, the adjective *green* as the designation of colour has no antonym, but the opposite of *green* may appear when it is used metaphorically, e. g. *green winter* м'яка, безсніжна зима :: *severe winter* сувора зима.

The adjective *blue* has no antonym in its denotational meaning; its opposite appears only when the

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word is used figuratively implying 'gloomy', 'melancholy' and is contrasted to *bright* or *cheerful*, e. g. *to look blue, things look blue*, etc.

Antonyms are often helpful in defining the exact meaning of the given word and its synonyms. Thus, for instance, *green peas, green meadows* we see that the word *green* is a name of colour. But comparing such phrases as *green fruit* and *ripe fruit* we see that *green* may also mean *unripe, immature*.

The opposites of words do not always suggest themselves immediately. If the word *fast*, for instance, is used in the sense of 'fixed firmly', then the antonym will be *loose* or *insecure*. When *fast* means 'rapid', the antonym will be *slow* or one of its synonyms such as: *leisurely, deliberate, sluggish*. When *fast* means 'dissipated' or 'pleasure seeking', as in the phrase *a fast company*, we must find an antonym among such words as *temperate, sober, moderate, quiet* or *modest*.

Semantic oppositions occupy a special place in word-formation. The regular types of derivational antonyms in English are coinages with the negative prefixes: **un-, il-/in-/ir-,** and **dis-,** where contrast is implied in the morphemic structure of the word itself, e. g. *well :: unwell, legal :: illegal, possible :: impossible, complete :: incomplete, regular :: irregular, arrange :: disarrange*, etc.

Semantic polarity is obvious in such suffixal derivatives as *prewar :: postwar* or words with the suffix *-less* substituted for the suffix *-ful,* e. g. *artful :: artless, careful :: careless*, etc.

In most cases antonyms go in pairs: *day :: night; present :: absent, early :: late*, etc.

Groups of three or more words brought together as opposites are commonly reduced to a binary opposition, e. g. *difficult* and its synonym *hard* may be viewed in contrast to their common antonym 'easy', *broad* and *wide* may be contrasted to 'narrow', 'rapid' and 'fast' stand in contrast to 'slow'.

Stylistic aspects of antonyms also merit consideration. Semantic polarity of words is often used in phraseology to produce stylistic effects, intensity or emphasis of meaning, e. g. *go through thick and thin, go hot and cold, in black and white, the ups and downs of fortune, sink or swim, neither here nor there, the long and the short of it*, etc.

Antonyms are fairly common in proverbs and proverbial sayings, e. g.

(a) *Books are a guide of youth and an entertainment for age.*

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(b) *Hasty love is soon hot and soon cold.*

(c) *Past pain is pleasure (= Sweet is pleasure after pain).*

(d) *Two blacks do not make a white.*

The use of antonyms is fairly common in the so-called a n t i t h e s i s in scientific English and pictorial language, in literary prose and poetry.

(a) *The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freemen and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstruction of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes* (K. Marx and F. Engels, "*Manifesto of the Communist Party*").

(b) *It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of light, it was the season of darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us...* (Dickens).

A MADRIGAL

Youth is full of pleasure, age is full of care,
Youth like summer morn, age like winter weather.
Youth like summer brave, age like winter bare.
Youth is full of sport, age's breath is short,
Youth is nimble, age is lame,
Youth is hot and bold, age is weak and cold,
Youth is wild, and age is tame,
Age, I do abhor thee, youth, I do adore thee.
Oh! My Love, my Love is young. (Shakespeare).

HOMONYMS[1]

[1] Gr. *homos* — the same, *onyma* — name.

The problem of homonymy in Modern English constitutes one of the stumbling blocks in studying the language. Many, if not all, languages show a very large tolerance of homonymy.

Two or more words i d e n t i c a l i n s o u n d and s p e l l i n g but d i f f e r e n t i n m e a n i n g a n d d i s t r i b u t i o n are called **homonyms.**

The sameness of name combined with the difference in meaning is a most frequent occurrence in Modern

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English. The abundance of homonyms in English is well known. It finds its explanation in the monosyllabic character of English, the predominance of free forms among the most frequent roots and the analytic structures of the language. There is also so called interparadigmatic homonymy that results from the fact that the root, the stem and the grammatical form of the word may be identical in sound.

It is of interest to observe that most homonyms are monosyllabic words. Monosyllabism that was greatly increased by the loss of inflections contributed very much to increasing the number of homonyms. Of 2540 homonyms given in Oxford Dictionary 89% are monosyllabic words and only 9,1% are words of two syllables.

Sources of Homonymy

Sources of homonymy may be different. Distinction must naturally be made between:

a) homonyms resulting from convergent sound development, when two or three words of different origin occasionally coincide in sound;

b) homonyms resulting from polysemy through divergent development of meaning.

By the nature of things, both may be combined with the loss of inflections and other processes.

It has been customary to distinguish between:

1) **Absolute (full) homonyms** or words i d e n-
t i c a l b o t h i n p r o n u n c i a t i o n a n d i n
s p e l l i n g b u t d i f f e r e n t i n meaning, e. g.

bear (ведмідь) — *bear* (носити, родити)
bay (затока, бухта) — *bay* (гавкання, гавкіт)
pale (кіл, паля) — *pale* (блідий, тьмяний)

2) **Homographs** or **heteronyms** are words i d e n-
t i c a l i n s p e l l i n g but d i f f e r e n t i n s o u n d
a n d m e a n i n g, e. g.

bow (поклін) — *bow* (лук)
row (ряд) — *row* (шум, гвалт)

3) **Homophones** or words i d e n t i c a l i n
s o u n d b u t d i f f e r e n t i n s p e l l i n g a n d
m e a n i n g, e. g.

son (син) — *sun* (сонце)
pair (пара) — *pear* (груша)

There are instances when words are quite different in meaning but identical in some of their grammatical forms, e. g.

bound — past and Participle II from *bind* — в'язати

bound (to bound) — плигати, скакати
found — past and Participle II from *find* — знаходити
found (to found) — плавити, виливати
the verb *to lie* — лежати and *to lie* — говорити неправду are not differentiated in the Present tense but differ in the paradigmatic forms of the Past tense *(to lie — lay,* to *lie — lied)* and the analytical forms with Participle II. Such homoforms are 'partial' homonyms as contrasted to absolute (full) homonymy when words belonging to one and the same lexico-grammatical class have homonymic forms in all the paradigm.

Trnka illustrates absolute homonymy by such examples as *knight* — лицар, *night* — ніч; *die* — вмирати and *dye* — фарбувати; French *louer* — хвалити and *louer* — позичати. According to Trnka the necessary meaning in such cases is signalled by the sense of the whole context, whereas in case of partial homonymy the value of the word is made clear by its syntactic relations, not only by the whole context (*cf. he rose — the rose*)[1].

Identical combinations of phonemes may be represented in different ways. This is the result of changes occurring during the history of the language. H o m o-
p h o n e s are distinguished by means of alternative spelling. The writing system of the language makes thus many distinctions that are not apparent in the spoken language. Examples are numerous; the following are a few of the more spectacular ones:

[rait] — *rite, right, write, wright*
[ru:d] — *rude, rood*
[feiz] — *faze, phase*
[ail] — *isle, aisle*

In a highly inflected language homonymy is even less likely to cause confusion. Phonemically identical morphemes in different classes of words may be distinguished on the grounds of their different environments. It is only when each pair of homonyms can occupy the same position in the same sentence that misunderstanding may occur.

Russian: *брак* — spoilage and *брак* — marriage, *мир* — the universe and *мир* — peace, *ключ* — source, spring, fountain and *ключ* — key can never have caused real difficulty.

Familiar examples of English homonyms are:
see (бачити) — *sea* (море); *sight* (зір, погляд) — site (місцеположення, ділянка) — *cite* (цитувати);

[1] T r n k a B. Bemerkungen zur Homonymie.— "A Prague School Reader in Linguistics", 1964, p. 303.

vain (марний) — *vein* (вена) — *vane* (флюгер, крило); *coarse* (грубий) — *course* (курс); *ear* (вухо) — *ear* (колос); *light* (легкий) — *light* (світло); *meet* (зустрічати)—*meat* (м'ясо); *piece* (шматок, кусок)— *peace* (мир); *some* (деякий, декілька) — *sum* (сума); *tear* (рватися) — *tear* (сльоза); *bow* (лук) — *bow* (поклін).

The creation of a great number of homonyms was greatly facilitated by the modification undergone by numerous loanwords on their separate routes into English and semantic changes in the course of their further development.

The following words borrowed from foreign languages and becoming homonyms in English will afford good examples of this process:

Angle (AS. *angel, angul*) — a fishhook or a fishing tackle;

angle (Lat. *angulus*) — angle, corner;

Arm (AS. *arm, earm*) — a human upper limb;

arm (Fr. *armer*, from Lat. *armare, arma*) — a weapon of offence or defence;

Bank (Scand.) — a mound, pile or ridge, esp. of earth;

bank (Fr. *banque*) — for "money";

Fair (from Lat. *feria*) — a holiday or feast;

fair (AS. *faeger*) — pleasing;

Base (Fr.— Lat.; Fr. *bas*, Late Lat. *bassus* — short low) — low, mean;

base (Fr.— Lat. — Gr.; Fr. *base*, Lat. *basis*, Gr. *basis*) — a foundation;

Host (O. Fr.— Lat.; O. Fr. *hoste* — an inn-keeper, Lat. *hospitem* — accusative of hospis) — 1) *a host*, entertainer of guests, 2) *a guest* (archaic);

host (O. Fr.— Lat.; O. Fr. *an army, a troop*, Lat. *hostem* — accusative of *hostis*, a stranger, an enemy), a large number; (archaic) an army;

Vice (Fr.— Lat.; Fr. *vice*, Lat. *vitium*) — a blemish depravity;

vice (Fr.— Lat.; Fr. *vis* — a vice; Lat. *vis, vitis* — a vice)—an instrument with two jaws between which a thing may be gripped usually by operation of a screw, so as to leave the hands free for working upon it.

Homonyms may be created by shortening.

The following words afford graphic examples of this process.

The word *proposition* reduced by shortening to *prop* becomes a homonym of the word *prop* (propeller) — aviation slang.

The word *repetition* reduced in school slang to *rep* becomes a homonym to *rep* meaning "penc" (a kind of cloth).

The word *advertisement* reduced to *ad* is a homonym to the verb *add*. Further examples are:

cab	— cabriolet
cab	— cabin
cab	— cabbage (slang)
pop	— popular (concert)
(to) pop	— to thrust, to push

The history of form-words, prepositions and conjunctions will give sufficient evidence to show this.

The following examples are highly illustrative:

provided	— Participle II from *provide*
provided	— cj. коли, з умовою
regarding	— Participle I from *regard*
regarding	— prp. відносно
owing	— Participle I from *owe*
owing (to)	— prp. завдяки
right	— adj.
right	— modal word
just	— adverb
just	— particle of emphatic precision

The same is true of such adverbs in Russian as *шагом* related to the ablative case-form of the noun *шаг*, or, say, *рядом, даром* related to the ablative case-form of the corresponding nouns *ряд, дар*[1]. Similarly in Ukrainian: *рядом, чудом* are adverbs homonymous with the ablative case-forms of the corresponding nouns *ряд, чудо*.

благодаря	— prp.
благодаря	— participle
относительно	— prp.
относительно	— adverb
точно	— cj.
точно	— adverb

In "*Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*" compiled by W. Skeat, an English lexicographer, we find 783 homonymic groups. From these:

621	groups have	2	homonyms	
127	"	"	3	"
29	"	"	4	"
3	"	"	5	"
3	"	"	6	"

[1] *See:* Виноррадов В.В. Об омонимии в смежных явленнях.— Вопросы языкознания. 1960, No. 5.

Out of 783 homonymic groups 170 groups consist of homonyms of native origin, 277 groups of native and foreign homonyms and 336 groups of foreign homonyms.

It should be noted that the list of homonyms is not exhaustive in so far as it leaves a part of the field untouched.

Skeat does not distinguish between wholly and partially homonymical words. In his list of homonyms he makes no reference at all to lexical-grammatical homonyms closely associated with conversion, such as:

$fight_1$ $walk_1$
$fight_2$ $walk_2$
say_1 $look_1$
say_2 $look_2$
$fall_1$ cut_1
$falls_2$ cut_2
        $jump_1$
        $jump_2$

Instances like these may be adduced in numbers.

Among lexical-grammatical hymonyms we should distinguish the following:

a) those found within the limits of one and the same part of speech, such as:

$bound_1$, to bind $found_1$, to find
(to) $bound_2$ (to) $found_2$

b) those referring to different parts of speech:

$light_1$
$light_2$

In analysing homonyms it is sometimes exceedingly helpful to find their corresponding synonyms, thus making clear distinction between polysemy and homonymy.

Bay — затока and *bay* — гавкіт are, no doubt, homonyms, which makes itself quite evident, for their synonyms *gulf* and *bark(ing)* have absolutely nothing in common.

The same is true of such homonyms as, for instance, *long*—довгий, (to) *long* — жадати (their synonyms are: *lengthy* and *desire*).

Homonyms are so frequent an occurrence in most languages that we are often unaware of their use until they are specially pointed out. Peculiar is the use of homonyms for the sake of fun, for stylistic purposes,

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in puns: *Don't trouble troubles until troubles trouble you.*

A poor Frenchman, they say, was once puzzled by the homonyms of the English word *fast* in the following sentences:

*If you give the horse no food, you make him **fast**, but then he cannot run **fast**. If you tie him **fast**, he cannot run at all.*

Not less characteristic is the following example: When asked what they did with all their fruit the Californian replied: "*We eat what we **can**, and what we can't, we **can***".

The existence of homoforms in various languages as relevant to the analytical and synthetical features in their structure is one of the most interesting questions in grammar learning and is not to be confused with homonymy on the lexical level.

Homoforms are frequently used for stylistic purposes in other languages. Familiar examples are:

Защитник вольности и *прав*
В сем случае совсем не *прав*. (Пушкин)

А что же делает *супруга*,
Одна в отсутствии *супруга*? (Пушкин)

Ты белых лебедей кормила,
Откинув тяжесть черных *кос*,
Я рядом плыл, сошлись кормила,
Закатный луч был странно *кос*. (Брюсов)

Constructional homonymity is often the basis for many jokes, and a convenient medium for deliberate ambiguity.

Вы, щенки, за мной ступайте,
Будет вам *по калачу*
Да смотрите ж не болтайте,
А не то *поколочу*.

Сказал раз медник, *таз куя*, своей жене, *тоскуя*,
Задам-ка детям *таску* я и разгоню *тоску* я.

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¹ Gr. '*para*' — beside, *onyma* — name.

PARONYMS¹

Somewhat related to homonyms are **paronyms**, i. e. words a l i k e i n f o r m, but d i f f e r e n t i n m e a n i n g. Paronymy is a linguistic development universal in character, not specifically English.

Examples are:

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1) words having one and the same root but different derivational prefixes, e. g. *precede* — предшествовать and *proceed* — продолжать; *prescription* — предписание, *proscription* — объявление вне закона, *preposition* — предлог, *proposition* — предложение; *anterior* — передний, предшествующий, *interior* — внутренняя сторона, внутренний.

Cf.: **Russian** and **Ukrainian**:

приводить — проводить; приходить — проходить;

приводити — проводити; приходити — проходити.

French: *amener* — приводить, *ammener* — уводить; *prevenir* — предупреждать, *provenir* — происходить; *préposition* — предлог, *proposition* — предложение; *antérieur* — предшествующий, *intérieur* — внутренний.

2) words having one and the same root but different derivational suffixes, e. g. *popular* — народный, популярный; *populous* — густонаселенный, многолюдный.

Cf.: French: *argenté* — посеребренный, *argentin* — серебристый; *populaire* — народный, популярный, *populeux* — многолюдный, густонаселенный.

3) words derived from different roots, e. g. *complement* — дополнение, *compliment* — комплимент, похвала, любезность.

Cf.: French: *complement — compliment.*

Paronyms offer difficulties in foreign language learning. Regrettable mistakes occur if the existence of such linguistic units is overlooked.

SUGGESTED ASSIGNMENTS.
POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Give comments on the sources of synonyms in the English vocabulary.

2. Get ready to discuss the criteria of synonymity.

3. Comment on the theory of oppositions as being applied to the study of synonymy.

4. Give comments on componential analysis as being used in the study of synonyms.

5. What do we mean by a synonymic dominant?

6. Give a few examples to illustrate the statement that for every stylistically coloured word we may find its stylistically neutral counterpart, a synonym to which it stands in contrast.

7. Delimitation of synonyms based on the substitution test reveals in the best way possible how far synonyms are interchangeable. Can you give a few examples to illustrate the statement?

8. Give examples of synonyms which owe their origin to foreign borrowings.

9. Illustrate the statement that the criteria of synonymity based on semantic similarity stands in contrast to the antonymous polarity in meaning.

10. Give a synonymic group of synonyms involving the idea of excellent quality.

11. It is common knowledge that due to polysemy one and the same word may enter different groups of synonyms. Can you give your examples to illustrate the statement?

12. What do we mean by the law of distribution of synonyms and the law of synonymic attraction?

13. Illustrate phraseological synonymy by the use of such English words as: *piece, lump, morsel, slice, chunk* and *cake.*

14. Give examples of synonymic words belonging to different stylistic types.

15. Numerous stylistic synonyms have been created by shortening. Give examples of such coinages and comment on their use in actual speech.

16. Comment on the differentiation of the following synonymic groups of words:

a) *ask :: beg :: implore;*

b) *fast :: rapid :: swift :: quick;*

c) *to surprise :: to wonder :: to astonish :: to amaze :: to astound :: to marvel;*

d) *experience :: undergo :: suffer :: sustain.*

17. Give a few examples to illustrate the fact that antonymous semantic relations of words can be restricted to certain contexts. Make comparison with other languages.

18. Antonyms are often helpful in defining the exact meaning of a given word and its synonyms. Can you illustrate the statement?

19. Give a few examples to show that polysemic words can have several antonyms. Make comparison with other languages.

20. Give comments on the oppositional relations between the adjectives: *old:: young, short :: long.*

21. Illustrate the statement that a word in its central meaning can have no antonym at all, but when used figuratively it develops polar similarity.

22. Get ready to discuss stylistic aspects of antonyms. Give examples of their effective use in

pictorial language. Make your analysis concrete by comparison with other languages.

23. Semantic polarity of words is often used as a stylistic device in phraseology and proverbial sayings. Give examples of antonyms used as a stylistic device in phraseology and proverbial sayings.

24. Give examples of interparadigmatic homonymy in English that results from the fact that the root, the stem and the grammatical form of the word may be identical in sound.

25. What are the sources of English homonyms?

26. How can homonyms be classified?

27. Illustrate the statement that phonemic morphemes in different classes of words may be distinguished on the ground of their different environment.

28. The creation of a great number of homonyms in English was greatly facilitated by the modifications undergone by numerous foreign borrowings. Can you illustrate the statement?

29. Give examples of the use of homonyms for stylistic purposes.

30. Give comments on paronymy as a linguistic development universal in character, not specifically English.

PART IV

The English Vocabulary as a System

ELEMENTS MAKING UP
THE ENGLISH VOCABULARY

CHAPTER 9

The vocabulary of Modern English is a product of a number of epochs. The existence of the English language began when Germanic tribes had occupied all the lowlands of Great Britain. The historical records of English do not go so far back as this because the oldest written texts in the English language (in Anglo-Saxon) date from about 700 and are thus removed by about three centuries from the beginnings of the language.

The importance of this purely Germanic basis is often overlooked, largely because of the large number of foreign words incorporated in the present-day vocabulary. Many studies of the English language give undue prominence to the foreign element, thus leaving an incorrect impression of the foundation of the language. Some foreign scholars[1] assumed that the development of English was mainly due to borrowings from foreign sources.

But an examination of actual usage, as opposed to mere presence in a dictionary, shows how important the native words are.

Despite the borrowings already made before the Anglo-Saxons settled in Britain and despite the large-scale borrowings of the later periods native words are still at the core of the language. They stand for fundamental things dealing with everyday objects and things. The native stock includes auxiliary and modal verbs, most verbs of the strong conjugation, pronouns, most numerals, prepositions and conjunctions. The frequency value of these elements in the English vocabulary is not open to doubt. Ordinary English and the vocabulary of colloquial speech embrace fewer loan-words than, say, the language of technical literature. Almost all commonly used English words are Anglo-Saxon in origin.

