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CONTRASTIVE LEXICOLOGY OF ENGLISH AND UKRAINIAN LANGUAGES: THEORY AND PRACTICE

Textbook



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The textbook is intended for bachelor students majoring in translation and interpreting (English – Ukrainian language pair). The book covers theoretical and practical aspects of the comparative study of modern English and Ukrainian vocabularies. Each of the eight units of the textbook contains the text of the lecture, seminar tasks, seminar library and additional resources for the in-depth independent study of the topic. The glossary that appears at the end of a book includes terms that are either newly introduced or specialized and is intended to provide a guide for the broad spectrum of the issues discussed.

Despite its academic framework the book may be beneficial for researchers working in the field of contrastive linguistics.

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ПЕРЕДМОВА

*Мова є наче зовнішнім проявом духу народів:
мова народу є його дух, і дух народу є його мова
(Вільгельм фон Гумбольдт)*

Протягом багатьох віків дослідники звертають особливу увагу на слово як мовний знак, який є нерозривним зв'язком знаконосія, об'єкта та його ментальної інтерпретації. Слово є зовнішнім проявом духу народів, бо «означає» результати пізнавальної діяльності людини та закономірності національного бачення світу. Вивчення природи й суті слова, його формальних, семантичних та функційних аспектів належить до царини лексикології. У структурі контрастивної лінгвістики вона має певну автономію, оскільки контрастивні лексикологічні студії виокремлюються в спеціальний підрозділ: контрастивна лексикологія. Контрастивні лексикологічні дослідження ведуться сьогодні на матеріалі різних мов і є вагомими для розвитку теоретичних та прикладних аспектів контрастивістики.

Курс «Контрастивна лексикологія англійської та української мов» є навчальною дисципліною, яка передбачає ознайомлення студентів бакалаврату зі спеціальності «Філологія» (англо-українська мовна пара) з основами сучасних знань у галузі контрастивної лексикології. Студенти вивчають теоретико-методологічні підходи, які сформувалися в царині англо-українських зіставних досліджень, і ті методи та прийоми, що використовуються в рамках цих досліджень.

Автори посібника ставлять завдання: 1) створити необхідне дидактичне тло для засвоєння теоретико-методологічних основ, на яких ґрунтується сучасна контрастивна лексикологія; 2) опрацювати її термінологічний апарат (метамову), методи та підходи до аналізу мовного матеріалу; 3) розкрити особливості контрастивного аналізу лексики в аспекті формальних та семантичних параметрів лексичних одиниць (англо-українська мовна пара).

Проблематика лекцій з контрастивної лінгвістики охоплює такі основні напрями: 1) місце та роль контрастивної лексикології у зіставному мовознавстві; 2) методологічні засади контрастивного аналізу лексичних одиниць, випрацювані авторами; 3) Tertium comparationis у контрастивних лексикологічних студіях; 4) особливості аналізу формальної та семантичної структури англійських та українських слів та ін.

Матеріал кожної лекції доповнено списком питань та списком літератури для проведення семінарських занять, а також лекції включають «Додаткові ресурси», тобто добірку статей провідних англійських та українських філологів, які дотичні до теми лекції і забезпечують поглиблене самостійне опрацювання теми.

Глосарій термінів, який включає основні одиниці метамови підручника, слугуватиме добрим орієнтиром для студентів при вивченні дисципліни та буде корисним для дослідників у царині контрастивної лінгвістики.

Автори висловлюють сподівання, що після опрацювання навчальних матеріалів посібника у студентів сформується не лише бачення «теоретичної ситуації», яка склалася на сьогодні в контрастивній лексикології, а й постануть практичні вміння і навички проводити контрастивний аналіз лексичних одиниць англійської та української мов, що підготує їх до написання високоякісних курсових та магістерських робіт та сприятиме розвитку професійних компетенцій майбутніх перекладачів.

*Надія Андрейчук
Оксана Бабелюк*

INTRODUCTION

One of the fascinating results of the past decades of linguistic research is that we can now safely conclude that all languages have very much in common at the level of semiotic analysis. The principal task of this book is limited to the study of similarities and differences in the lexical systems of English and Ukrainian. Lexical units are considered to be signs possessing specific characteristics and involved in semiosis: the action of signs. This task belongs to the field of contrastive linguistics or more precisely contrastive lexicology. Lexicology as a separate branch of linguistics that deals with the study of words and vocabularies is not distinguished by West European or American scholars. We share the opinion of most Ukrainian linguists that lexicology is a separate subdiscipline of the language studies with lexical system as the object of its research.