It has been customary to subdivide the native element of the English vocabulary into words of the Indo-European stock and those of common German origin. The words having cognates in the vocabularies of different Indo-European languages belong to the oldest layer. Well-known examples of such words are terms of kinship:

father (O. E. *foeder*); German — *Vater*; Greek — *pater*; Lat. — *pater*;

brother (O. E. *bropor*); German — *Bruder*, Russian — брат, Lat.— *frater*;

[1] *See:*
S m i t h L. P.
The English Language.
London, 1922.
B r a d l e y H. The
Making of English.
London, 1931.

mother (O. E. *modor*); German — *Mutter*; Russian — мать; Lat.— *mater*, Greek — *meter*;

daughter (O. E. *dohtor*); German — *Tochter*, Russian — дочь; Greek — *thygater*.

son (O. E. *sunu*); German — *Sohn*, Russian — сын; Sanskrit *sunu* from su, *su* рождать.

Common Indo-European elements sometimes show considerable differentiation. Such are some names for everyday objects and things and natural phenomena; *fire* (O. E. *fyr*); German — *Feuer*; Greek — *pyr*.

moon (O. E. *mona*); German — *Mond*; Greek — *mene*;

night (O. E. *niht*); German — *Nacht*; Russian — ночь; Lat.— *nox*; Sanskrit — *nakt*;

tree (O. E. *treo*, *treow*); Russian — дерево; Greek — *drus-oak*; Sanskrit *dru* forest.

water (O. E. *woeter*); German — *Wasser*; Russian — вода; Greek — *hydoe*; Lat. *unda*.

In the Indo-European stock we also find such English words as: *bull, crow, cat, fish, hare, hound, goose, mouse, wolf*.

Here belong also quite a number of verbs: *to bear, to come, to know, to lie, to mow, to sit, to sow, to stand, to work, to tear*[1], etc.

Adjectives belonging to this part of the vocabulary may be illustrated by such as: *hard, light, quick, right, red, slow, raw, thin, white*.

Most numerals in some Indo-European languages are also of the same origin.

Words of the common Germanic stock, i. e. words having their parallels in German, Norwegian, Dutch, Icelandic. This part of the English vocabulary contains a great number of semantic groups. The following list will illustrate their general character: *ankle, breast, bridge, brook, bone, calf, cheek, chicken, coal, hand, heaven, hope, life, meal, shirt, ship, summer, winter* and many more. Quite a number of adverbs and pronouns also belong here.

It is of interest to note that words of the native stock are characterized by a wide semantic range and grammatical valency. Their high frequency value and developed polysemy are also well known. The native element is mostly monosyllabic.

It has been approximately estimated that more than 60% of the English vocabulary are borrowings and about 40% are words native in origin. This is due to specific conditions of the development of English.

The vocabulary of any language is particulary responsive to every change in the life of the speaking

[1] *See:*
А м о с о в а Н. Н.
Этимологические
основы словарного
состава современного
английского языка.
М., 1956.

community, to direct linguistic contacts, political, economic and cultural relationships between nations.

THE FOREIGN ELEMENT
IN THE ENGLISH VOCABULARY

The English vocabulary falls into elements of different etymology.

A study of loan-words is not only of etymological interest. Words give us valuable information as to the life of the nations concerned. The linguistic evidence drawn from such observation is a very important supplement to our knowledge. Loan-words have justly been called the milestones of philology.

The process of borrowing from other languages is due to the more or less direct contact of one nation with another. This is to be regarded as a general linguistic phenomenon.

No language is so composite as English; none so varied as to its vocabulary. Strangely enough the Celts, who were the original inhabitants of England, contributed little or nothing to this language save a few names of places. But in the 6th century, the invading Angles, Saxons and Jutes brought over the basic structure of "English" speech, most common words, and for 500 years "English" was almost wholly a Germanic language. Then William the Conqueror sailed across the Channel and, by the Battle of Hastings in 1066, Norman-French was superimposed on the West Germanic dialects. For many generations these two languages ranged side by side, the one being spoken by the Norman overlords, the other by the Saxon vassals and serfs.

As a matter of fact, three languages have contributed such extensive shares to the English wordstock as to deserve particular attention. These are: Greek, Latin and French. Together these languages account for so overwhelming a proportion of the borrowed element in the English vocabulary that the rest of it seems much smaller by comparison.

Loan-words have come through travel, commerce, literature and in many other ways. Accurate studies of certain parts of the loan element in English have not yet been made. To discuss this subject with even an approach to completeness would fill a whole volume.

By tracing the origin of loan-words and analysing the ways by which they penetrated into the English language we can throw some light on the relations between England and other countries. Even the barest enumeration of the successive periods of borrowings will remind us of the history of the English people.

The influence of a foreign language may be exerted in two ways, through the spoken word, by personal contact between the two peoples, or through the written word, by indirect contact not between the peoples themselves but through their literatures. The former way was more productive in the earlier stages, and the latter has become increasingly important in more recent times.

It comes quite natural that words borrowed in a purely oral manner, as compared to literary or bookish borrowings, have been quite successfully assimilated to the English language and are often hardly recognizable as foreign in origin.

A consideration of the foreign element in language is not easy. A complete discussion of the borrowed element in Modern English is hardly possible because of the lack of accurate studies of the loan material, although some ideas of its character, as well as of the time of its introduction, may be given with sufficient accuracy for general purposes. In our study of the foreign element we shall leave out of account entirely words occurring in Old and Middle English but lost to the modern speech.

There are various degrees of "foreignness" (H. Marchand). Words may appear as complete aliens borrowed from a foreign language without any change of the foreign sound and spelling. These words are immediately recognizable as foreign words.

They retain their sound-form, graphic peculiarities and grammatical characteristics and seem not to have broken their ties with the parent language completely.

Take such French borrowings as: *ballet*, *bouquet*, *carte blanche*, *chauffeur*, *coquette*, *coup d'état*, *débris*, *finesse*, *phenomenon-phenomena*, *ragoût*, *résumé*, *régime*, *rôle*, *trait*, *table d'hôte*, *vis-à-vis*, etc.

Certain foreign words are not felt to be aliens. They are completely or partially assimilated with already existing native words and sometimes become indistinguishable from the native element.

Perfectly naturalized in usage they have been accommodated to the English language by the substitution of English sounds for the unusual foreign ones. Such are, for instance, many Scandinavian borrow-

ings: *call, die, husband, fellow, kill, law, loose, low, meet, skirt, skin, sky,* etc.

Naturalization of French borrowings is well known. A few examples will suffice for illustration:

river — (Fr. rivière)
mountain — (Fr. montaigne, Lat. mons, montis)
flower — (Fr. fleur)
chain — (Fr. chaine)

A foreign word may be combined with a native affix, e. g.

troublesome (trouble — French by origin + the English suffix *some*); *companionship (companion* — French by origin + the English suffix *ship); faultless (fault* — French by origin + the English suffix *less*); uncertain* (the English prefix *un* + *certain* — French by origin); *unconversable* (the English prefix *un* + *conversable* — French by origin).

Relative borrowings or words that have somewhat changed their outer aspect and got rather far in sense from what they used to be in their native sphere, e. g. *travel* comes from the French *travailler* — to "toil".

The influence of one language upon another also makes itself felt in t r a n s l a t i o n - l o a n s, so-called calques.

E n g l i s h	F r e n c h
by heart	*par coeur*
local colouring	*couleur locale*
knight errant	*chevalier errant*

E n g l i s h	L a t i n
mother tongue	*lingua materna*
a slip of the tongue	*lapsus linguae*

E n g l i s h	G e r m a n
thing-in-itself	*Ding an sich*
class struggle	*Klassenkampf*
surplus value	*Mehrwert*
masterpiece	*Meisterstück*
swan-song	*Schwanengesang*
world-famous	*weltberühmt*

E n g l i s h	U k r a i n i a n
the populists	народники
self-criticism	самокритика
springization	яровизація
collective farm	колгосп

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state farm	радгосп
production committee	виробничий комітет
State Economic Council	Держекономрада
Moral Code of the Builder of Communism	Моральний кодекс будівника комунізму
Communist Labour Shock worker	Ударник комуністичної праці
Atomic Powered Ice-Breaker	Атомний криголам

Most of the given words are international in character. Other examples are:

Procrustean bed — Прокрустове ложе.

(After a legendary highwayman of Attica who tied his victims upon an iron bed and stretched or cut off their legs to adapt them to its length. He was slain by Theseus).

* *Sword of Damocles* — Дамоклів меч.

(A flatterer whom Dionysius of Syracuse rebuked for his constant praises of the happiness of kings by seating him at a royal banquet beneath a sword hung by a single hair).

Sisyphean labour — Сізіфова робота.

(A crafty and avaricious king of Corinth condemned in Hades to roll up a hill a huge stone, which constantly rolled back).

Heel of Achilles — Ахіллесова п'ята.

(The hero of Homer's Iliad who became the Greek ideal of youthful strength, beauty and valour. He was fatally wounded by Paris's arrow, which pierced his heel, where alone he was vulnerable).

Translation-loans are not less characteristic in phraseology:

E n g l i s h	F r e n c h
It goes without saying	*Cela va sans dire*
with lost body	*à corps perdu*
with sure stroke	*à coup sûr*
in mass, in a body	*en masse*
at any cost	*coûte que coûte*
better late than never	*mieux vaut tard que jamais*
fall ill	*tomber malade*
f ne feathers make fine birds	*la belle plume fait le bel oiseau*
make believe	*faire croire*

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not at all	pas du tout
reason for being	raison d'être
to a good cat, a good rat	à bon chat, bon rat.

English	Latin
either Caesar or nothing	aut Caesar aut nihil
on the Greek Calends	ad Kalendas Graecas
second to none	nulli secundus
so many men, so many minds	quot homines, tot sententia
there is a medium in all things	est modus in rebus
to take something with a grain of salt.	cum grano salis

Phrases from foreign sources (barbarisms) are not often fully acclimatized. They are almost always used as aliens printed in italics, or in inverted commas; such are many French phrases, e. g.:

à propos	in connection with
bon mot	a witty saying
de trop	too much or too many, superfluous
en règle	by rule
entre nous	between ourselves
en route	on or along the way
façon de parler	way of speaking
faux pas	a false step, a slip in behaviour
fin do siècle	end of the century
laisser faire	non-interference
na'ure morte	still-life
mal-à-propos	ill-timed, out of place
mon cher	my dear
par exemple	for example
savoir faire	the knowing how to act; tact
vis-à-vis	opposite, face to face

*Sooner in fact than own children, they preferred to concentrate to the growing tendency — **fin de siècle** as it was called* (Galsworthy).

*From the first Soames had nosed out Dartie's nature from underneath the plausibility, **savoir faire,** and good looks, which had puzzled Winifred, her mother and even James, to the extent of permitting the fellow to marry his daughter without bringing anything into settlement — a fatal thing to do* (Galsworthy).

*"My **laissez-faire** has cost you two hundred odd thousand pounds"* (Galsworthy).

*But it's the backwaters that make the main stream. By Jove, that's **a mot,** or is it a bull; and are bulls **mots** or **mots** bulls* (Galsworthy).

(a mot — a witty saying)

*If Dad had known. She put her arms round his neck to disguise her sense of **à propos*** (Galsworthy).
(her sense of à propos — her sense of what was appropriate to the occasion).

Here are some examples of Latin and Greek words and stockphrases which occur in Modern English with a good deal of frequency. Most of them have won a permanent place for themselves not only in English usage but in other languages as well.

Latin	English
apriori	presumptive, without examination
ad hoc	for this case alone
ad infinitum	to infinity
ad libitum	at pleasure
de facto	in point of fact
de jure	from the law
ex cathedra	from the chair, with high authority
ex officio	in virtue of office
festina lente	hasten slowly
in re	in the matter of
rara avis	a rare bird, paragon
sui generis	of its own peculiar kind
suum cuique	let everyone have his own
sine qua non	an indispensable thing or condition
terra incognita	an unknown country
volens nolens	unwilling or willing
ab initio	from the beginning
noli me tangere	touch-me-not
nec plus ultra	unsurpassed
horribile dictu	horrible to relate

Greek

eureka	I have found it (the exclamation attributed to Archimedes upon discovering a method of determining the purity of gold and now expressing triumph over a discovery).

Among the other points of interest presented by the foreign element in the English language mention

should be made of the so-called descriptive translation which can be exemplified by such combinations of words as:

field team leader (ланковий, ланкова), *lay judge* (народний засідатель), *thick ring-shaped roll* (= boublik — бублик).

S e m a n t i c   b o r r o w i n g s.

The linguistic evidence drawn from the character of loan-words shows that due to the influence of one language upon another words may undergo different semantic changes.

The English word *dream*, for instance, which originally meant *joy, music*, has taken its modern signification from the Norse.

The word *bloom* (A. S. *blōma* — lump) which originally meant *metal, a mass of wrought iron from the forge or puddling furnace*, has taken its modern sense from the Norse *blōm, blōmi* — *a blossom, flower of a seed plant* — chiefly collectively, the flowering state; as, *roses in bloom*.

The modern verb *dwell* originally meant блукати, баритися, гаятися; its modern signification has been taken from the Scandinavian *dvelja* — жити.

Semantic borrowings are comparatively more frequent in nouns.

The noun *gift* in Old English meant викуп за дружину and then through implied association — весілля; under the influence of the Norse it has come to mean подарунок.

The modern meanings of such words as *bread* (Old English — slice of bread), *holm* (Old English — ocean, sea), *plough* (Old English — measure of the ground) have also been taken from the Norse.

Sense-shift leaves no doubt in quite a number of English words which have acquired a new meaning under the influence of the Russian language, e. g. *shock* in *shock worker, shock brigade; competition, emulation* in *socialist competition, socialist emulation; pioneer, red corner* and still others.

The Celtic Element in the English Vocabulary

During the Anglo-Saxon period the English language came into contact with three other tongues which to some extent affected the vocabulary. These were, first, the speech of the Native Celtic inhabitants; secondly, the Latin, and thirdly, the Norse. Of these Latin was the only one which at that time added

any appreciable number of words to the language of literature.

The principal contact between English and Celtic speech was established by the English settlement of the British isles.

Older books on English philology contain a long list of words supposed to be derived from the Celts. Modern investigation, however, has shown that the number of Celtic words in the English vocabulary apart from numerous place names before the 12th century is not very considerable.

Examples of Celtic loan-words appearing in Old English and preserved until the present time are: *down* (hill), *dun* (colour), *bin* (a chest for corn).

The words *bard, brogue, claymore, plaid, shamrock, whisky*, for illustration, are all of Celtic origin, but none of them existed in the English of the Anglo-Saxon period.

The influence of the Celtic upon English may be traced in names of places. This is natural, since place names are commonly adopted in great numbers from the aboriginal inhabitants of a country. Celtic names are common in all parts of England though much more largely in the north and west and especially in Scotland and Ireland.

Skeat registers 165 words borrowed directly or indirectly from the Celts, including in this number words of uncertain origin supposed to be derived from the Celtic.

Here are a few words Celtic in origin which have acquired international currency: *budget, career, clan, flannel, mackintosh, plaid, tunnel*.

The Scandinavian Element in the English Vocabulary

The Danish invasion in 878 resulted in the occupation of a great part of the country. The effect of the Danish conquest was a contribution of many Scandinavian words in the English vocabulary. With regard to the Scandinavian invasion historical data were so scarce that the Scandinavian element in English remains comparatively obscure. This is due to the fact that there was great similarity between the languages of the English and Scandinavian. There is a special difficulty in the question of etymology as regards Scandinavian words. In distinguishing them we may apply the criterion of sound.

Thus, for instance, many words with the *k* sound before *e* and *i* and numerous Germanic words in English with the **sk** sound are to be assigned to Scandinavian origin. (In native English words the **sk** sound had regularly changed to **sh** and the *k* before the vowels *e* and *i* had changed to *ch*).

A number of Old English words have been assimilated to the kindred Scandinavian synonyms in form, e. g. *sister* comes from O. N. *syster* (not from the Old English *sweoster*).

Scandinavian words were borrowed most freely between the 9th and 12th century. It is supposed that the Scandinavian element in Modern English amounts to 650 root-words.

Scandinavian loan-words denote objects and actions of the most commonplace description and do not represent any new set of ideas hitherto unknown to the people adopting them. We find here such everyday words as;

Nouns: *anger, bull, by-law, calf, cake, crop, egg, fellow, gate, guest, kid, keel, knife, keg, root, score, skull, sky, skin, skirt, sister, thrall, wing, window.*

Adjectives: *flat, ill, low, loose, mean, odd, rotten, scant, ugly, wrong,* etc.

Verbs: *bask, cast, call, crave, drown, die, droop, gape, guess, thrust, get, give, raise, scream, scrape, seem, scowl, scare, scrub, take, thrive, want,* etc.

The pronoun *same* and the pronominal forms with initial *the — they, their* and *them —* are due to Scandinavian influence. This is the one case in which English has adopted pronouns from another language.

The borrowing of pronouns proves most clearly the close interrelation of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish elements in early English.

Scandinavian borrowings are numerous in geographical place names in Northern England, such as *Braithwaite, Whitby,* etc.

A number of Scandinavian law-terms entered Old English, but after the Norman conquest when the conquerors took the courts of justice into their own hands, they disappeared (except, probably, such as: *law, by-law, thrall* and *crave*).

The same is true of Scandinavian words relating to naval warfare.

Old English words *dead* and *death* had the corresponding verbs *steorfan* and *sweltan.* It comes quite natural that the Scandinavian *deya* was more easily associated with the noun and adjective than were the old verbs and it was soon adopted in the form *deyen* (M. E.— *to die*).

The Old English *sweltan* grew out of use completely, while *steorfan* has come to mean — *starve.* (*To swelter* means to be faint from heat, to perspire profusely, *to sweat —* виснажуватися, знемагати, знемогти).

It will be remembered that most of Scandinavian borrowings belong to the fundamental stock of words.

Scandinavian elements survive in such hybrid compounds as: *lawful, lawless, greyhound.*

It is of interest to note that there are words in the English vocabulary that exist side by side for a long time, sometimes for centuries, two slightly different forms for the same word, one the original English form and the other Scandinavian. In some cases both forms survive in standard speech, though, as a rule, they have developed slightly different meanings:

Cf.: *whole— hale*
     rear — raise
     from — fro (now used only in 'to and fro')
     shirt — skirt
     shot — scot
     shirk — screak, screech
     true — trig (faithful, neat, tidy)

In other word-pairs the Scandinavian form survives in dialects only, while the other belongs to the literary language, e. g.

     due — dag (dew, thin rain)
     leap — loup
     church — kirk
     chest — kist
     churn — kirn
     mouth — mum

There were cases of native words comforming to foreign speech habits.

In other instances the Scandinavian words agreed so well with native words as to be readily associated with them.

**The Classical Element
in the English Vocabulary**

Latin

The value of a knowledge of the classical element in the English vocabulary makes itself quite evident.

It helps us not only to learn and remember the meanings of a very large number of English words, but to discover shades of meaning that must always remain hidden from anyone who is ignorant of Latin.

The Latin influence on English as on the other Germanic languages begins so early and is of such a continuous nature that it merits separate treatment.

It is at first the influence of a living language, dating from old times, it persists as the influence of a dead language down to the present day.

In modern times Latin has been adopted for scientific nomenclature. A Latin nomenclature has the special advantage of being understood by scientists all over the world, so that Latin has become a sort of common name-language for science. Few of such words have any place in the speech of common people, and those that have gained a foot-hold have been adopted from the language of the learned. It is impossible to estimate, far less enumerate, these later Latin words with absolute accuracy. Some idea of their character may be gained from the list in the appendix to Skeat's Etymological Dictionary. Above all the New English Dictionary has been constantly and unfailingly helpful.

Some idea of the Latin element may also be gained from the large number of words in English with Latin prefixes and suffixes; yet some of the latter also appear in Romance words.

Early Latin loans. The Germanic tribes, of which the Angles and Saxons formed part, had been in contact with Roman civilization and had adopted several Latin words denoting objects belonging to that civilization long before the invasion of Angles, Saxons and Jutes into Britain.

These words are typical of the early Roman commercial penetration.

To this period belongs the introduction of _wine_, the Latin name for which _vinum_ survives not only in the English _wine_ but also in the German _Wein_ and the Scandinavian _vin_.

Another Latin word connected with trade was _mango_; it survives in the English _monger_, which has now become a component part of such compound words, as: _fishmonger_, _ironmonger_, _ironmongery_, _costermonger_, _warmonger_.

Among the words of early loans from Latin are also such as:

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English	Latin
ass	asinus
mule	mulus
colony	colonia
cook	coquus
mill	molinum
cup	cuppa
pepper	piper
pear	pirum (pira)
kettle	catillus
chest	cista
dish	discus
mile	mille
pea	pisum
plum	prunus
street (a paved road)	(via) strata
beet	beta
wall	vallum

To this period English owes geographical names ending in _chester_, as _Manchester_, _Gloucester_, _Lancaster_ (from Latin _castrum_ — a fortified camp).

In analysing the early Latin loans we see their specific character. This first and smallest instalment came through the military occupation of Britain by the Romans, during the four centuries which preceded the invasion of Angles, Saxons and Frisians. It is hardly necessary to say that such loan-words were learnt in a purely oral manner. This is a distinctive feature of the oldest Latin loans as opposed to later borrowings.

Later loans. The second instalment of Latin words came to Britain in the seventh century, when the people of England were converted to christianity.

To this period belong such words, as: _altar_, _chapter_, _candle_, _creed_, _cross_, _feast_, _disciple_, and a great many more.

Quite a number of such ecclesiastical words have gained a more popular use and now belong to the common language.

To this period the English language owes the names of many articles of foreign production the use of which was brought into England by the Romans, as for instance: _marble_, _chalk_, _linen_, etc.

Among Latin loans of the second period we also find such words, as: _elephant_, _tun_, _laurel_, _lily_, _fiddle_, _palm_, _pearl_, _pine_, and many others.

Thus since Old English times there has been a gradual but constant adoption of Latin words.

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This indulgence is partly due to two great historical events: the Norman Conquest in 1066 and the Revival of Learning, the Renaissance. The influence of the Norman Conquest upon the English language is often called the Latin of the third period.

In addition to the great stock of Latin words that have entered English through French, or under its influence, there are a great many words taken directly from Latin without change, e. g. *erratum, animal, antenna, genius, fungus, stimulus, omnibus, nucleus, radius, datum, formula, index, radix, series, species, alibi, item, dictum, maximum, minimum, superior, anterior, post rior, prior, inferior, senior, junior,* etc.

The latest stratum of loans from Latin (t h e f o u r t h e r i o d) embraces abstract and scientific words (verbs adopted exclusively through the medium of writing).

To this stratum of Latin loans belongs the main part of the international element of the English vocabulary.

As we have seen, for centuries the Latin vocabulary served as a mine, from which great numbers of English words were derived. The English had made such regular use of Latin words (modified in form) that they seem like native words to-day.

A great many Latin abbreviations usually suggest English equivalents, for instance:

e. g. (exempli gratia) — for example
i. e. (id est) — that is to say
a. m. (ante meridiem) — before noon
L. s. d. (librae, solidi, dinarii) — pounds, shillings and pence
v. v. (vice versa) — the opposite
viz. (videlicet) — that is to say; in other words
etc. (et cetera) — and so on
cf. (confer) — compare
et seq., et sqq (et sequentia) — and the following
id (em) — the same
ib., ibid., ibidem — in the same place
p. a., per a. (per annum) — yearly
pct. (per centum) — per cent
op. cit. (opus citatum) — a work cited
per pro (curationem) — by proxy, by attorney
q. l. (quantum libet) — as much as you like
s. f. (sub finem) — by the end
qu. (quasi) — as if
sc. }
scil. } (scilicet) — to wit, namely.

Greek

A great many Greek words introduced into English came in chiefly through the medium of Latin, for the Latin language itself was largely indebted to Greek. Borrowings from Greek like those from Latin go back to an early period. But the influx of Greek words on a large scale did not begin until the time of the Revival of Learning. These are mostly bookish borrowings.

How pervasive is the Greek element, direct or indirect, in the Modern English vocabulary may best be illustrated by observing how in a single branch of art or science words of this type tend to accumulate.

It is interesting to note that modern scientific and technical terms of Greek origin are nearly all of international currency. Greek terms added much to the precision of scientific terminology.

In natural sciences the preponderence of Greek words is striking. It is perhaps sufficient to mention merely the names of such fields as bacteriology, botany, histology, physiology, physics and zoology in order to suggest how the Greek language has permeated their various specialized vocabularies. The effect is quite as striking in fields of science that have been recently developed. Here are a few of the hundreds of Greek terms used in modern medicine: *adenoids, pediatrics, psychiatry, psychoanalysis.*

Greek borrowings were more or less latinized in form. They are spelt and pronounced not as in Greek but as the Romans spelt and pronounced them. When, for instance, after the Roman time the Latin *c* changed its pronunciation before *e, i, y (k)* the pronunciation of many Greek words was changed. Thus we got a word like the modern *cycle* which is very unlike the Greek *kyklos* — circle.

Among numerous Greek borrowings in the English vocabulary we find the following:

analysis	*gymnastics*
botany	*ode*
comedy	*physics*
chorus	*philology*
democrat	*philosophy*
democracy	*problem*
dialogue	*prologue*
epilogue	*rhythm*
episode	*scheme*
epos	*scene*
elegy	*tragedy*, etc.

Quite a number of proper names are also Greek in origin, e. g. *George, Eugene, Helene, Sophie, Peter, Nicholas, Theodor* and still others.

So much of Greek has come through Latin that it is often hard to give credit to the proper source. We may easily find Greek words in the more modern terminology of the fields of general science, of medicine, and in the technical terms of language study.

Here are some loan-words which linguistics owes to Greek: *antonym, archaism, dialect, etymology, euphemism, homonym, homophone, hyperbole, idiom, lexicology, metaphor, metonymy, neologism, polysemy, synecdoche, synonym,* etc.

A lot of English terms in rhetoric and grammar originated in Greece. The punctuation mark called a *comma* originates from the Greek word *komma*, which meant "a piece cut off" and then "the mark that sets off a phrase".

The word *colon* is from *kolon* — "a limb or joint", and hence that piece of a sentence called *a clause*, then *the colon mark* to indicate the division of the clause. The word *period* was originally *periodus* — "a going around", "a cycle", as of years. By the end of the 16th century it meant the point of completion of any action, then a full sentence or the pause following one, and finally the dot that marks the end of a sentence.

There are numerous English compounds coined from such Greek roots, as: *autos* — self, *chroma* — colour, *ge* — earth, *graphein* — write, *logos* — discourse, *phone* — voice, *kratos* — power, strength, *skopein* — to see, *telos* — at a distance, e. g.

autograph, autocrat, chromatology, geography, geology, phonograph, photochromy, telegraph, telephone, telescope.

It has been customary to call such newly formed words Greek, but this is, of course, very relative, for many of them were coined neither in Greek nor in Latin, but created in other languages from Greek or Latin roots. New derivatives of this kind may be traced in most modern European languages.

Take such words in Russian and Ukrainian as: локомотив, автомобіль, автопілот, etc.

The word локомотив, for instance, has been derived from two Latin elements: *locus* — місце + *motus* — рух; the word автомобіль consists of Greek and Latin roots: Gr. *autos* — сам; Lat. *mobilis* — рухомий, etc.

The French Element in the English Vocabulary

No subsequent single influence on English has been equal in its effect to that of the Norman Conquest which, as is known, began in 1066.

Loan-words adopted through the conquest of England by the Norman French and the subsequent intercourse between the two nations extending through the whole Middle English period are, no doubt, most important foreign adoptions in the English vocabulary.

In books devoted to teaching English it has been customary to consider the French element as but one division of Latin borrowings, which seems justified in the strictest etymological sense. But with respect to English, French surely deserves a separate treatment because of the great number of such adoptions and the various times at which they have entered. The influence of Modern French on English has been by no means inconsiderable, so that on this account it also deserves separate study from Latin and other Romanic elements.

Norman-French borrowings had come into English at different times. The battle of Hastings fought in 1066 resulted in the defeat of the Anglo-Saxon army. This is one of the most important dates in the history of England. The conquerors remained masters of the country for a sufficiently long time to leave a deep impress upon the language. The immediate result of the Norman conquest was that all the important places in the government, at the court and in the church were filled by French speaking adherents of the conquerors. The new conditions brought about by the Norman conquest opened the door for an abundant influx of Norman-French words. Of course, not all feudals spoke French. It was spoken by the upper classes of English society, by feudals attached to the court and in the counties. In the course of time this over-indulgence in the French language disappeared yielding to the English language spoken by the people.

The flooding of the English vocabulary with Norman-French words began in the 13th century and reached very large proportions in the century that followed. (The Oxford dictionary determines the amount of borrowings from French at different periods).

Since the 17th century French words have been coming slowly as they have been used by great writers,

or more largely through the adoption of scientific and philosophical terms. Some of them retain a sort of French pronunciation, with certain modifications of vowel sounds on analogy with English words. It is not easy to estimate the exact relation of the French loan element to the whole number of borrowed words in English, but the largest number of borrowed words in English from any one source is from French, the Latin words standing next in order of numbers.

French loans in the English vocabulary may be subdivided into two main groups:

1) e a r l y   l o a n s — 12th — 15th centuries;

2) l a t e r   l o a n s — beginning from the 16th century.

Early French loans were thoroughly naturalized in English and made to conform to the rules of English pronunciation.

The early borrowings from French were simple short words as distinguished from later introductions. This will be seen from an examination of a number of common monosyllabic words derived from early French. Examples falling under the first three letters of the alphabet are: *age, air, arm, boil, brace, breeze, brush, cage, calm, cape, car, case, cause, cease, cell, chain, chance, change, chase, chief, chaise, claim, clear, close, corpse, course, court, crime, cry*, etc. In some cases both nouns and verbs of the same form have been borrowed as, for instance: *arm, blame, change, charge, cry*, etc. All these have become an integral part of the language, being as truly a part of common speech as words native by origin. They have been so assimilated in sound and inflection as to be recognizable as foreign only to the eye of a philologist.

Examples of the naturalization of French words in English may be given in numbers. A few of them will suffice for illustration:

a) words stressed in French on the final syllable are now stressed in English on the first syllable, e. g. *capital, danger, final, mercy, probable*, etc.;

b) words with the long [i:] sound diphthongized into [ai], e. g. *design, fine, line, lion, price;*

c) the long [u:] written **ou** has become [au], e. g. *spouse* pronounced [spuz] is now pronounced [spauz];

In a few cases the process of assimilation was facilitated by the fact that a French word happened to resemble an old native one; this was sometimes the natural consequence of French having in some period

borrowed the corresponding word from some Germanic dialect.

Thus no one can say exactly how much modern *rich* owes to the Old English *rice* (rich, overful) and how much to the French *riche;* the noun *richess* (now *riches*) displaced the Early Middle English *richedom.*

But on the whole such similarities between the two languages were few in number.

The French dominance is particularly felt in the vocabulary of law. Most words pertaining to law are of French origin. The following examples may suffice to illustrate this: *accuse, court, fee, guile, heritage, judge, justice, justify, penalty, privilege, plaintiff, session, suit*, etc.

Some words which originally used to be technical juridical words have gained a more popular use and in Modern English belong to the vocabulary of everyday life, such as: *case, false, oust, matter of fact, marriage, prove*, etc. It was also natural that many of the terms relating to military matters should be adopted from the language of the conquerors, as, for instance, *arms, admiral, assault, armour, battle, dart, dragoon, ensign, lance, mail, navy, sergeant, soldier, troops, vessel*, etc.

Some words, which are now used very extensively outside the military domain, were, no doubt, purely military terms: *aid, challenge, danger, escape, espy* (and its doublet *spy*), *enemy, gallant, march, prison*, etc.

Among numerous Latin and Greek words which entered the English vocabulary through the medium of French in the epoch of the French bourgeois revolution we find such terms as: *democrat, aristocrat, revolutionary, revolutionize, royalism* and still others.

We should also mention the 18th century instalment to the vocabulary of literature, e. g. *novelist, publisher, magazine, editor*, etc.

As ecclesiastical matters were also under control of the upper classes, we find a great many borrowings from French among words connected with the church, such as: *blame, lesson, pray, service, tempt*, etc.

Quite a number of such words belong now to the common language, such as: *tempt, lesson, blame*, etc.

The relation between the Normans and the English are to be seen in such words taken from different domains, as: *sir* and *madam, master* and *mistress*, with their opposite *servant, command* and *obey, riches* and *poverty, interest, rest, cash*, etc.

Readers of Scott's novel of *Ivanhoe* will recall the conversation between Wamba, the fool, and Gurth, the swineherd:

"And *swine* is good Saxon", said the Jester; "but how call you the sow when she is flayed, and drawn, and quartered, and hung up by the heels like a traitor?

"*Pork*", answered the swineherd.

"I am very glad every fool knows that too", said Wamba, "and pork, I think is good Norman French and so when the brute lives, and is in charge of a Saxon slave, she goes by her Saxon name: but becomes a Norman, and is called pork, when she is "carried to the castle hall to feast among the nobles".

"Nay, I can tell you more", said Wamba in the same tone "there is Alderman Ox continues to hold his Saxon epithet while he is under the charge of serfs and bondsmen such as thou, but becomes Beef, a fiery French gallant, when he arrives before the worshipful jaws that are destined to consume him. Mynheer Calf, too, becomes Monsieur de Veau in the like manner: he is Saxon when he requires tendance, and takes a Norman name when he becomes matter of enjoyment".

There is a predominance of French words in the vocabulary of cookery, which is shown by a great many words, such as: *boil, dainty, jelly, fry, pasty, pastry, roast, sauce, sausage, soup, toast*, etc.

We shall find a very large number of French words denoting different objects that make life enjoyable, e. g. *comfort, delight, joy, flower, fruit, pleasure*, etc.

Recent borrowings from French are of course frequent enough, and often these words carry an unequivocally French appearance; but their number is far less than the number of borrowings direct from Latin.

French endings to English words: *-able* — *drinkable, fishable, breakable, -ess* — *shepherdess; -ry* — *husbandry, -age* — *husbandage*, etc.

In many cases words borrowed from the French language have more derivatives in English than in French. For instance, *mutin* has only two derivatives in French (*mutiner* and *mutinerie*) while in Modern English there are four well-known derivatives of *mutiny*, namely: *mutineer, mutinous, mutinously, mutinousness* and two extinct forms *mutine* (Shakespeare) and *mutinize*.

The following phonetic peculiarities are indicative of later adoptions from French:

a) keeping the accent on the last syllable, e. g. *cravat, finance, finesse, supreme*, etc.;

b) *ch* pronounced as [ʃ]: *avalanche, chandelier, chaperon, chaise, charade, chauffeur, charlatan, chic, douche, machine*, etc.;

c) *g* before *e* and *i* pronounced as [ʒ]: *beige, blindage, bourgeois, camouflage, massage, prestige, regime, rouge*, etc.;

d) *ou* pronounced as [u], e. g. *coup, rouge, sou;*

e) *eau* — [ou], e. g. *château;*

f) final consonant *p, s, t* not pronounced, as in: *coup, debris, ragoût, trait, ballet, debut*.

Quite a number of late borrowings from French are so fluctuating that there is no standard in their pronunciation, e. g.

garage	— [ga'rɑːʒ, 'gærɪdʒ, 'gærɑːʒ]
naïve	— [nɑː'iːv, neɪv]
naive	— [neɪv]
naïveté	— [nɑɪ'iːv'teɪ]
naïvety	— [nɑː'iːvtɪ]
naivety	— ['neɪvtɪ]
vase	— [vɑːz, veɪs, veɪz]
restaurant	— ['restərənt, 'restərɔːŋ]

Various Other Elements in the English Vocabulary

Large scale borrowings in the English vocabulary came from other Romance languages, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese.

Cultural and commercial relations between England and Italy in the epoch of the Renaissance, especially in the 16th century, brought in many Italian words.

The English travelled frequently in Italy, observed Italian life and culture and brought back not only Italian manners and styles of dress but Italian words, such as: *balcony, bust, cornice, colonnade, niche, cameo, granite, stanza, stucco, violin, volcano,* etc.

In the 18th century Italian music was introduced into England and with this came many musical terms. A few of them will suffice for illustration: *adagio, allegro, aria, baritone, basso, duet, contralto, concert, intermezzo, opera, operetta, primadonna, solo, soprano, tempo, trio,* etc.

It should be mentioned that about half the Italian words in English, even those of modern times, have come through French. Many other Italian words introduced through French or adopted to French forms are: *alarm, battalion, bankrupt, bastion, brusque, brigade, carat, colonel, cavalcade, campaign, charlatan, gala, gazette, grotesque, infantry, pistol, rebuff.* Some characteristic Italian words, borrowed directly from Italy, are: *archipelago, catacomb, corridor, dilettante, incognito, lava, mac(c)aroni, influenza, fiasco, manifest, umbrella.* Quite a number of these words have acquired international currency.

From Spanish and Portuguese English adopted: *apricot, banana, bravado, barricade, cannibal, canoe, cocoa, corral, desperado, embargo, hammock, hurricane, maize, mosquito, negro, potato, tobacco.* As in the case of Italian words, Spanish words sometimes entered English through French or took a French form: *grenade, palisade, escalade, cavalier, porcelain, caprice, gazette, terrace, tirade, intrigue, revolt, apartment, compartment, brave* and still others.

A few words have been borrowed from Portuguese, the number being variously estimated from 13 to nearly twice as many. Among them are: *banana, pimento, auto-da-fé, madeira, molasses, port* (wine), *verandah, cobra,* although some of these may be rather Spanish than Portuguese. Some of the Portuguese words have offered a precedent for introducing the Latin words into England and have assisted in their general adoption.

Many borrowings came from Germany such, for instance, as several names of metals and minerals: *bismuth, cobalt, quarz, zinc, nickel, feldspar, gneiss, shale.*

There is also a group of miscellaneous words borrowed directly or indirectly. Among them are: *waltz, fatherland, kindergarten, leitmotif, rinderpest, rucksack, carouse.* (German: *Gar aus* — quite out, that is empty the glass), *swindler, schnaps, sauerkraut, kapellmeister, plunder, poodle.*

There are quite a number of literal translation-loans from German in the domain of philosophy and scientific socialism, e. g.

surplus value	*Mehrwert*
world-outlook	*Weltanschauung*
thing-in-itself	*Ding an sich*
class struggle	*Klassenkampf*

[1] See:
Жирмунский
В. М. История
немецкого языка. М.,
1948, p. 86.
K o o n i n A. English
Lexicology. M.,
1940, p. 46.

dictatorship of the proletariat	*Diktatur des Proletariats*
world market	*Weltmarkt*[1]

Numerous scientific terms, created by German scientists, entered the English language, such as: *homeopathy, tuberculin, allopathy, teleology.*

In the science the influence of the German nomenclature of mineralogy and geology is the oldest and has remained constant. Of the other sciences borrowings from biology and philosophy played an important part in the 19th century. While in the 20th century psychology provides the majority of the loan-words.

The influence of German on the ordinary vocabulary of English is not very considerable.

From Holland have come many nautical words. The oldest Dutch nautical words in English are: *reef, yacht, deck, hoy.*

From the Dutch of South Africa have come: *commandeer, springbok, baobab.*

The whole number of Dutch words in English is uncertain, approximately about 200 words.

From the Hungarian have come a few words, such as: *coach, tokay.*

From the Polish the following words were borrowed directly and indirectly: *mazurka, polack, polka.*

There are also words adopted from India. As examples of early Indian borrowings may be mentioned: *opal, orange, punch, sapphire, sugar, jute, aniline, chintz, candy, calico.* Recent borrowings from India are not numerous. Most of them refer to features of life distinctively Indian, such as: *bangle, rupee, pugree, puggery, pundit.* Among words of more general signification are: *bungalow, cot, khaki, shampoo, loot.*

A small number of words were adopted either directly or indirectly from China and Japan.

Among the few borrowings from China are the names for various sorts of tea: *souchong, bohea, congou, pekoe, hyson* and the name *tea* itself.

From Japan have come: *geisha, kimono, mikado, samurai.* Most of these loan-words are aliens.

A number of words have come from Semitic languages — Hebrew and Arabic. The whole number of Hebrew words in English is supposed to be about 80, from Arabic — about 170. Most Arabic words came into English through other European languages and belong to a stock of loan-words common to

many of the languages of Europe. It will also be remembered that among borrowed words that reached Europe through Arabic channels there are a number of Greek derivatives, such as: *albatros, elexir, typhoon.*

Among Arabic words borrowed directly may be mentioned: *emir, harem, khalif, mohair, simoom, sofa.*

The number of Turkish borrowings is small. They refer almost exclusively to features of life distinctively Turkish, e. g. *aga* (agha), *bey, caftan.* Among Turkish words of more universal application found not only in English but in other languages are: *coffee, horde, uhlan.*

Russian Borrowings in the English Vocabulary

Russian borrowings in the English vocabulary may be subdivided into 2 principal groups:

a) words borrowed before the Great October Socialist Revolution;

b) words borrowed after the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Among early Russian borrowings in the English vocabulary we find such words, as: *rouble, verst* (versta, verste), *tsar, tsarina, tsarevich, voivode, sable, altine, kibitka, borzoi, pood* (pode), *quass* (quasse, kvas), *taiga, steppe, borshch, beluga, sterlet, valenok* (valenki), *morse, troika, balalaika, vodka, fortochka, copeck, droshky, samovar, izba* and others.