Empirical research in contrastive lexicology attempts to discover such principles which can either focus on one language or range across contrasted languages. Take as an example the study of word-formation, that is a process by which a language can coin new lexical units. In principle, languages could employ any number of strategies to form new words, but in fact what we find is that they employ only a limited number of ways to do so. For example, no language forms a new word by reversing the order of suffixal morphemes. Not only is the set of word-forming suffixes small, but also the range of positions they may occupy in a word and their combinability with other morphemes is limited. The task of a lexicologist, then, is to uncover the principles which govern the formation of a new word: What sort of elements can be used to make up a new word? Where exactly do such elements occur in the word? What determines the choice of one strategy for word-formation over another in different languages?

In the discussion below we will try to give evidence for the importance of complex approach to the study of lexical systems of English and Ukrainian. The following aspects are considered especially important when the bulk of lexical units is presented as a system: types of lexical units, characteristics of

explored languages, their morphemic structure, categories and types of their formation, semantic structure of words, their semantic grouping and types of semantic relations.

The book is written for students majoring in translation, applied linguistics and English philology of the upper-intermediate and advanced levels, who have already been exposed to fundamentals of linguistics and general lexicology. Given the pedagogical aim of the volume, the focus of each chapter is not to provide the most up-to-date analysis for the data at hand, but rather to illustrate the kind of argumentation that is used in contrastive research and to show the empirical results that this research has led to. Each chapter tackles one or more aspects of the word. A brief outline of the types of lexicological research and the type of argumentation that is used in current contrastive lexicological research is included.

Thus, the aim of this book is to offer a pedagogically-oriented introduction to the recent research in contrastive lexicology. The volume brings together studies which illustrate the contrastive research of English and Ukrainian words and vocabularies against the background of the semiotic model. The chapters show how the semiotic framework guides empirical research, revealing similarities and differences between these languages. The material also illustrates how semiotic study feeds into contrastive study, raising new questions for the *tertium comparationis* and sometimes providing new solutions.

*Nadiia Andreichuk
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LECTURE 1. CONTRASTIVE LEXICOLOGY OF ENGLISH AND UKRAINIAN: FUNDAMENTALS

The question we set out to answer in the first lecture is the nature of contrastive lexicology as a linguistic enterprise and its location in the field of comparative linguistics.

1. Comparative versus contrastive linguistics.
 - 1.1. Three dimensions of classifying types of linguistic enterprise.
 - 1.2. Fundamental assumption and subdivisions of comparative linguistics.
2. Contrastive lexicology as a subdivision of contrastive linguistics.
3. Tasks of contrastive lexicology. Its theoretical and practical value.
4. Seminar tasks and questions.
5. Seminar library.
6. Additional resources: Part 1.

*Grammatically, languages do not differ
in what they can and cannot convey.
Any language is able to convey everything.
However, they differ in what a language must convey
(Roman Jakobson)*

1. Comparative versus contrastive linguistics.

Language is many things – a system of communication, a medium for thought, a vehicle for literary expression, a social institution, a catalyst for nation building. All human beings normally speak at least one language and it is hard to imagine significant social, intellectual or artistic activity taking place in its absence.

The scope and diversity of human thought and experience place great demand on language. One of the most fundamental claims of modern linguistic analysis is that all languages have some common features. This can

be verified by considering a few simple facts. Since all the languages are spoken, they must have phonetic and phonological systems; since they all have words and sentences, they must have a lexical and a grammatical system; and since these words and sentences have systematic meanings, there obviously must be semantic principles as well. The number of existing languages is amazing. The most extensive catalog of the world's languages is that of Ethnologue (published by Summer Institute of Linguistics International; URL: <https://www.ethnologue.com/>), whose detailed classified list includes 7,111 known living languages and this figure changes all the time (date of access for the figure indicated: April, 16, 2019). Languages are not at all uniformly distributed around the world. Just as some places are more diverse than others in terms of plant and animal species, the same goes for the distribution of languages. Only 288 are spoken in Europe, while 2,303 are spoken in Asia (date of access for the figures indicated: April, 16, 2019). And all languages have means that enable their speakers to express any proposition that the human mind can produce. In terms of this criterion all languages are absolutely equal as instruments of communication and thought.

1.1. Three dimensions of classifying types of linguistic enterprise.

Comparative linguistics is an umbrella term to denote all types of linguistic enterprises founded on the assumption that languages can be compared. The fundamental notion on which this lecture course is being built up is the notion of similarity between linguistic objects. The degree of similarity between any two objects can be measured in terms of the number of shared and distinctive features that characterize them, i.e. in terms of their degree of feature matching. A *feature* is defined as any property of the object that can be deduced from our general knowledge of the world. Two entities are similar if they share at least one feature and two entities are the same if neither has features that the other lacks.