Then come numerous Russian borrowings which penetrated into the English vocabulary in the 19th century through translations of the great Russian writers. These words reflect the political and everyday life of Russia at that time, e. g. *Decembrists, intelligentzia, Narodnik, duma, ukase, uyezd, zemstvo, volost, cossack, moujik (muzhik), otrezki, nihilist* and still others.

After the Great October Socialist Revolution the Russian language has been supplemented by a multitude of new words and expressions which arose along with the new Socialist production, with the emergence of the new state, of the new Socialist culture, new society, morals and finally in connection with the growth of technique and science.

The sense of a number of words and expressions has changed, they have acquired a new meaning. The

newly coined Russian words denote new Socialist form of labour, new attitude to labour which in our country has become a matter of valour, glory and heroism. The adoption of these words by various languages all over the globe continues to grow.

The following words will afford graphic examples of sovietisms in the vocabulary of Modern English: *Leninism, Leninist, Bolshevik, Bolshevism, Bolshevist, Soviet, the USSR, kolkhoz, udarnik, collectivization, Komsomol, sovkhoz, piatiletka, sputnik, lunnik, spaceship, lunokhod.*

«Наше русское слово «Совет» — одно из самых распространенных, оно даже не переводится на другие языки, а везде произносится по-русски»[1].

Among Russian borrowings in English we also find such translation-loans, as: *collective farm, collective farmer, five year plan, Soviet power, State farm, party nucleus, dictatorship of the proletariat, local Soviet, Council of People's Commissars, New Economic Policy (NEP), labour day, shock work, shock worker, shock brigade, self-criticism, Young Communist League, Prepared for Labour and Defence badge, Hero of Socialist Labour, Hero of the Soviet Union, Countries of People's Democracy, People's Democracies, Socialist realism, Land of Soviets, people's actor, Hero city, wall newspaper, mother-heroine, wedding palace.*

Besides aliens, denizens and translation-loans we may also trace semantic borrowings from the Russian language. Sense-shift leaves no doubt in such English words, for instance, as: *pioneer, Socialist emulation, Socialist competition, shockwork, ideology,* which have acquired a new meaning under the influence of the corresponding Russian names.

Quite a number of special scientific terms have also been borrowed from Russian, e. g. *chernozem, solonchak, liman, vernalization.* Numerous proper names have become well known, such as: *The Kremlin,* "*The Pravda*", "*The Izvestia*", etc.

There are also English derivatives from Russian loan-words, such as: *five-year planning, collective farming* and still others.

The Russian loan-word *sputnik* has international currency. It is of interest to observe at this point that the stem *sput* and the suffix *-nik* have already become derivational morphemes in English. There are such newly coined English words, for instance, as *sputpup* (*sputnik + pup*) — собака, який літав на супутнику; *pupnik* (*pup + sputnik*) супутник з цуценям;

[1] Ленин В. И. Полн. собр. соч., Vol., 40, pp. 204—205.

picnik (picture + sputnik) — зображення супутника; *beatnik (beat + sputnik)* — бітник. The function of the suffix *-nik (-ник)* serves to impart to the derivative the meaning of a thing or doer of the action.

In the USA the suffix *-nik* gave rise to *peacenik* and *straightnik*, and many other playful formations in *-nik,* such as American *flopnik, flapnik,* etc.

In the words of S. P o t t e r[1], closer contacts with Russian in recent years have led to an augmented use of many old terms previously borrowed from Russian, such as, for instance, terms relating to the landscape — *steppe,* 'treeless grass-land and tundra' 'arctic plain', terms relating to transport and travel— *verst,* Russian 'mile'; *troika* — 'three horse team driven abreast'; to music — *balalaika,* to home life — *borsch,* etc.

The common currency of this Russian word in all languages is well known. In present-day English it has already given the derivative verb-form, e. g. *"You've been sputniked by Christmas toy makers?"* «Вам дали іграшку-супутник на ялинковому базарі?»[2].

Lexical Universals

The linguistic evidence drawn from the nature of foreign borrowings in a given language presents a peculiar interest in the domain of the so-called lexical universals.

Most developed modern languages have a common international fund of words which comprises scientific, technical and social-political terminology, in the main. Words making up the fund of international terminology are mostly Latin or Greek by origin, such as:

G r e e k:

> *democracy, poem, poet, philosophy, logarithm, mathematics, meteorology, cosmography, geography, biology, zoology, stenography, telegraph, electron, analysis, paralysis, asphalt, autonomy, amnesty, strategy, stadium, aerodrome, rheumatism, sclerosis, pedagogy, drama, lyric, theatre, tragedy* and others.

L a t i n:

> Numerous medical terms, as: *angina, tuberculosis, furuncle,* etc.; quite a number of juridical words: *advocate, appeal, civil, ju-*

[1] Potter S. Changing English. London, 1969, p. 369

[2] *See:* American Speech", 1958, p. 154. P a r t r i d g e E. A Charm of Words. London, 1960, p. 55. K ü s t n e r H. Sprachliches zum Weltraumflug. "Sprachpflege", 1960, No. 5, pp. 98—100; H a n s e n K. Sputniks, Spätniks und Spottniks. "Sprachpflege", 1960, No. 10, p. 200.

rist, justice, etc.; social-economl and political vocabulary: *communism, proletariat, constitution, republic, socialism, class, dictatorship, agitation,* etc.; school terminology: *auditorium, dean, discipline, institute, rector, student,* etc.

Much of the modern scientific vocabulary is international in character.

Among international words we find a number of newly coined compounds made from Latin and Greek roots by means of derivation and composition, e. g. *telephone, kilometre, microscope, locomotive,* etc.

Certain important modern coinages are hybrids of Latin and Greek: *automobile* (Greek *autos* — self; Latin *mobilis* — moving); *television* (Greek *telos* — distant; Latin *visio* — vision).

With the growth of the international weight and prestige of the Soviet Union the Russian element in the international fund of words is steadily increasing. The adoption of Russian borrowings after the Great October Socialist Revolution continues to grow in various languages. Words borrowed from Russian after the Great October Socialist Revolution have spread all over the world and have international currency.

SUGGESTED ASSIGNMENTS. TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

Test your knowledge of the sources of the English vocabulary. Be ready to answer the following questions:

1. How does it come about that words of Celtic origin are found in English? Give examples of such words.

2. Give comments on the contribution of Scandinavian borrowings in the English vocabulary.

3. There are words in English which have Scandinavian parallels. Can you give a few examples of such pairs of words?

4. Find some vivid examples to illustrate words of Latin origin and define their stylistic value.

5. Comment upon the Norman-French element in the English vocabulary.

6. Comment upon the nature of lexical assimilation of foreign words in the English vocabulary.

7. Review your knowledge of translation-loans in the English vocabulary.

8. Comment on the principal phonetic peculiarities indicative of later adoptions from French.

9. Give examples of such later borrowings from French as are so fluctuating that there is no standard in their pronunciation as yet.

10. Give a summary view of the different ways in which the foreign element penetrated into the English vocabulary: translation-loans, descriptive translation and so-called semantic borrowings.

11. Comment on the increasing importance of Russian borrowings in the English vocabulary.

12. Discuss some five words called into existence by recent discoveries or inventions.

ENGLISH WORDS
IN THE PROCESS OF TIME

ARCHAISMS[1]

[1] Gr. *archaios* — old-fashioned

CHAPTER 10 Language never remains stable. In process of time it changes by being supplemented with new words which come with the advances in human knowledge, with changes in the social system, with the growth and development of culture. Some words go out of use, drop out of the vocabulary of a language. These are called o b s o l e t e words. Obsolete words pass out of use completely or remain in the language performing purely historical descriptive functions.

It will be helpful to distinguish:

a) h i s t o r i s m s, i. e. words and phrases that have become obsolete because the things named are outdated and no longer used;

b) p h o n e t i c o - m o r p h o l o g i c a l a r c h a i s m s, or a r c h a i s m s in form, denoting the existing things to a certain degree ousted by their variants — words with partially modified phonetic or morphological structure.

c) s e m a n t i c a r c h a i s m s, i. e. words and phrases that have retained their old form, but are to a considerable degree ousted by new synonyms. In this latter case archaisms often acquire a new meaning or stylistic colouring.

Here is an excellent example to illustrate the statement:

Внуки спросят:
— Что такое капиталист?
Как дети
    теперь:
— Что это
    г-ор-од-ов-ой? (Маяковский).

The disappearance of old occupations causes the disappearance of their old names. Such terms either vanish out of life completely or remain in proverbs or pictorial language.

Archaisms are often used for stylistic purposes to present a vivid picture of the time described. Take the following example from A. Tolstoi's novel "Peter the First":

"В приказе, в низких палатах, угар от печей, вонь, неметеные полы. За длинными столами, локоть к локтю, писцы царапают перьями. За малыми столами — премудрые крючки-подьячие,— от каждого за версту тянет постным пирогом, листают тетради, ползают пальцами по челобитным... По повыту, мимо столов, похаживает дьяк-повытчик, в очках на рябом носу...».

Names of obsolete occupations are often preserved as family names, e. g. *Chandler* — candle maker, *Latimer* (i. e. Latiner) — interpreter, *Spicer* — dealer in spices, *Webster* — weaver (with *-ster* the old feminine ending), *Wright* — worker (O. E. wyrhta), etc.

We may easily trace instances when a peculiar phrase preserves some archaic words, e. g.

Many a little makes a mickle (*mickle* — AS *micel*, *mycel* — great, much).

The verb *to read* in the old sense of *interpret* or *guess* (whence the ordinary meaning) survives in *to read a riddle. Riddle* itself goes back to the same verb.

An old sense of *favour* (features, looks), "The boy is fair, of female *favour*" (W. Shakespeare), survives in *hard-favoured* → of hard, coarse features; *ill-favoured* — ill-looking, ugly; *well-favoured* —good-looking, etc.

The preposition *on* was once common in the sense of *because of*. This meaning survives in such prepositional phrases, as: *on purpose* and *on compulsion*. The preposition *with* originally signified *"against"*, but it has lost the meaning except in such verbs as: *withstand, withdraw, withhold,* etc.

Here are some examples of the use of archaic words in journalism: *albeit* (short for *all though it be that*) — although; *belike* — probably, perhaps; *forebears* — ancestors; *oft, ofttimes, oftentimes* — often; *parlous* — perilous; *peradventure* — probably, uncertainly; *perchance* — possibly, by chance; *save* — besides, except; *to wit* — namely; *well nigh* — almost, nearly; *withal* — with it, in addition, moreover.

Archaic are the following compound adverbs: *hereat* — at this; *hereof* — of this, as a result of this; *hereto* — to this matter; *thereas* — at that place, after that; *therefore* — till then, up to that time; *therefrom* — from that; *therein* — in that place; *thereof* — of that or of it; *thereon* — out of that, from that source; *thereto* — to that or to it, in addition, to boot; *thereupon* — upon that; *whereat* — at which; *wherein* — in what, in respect; *whereof* — of which, of what, etc.

Archaic are the following participles ending in **-en**: *bounden, drunken, gotten, graven, knitten, molten, proven, rotten, shrunken, stricken, shorn, sodden, sunken, washen.*

The above given archaic participles are now chiefly used as verbal adjectives only and not as parts of tense-forms.

Verbal Adjectives	Part of Tense-forms
Our bounden duty.	He was bound by his promise.
A drunken man.	He had drunk much wine.
A sunken ship.	The ship had sunk under the water.
A stricken deer.	The deer was struck with an arrow.
The shrunken stream.	The stream has shrunk in its bed.
Ill-gotten wealth.	He has got wealth by ill means.
A hidden meaning.	The meaning is hid (*or* hidden).
A graven picture.	The picture was engraved with letters.
A molten image.	The image was melted with heat.
A rotten plank.	The plank was rotted by water.
The sodden flesh.	The flesh was seethed in hot water.
A shorn lamb.	The lamb was sheared to-day.
A well-sewn cloth.	I have sewed (*or* sewn) it.
Un-washen hands.	I have washed my hands.
A hewn log.	The log is hewed (*or* hewn)[1].

Note: Style abounding in archaisms is called "Wardour Street English" (from the name of a street in London mainly occupied by dealers in antique and imitation-antique furniture).

Sometimes a word or a meaning has become obsolete except in few idioms, which, however, are still in common use.

[1] Nesfield I. S. English Grammar Series. New York, 1923, pp. 80—84.

A great many obsolete words remain embedded in the language as parts of compounds. Thus, *gar*, an old word for *spear*, survives in *garlic* (O. E. *gar* and *leac* — a leek, plant, so-called from the shape of the leaves) and *garfish* — a long fish of the pike family, with a long spearlike snout.

A *nightmare* is not *a she-horse*, but a terrifying or fantastically horrible dream personified in folklore as a female monster sitting upon and seeming to suffocate people in their sleep. Old English *mara* (incubus, an evil spirit) supposed to descend on sleeping persons, is quite distinct from *mearch* — mare, but the words were later confused, so that one even hears *night-horse* as a jocose variation.

Archaisms surviving in compounds, stock-phrases, idioms, proper names are only partly understood as archaisms. *Oft* is not archaic when combined with present and past participles, as in *oft-told, oft-recurring.*

Good examples of stock phrases and idioms containing archaisms are:

All told — всього, разом. (*Told* is a survival of the O. E. verb *tellan* — to count, German *zählen* — to number). *To tell years* — нараховувати стільки-то років; *to tell over* — рахувати. *Hue and cry* — погоня.

A hue and cry hath followed a certain man into this house (Shakespeare).

In fine — finally. The word *fine* in this stock-phrase preserves its old meaning *an end*, e. g.

He succeeded, in fine, in getting what he wanted.

Compare, for illustration, the history of such Russian words, as: *впасть, поглотить, пробудить,* whose direct original meaning having become obsolete is utterly gone out of the ordinary language.

Old Russian: *впасть в яму, впасть в ров.*

Modern Russian: *упасть в яму, попасть в яму.*

These verbs are alive in definite collocations, they survive in phraseology, e. g.

впасть в противоречие, впасть в бешенство, впасть в крайность; поглотить много энергии; пробудить интерес, пробудить желание и т. п.[1]

Poetry, fiction, oratory and journalese are especially rich in archaisms. Words that are too well known and too often used do not call up such vivid images as words less familiar. This is one of the reasons which probably contributes much towards increasing the tendency to use archaisms in literary language.

[1] *See:* Виноградов В. В. Основные типы лексических значений слова. — Вопросы языкознания. М., 1953, No. 5.

Familiar examples of archaisms particularly frequent in poetry may be found in pronominal forms.

The pronoun for the second person in everyday speech is *you* for both cases in both numbers; in poetry we often find *thou* (with the corresponding verb ending in *-est*) and *thee* for the singular, *ye* — for the plural; the poetical possessives *thy* and *thine* do not occur in everyday speech.

> Men of England, wherefore plough
> For the lords who lay *ye* low? (Shelley).

> Tell me, thou, star, whose wings of light
> Speed *thee* in thy fiery flight,
> In what cavern of the night
> Will *thy* pinions close now? (Shelley).

> "The winter in the garland wears
> That thinly decks his few grey hairs:
> Spring parts the clouds with softest airs,
> That she may sun *thee;*
> Whole summer-fields are *thine* by right
> And Autumn, melancholy wight!
> Both in *thy* crimson head delight
> When rains are on *thee*". (Wordsworth).

Wilt, second person singular of *will*, is common in poetry, e. g. *do what thou wilt*.

Such archaic poetical forms, as: *e'en, e'er, howe'er, ne'er* were at first vulgar or familiar forms, used in daily talk. Then poets began to spell these words in the abbreviated fashion when they wanted their readers to pronounce them in that way for the sake of rhythm, while prose writers unconcerned about the pronunciation given to their words, retained the full forms in spelling. The next step was that the short forms were branded as vulgar by schoolmasters with so great a success that they disappeared from ordinary conversation while they were still retained in poetry, for instance:

> Froze the ice on lake and river
> Ever deeper, deeper, deeper
> Fell the snow *o'er* all the landscape (Longfellow).
> *O'er* hilly path, and open Strath,
> We'll wander Scotland thorough
> But, though so near, we will not turn
> Into the Dale of Yarrow (Wordsworth).

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Other common poetical archaisms are:
aloft (high), *aught* (anything). In colloquial speech the word *aught* survives in *for aught I know* (as far as I know); *eke* (also), *ere* (before); *erst, erstwhile; gyves* (fetters, shackles); *forworn* (tired); *hight* (called, named); *mere* (a lake, pond); *mote* (could), *natheless* (nevertheless), *oftsoons* (soon after, shortly after); *of yore* (of old); *plain* (to complain, to mourn); *woe* (affliction, distress); *wise* (way); *wight* (man), *yclad* (dressed), *yonder* (there), *changer* (merchant), *belike* (probably, possibly).

> *Oft* I had heard of Lucy Gray.
> And, when I crossed the wild,
> I chanced to see at break of day
> The solitary child. (Wordsworth).

> What the leaves are to the forest,
> With light and air for food,
> *Ere* their sweet and tender juices
> Have been hardened into wood (Longfellow).

> "That, Father! will I gladly do:
> 'Tis scarcely afternoon —
> The Minster-clock has just struck two,
> And *yonder* is the Moon". (Wordsworth).

The use of archaisms for stylistic purposes in Russian and Ukrainian may be illustrated by numerous examples. Here are some of them:

> *Перстами* легкими, как сон,
> Моих *зениц* коснулся он.
> *Отверзлись вещие зеницы*
> Как у испуганной орлицы.

> Восстань, пророк, и *виждь* и *внемли,*
> Исполнись волею моей,
> И, обходя моря и земли,
> *Глаголом* жги сердца людей (Пушкин).

> Жде його Марія
> І, ждучи, плаче; молодії
> *Ланіти,* очі і уста
> Марніють зримо (Шевченко).

> Мов стріли б'ються о щити сталеві,
> Так твій *глагол* о серць людських щити.
> (Франко).

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Поруч, браття, ми були в неволі,
Разом ми громили вражу *рать*
(Рильський).

NEOLOGISMS

N e o l o g i s m is a term which refers to any new lexical unit, the novelty of which is still felt. Coinage of new lexical units in the system of language may be traced along different lines:
a) derivation
b) composition
c) word-combination
d) root-creation
e) new applications of existing words
f) foreign borrowings.

Neologisms are frequently coined out of elements (morphemes or words) which exist in a given language.

Deliberate coinage is mostly the product of the creative impulse, where ingenuity and imitation seem to be blended in variable proportions.

In deliberate coinages there is often an analogy with some other word or words in the language.

There are also a c r o n y m s among neologisms by which we mean now words formed by combining the inital or first few letters of two or more words, such as: *UNESCO* (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization), *NABISCO* (National Biscuit Company), *RADAR* (Radio Detecting and Ranging)[1].

The resources of the vocabulary are considerably extended by compounding where new words are made on the pattern of other words, such are: *addressograph, phonograph, autograph, linotype* similarly — *monotype, stenotype; dictaphone* combines elements found in the words *dictate* and *telephone*, just as *travelogue* is a cross between *travel* and *dialogue.*

In neologisms coming from foreign borrowings distinction must be made between:

1) d i r e c t a d o p t i o n o f f o r e i g n w o r d s. Loan-words of this type can undergo different degrees of accommodation or remain unadapted. In most cases a fully stabilized loan-word is so strongly assimilated in its form that its origin can be revealed only by etymology. Other loan-words are but slightly accommodated and as such are always felt as foreign in origin;

2) making new words by d e r i v a t i o n o r c o m p o s i t i o n, including elements of different origin.

See:
T. M. P e a r c e,
"Acronym Talk, or Tomorrow's English" — Word Study, XXII, 1947, No. 5.

3) new derivatives or new compounds created by t r a n s l a t i o n o f t h e l e x i c a l u n i t i n t o a n o t h e r l a n g u a g e. A lexical unit created by loan-translation is called a calque. It is not always easy to draw a rigid line of demarcation between a loan-translation or neologism created independently.

Different synonymic neologisms can come through adaptations of the same borrowed word. The names of new referents, things and ideas denoted by the words constantly enter the language.

The rapid advances which are being made in scientific knowledge, the extension of sciences and arts to many new purposes and objects create a continual demand for the formation of new words to express new ideas, new agencies and new wants.

And language, directly reflecting these needs, enriches its vocabulary and perfects its system of grammar.

In epochs of social upheaval neologisms come into the language in large numbers. Such neologisms make up semantic groups connected with various spheres of social-political life, culture, science, technology, etc.

Thus, for instance, with the progress of science, technology, political and cultural life, the 19th century has brought large numbers of new words, special political and technical terms in various branches of science, e. g. *capitalism, communism, pauperism, proletariat, industrialism, agrarian, reactionary, pacifist, automat, calorifer, telegraph, telephone, aviation, phonograph, phraseology, consonantism, bronchite, myocarditis, microbe, neurology,* etc.

The 20th century characterised by a most intensive development of various sciences, technique, culture and political life, has brought a multitude of new formations. Examples of such neologisms are: *Marxism, Leninism, trade-unionism, militarism, militarist, colonialism, colonialist, revanchist, antimilitarism, antidemocratic, antenna, broadcast, electron, listen-in, loud-speaker, sound pictures, static, thermosbottle, television, camouflage, dreadnought, hangar,* and so forth.

After the Great October Socialist Revolution the Russian language, for instance, has been supplemented by a considerable number of new words and expressions which arose with the new Socialist production, with the emergence of the new state, of the new Socialist culture, with the growth of technique and science.

Quite a number of such Russian words have been adopted by other languages and are now international in character.

A new invention or discovery naturally calls for a new word, as does progress in any field of thought or work. New ideas and new habits of life develop and demand linguistic expression.

A number of words have resulted from the popularity of aviation, such as: *aircraft*, *aircraftsman*, *air-liner*, *airman*, *aeroplane*, *biplane*, *dirigible*, *monoplane*, *hydraplane*, etc.

As the life marches on language must march with it, taking new words to express new ideas and leaving behind such words as belong to thoughts and facts that have had their day. Word history presents not only special philological interest. Dealing with the origin of words and the development of their meaning it relates things and facts in which it may have never occurred to you to find or even imagine a connection; it illuminates the history of physical progress, mental improvement, spiritual values.

Neologisms originate in various ways, usually, of course, in answer to some felt need to the popular acceptance of some newly uncovered phrase that seems to be just right for some place.

Among the commonest recent coinages are nouns made from separable verbs through conversion. These new formations are felt to be more forceful than those Latin-derived synonyms which they now often replace, e. g.:

Verb	Noun	Syn.
to break down	break-down	a) collapse, failure of health or power, b) analysis
to break through	break-through	sudden advance, surmounting of barriers, progress
to build up	build-up	gradual increase
to frame up	frame-up	conspiracy
to get away	get-away	escape
to let up	let-up	relaxation, relief
to pay off	pay-off	recompense, compensation
to set back	set-back	defeat
to set up	set-up	organization
to share out	share-out	distribution

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to walk out	walk-out	a) strike by workers b) ostentatious departure from a meeting as an expression of protest

Among neologisms in the vocabulary of Modern English we find quite a number of Russian borrowings. The newly coined loan-words denote progressive and revolutionary ideas, new Socialist forms of labour, new social-economic relations, technical and scientific terms.

The number of words borrowed by various languages from Russian is steadily increasing.

Good examples of such neologisms in foreign languages are:

English

	French
ленинизм — leninism	léninisme
совет — Soviet	Soviet
большевик — bolshevik	bolchévik
колхоз — kolkhoz	kolkhoz(e)
комсомол — komsomol	komsomol
трудовой день—working day	journée-travail
самокритика — self-criticism	autocritique
спутник — sputnik	spoutnik

German

	Spanish
Leninismus	leninismo
Sowjet	soviet
Bolschewik	bolchevique
Kolchos	coljos — koljos
Komsomol	komsomol — comsomol
Arbeitstag	jornada de trabajo
Selbstkritik	autocritica
Sputnik	sputnik

Italian

Soviet
Leninismo
Bolscevico
piatiletka = il plano quinquennale
kolkhoz
collectivizzazionne
il paese dei Soviet
sputnik

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The 20th century permits us to see the process of vocabulary growth on under our eyes, sometimes, if would seem at an accelerated rate. The resources of the vocabulary are significantly extended not only by forming quite new words and adoptions from other languages but from within, by employing old words in a new sense. The process can be illustrated on almost every hand, for it is one of the commonest phenomena in language.

Important treatments and valuable information on the subject will be found in the new book of reference edited in 1971 in Moscow[1]. The dictionary records adaptions of international terms, the formation of quite new Russian words such as, for instance, *высоконадежный*, *окололунный*, *самовыражение*, *человековедение*, *спутниковый*, *безразмерный*, etc.

Different branches of science give numerous new self-explaining compounds, e. g. *гидротранспорт*, *космофизик*, *радиометрия*, *кинорепортаж*, *телекамера*, etc. Scientific and technical terms constantly enter into ordinary literary language.

The development of new meanings in old words may be illustrated by many examples. Quite a number of new meanings are restricted to the use only in certain stable collocations, e. g. *беседа за круглым столом* (*круглый стол* — публичный обмен мнениями с равными правами участников беседы).

Similarly in English. *Skyline* formerly meant the *horizon*, but is now commoner in such expression as the *New York skyline*. *Broad-cast* originally had reference *to seed*, but its application to radio seems entirely appropriate. *A record* may mean other things than a phonograph disc, and *radiator* was used for anything which radiated heat or light before it was applied specifically to steam heat of the automobile.

Such phrases as *sign off* or *stand by* in radio, *take off* in an airplane, *kick off* in football, *call up on the telephone* convey a specific, often technical meaning, quite different from the sense which these expressions previously had.

A certain amount of experimenting with words is constantly going on, and at times the new uses of a word meet with oppositions. The most striking thing about our present-day civilization is probably the part which science has played in bringing it to pass. If we only think of the progress which has been made in medicine and the sciences auxiliary to it, such as,

for instance, bacteriology, biochemistry, and the like, we feel the difference that marks off our day from that of only a few generations ago.

SUGGESTED ASSIGNMENTS.
POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What do we call obsolete words?
2. How do we differentiate historisms and archaisms? Give examples of such words. Make comparison with other languages.
3. Comment on the stylistic use of archaisms in English. Make comparison with Russian and Ukrainian.
4. What do we mean by neologisms?
5. Neologisms are commonly formed according to the productive structural patterns or borrowed from another language. Can you give examples to illustrate the statement?
6. Comment on the semantic motivation of neologisms.
7. Give comment 'nonce-words' coined for stylistic purposes.
8. A peculiarly English and active type of coining new words by a combined process of conversion and compounding from verbs with postpositives. Can you give examples to illustrate the statement?
9. Give examples of neologisms borrowed from the Russian language.
10. The rapid development of science and industry has called forth an immense number of newly coined words in scientific English. Find examples of neologisms in the science of language.
11. Give comments on such linguistic terms as *phoneme*, *morpheme*, *sememe*, *taxeme*, *tagmeme*, *episememe*.

ENGLISH DIALECTS

CLASSIFICATION OF DIALECTS

CHAPTER 11

S t a n d a r d   E n g l i s h — the official language of Great Britain taught at schools and universities, used by the press, the radio and the television and spoken by educated people is commonly defined as that form of English which is current and literary, substantially uniform and recognized as acceptable wherever English is spoken or understood.

Local forms of the language are known as l o c a l d i a l e c t s. Such varieties of the English language are very great. They go back to the earliest period of the language and reflect conditions which prevailed at a time when travel was difficult and communication was limited between districts relatively close together. Local dialects peculiar to some districts have no normalized literary form.

Regional varieties possessing a literary form are called v a r i a n t s. Distinction will be made between two variants: Scottish English and Irish English and five main groups of dialects: Northern, Midland, Eastern, Western and Southern. But such a classification of the English dialects is sufficient only for purposes of a broad grouping. Every country has its own peculiarities, and sometimes as many as three dialectal regions may be distinguished within the boundaries of a single shire.

Cockney English

One of the best known Southern dialects is Cockney, the regional dialect of London. According to E. P a r t r i d g e and H. C. W i l d e this dialect exists at two levels:

(1) The variety of Modified Standard speech which is the typical Cockney English of London, as spoken by educated middle-class people.

(2) The variety of Modified Standard which is also heard in London but which is spoken by the semi-literate and the quite illiterate.

The expression *"cockney"*, which was originally reserved for the members of certain communities, was a name applied by country people to those who dwelt in cities. Even to-day there is a marked difference between the inhabitants of a large town and people living in country places; centuries ago, the difference was wider still.

The derivation of the word *"cockney"* seems uncertain, but there is little doubt that it conveyed the meaning of a "plucky chap", a fine fellow with plenty of assurance as distinct from country people. As the population gradually increased and means of communication became more favourable, this distinction became less acute. In the 17th century, the word *"cockney"* was applied exclusively to the inhabitants of London.

Cockney English as it was spoken at one time is seldom heard now, except in a certain very limited

area of the East End of London, or where one meets with costermongers, and a few others of that type.

"Encyclopedia Britanica" of 1964 treats cockney as an accent and does not acknowledge it the status of dialect. Cockney has attracted much literary attention, from which we can judge of its development at different times and its status now. It is lively, imaginative and colourful, it has collocations of its own. Its specific feature which does not occur anywhere else is the so called rhyming slang, in which some words are substituted by other words rhyming with them. Boots, for example, are called *daisy roots*, head is ironically called *loaf of bread*, and wife — *trouble and strife*.

In pronunciation the cokney is very partial to the following vulgarisms. First of all, he consistently drops his h's, that is he does not sound h where it ought to be heard and puts in an h where is none, especially when he is trying to speak well, e. g. *'am an' heggs* (ham and eggs), *Arry* (Harry), *I ate* (hate), *hus* (us), *in the hopen air* (open air), *hup the 'ill* (up the hill), etc.

The "dropping" of the **g** is a frequent vulgarism even among people who are higher up in the social scale, e. g. *mornin', evenin', puddin', goin', sayin',* e. g.:

...*"It was damned human of you, and it was damned human of her; and don't you forget it!"*

Scottish and Irish Dialects

The dialect of Southern Scotland has claims to special consideration on historical and literary grounds.

During the 18th century it managed to maintain itself as a literary language through the work of Ramsay, Ferguson and Robert Burns. The characteristics of this dialect are well known to most people through the poetry of Robert Burns:

O ye wha are sae guid yoursel,
 Sae pious and sae holy,
Ye've nought to do but mark and tell
 Your Neebour's fauts and folly!
Whase life is like a weei-gaun mill, (well-going)
 Supply'd wi store o'water,
 he heapet happer's ebbing still, (heaped hopper)
 And still the clap plays clatter.

Here we find some of the characteristic differences of pronunciation, *wha*, *whase*, *sae*, *weel*, *neebour*, *guid*, etc. These could easily be extended from others of his songs and poems and the list would include not only words differently pronounced but many an old word no longer in use. Familiar examples are *ain* (own), *auld* (old), *lang* (long), *bairn* (child), *bonnie* (beautiful), *braw* (handsome), *dinna* (do not), *fash* (trouble oneself), *icker* (ear of grain) *maist* (almost), *muckle* (much, great), *syne* (since), *unco* (very).

The dialect of Ireland is equally distinct from the standard English of England although it has had no turns to give it currency in literature. It does not preserve so many old words as have survived in Scotland, since its spread in the island dates largely from the 17th century. But it has been influenced by the native speech of the Celts, sometimes in vocabulary *(blarney, galore, smithereens)*, sometimes in idiom. Different varieties of the Irish dialect are distinguished, especially in the north and the south, but certain peculiarities of pronunciation are fairly general. There are in dialect stories such spellings as *tay*, *desaive*, *foine*, *Moikle*, *pr juce* (produce), *fisht* (fist), *butther*, *thrue* and the *like*. As an instance of **sh** for **s** before **a**, long **u**, Joyce quotes the remark of one Dan Kirby "*That he was now looking out for a wife that would shoot him*"[1]. It is needless now looking to say that many cultivated speakers in Ireland speak in full accord with the received standard of England or use a form of that standard only slightly coloured by dialectal peculiarities.

Regional dialects are characterized by the abundance of archaic words. In the words of Jespersen dialect study suffered from too much attention being concentrated on the "archaic" traits "Every survival of an old form, every trace of old sounds that have been dropped in the standard speech, was greeted with enthusiasm, and the significance of these old characteristics greatly exaggerated, the general impression being that popular dialects were always much more conservative than the speech of educated people. It was reserved for a much later time to prove that this view is completely erroneous, and that popular dialects, in spite of many archaic details, are on the whole further developed than the various standard languages with their stronger tradition and literary reminiscences"[2].

[1] *See:* Joyce P. W. English as We Speak It in Ireland. London, p. 96.

[2] Jespersen O. Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin. London, 1949, p. 68.

SLANG

S l a n g is much rather a spoken then a literary language. It originates nearly always in speech and 'Good Slang' arising from mental acuteness is vital and precise in statement. Compact and vivid, it awakens imagination, is often idiomatically expressive and gives new life to old or abstract ideas. There is every reason to say that emotion, rather than thought, lies behind the currency of slang words in different spheres of their usage.

In most cases slang consists of old words with new meanings or new shades of meaning. Slang words are continually appearing.

Many of these words and phrases seem to have become the active strength of the language. Greenough and Kittredge's book with humorous examples of slanginess, gives sufficient evidence of the rapid changes prevalent in the social standing of numerous slang terms.

In all languages an important source of slang has been considered the language of students. From the language of English schools and universities have come into standard English such words as *fag*, *snob*, *funk*, *mob*, *cad*, *tandem*, *chum*, *crony*, etc. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and the great public schools prefer slang phraseology of their own to all set forms and well established syntactic rules of standard literary English. Many of the most expressive words in free-and-easy conversation are old university slang and colloquial terms. Here are some such examples given by E. Partridge:

'cut' in the sense of dropping an acquaintances, *'fizzing'* — first-rate or splendid; *'governor'* — the general term for a male parent; *'plucked'* — defeated or turned back at an examination, now altered to *'ploughed'*; *'skull'* — the head, or master of a college, etc.

SUGGESTED ASSIGNMENTS.
POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What do we mean by standard English?
2. Be ready to describe regional varieties of the English vocabulary.
3. Give comments on the peculiarities of cockney.
4. What are the peculiarities of Scottish and Irish dialects?
5. Give comments on different types of slangy words.

THE EXPRESSIVE POTENTIAL
OF THE ELEMENTS OF LANGUAGE

CHAPTER 12

Stylistics as a science has been established in its modern status in the early years of the present century.

The exploration of style may go along two lines:

a) the study of the expressive potential of particular languages, i. e. their expressive elements placed at the disposal of the speaker and writer, stylistic implications of word-formation, imagery in pictorial language, etc.

b) the study of style problems focused on the style of a writer.

The analysis of the stylistic resources in descriptive lexicology has a synchronic dimension with no relevance to the historical line of their development.

Stylistic analysis acquires a historical dimension if we compare the stylistic value of linguistic units with that of the previous periods of language development.

Linguistic change in the vocabulary presents its own scientific interest. Language develops in response to the needs of the modern world. What is informal, colloquial or slangy to one generation is common usage to another.

It will be reasonable to distinguish phonological, lexical, morphologic and syntactic levels in studying problems of style in any language.

P h o n o s t y l i s t i c s embraces such aspects of the word as the interdependence of word-meaning and their prosodic organization in the act of communication in the so-called antithesis, the importance of the criterion of stress in compounding, semantic stress in such pairs of words as *to im'port,—'import, to ex'port — 'export, to con'duct — 'conduct*, etc.

The expressive potential of syntax is also quite evident. Some aspects of this problem have been touched upon in the previous chapters.

Emotional, emphatic and evaluatory words should not be confused with words possessing some definite stylistic features although in actual discourse these properties may coincide, and we often come across words both emotionally and stylistically coloured. This is, however, a different kind of opposition. The distinction we are dealing with is helpful because it permits us to observe some peculiar features of words in emotional speech.

Emotive effect is often attained by an interaction of syntactic and lexical means. The pattern N_1 of

N_2, for instance, is often used to express emotion and emphasis. The precise character of the emotion is revealed by the meaning and connotations possible for N_1 and N_2, the denotata may be either repulsive or pleasant. Compare, for example: *a devil of a time, a deuce of a price, a hell of a success, a peach of a car, an absolute jewel of a girl*. The same word used in its direct meaning is emotionally neutral; it acquires its emotional colour only when transferred to a different sphere of notions, i. e. when used metaphorically. The word *absolute* serves as an intensifier.

Speech generally expresses the speaker's attitude to what he is talking about. All the nuances of the utterance in the act of communication, its subjective aspect and emotive value in various situations impart to the structural elements of speech some additional overtones. This emotive value of human discourse finds its immediate linguistic expression in grammatical and lexical peculiarities of speech as well as in its modulation features.

INHERENT AND ADHERENT EXPRESSIVITY

It will be helpful to make distinction between a) such words as derive their stylistic effect and emotive value from their inherent quality; b) words which are endowed with expressive connotation in special contexts of their use. The appurtenance of words to the first group is evident in some types of word-formation. Here belong words with diminutive suffixes: *-let, -y, -ie, -ling*.

The suffix *-let,* for instance, conveys a contemptuous nuance to words denoting persons, as *dukelet, lordlet, kinglet, princelet*, etc.; the majority of personal nouns with the suffix *-ling* also have a derogative or depreciatory shade of meaning, e. g. *dukeling, kingling, lordling*, etc.

Observe also oppositional relations between:

father :: daddy, dad
mother :: mummy, mum, mammy
son   :: sonny
aunt   :: auntie
dear   :: deary
girl   :: girlie
John :: Johnny
bird   :: birdie
dog   :: doggy

Appurtenance to stylistically marked vocabulary units is obvious in archaic words used in poetic diction:

alteit	::	*although*
betwixt	::	*between*
brow	::	*forehead*
ere	::	*before*
eve	::	*evening*
ire	::	*anger*
main	::	*ocean*
nay	::	*no*
steed	::	*horse*

There exist in any language both obligatory and variable features at all levels of its structure. The study of style naturally concerns the variable features of the act of communication, where the question arises about the choices made in speaking and writing on the lexical level.

Stylistic implications are evident in most clipped words marked by slangy or colloquial tinge.

In spoken language first names are more often used in their clipped than in their original form. A few instances will suffice:

Al	::	*Alfred or Albert*
Fred	::	*Frederick*
Lu	::	*Louisa*
May	::	*Mary*
Nick	::	*Nickolas*
Phil	::	*Philip*
Sam	::	*Samuel*
Vee	::	*Veronica*
Will	::	*William*

Stylistically marked units are numerous in compounding, e. g. *wait-and-see policy*, *never-do-well*, *stick-in-the-mud*, etc.

Adherent connotation will be observed in figurative meanings of words, e. g. *a murderous heat*, *a rotten business*, *beastly tired*, etc.

D. Bolinger[1] has shown good judgement in making distinction between two types of supplementary (= connotative) components: those which derive from the nature of the referent and those which derive from the nature of the lexical unit used to designate the referent.

In words with supplementary components of the second type certain concepts come to be associated with the linguistic signs themselves. Lexical units,

[1] *See:* Bolinger D. Aspects of Language. New York, 1968.

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for instance, are traditionally classified as formal, technical, pedantic, informal, colloquial, intimate, slang, vulgar, regional, etc.

These classificatory concepts relate not to the referent but to the linguistic sign, they constitute part of the supplementary cognitive components. The distinctions in such supplementary components become clear in relation to lexical units which have the same cognitive components, in other words, they designate the same referent, but have different supplementary components. To speak of *drying prunes* is quite normal, but the expression *to desiccate prunes* though correct, is not only technical but also pedantic, except in strictly formal texts. Compare also: *gift* :: *donation*, *carriage* :: *conveyance*, *drunk* :: *intoxicated*, etc.

It can be said with little fear of exaggeration that due to semantic transpositions of words the stylistic range of the structure of various types of most developed modern languages is surprisingly wide. We know well the full richness and the emotive dynamic force of Russian and Ukrainian concerned with the subjective emotional use of vocabulary units.

And so it is with English. It has its own set of devices for handling the word-stock, with its own stylistic traits and idiosyncrasies widely current to serve different purposes in the act of communication. In semantic transpositions of words in a given language we may find not only its own structural peculiarities but a fair number of universal features traced in other languages.

From this point of view the expressive potential of words remains a source of constant interest.

We also distinguish stylistic implications in loanwords, neologisms, occasional coinages on the metasemiotic level, slangy words and jargons.

THE EMOTIVE ELEMENT IN ENGLISH WORDS

Emotive overtones of words depend on the context (linguistic or non-linguistic). Different stylistic types of utterances appropriate to specific situations are characterized by different collocations. Proper words in proper places, so to say.

Emotive value may or may not be part of the traditional semantic structure of a word. Contextual indications may show to what extent the word can come into play in actual speech.

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The word *swallow*, for instance, is used unemotionally by a zoologist but sounds highly emotional in poetry, say, in O. Wilde's "*Happy Prince*". Even a word like *overcoat* which does not seem to have anything potentially affective about it may acquire strong emotional overtones in situations like those in Gogol's well known short story "Шинель".

The degree of the emotive implication depends entirely on the context where most neutral prosaic objects can suddenly acquire unexpected emotive overtones. A good example in point is also the following:

Thou wall, O wall, O sweet and lovely wall.
Show me *thy* chink, to blink through with *mine eyne!*
Thanks courteous Jove shield the wall for this!
But what see I? No. This but do I see.
O wicked wall through whom I see no bliss!
Cursed by *thy* stones for thus deceiving me!
(Shakespeare)

In the words of V. V. Vinogradov:

«... Экспрессия всегда субъективна, характерна и лична — от самого мимолетного до самого устойчивого, от взволнованности мгновения до постоянства не только лица, ближайшей его среды, класса, но и эпохи, народа, культуры»[1].

To express emotion the utterance must be something not quite ordinary. Syntactically this is reflected in inversion contrasted to the usual word order. Its counterpart in vocabulary is coinage of noncewords. Very often it is a kind of echo-conversion, as in the following:
Hans: Well? Lucas: Well? Hans: Don't well me, you old ninny (Osborne).

The following two examples from A. Wesker's plays contain emotional nonce-words created in angry back-chat by transforming whole phrases into verbs to express irritation with the interlocutor. In the well-known play "*The Kitchen*", Nick, a cook coming from the Continent, is quarrelling with Bertha, a waitress, who is British:
Nick: Ah, no, bloody hell! You get yours from the veg room. That is for me, that is what I got ready.
Bertha (nastily): You don't bloody hell me, my son. You bloody hell in your own country.
The same may be clearly seen in the following bit of a dialogue taking place while the family is moving

[1] В и н о г р а д о в В. В. Русский язык. Грамматическое учение о слове. М., 1947, p. 19.

in and a heavy derelict cupboard is being manipulated with:
Ronnie: Lower it gently — mind the edges, it is a work of art.
Dave: I'll 'work of art you'. And turn that radio off — I can cope with Beethoven but not with both of you.
The type is definitely on the increase in English speech of today.

The best studied type of emotional words are interjections. They express emotions without naming them: *Ah! Alas! Bother! Boy! Fiddlesticks! Hear, hear! Hell! Humbug! Nonsense! Pshaw! Pooh*, etc.

Some of them are primary interjections, others are derived from other parts of speech. On the latter opinions differ. Some grammarians say that *Come!* and *Hark!* are not interjections at all, but complete sentences with their subject not expressed.

It is of interest to note that emotion is often manifested in divergences from linguistic norms, in a tendency toward something unusual.

The expressive potential of the elements of language is a factor of great significance in the act of communication.

Linguistic units are subtle and delicate in their different shades of meaning, and it is not always easy to find the ones that express precisely what we want to say.

There is a natural tendency in any language to develop its emotional means of expression. A major object in style is to call the attention of the reader in a forcible way to the most important part of the subject — in other words to give emphasis to what is emphatic, and to make what is striking and important strike the eye and the mind of the reader.

There is every reason to say that any stylistic property of a word, the fact that it belongs to a certain stylistic sphere of a given language, to a certain slang or social dialect, or that is a recent occasional coinage on the metasemiotic level, or an obsolete unit, carries additional semantic relevance, additional element to the subjective evaluation of the thing spoken about, gives "colour" to the utterance, conveying the information more powerfully, emotionally and more expressive. All such components of lexical meaning are covered by the general term of connotation.

Connotation must be viewed as a very broad category comprising all semantically relevant properties

of the word, besides the central are of designation itself[1].

The broadest category of words that have a strong connotation are the expressive words, among which those with an emotive connotion are, in all probability, the most numerous. This is not to say, however, that only the emotive words carry expressive connotation. Stylistic transpositions of vocabulary units can also do this duty.

Colloquialisms

The most obvious trend of style in present-day English has been towards the informal and colloquial. At all levels from written prose to the advertisment, writing has become nearer to casual speech. Speech itself has become more colloquial and informal. It admits slang readily, and is little concerned with precision and correctness. It was once thought slovenly to use a vague expression like *"sort of"* (*I felt sort of hungry*), but now speakers use it without bothering to enunciate the *"of"* clearly, so that is sounds like *"sorta"*. In fact this spelling is creeping in at the lower levels of writing, so that a kind of phonetic spelling takes the place of standard language. This trend began in America but it has spread to England[1].

An increasing number of colloquialisms find their way into print today in quite serious, even academic writing.

The movement of written English towards colloquial speech is now going faster and faster. Much serious writing today still avoids the colloquial features mentioned here, but they are no longer considered objectionable, and they may be found in many sorts of writing, not only in popular journalism.

The style of any period is the result of a variety of complex and shifting pressures and influences.

SUGGESTED ASSIGNMENTS.
POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are the two lines along which stylistics is now developed?
2. What do we mean by phonostylistics?
3. Give illustrative examples of inherent and adherent expressivity.
4. Be ready to discuss the use of onomatopoeia for stylistic purposes.

[1] *See:* W e r n e r A. A Short Guide to English Style. London, 1961.

5. Give a few examples to show that stylistic effect can be derived not from any inherent quality of a word but from the context and situation.

ENGLISH PHRASEOLOGY

IDIOMATIC PHRASES

CHAPTER 13

Languages differ greatly in their idiomaticity in the forms they have adopted, the combinative power of words and their lexico-semantic combinability.

P h r a s e o l o g y is a term of wide inclusion but seems preferable for describing various structural and semantic types of phrases characterized by different degrees of stability and idiomaticity in a given language.

The term *'idiom'* has been variously treated by scholars. An i d i o m or i d i o m a t i c p h r a s e is often defined as a phrase, developing a meaning which cannot be readily analysed into the several sematic elements which would ordinarily be expressed by the words making up the phrase. It transcends the ordinary syntactic patterns and must be studied as an indivisible entity, in itself.

On the other hand, idiom is a very broad term and includes all the peculiarities and idiosyncrasies of the language — its idioms, its peculiar syntactic constructions, and other conventional practices of an unusual character.

A major stimulus to intensive studies of phraseology in Soviet linguistics was V. V. V i n o g r a d o v's research carried out in the history of the Russian vocabulary. The classification suggested by V. V. Vinogradov has been widely adopted by linguists working in other languages.

Investigation of English phraseology was initiated by A. V. K o o n i n, whose dictionary of English idioms has valuable information in this branch of vocabulary studies (Moscow, 1967).

There is also a monograph *English Phraseology* edited by A. V. Koonin in Moscow in 1970 where we find significant information revealing important aspects of phraseology in the light of modern linguistics.

There is also the *Anglo-Ukrainian Dictionary of Idioms and Phrases* compiled by B. K. B a r a n t s e v.

[1] *See:*
Амосова А. А. Основы английской фразеологии. М., 1963; *See also:* Современное состояние и перспективы фразеологии.— Вопросы языкознания, 1966, No. 3.
Ахманова О. С. Lexicology: Theory and Method. MGU, 1972.
Арнольд И. В. Лексикология современного английского языка. М., 1973.
Виноградов В. В. Русский язык. Грамматическое учение о слове. М., 1947. *See also:* Об основных типах фразеологических единиц в русском языке.— В кн. Академик А. А. Шахматов. Сб. статей и материалов. М.— Л., 1947.
Кунин А. В. Английская фразеология. М., 1970. *See also:* Основные понятия английской фразеологии и создание англо-русского фразеологического словаря. Докт. дисс. М., 1964.
Смирницкий А. И. Лексикология английского языка. М., 1956.

Various aspects of phraseology have been described in a considerable number of other investigations of Soviet scholars monographs and work-papers[1]. Attempts have been made to provide the insight into structural and semantic properties of phraseological units and the problem of their classification. Sometimes scholars differ in the view of phraseology as a branch of linguistics. There is also a variation in many directions with intergradation in linguistic analysis on this level.

The idiomatic aspect of a language has always been the most difficult part for a foreigner to master. A study of English phraseology, precise in force, vivid and rich in scope, shows how idiomatic turns of expression lend variety and expressivity to the language.

A study of idiomatic peculiarities is highly useful not only as an aid in immediate difficulties but as an effective means to extend the practical knowledge of the language.

There is much very useful information about English idioms in several dictionaries of English phrases and idioms, such as *English in Idioms* by James Main Dixon; *Words and Idioms* by L. P. Smith; *A Deskbook of Idioms and Idiomatic Phrases* by Vizetelly and de Bekker; *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*.

None of them however is at all exhaustive and complete. The main source for an adequate study of the subject is, to all probability, the Oxford dictionary with its enormous collection of instances and a wealth of linguistic evidence in this domain.

Many idioms have had curious histories. Some strike us as antiques that have somehow or other managed to survive and as survivals these are often not only of etymological interest.

We may group idioms in categories according to their meaning, which will make a semantic classification, or according to their origin in an etymological classification, which will distinguish idioms drawn from each sphere of human activity.

Idiomatic phrases may be grouped according to their grammatical structure, e. g. predicative and non-predicative units, nominal and verbal phrases, adverbial and adjectival phrases, etc.

In *Essentials of English Phraseology* N. N. Amosova defines phraseological units as units of fixed context, i. e. phrases with a specific and stable sequence of certain lexical components and peculiar semantic relations between them.

In these terms, phraseological units are classified into phrasemes and idioms. Phrasemes are binary phrases in which one of the components has a phraseologically bound meaning dependent on the other, e. g. in *blank verse* the meaning of the adjective *blank* (rhymeless) is signalled only by the fixed indicator *verse*. Other examples are: *bosom friend, husband's tea*, etc.

Idioms as distinguished from phrasemes are characterized by the integral meaning and idiomaticity of the whole word-group, e. g.: *red tape* (bureaucratic methods), *to smell a rat* (to suspect something wrong), *to rain cats and dogs* (to rain heavily).

Linguistic studies in phraseology of recent years contain a vast amount of observations based on the analysis valid for further progressive development of linguistic research along this line.

The classification of phraseological units offers special difficulties and remains the area of linguistic theory where we find different approaches with some important disputable points open to thought and discussion.

In the bewildering variety of idiomatic phrases we naturally find many borderline cases between idiomatic and non-idiomatic structures.

It seems practical to distinguish:
1. Standardized phrases.
2. Phraseological unities.
3. Unchangeable idioms (phraseological fusions).

Each of these, however, is not a completely isolated group, for it is sometimes impossible to draw a rigid line of demarcation between the given types. In a number of instances we find phraseological units of mixed nature which occupy an intermediate position.

STANDARDIZED PHRASES

Standardized phrases are semantically motivated conventional word-groups. The variability of their components is strictly limited, which accounts for their semantic indivisibility.

The use of words in standardized phrases is phraseologically restricted. Such are, for instance, numerous verb-phrases established by long use in the language: *to do one's duty* (but *not to make one's duty*), *to make a mistake* (but *not to do a mistake*), *to make haste* (but not to do haste), *to offer resistance, to offer*

an apology, to render a service, to make an agreement, to make an attempt, etc.

Cf.: одержать победу, поставить вопрос, дать совет, затронуть чувства, затронуть самолюбие, оказать содействие, оказать влияние, дело чести, долг службы;

здобути перемогу, подати допомогу, зробити послугу, порушити питання, чинити опір, справа честі.

There are also standardized attributive phrases with lexico-semantic restriction imposed upon the words making up the phrase, e. g.

acute pain, sunny smile, cold reason, hot scent, delicate health, deep gratitude, black ingratitude, beaten track, pure soul, close friendship, golden opportunity, open hand, open winter, sharp frost, sharp words.

Cf.: Russian and Ukrainian:

проторенная дорожка, незабываемые годы, щекотливое положение, острая боль, глубокое уважение, глубокая благодарность;

делікатне становище, ніякове становище, дражлива обставина, уторована стежка, протоптана стежка.

Fixed adverbial phrases are also common, e. **g.** *at the head, at full length, at your convenience, at the bottom of one's heart, at one stroke, all of a sudden, on no account, in the nick of time*, etc.

There are fixed phrases in which two words are habitually used together for the sake of emphasis, e. g. *aches and pains, bag and baggage, dust and ashes, fear and trembling, heart and soul, null and void, over and above, pick and choose.* Sometimes the collocation forms a phrase that is a sublimation of the combined meanings of the two words, e. g. *far and away, far and wide, fits and starts, for good and all, high and mighty, hole and corner, well and good.*

Most of such phrasal collocations are pleonasms: *free and easy, fair and square, hard and fast, hue and cry, by leaps and bounds, odds and ends, over head and ears, six of one and half-a-dozen of another.*

Some phrases are emphatic repetitions of the same word: *through and through, neck and neck, round and round.*

Other habitual collocations of this kind are formed by the contrast of two alternatives: *heads or tails, neck or nothing, rain or shine, for love or money, hit or miss.*

A peculiar feature of many commonest English idioms is the survival in them of archaic words —

words which are never used except in some special stock-phrase, e. g. *hue and cry, rank and file, humming and hawing, waifs and strays, to chop and change, to leave in the lurch, at loggerheads, by rote, in behoof, of yore, not a whit, to wit.*

In other phrases archaic and poetic words are preserved in colloquial speech, e. g. *hither and thither, used and wont, might and main, rack and ruin, kith and kin, a great deal, for the sake of.*

PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITIES

There are also stock-phrases where the meaning of the whole unity is not the sum of the meanings of its components but is based upon them, and may be understood from the components. These are p h r a- s e o l o g i c a l u n i t i e s. The meaning of the significant word is not too remote from its ordinary meanings. No element can be changed in such phrases without destroying the sense as a whole; the figurative sense of the whole is rather apparent, e. g. *fall ill, show one's teeth, cut short, to hot and cold, take in tow, take the habit, take to flight, put to flight, be in full swing, make money, make both ends meet, strike the eye.*

Cf.: Russian and Ukrainian:

бросаться в глаза, взять на буксир, брать в свои руки, из мухи делать слона, сводить концы с концами, сбить с толку, на скорую руку;

взяти себе в руки, звести з розуму, збити з пантелику, зводити кінці з кінцями, впасти в очі.

Verbs of motion possess a great power of entering into such combinations. Extremely generalized in their meaning, they make so great a variety of phrases that compared with the other elements of the English vocabulary they seem to possess an inexhaustible store of life and energy. The metaphoric use of verbs of motion presents a peculiar interest in most languages.

to come to one's sense — взятися за розум
to come into fashion — ввійти в моду
to come home — влучати в ціль
to fall into disrepute — бути скомпрометованим
to fall into disgrace — впасти в неласку
to fall into a rage — розлютуватися
to fly into a rage — розлютуватися
to fly low — старатися не притягати уваги

to fly into a passion — розлютуватися
to leap into fame — прославитися
to run a risk — рискувати
to run into debt — наробити боргів
to run to extremes — впадати в крайність
to run on the rocks — зазнати краху
to sink or swim — або пан, або пропав

Cf. **Russian:** *войти в соглашение, войти в контакт, войти в историю, войти в роль, войти в доверие, войти в силу, войти в привычку, выйти из обихода, выйти из положения, выйти замуж, входить в чьелибо положение, входить в чьи-либо интересы, прийти в себя, прийти в восторг, впадать в детство, прийти в ярость, пасть жертвой, упасть в чьемлибо мнении, обойти молчанием.*

Ukrainian: *прийти до висновку, спасти на думку, прийти на пам'ять, дійти згоди, прийти до пам'яті, приходити у відчай, вдаватися у відчай, впадати в дитинство, обходити мовчанкою.*

· It seems reasonable to include under idiom proverbs and proverbial sayings. These are concise sentences, expressing some truth as ascertained by experience of wisdom and familiar to all.

If a phrase is a word-combination entering with some degree of unity into the structure of a sentence as its element, the proverb is a sentence by itself, i. e. a group of words so organized as to convey a completed thought. Often metaphoric in character, they include elements of implicit information well understood without being formally present in the discourse.

East or west, home is best; Every cloud has a silver lining; A tree is known by its fruit; One swallow does not make a summer; Birds of a feather flock together; Still water runs deep; A fault confessed is half redressed; Let sleeping dogs lie; Let bygones be bygones. No place like home.

Proverbs are often elliptical in their structure, e. g. *No smoke without fire; No pains, no gains; No sweet without some sweat; All covet, all lose; Victory in defeat.*

Instances are not few when they are alliterative in form as in *Many men, many minds* (= *So many men, so many minds*); *Don't trouble trouble until trouble troubles you; Tit for tat; Make a mountain out of a molehill.*

Considered in sense, most proverbs come under the class of phraseological unities.

There are a great many proverbial sayings which are similar in meaning. Examine the following groups:

Fortune favours the brave *Cheek brings success*	Сміливість міста бере
Faint heart never won fair lady *None but the brave deserves the fair*	Чия відвага того й перемога
Every cloud has a silver lining *It is an ill wind that blows nobody good*	Лихо не без добра
Still waters have deep bottoms *Smooth water runs deep*	Тиха вода греблю рве; У тихому болоті чорти водяться.
No pains, no gains *Cat in gloves catches no mice* *No sweet without some sweat*	Без труда нема плода
There is no accounting for tastes *Tastes differ*	У кожного свій смак

The expression of the same idea does not always run the same channel. Thus, for instance, there is an English proverb *"Two many cooks spoil the broth"* In Russian it runs: "У семи нянек дитя без глазу" (= *With seven nurses, the child goes blind*); in Italian *"With too many roosters crowing, the sun never comes up"*; In Persian *"Two captains sink the ship"* in Japanese *"Two many boatmen run the boat up the top of a mountain"*; In English they say *"Call a spade a spade"*; in Spanish *"Call bread bread and wine wine"*. Compare also: *"A fly in the ointment"*; and the Russian: *"Ложка дегтя в бочке меда"*; *"To hit the nail on the head"* and *"Попасть не в бровь, а в глаз"*. The old Latin proverb *"In the land of the blind a one-eyed man is a king"* is curiously paralleled by Korea's *"Where there are no tigers, a wild cat is very self-important"*. Examples like these may easily be multiplied.

Proverbs have historical and cultural value. They are generalizations of human experiences, condensations of oft-repeated occurrences. Above all they are the fruit of observation and inductive reasoning, two of the great faculties of human mind. Every proverb tells a story and teaches a lesson.

Old and homely as proverbs are, they have yet a wide use in the most modern writing. Literature

abounds in proverbial sayings. This might be illustrated by numerous quotations from different authors. Proverbial material is most frequently employed, for instance, in Galsworthy's "*Forsyte Saga*". We find here such sentences and phrases as, *Wishes father thoughts; She has made her bed, she must lie in it; Let the dead past bury its dead; Victory in defeat.*

COMPARATIVE PHRASES

English phraseology includes various types of fixed comparative phrases, verbal and adjectival in the main.

It seems reasonable to make distinction between two semantic types of such units: a) patterns of likeness, b) patterns of degree.

Cf.: (a) *as busy as a bee*
 as the crow flies
 like herrings in a barrel
 like watch off duck's back
 sleep like a baby
 sing like a lark
 (b) *better than nothing*
 worse than anything
 more praise than pudding

Verbal and adjectival comparative phrases are often synonymically correlated, e. g.

Cf.: *burn like fire*   *hot as fire*
 eat like a wolf   *hungry as a wolf*
 look like a ghost   *pale as a ghost.*
 live like a king   *happy as a king*
 sit like statue   *motionless as a statue*
 melt like wax   *soft as wax*
 to watch like a hawk   *as watchful as a hawk*

It is of interest to note that among comparative phraseological units describing human qualitites, actions or states through logical comparison reveal a specific principle of imagery different from practice in other languages.

Cf.: **English**   *to sleep like a top dog*
 Russian   *спать как сурок*
 Ukrainian *спати як бабак*
 French   *dormir comme une marmotte*
 German   *Wie ein Dachs (ein Murmeltier) schlafen.*

Close parallels in the principle of imagery are also fairly common, e. g.:
Cf.: *fast as hare, hard as stone, mute as a fish, soft as wax, hungry as a wolf, greedy as a wolf,* etc.

There are expressive comparative units based on antiphrasis where the first component (an adjective or a noun) neutralizes its primary denotative meaning and is used with the implication of its opposite, e. g. *as welcome as snow in harvest (as water in a leaking ship)* — потрібний як собаці п'ята нога, несвоєчасний, небажаний, *agree like cats and dogs* — жити як кіт з собакою, *as clear as mud (joc.)* зовсім неясно, 'темна справа'.

A special group of comparative phrases is presented by such idiomatic intensifiers: *as (like) anything, as (like) hell, as (like) devil, like a shot, like mad.*

Such phrases are characterized by complete semantic depletion and have therefore an almost unlimited valency. Due to their semantic depletion they come to be used with adjective, subjective evaluation, e. g. *sad as hell :: gay as hell, glad as hell; hot as hell :: cold as hell; young as hell :: old as hell,* etc.

With adjectives of positive subjective evaluation phrases of this type make up oxymoron locutions, intended to denote the highest degree of quality.

CAST-IRON IDIOMS OR PHRASEOLOGICAL FUSIONS

Considered in sense, stock-phrases often differ so much from the natural meanings to be gathered from the component words that their meaning can never be derived as a whole from the conjoined meanings of its elements. These are phraseological fusions or cast-iron idioms.

Examples of phraseological fusions are:

to be at sixes and sevens — бути у безладді, різко розходитись в думках
to mind one's p's and q's — бути уважним, обережним
to sow one's wild oats — передуріти, переказитися
a fine kettle of fish ⎫
a nice kettle of fish ⎬ — безладдя, плутанина,
a pretty kettle of fish ⎭ «гарненька історія»
under the rose — нишком, таємно, по секрету
to be on the carpet — бути предметом обговорення
(French: *sur le tapis*)

to beat the air	— марно витрачати енергію
to beat the wind	по-пустому старатися, товк-
to mill the wind	ти воду в ступі
to cry for the moon	— вимагати неможливого
once in a blue moon	— дуже рідко
above-board	— чесний

Such idioms have had curious histories. By way of illustration:

At sixes and sevens — in disorder, of different opinion, confused.

This plural form of expression is comparatively modern, dating back only a hundred and fifty years or so. The older form *on six and seven*, however, was so old and well known in Chaucer's day that, worse luck, he didn't bother to explain what it means when, about 1375, he used it in Troylus and Criseyde.

As it is used to-day and has been used for centuries, the phrase means "in a state of disorder or confusion"; "topsyturvy". Explanations of its origin have been sought, but nothing certain is known. One writer tries to connect it with a Hebrew phrase. Another seeks an explanation in the Arabic numerals 6 and 7, which he points out, extend higher and lower respectively in a line of figures than do the others; hence, that these two are irregular.

But it is more probable that Chaucer's use had reference to an old dicing game. From Chaucer and other old sources we know of one game in which to try a throw of a five and a six (*cinque* and *sice* were old names) was regarded as the most risky gamble to be made.

One who staked his chance on such a throw, was reckless in the extreme, utterly careless of consequences. To hazard such a throw was *to set on cinque and sice*, in the old wording. It is presumed that Chaucer's use *to set on six and seven* had reference to a similar game. From heedlessness and carelessness in taking such a risk, the expression *on six and seven* later changed to *at sixes and sevens* may have come to denote general carelessness, hence disorder and confusion.

To mind one's p's and q's — to take pains; to be careful and precise.

More conjectures have been advanced to explain the original meaning of this phrase than upon any other equally obscure. Each has a certain degree of plausibility. The simplest explanation is that it was an incessant admonition among pedagogs to their young charges, warning them to note the right-handed knob of the p and the left-handed knob of the q. But if such admonitions were given to youngsters just learning to print the alphabet, why was there not a like warning to mind their b's and d's in which the knobs are also reversed? Another of the same category, is that it was a warning to young apprentice printers who might be confused in picking out type, because the face of a type letter is just the reverse of the printed character. But here, again, the explanation is weak, because the reverse p is d, not q.

To sow one's wild oats — to indulge in dissipation, or to conduct oneself foolishly.

The saying has been common in its present sense for at least four hundred years, for a writer of that period speaks of young men at "that wilfull and unruly age, which laketh typenes and discretion, and (as wee saye) hath not sowed all theyr wyeld oates".

The reference is to a genus of cereal grass, known as *wild oat* (Avena fatua), that flourishes throughout Europe. It is little more than a weed and is very difficult to eradicate. The folly of sowing it is comparable to the folly shown by young men who, thoughtlessly, commit an act or begin a practice the evil of which will be difficult to eradicate.

A kettle of fish.

Used with some such adjective as *fine, nice*, or *pretty*, this is an ironic way of saying *a terrible mess*. It was so used by the British novelists, Samuel Richardson, in "Pamela", and Henry Fielding, in "Joseph Andrew", back in 1742. The expression is assumed to have arisen from a custom of the gentry residing along the river Tweed. According to a writer who toured the region in 1785, „it is customary for the gentlemen who live near the Tweed to entertain their neighbors and friends with a Fete Champetre, which they call giving "a kettle of fish". Tents of marquees are pitched near the flowery banks of the river... a fire is kindled, and live salmon thrown into boiling kettles".

Scott mentioned such picnic in "St. Ronan's Well". Probably there were times when things went awry with the kettle of fish; maybe the chowder burned, or someone forgot the salt, or maybe kettle would overturn. In any such instance the picnic would be ruined, *the kettle of fish* would be a sad failure.

Sub rosa or under the rose — in strict privacy, utter confidence, absolute secrecy.

Whether Latin or English, German (unter der Rose) or French (sous la rose), it means as it has been said "in strict privacy," "utter confidence," "absolute secrecy". This ancient expression, it is said, came down to us from the Greeks who, seeing the Egyptian god, Horus, seated under a rose and depicted with a finger at his lips, thought, that he was the god of silence. The concept was mistaken, however, for the rose was a lotus and the infant god was sucking his finger.

But the mistake survived and gave rise in turn to an apocryphal story in Latin. This relates that cupid, wishing to have the love affairs of his mother, Venus, kept hidden from the other gods and goddesses, bribed Harpocrates (the Latin name for Horus) to silence with the first rose that was ever created. And this story is credited by some as the origin of the phrase.

It has also been said that the expression was derived from some wholly unknown source and that during the Middle Ages it was translated into Latin and thus spread throughout Europe.

To stew in one's own juice — to suffer the consequences of one's own act.

This, or its variant, *to fry in one's own grease*, is very old. In the latter form it appears in a thirteenth century tale of Richard the Lion-Hearted, and there is a French equivalent, *cuire dans sons jus.* It is presumable that the older expression, at least, was originally literal; one fried in his own grease who, having committed some act punishable by such means, was burned at the stake.

STYLISTIC ASPECTS OF PHRASEOLOGY

The stylistic range of phraseology in any language is very wide and its gradations are infinite.

Linguistic analysis on this level must naturally presuppose the central importance of keeping· in line with actual usage of phraseological units, where everything depends on what is expected at particular points in stylistic range, whether in ordinary day-to-day discourse or in pictorial language.

How phraseological units are used and how they make their impact in various spheres of application is an interesting object of scientific research, relevant to the study of such categories as intensity, comparison and expressivity.

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By stylistic value of a phraseological unit we mean its expressive and emotive properties combined with denotive and grammatical content of a given unit.

A study of expressive phraseology, precise in force, vivid and rich in scope, shows how idiomatic turns of expression lend variety to the language.

The method of figurative language is to stir the emotions, to excite the imagination, and to bring both to the aid of vivid full apprehension. It does this through suggesting more than is said; by presenting the idea in a new relationship, by comparing it in some respect with some known thing otherwise dissimilar; by personifying it, if it is an inanimate object; or by revealing it in some other unaccustomed light through figurative extension of word-meanings.

Phraseological unit contain different figures of speech, such as metaphor, comparison, simile, metonymy, euphemism and hyperbole. Semantic transpositions of words have brought a wealth of phraseology.

Examples of English phraseological units containing metaphor may be given in numbers:

dog in the manger — собака на сіні
old fox — стара лисиця, хитрун
cock of the school — перший забіяка у школі, заводій (у спорті, у шкільних іграх)
to run on the rocks — зазнати краху
to be on the razor edge — бути на краю безодні
slow coach — тупуватий, відсталий
rising star — зірка, що сходить
queer fish — дивак, чудак
smiles of fortune — усмішка долі
to get into a scrape — опинитися у тяжкому становищі
to dance on a tight rope — жартувати з вогнем, ходити на краю безодні
milk and water — пуста беззмістовна розмова, беззмістовна книга
the weaker vessel (facet.) — жінка

Metonymy is obvious in the sense-shift based on the substitution of a part for the whole, e. g.

blue coat — учень благодійної школи
blue bonnet — шотландець
all ears — дуже уважний
an old hand — досвідчена людина, стріляний горобець, бувала людина

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to count noses, to tell noses — лічити голоси

H y p e r b o l e is also fairly common:

oceans of time — безліч часу

a drop in the ocean — крапля в морі

a sea of trouble — безліч неприємностей

Quite a number of phrases are **e u p h e m i s t i c
i n c h a r a c t e r**, e. g.

to send to glory — убити

to join the majority — умерти

In actual use phraseological units may undergo changes in structure such as contraction, extension, or periphrasis intended to renovate the phrase by adding some connotative element to the information carried by a given phrase. Such changes are always adapted to style and purpose. A few examples for illustration:

(a) *"He's looking for a house. I've an idea he'd like to marry"... "Yes. But I don't , see how you know."
"A little bird, Lady Corven".* (Galsworthy)
(*a little bird = a little bird told me*. Syn. *news flies quickly*).

(b) *... I've been as good a son as ever you were a brother. It's the pot and the kettle, if you come to that.* (Dickens)
(*the kettle and the pot = The pot calls the kettle black =* горшку перед котлом нема чим хвалитися).

(c) *It was one of those firms that had a tradition of benevolence behind it, meaning hard work and little pay to the right sort of people — those who would serve the film through their thick and your thin* (Sillitoe).
(*through thick and thin =* що б то не стало, рішуче, за будь-яку ціну).

(d) *Dinny was sitting perfectly still and upright like a little girl at a lesson, with her hands crossed on her lap and her eyes fixed on space. She did not see him till his hand was on her shoulder.
"Penny!"* (Galsworthy).
(*"Penny!"* — the beginning of the phrase *'A penny for your thought* (!)' — Про що задумалися?

(f) *Little Jon had been borne with a silver spoon in a mouth which was rather curly and large* (Galsworthy).

(g) *England with the silver spoon in her mouth and no longer the teeth to hold it there, or the will to part with it!* (Galsworthy).
(*to be born with a silver spoon in one's mouth =* родитися в сорочці.)

Periphrasis of proverbial sayings intended to produce stylistic effects is also fairly common, e. g.

(a) *"You speak as if you rather liked it."
"The milk is spilled, and it's no good worrying."*

(allusion to the proverb *'There is no crying over spilt milk.'*)

(b) *Cook arrived with coffee, and put down the tray with the air of a camel exhibiting the last straw.* (Priestly).

(ironic periphrasis of the proverbial saying: *'It is the last straw that breaks the camel's back.'*)

(c) *Soames doggedly let the spring come — no easy task for one conscious that time was flying, his birds in the bush no nearer the hand* (Galsworthy).

(periphrasis of the proverbial saying *'A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush'* = Не обіцяй журавля в небі, а дай синицю в руки.)

(d) *Soames could not be sure whether it was a comfort.
"The grass shall not grow, Forsyte. I'll go there now"* (Galsworthy).

(allusion to the proverb: *'The grass shall not grow under one's feet'* = Під лежачий камінь вода не тече.)

Polysemy and Synonymy of Phraseological Units

By a variety of sense-shift due to the use in different contexts a single phraseological unit can be made to express variant meanings.

Change in the distribution of a polysemic phraseological unit may lead to essential change in its semantic value. The context makes the necessary meaning clear, narrowing down all the other possible meanings of the phrase, and no ambiguity arises.

Phraseological dictionaries give numerous examples of context-sensitive implication observed in phraseology.

A few of them will suffice for illustration:

1) the phrase *to be on the go*, for instance, can mean: a) be at work, be on the move, b) be going to leave, c) be in a hurry, d) be in one's cups;

Cf.: (a) *Her real faith — what was it? Not to let a friend down... not to funk; to do things differently from other people; **to be** always **on the go,** not to be suffy, not to be dull.* (Galsworthy).

(b) *The guest **was on the go** for half an hour though the host began to show signs of impatience.*

(c) *He **is** always **on the go.***

(d) *The wine made him a little bit **on the go.***

2) *to hold (keep) up one's end:* a) to make both ends meet, b) to stand one's ground, not give in, not lose courage, not disgrace oneself, e. g.

*"How is Dinny?" Very low in her mind. But she **keeps her end up.*** (Galsworthy).

..."*I haven't got anything, really. And it's so hard for me **to keep up my end** and against all of them too*" (Dreiser).

3) *to be on the carpet:* 'to be discussed', 'to be under discussion'; 'to be reprimanded', 'to get a scolding', e. g.

*"To my mind, Desert **is on the carpet** — not for apostasy, but for the song he's made about it"* (Galsworthy).

It is to be noted that in many cases a phraseological unit is, in fact, a secondary formation that has originated from the metaphoric reinterpretation of a free word-combination. Figurative meanings are commonly established by some connotative supplementary component or reinterpreted diagnostic component, e. g. '*to play the game*', when used metaphorically means '*to be honest*', to act honestly.

*I believe one has **to play the game** — but that's etics* (Galsworthy).

the phrase '*out of the wood*' (Amer. woods) developed a reinterpreted diagnostic component '*out of danger*'.

She's been visiting that young American with pneumonia... "Francis Wilmot?"

*"Yes. He's **out of the wood**, now"* (Galsworthy).

*"Not **out of the woods** yet, gentlemen" he remarked to a group of his adherents... "We have to do a great many things sensibly if we expect to keep the people's confidence and win again* (Dreiser).

A connotative supplementary component serves as a link between the base and the figurative sense.

* * *

Various processes of sense-shift and foreign borrowings have contributed significantly to the development of synonymy in phraseology.

A b s o l u t e synonyms identical in meaning and stylistic connotation are comparatively rare.

A few typical examples are:

break one's word

depart from one's word

bring (drive) to the bay

drive (force) to the wall

in the twinkling of an eye
like winking

no great loss without small gain
every cloud has a silver lining
like lightning
with lightning speed
like a streak of lightning

I d e o g r a p h i c s y n o n y m s dente different shades of common meaning, e. g.

Examine the following: *to come to a conclusion, to arrive at a conclusion, to jump at a conclusion, to leap at a conclusion.* All of these have a common denotational component, the last two give additional indication, that of a hasty conclusion.

In other cases synonymic phrases differ in intensity of a given meaning:

be in two minds — be in twenty minds
to be in one's cups — to be dead drunk

It is important to observe stylistic differentiation of synonyms. The synonyms of a particular phrase are not always interchangeable with that phrase for their use can depend on the linguistic situation, the audience addressed and the writer's or speaker's attitude towards the subject. Some phrases are stylistically neutral, others have an emotional connotation that makes them more expressive. Different connotation of stylistic synonyms indicates a different attitude towards the idea expressed by them.

In stylistic synonyms the difference is not so much in the meaning as in the emotional colouring.

There are phrases which are exactly the same in meaning but are appropriate only to definite contexts, on particular linguistic occasions.

Examine the following:

what on earth is this? — what the hell is this?
when pigs fly — on the Greek calends
word of honour! — as I live by bread! (col.)
to do one's best — to do one's damnedest (sl.)
it takes the bun — it takes the bisquit (sl.)
to go mad — to go off one's head — to go crazy with something — to go off one's chump.
to be in high spirits — to be in good spirits — to be on high ropes (col.)
on foot — on shank's mare (facet.)

Synonymic phrases are often similar in their syntactical structure and different in one of their lexical elements, e. g.

do wonders ⎫ творити чудеса
work wonders ⎭

make a hay of something ⎫ вносити безладдя
make a mess of something ⎭

walking dictionary ⎫ ходяча енциклопедія
walking library ⎭

to get one's hand in ⎫
to have one's hand in ⎬ натренуватися, набити руку
to keep one's hand in ⎭

beat the air ⎫ марно старатися
beat the wind ⎭

to have a big head ⎫ зазнаватися
to have a swelled head ⎭

heart of flint ⎫ кам'яне серце
heart of stone ⎭

to come home ⎫
to hit home ⎪
to get home ⎬ влучити, дійняти до живого, уразити
to go home ⎪
to strike home ⎭

to have an eye on ⎫ стежити, пильнувати, наглядати
to keep an eye on ⎭

to get one's ideas into shape ⎫ продумувати
to put one's ideas into shape ⎭

SUGGESTED ASSIGNMENTS.
POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Get ready to discuss the possible criteria on which the classification of phraseological units can be based.

2. Objective criteria as to the degree of idiomaticity is an essential requirement for the classification of phraseological units. Can you say why?

3. Where can you find a valuable source of information on English phraseology?

4. Define the linguistic status of: a) standardized phrases, b) phraseological unities, c) unchangeable units (phraseological fusions).

5. Transference of word meaning is known to have brought a wealth of phraseology. Give examples of phraseological unit containing different figures of speech: simile, antithesis, metaphor, metonymy, euphemism and hyperbole. Make comparisons with Russian, Ukrainian, French and German.

6. Give examples of semantic idioms in English with due attention to semantic universals in this part of phraseology.

7. Illustrate the use of verbs of motion in various types of phraseological uses. Make comparison with other languages.

8. By a variety of sense-shift due to the use in different contexts a single phraseological unit can be made to express variant meanings. Give a few typical examples to illustrate the statement.

9. Use your phraseological dictionary to observe the context-sensitive implication of such phraseological units as: *give way, be on the go, all in all, strain (or stretch) a point, all right, for that matter.* Use them in sentences.

10. Consult your dictionary and find some other examples to illustrate semantic variations of phraseological units in different contexts.

11. Illustrate the statement that phraseological unities and phraseological fusions often originate from the metaphoric reinterpretation of free word-combinations. Make use of componential analysis to make your answer concrete.

12. In actual use phraseological units may undergo transformations in structure, such as, for instance, contraction, extension, or lexico-grammatical periphrasis intended to renovate the phrase for stylistic purposes. Find examples to illustrate the value of such devices in actual use.

13. Be ready to discuss the problem of synonymic correlation of linguistic units.

14. Give examples of phraseological units which are similar in meaning but differ in their emotional connotation.

15. Ideographic synonyms denote different shades or different degree of common meaning. Can you find examples of such synonymic formations in phraseology?

16. Illustrate the use of archaic words in English phraseology.

17. Give examples of phraseological units that differ in the intensity of a given meaning.

18. English phraseology includes various types of fixed comparative phrases, verbal and adjectival, in the main. Give a few examples of such phrases and give comments on the principle of imagery on which they are coined. Make comparison with other languages.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN VARIANTS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

CHAPTER 14

The linguistic evidence drawn from the investigation of English gives every reason to say that in spite of all functional differences observed in spelling, pronunciation and uses of words, in word-making and in grammar, British and American variants of the English language prove one and the same system and one and the same language.

PHONETIC VARIANTS

Observe the following articulatory acoustic variants:

	English	American
candidate	['kændidit]	['kændıdeit]
delegate	['deligɪt]	['delıgeıt]
tomato	[tə'mɑ:tou]	[to'meɪtou]
potter	['potə]	['pʌtə]
putter	['potə]	['pʌtə]
ceremony	['serımənı]	['serı,mounı]
matrimony	['mætrımonı]	['mætrı,mounı]

Variation in word stress is often observed in words Latin and French in origin. Such are, for instance, nouns and adjectives ending in **-ory, -ary, -ery** (one stress in English, two stresses (primary and secondary) in the USA).

	English	American
territory	['terıtərı]	['tərı,torı]
auditory	['ɔ:dıtərı]	['ɔ:dı,torı]
commentary	['koməntərı]	['komən,terı]
missionary	['mıʃənərı]	['mıʃə,nerı]
stationary	['steıʃənərı]	['steıʃə,nerı]
millinery	['mılınərı]	['mılı,nerı]

In some of such variants the vowel under the secondary stress is retained:

	English	American
dictionary	['dıkʃənrı]	['dıkʃə,nerı]
dormitory	['dɔ:mıtrı]	['dɔ:mıtorı]
military	['mılıtrı]	['mılı,terı]
secretary	['sekrətrı]	['sekrə,terı]

There are also words that differ in the position of the main stress, e. g.

	English	American
laboratory	[lə'borətərı]	['læbərətorı]
capillary	[kə'pılərı]	['kæpı,lerı]
centenary	[sən'ti:nərı]	['sentı,nerı]
corollary	[kə'rolərı]	['korə,lərı]

VARIATION IN THE SPELLING

Functional differences are noticeable in the spelling of some words:

AE **-or** for BE-**our**: *color, humor, labor;*

AE **-ize (-ization)** for BE **-ise (-isation)**: *cristallize, cristallization:*

AE **-er** for BE **-re**: *center, fiber, theater;*

AE **-se** for BE **-ce**: *defense, license.*

Simplification in spelling such words foreign in origin:
AE

anemia	for *anaemia*	*gram* for *gramme*
catalog	for *catalogue*	*check* for *cheque*
program	for *programme*	

In such words as *inclose, inclosure* AE prefers the use of the prefix **in- (im-)** instead of **en- (em-)**. Similarly *incrust* instead of *encrust*, *infold* instead of *enfold*, *impanel* instead of *empanel*.

Some compound words are spelled solid: *makeup* — грим, *breakdown* — поломка, *postoperatively* — постоперационно.

There are also instances of occasional spelling of some words, as for instance, *draft* (BE *draught* — 'тяга'), *gage* (BE *gauge* — 'масштаб'), *pajamas* (BE *pyjamas* 'пижама').

English derivatives with the suffix **-dom, -ment, -ful** from certain nouns ending in **-ll** are spelled in the USA with one **-l**:

English	American
skillful	*skilful*
willful	*wilful*
thralldom	*thraldom*

Observe also such variants as:

English	American
connection	*connexion*
deflection	*deflexion*
inflection	*inflexion*

There are some differences in spelling words with inflectional and derivational suffixes: -ed, -ing, -er, -ery, -or, -ist and others. In American English l is doubled only in cases when the stress falls on the last syllable of the stem. Compare:

English	American
apparelled	appareled
councillor	councilor
jewellry	jewelry
levelled	leveled
libelled	libeled
marvellous	marvelous
medallist	medalist
travelling	traveling
woollen	woolen

On the other hand, l is doubled in words with the stress on the last syllable. In standard English such words are spelled with one l:

English	American
enrol	enroll
enthral	enthrall
fulfil	fulfill

It is to be noted that, in many cases the difference between British and American uses of words lies not so much in systematic lexical meaning than in structural variation of one and the same word[1]. Instances are not few when such variant forms differ only in word-making affixes but are identical in meaning, as in

[1] See:
Смирницкий
А. И. Лексикология
английского языка.
М., 1956, р. 42

English	American
aluminium	aluminum
acclimatize	acclimate
acclimatization	acclimation
acclimatizable	acclimatable

Functional differences in the use of words will be observed in such cases as: AE 'I guess' instead of 'I think' — 'Я полагаю', AE 'fall' for BE autumn, AE 'mad' for BE angry — 'сердитый'.

There are also special foreign adoptions, such as squaw — 'женщина' (Ind.), chute 'спуск' (French), cafeteria 'кафетерий' (Spanish), bos 'босс' (Ind.), guy, U-boat 'немецкая подводная лодка'.

Special cases of sense-shift will be observed in:

AE store-shop — BE supply — запас; AE bug — жук, насекомое, BE bug — клоп, for which in AE there is a new word 'a bed-bug'; in AE corn — маис, кукуруза, in BE corn — зерно, пшеница, зерновые хлеба.

A considerable number of words have been borrowed from AE in recent times, such as: antibiotic, drive-in theater — театр на открытом воздухе для автомобилистов, supermarket — большой магазин самообслуживания, gangster — гангстер, lollipop — леденец, lynch — суд Линча, popcorn — воздушная кукуруза and still others[1].

[1] See:
Шпитцбардт Г.
Отличительные
особенности
американского
варианта
английского языка.—
В кн.: Теория языка.
Англистика.
Кельтология. М.,
1976.

Additional information about special American terms in different branches of science and technique, transport, sports, etc. will be found in numerous work-papers and monographs on English in the USA. There is also a good dictionary of the American variant of English, edited in New York in 1967 by Jess Stein "The Random House Dictionary of the English Language":

VARIATION IN GRAMMAR

Among Americanisms we find verbs and nouns, made through conversion, such as for instance, to category, to ready up (= to prepare).

Nouns ending in -terie, -fest, -heimer, -sky, -nik, etc. and adverbs in -wise seem to be more active in AE than in BE.

Back-formation has given such words in AE as: to enthuse — from enthusiasm — вызывать энтузиазм, проявлять энтузиазм, to biograph from biographer — составлять биографию, to commute from commutation ticket (сезонный билет), to input — ввести информацию, to output — вывести информацию. Most of these words are in use in BE.

Many words and standardized word-groups that at the beginning of this century felt in England as specifically American use, have already been "acclimatized" and are now fairly common not only in spoken English but in other styles of speech.

Naturalization of Americanisms is noticeably on the increase in present-day English.

In the words of R. Quirk, American adoptions are to a great extent due to the influence of American press. Good examples in point are given by A. D. Shweitzer:

Even British promoter Jack Solomons, who was in Bologna to see the flight, is rooting for Franco Cavicchi

to the extent of inviting him to England to defent the title (Daily Mail).

Did you know that in recent months Do-It-Your-self departments have been mushrooming in big stores all over the country — in London, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds and Glasgow? (Ibid.).

Buster Keaton, the poker-faced, slapstick star of Hollywood's golden silent era, reported for duty in London yesterday on his new career as technical adviser to Mr. Pastry (Ibid.).

The Tories were able to meet Labour's challenge, if it can be called a challenge, on such gimmicks as "We have never had it so good" (Labour Monthly).

Another furry-headed man in a large check-suit (also of the zoot-suit type) was listening to a willowy girl in a green slit skirt (Lindsay).

American English abounds in abbreviations of various type, e. g.

advertisement	*ad*
acute	*cute;*

acronyms like *ESSO* (from Standard Oil), contractions like *laser* — лазер instead of light amplification by stimulated emission of radiation — усиление света посредством стимуляции излучения, contaminations, such as *motel* мотель from *motor* автомобиль + *hostel* гостиница. By the nature of things such words as *laser* and *motel* have become part of terminology in BE.

Functional differences will be observed in syntax.

There are transitive verbs, for instance, which in BE govern their object by means of prepositions, e. g. *to protest (against)*, or *to battle*, etc. In AE these verbs take a direct object, e. g. *to protest something*.

The use of prepositions differs in other cases. Thus, instead of the preposition *about* Americans use the preposition *around; aside* instead of *besides* or *outside of* instead of *outside*, etc.

The use of participle II in syntactic patterns with the verbs *to order* and *to desire* is characteristic of AE, e. g.

She wanted the story told her again.
The captain ordered the old ship sunk.

Variations in the word-order will be found in such terms as include words *river, lake, valley, county,* etc. In AE they say *Mississippi river* and *Squaw Valley,* while in England you will hear the *River Thames* and *University of London* instead of London University.

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Minor differences will be found in morphology, e. g. the use of synthetic forms of the Subjunctive Mood in AE after such verbs as *to express, to suggest, to urge,* etc., e. g.

The organizing committee suggest that a subcommittee be formed.

Cf.: BE *The organizing committee suggest that a subcommittee should be formed.*

Functional differences are also observed in the use of participial forms of such verbs as *get — gotten, prove — proven* instead of *got* and *proved.*

AE prefers to use standard forms of the Past Tense and Participle II of the verbs *burn, dream* and *learn:*

English:	*burn*	*— burnt*
	dream	*— dreamt*
	learn	*— learnt*
American:	*burn*	*— burned*
	dream	*— dreamed*
	learn	*— learned*

In spoken AE the use of adverbs without **-ly** is rather a frequent occurrence, e. g.

He went out slow.
You'll have to do it quick.

VARIATION IN VOCABULARY

Here are some examples to show that a number of words in every-day use differ in England and America:

English	American	English	American
beer	ale	motor car	automobile
cinema	movie	petrol	gazoline
chemist	druggist	postman	letter carrier
goods	freight	porridge	oatmeal
goods train	freight train	railway	railroad
seaside	beach	flat	apartment
undergro- und train	subway train	leader (article)	editorial
sweets	candy	lorry	truck
tart	pie	lift-boy	elevator-boy
tin	can	luggage	baggage
tram car	trolley car	letter card	post card
typist	typewriter	maize	corn
wireless	radio	minerals	soft drinks

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There is no doubt that foreign elements in the English language in America not found in England before their adoption by the Americans are insignificant.

Among Indian names of specifically Indian things taken over by the American colonists we find such as: *canoe, moccassin, toboggan, wigwam, squam, succotash, mugwump*.

A few examples of Spanish borrowings: *ranch, cinch, adobe*. Among German words that have entered the English language in America may be mentioned: *preizel* (a baked and salted biscuit of knotlike form), *wienerwurst* (a kind of highly seasoned sausage), *loafer* (G. *laufen* colloq.— to walk).

Loan-words brought into the language through the Negroes are not numerous. A few words like *piccaninny* (a Negro child), *banjo* (a Negro instrument), *juba* (a kind of dance), *hoodoo or voodoo* (to bring bad luck, a cause of bad luck) exhaust the list of words that have been familiarized through their use by the Negroes. Scarcely longer is the number of English words that have special associations with Negroes, such as: *cake-walk Mammy* (a Negro nurse), *aunty* (an old Negro woman).

There are a number of technical, political, geographical, military and other terms which do not coincide in England and America, e. g.

English	American
government	*administration*
office, ministry	*department*
plurality	*majority*
section	*squad*
Royal Armoured Corps	*Armored Corps*

A number of words have been made by shortening, e. g.

movies — from moving pictures
sub — from subway
bike — from bicycle

Here are some extreme abbreviations current in the English language in America:
S. G.— Secretary-General (of the United Nations)
G. I.— General Issue, Government Issue
Q's and A's — questions and answers.

1. Get ready to discuss the functional differences in spelling and pronunciation in British and American variants of the English language.

2. In many cases the difference between British and American uses of words lies not so much in systematic lexical meaning than in structural variations of one and the same word. Can you give examples of such variant forms in word-making suffixes?

3. Give examples of functional differences observed in the use of words?.

4. Among Americanisms in word-making we find verbs and nouns made through conversion. Can you give a few examples of such words?

5. Give comments on functional differences in British and American differences observed in syntax.

6. A number of words in everyday use differ in English and the USA. Give a few examples to illustrate the statement.

7. Give comments on functional differences in technical, political, geographical, military and other terms which do not coincide in England and America.

LEXICOGRAPHY

CHAPTER 15 Lexicography is a most difficult sphere of linguistic activity and research. The theory of lexicography is connected with all the levels of linguistic structure: semantics, lexicology, grammar and stylistics. The dictionary is indeed the meeting of all the systems, linguistic and non-linguistic which are relevant to speech activity.

TYPES OF DICTIONARIES

Dictionary-making in English began to prosper in the eighteenth century. The Philological Society's *New English Dictionary* on Historical Principles was the first satisfactory descriptive listing.

In 1852 Peter Mark Roget published his *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases,* classified and arranged with a view to facilitate the expression of ideas and to assist in literary composition. This work contains a collection of the words and of the idiomatic combinations peculiar to English arranged not in

alphabetical order as they are in a Dictionary, but according to the ideas which they express. The purpose of an ordinary dictionary is simply to explain the meaning of the words, i. e. the word being given to find its signification, or the idea it is intended to convey. The object aimed at in *Thesaurus* is: the idea being given to find the word or words by which that idea may be most fitly and aptly expressed. For this purpose, the words and phrases of the language are classed, not according to their sound or their orthography but strictly according to their signification. The idea of a compilation of this type was most original. Roget emphatically stressed its value for those who are engaged in the arduous process of translating into English a work written in another language or any sort of general composition.

Lately, work has begun on the compilation of a strictly distributional thesaurus based upon substitutability of lexical items proceeding.

Referring to the most important types of dictionaries we generally distinguish encyclopedic dictionaries and linguistic ones. The latter are primarily concerned with language, i. e. with the lexical units of a given language and all their linguistic properties; encyclopedic dictionaries (the biggest and most general of which are frequently called simply encyclopedias) are primarily concerned with the denotata of the lexical units (words): they give information about the extralinguistic world, physical or non-physical, and they are only arranged in the order of the words (lexical units) by which the segments of the extralinguistic world are referred to when spoken about. Such is, for instance, a well-known *Encyclopedia Britannica* — a new survey of universal knowledge, edited in London — Chicago — Toronto, 1960.

The Encyclopedia Britannica is a Dictionary of Arts, Sciences and Literature with pictorial illustrations, with brief etymological notes showing but in outline the sources and history and in many cases the development in meaning.

In the manner of compilation it is a cooperative dictionary, the joint product of a large number of scholars.

The word *'encyclopedia'* suggests a huge work of many volumes concerned with all the fields of human knowledge.

Distinction must naturally be made between diachronic dictionaries and synchronic ones. Diachronic

[1] *See:*
Hornby A. S.,
Gatensy E. V.,
Wakefield H.
The Advanced
Learner's Dictionary
of Current English,
Oxford, 1948.

dictionaries are primarily concerned with the history of lexical units, their development in form and meaning. There are two types of diachronic dictionaries, historical and etymological.

Historical dictionaries register the changes occurring in the form and in the meaning of a word within the period of time for which there are corresponding historical data.

Etymological dictionaries concentrate their attention on the origin of words.

By the nature of things the two elements, the historical and the etymological, are often intermingled.

Synchronic or descriptive dictionaries of English are concerned with present-day form, meaning and use of words. As a matter of fact, there is no rigid line of demarcation between the two approaches. Some synchronic dictionaries include historical records as well[1].

In its proper sense a dictionary is a book containing a collection of the words of a language, dialect or slang arranged alphabetically or in some other definite order, and with explanations in the same or some other language. When the words are few in number being only a small part of those belonging to the subject, or when they are given without explanation, or some only are explained, the work is called *a vocabulary; a glossary* is properly a collection of unusual or foreign words requiring explanation. It is the name frequently given to English dictionary of dialects.

The tendency of great dictionaries is to unite in themselves all the peculiar features of special dictionaries. A large dictionary is most useful when a word is to be thoroughly studied, or when there is difficulty in making out the meaning of a word or phrase. Special dictionaries are more useful for special purposes, for instance, synonyms are best studied in a dictionary of synonyms, neologisms in the dictionary of neologisms, etc.

Small dictionaries are more convenient for frequent use as in translating from a foreign language, for words may be found more quickly, and they present the words and their meaning in a concentrated form, instead of being scattered over a large space and separated by other data.

Distinction must be made between general dictionaries and restricted (special) dictionaries.

General dictionaries represent the vocabulary as a whole with a degree of completeness depending on the scope of the book. Such is the *Oxford Dic-*

tionary in its thirteen volumes. General dictionaries are contrasted to special dictionaries intended to cover only a certain specific part of the vocabulary.

The restriction can be based on any variation of language, on any classification of its texts, or any combination of principles determined by the compiler of the dictionary. Such are, for instance, glossaries of scientific special terms, dictionaries of abbreviations, dictionaries of synonyms, or foreign words, dictionaries of American English, dialect or slang dictionaries.

The dialect dictionaries can be worked out in two different ways: either the dictionary offers complete information on the lexicon of the respective dialect or local form of language without reference to any other dialects or forms; or the dictionary lists and explains only what is different from another dialect or, usually, from what is considered the standard national form. Total description is naturally more valuable.

A completely new type is a machine translation dictionary which presents its own special problems and differs significantly from traditional bilingual dictionaries for translation.

Special dictionaries record special technical terms and explain them for various branches of knowledge, art and trade: physics, chemistry, medicine, linguistics, biology, economy, geography, etc. Unilingual books of this type giving definitions of terms are called glossaries[1].

Dictionaries which record the complete vocabulary of some author all referred to as concordances. There are, for instance, concordances to the works of Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Shelley and other writers.

Quite a special type of dictionary is the dictionary compiled by Thorndike intended for school children, boys and girls between 10 and 15, where the selection of words is determined statistically by counts of their actual occurrence in reading material[2].

Webster's *New American Dictionary* completely new and up-to-date, planned and written by modern educators and lexicographers especially to serve the essential requirements of school, college, and self-education at home. Boston—New York, 1943.

Webster's *Practical Dictionary*, self-pronouncing, based upon the original foundations laid by Noah

[1] *See:*
Hamp F. P.
A Glossery of
American Technical
Linguistic Usage
(1925-1950).
Utrecht — Antwerpen,
1957.
Pei M. and
Gainer F.
A Dictionary of
Linguistics. New
York, 1954.

[2] *See:*
The Thorndike
Century Junior
Dictionary by
E. L. Thorndike,
Scott Foresmann Co.,
Chicago — Atlanta —
Dallas — New York,
1935.

Webster and other noted lexicographers. Boston — New York, 1933.

Webster's *Dictionary of the English Language* edited by the national lexicographical board. Boston — New York, 1957.

Webster's *New Twentieth Century Dictionary of the English Language*. Unabridged, based upon broad foundations laid down by Noah Webster and extensively revised by the publisher's editorial stuff under the general supervision of Jean L. McKechnie and illustrated throughout. Boston — New York, 1964.

Webster's *Australia New Zealand Living Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English language*, with a historical sketch of the English language by Mario Pei. London — New York.

W. W. Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary* is devoted especially to the etymology of English words. There are special dictionaries of synonyms such as W. Taylor's *English Synonyms Discriminated* (1813), J. Crabb's *English Synonyms Explained* (1816), George F. Graham's *English Synonyms Classified and Explained* (1846), Fowler H. W. and Fowler L. G. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*. London, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1959. Allen F. Sturges *Synonyms and Antonyms*, London, 1928, Crabb's *English Synonyms*, revised and enlarged edition, London, 1945.

There is also J. Fernald's standard handbook of synonyms, antonyms and prepositions, completely revised, edited by Funk and Wagnall's editorial stuff, London, 1947;

For English idioms, proverbs and proverbial phrases the student may consult such special works as P. M. Roget's *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*, W. McMordie's *English Idioms and How to Use Them*, L. P. Smith's *Words and Idioms*, J. M. Dixon's *English Idioms*, Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, *A Desk-Book of Idioms and Idiomatic Phrases* by Vizetelly and Bekker.

Fowler's *Dictionary of English Idioms*, London, 1972; W. Freeman's *Concise Dictionary of English Idioms*, London, 1975.

There are also new dictionaries of slang, jargon and colloquialisms (Marks, Georgette A. and Johnson, Charles B., New York, 1975).

Recent investigations in lexicography have brought new word-frequency dictionaries providing students with a means of distinguishing indispensable, essential and useful words from special words, e. g. Caroll, John B. *Word Frequency Book*, Boston, New York (1971).

Students of English will also find valuable information on English idioms in A. Koonin's *Anglo-Russian Phraseological Dictionary*, Moscow, 1956 and K. Barantsev's *English Phraseological Dictionary*, Kiev, 1956. The books will be highly useful not only as an aid in immediate difficulties but as a means to extend the practical knowledge of the language.

The well known bilingual dictionaries edited in our country are: *The Russian-English Dictionary* compiled by O. S. Akhmanova, T. P. Gorbunova, N. F. Rotshtein, Prof. Smirnitsky and Prof. Taube (Moscow, 1948); V. Myuller's *Anglo-Russian Dictionary* (Moscow, 1972); M. L. Podvesko's *Ukrainian-English* and *English-Ukrainian Dictionaries* edited in Kiev in 1957, 1959, 1976.

The short list given below contains the works recommended by our program and frequently consulted in the preparation of this course. The list does not pretend to form a complete bibliography on the subject but is designed to indicate supplementary material of a kind that the student will find very useful.

SUGGESTED ASSIGNMENTS.
POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

1. When did dictionary-making begin to prosper?
2. Give comments on the most important types of English dictionaries?
3. What does the word encyclopedia suggest?
4. What is the task of explanatory dictionaries?
5. Comment on the principles of compiling etymological dictionaries.
6. Comment on the distinction between general and specialized dictionaries.
7. What are historical dictionaries intended to?
8. What is the task of special translation dictionaries?
9. What types of dictionaries pertain to the numbers of languages represented?
10. What is the task of synchronic dictionaries?
11. What do we call a thesaurus?

Suggestions will be made here for further learning, so that the student can follow up various lines of thought suggested in the book. The reference list given below will include not only some advanced books devoted to teaching English but also detailed monographs and work-papers on specialized topics which will interest the student.

Актуальные проблемы учебной лексикографии. М., Русский язык, 1977.

Амосова Н. Н. Этимологические основы словарного состава современного английского языка. М., Изд-во лит-ры на иностр. языках, 1956.

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