Let us start from the riddle suggested by Andrew Chesterman in his book on contrastive functional analysis [Chesterman 1998, p. 5–6]: *Why is a raven like a*

writing desk? This riddle comes from Carroll’s “Alice in Wonderland” and no answer is actually indicated in the book though Alice thought she could answer this riddle easily. Various answers can be suggested:

- they both begin with an ‘r’ sound;
- they can both serve as an inspiration for poetry (alluding to Poe’s famous poem “The Raven”, plus the traditional image of the poet seated at a desk, quill in hand. This solution revolves round a semantic ambiguity of the word *source*. Ravens and writing-desks are felt to do similar things or have similar effects in their capacity as sources, they are felt to have the same function;
 - because it can produce a few notes (with a pun on *notes*¹);
 - because Poe wrote on both (on top of, on the subject of);
 - bills and tails are among their characteristics (bill of a bird, bill to be paid; tails, tales);
 - because it slopes with a flap (flap of a wing, flap (lid) of a desk);
 - because they both stand on legs;
 - because they both ought to be made to shut up.

The various answers can be grouped according to various kinds of likeness:

- purely formal (two occurrences of the same sound),
- homonymic (same aural or visual form, different meanings: puns),
- semantic (same semantic feature),
- functional (similar function or purpose).

Alice’s riddle introduces one of the leitmotifs of our lecture course. Theoretically, what does it mean to compare or contrast two things? How does one set about establishing similarities and differences? On what grounds are two different things proposed for comparison in the first place? What does it mean to say that two things are *the same* or *similar*? Why is it that different people see different likeness between the same pair of entities?

With respect to the study of language and language behavior, there are two fields that deal with such issues: Translation Studies and Contrastive Linguistics. Although these are adjoining disciplines, it nevertheless often appears that

¹Note – a brief record of points or ideas written down as an aid to memory; a bird’s song or call, or a single tone in this [OED, URL: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/note>]

theoretical developments in one field are overlooked in the other, and that both would benefit from each other’s insights.

Contrastive linguistics focuses on different aspects of theoretical and applied linguistics and aims at contrastive study of two or more languages or dialects in order to describe their differences and similarities and explicate both of them in terms of the relationship between languages and their activities for promoting the understanding of and communicating between cultures and civilizations.

The question we set out to answer is the nature of contrastive studies as a linguistic enterprise. Reference can be made to the three classificatory dimensions. **The first dimension** deals with two broad approaches – the *generalist* and the *particularist* [Sampson, 1980]. On the one hand, linguists treat individual languages: English, French, Chinese and so on. On the other hand, they consider the general phenomenon of human language, of which particular languages are examples. Geoffrey Sampson proceeds to warn against seeing either of these approaches as inherently superior to the other [Sampson 1980].

Along **the second dimension** linguists are divisible into those who choose to study one, or each, language *in isolation*, and those whose ambition and methods are *comparative*. The former aspire to discover and specify the immanent genius of the particular language which makes it unlike any other language and endows its speakers with a psychic and cognitive uniqueness. The comparativist, as the name implies, proceeds from the assumption that, while every language may have its individuality, all languages have enough in common for them to be compared and classified into types.

The third dimension is the one used by Ferdinand de Saussure to distinguish “two sciences of language”: *diachronic* as opposed to *synchronic*. He explains the distinction as follows: “Everything that relates to the static side of our science is synchronic; everything that has to do with evolution is diachronic. Similarly, synchrony and diachrony designate respectively a language-state and evolutionary phase” [Saussure, 1959].

Thus to understand the nature of contrastive studies as a linguistic enterprise we have to answer three questions: 1) is contrastive linguistics generalist

or particularist?; 2) is it concerned with immanence or comparison?; 3) is it diachronic or synchronic?

The answers to these questions, with respect to contrastive linguistics are not clear-cut. First, contrastive linguistics is neither generalist nor particularist but somewhere intermediate on a scale between the two extremes. Likewise, contrastive linguistics is as interested in the inherent genius of the language under its purview as it is in the comparability of languages. Yet it is not concerned with classification, and as the term *contrastive*² implies, more interested in differences between languages than in their likeness. And finally, although not concerned either with language families, or with other factors of language history, it is not sufficiently committed to the study of 'static' linguistic phenomena to merit the label *synchronic*. Contrastive linguistics seems, therefore, to be **a hybrid linguistic enterprise**.

1.2. Fundamental assumption and subdivisions of comparative linguistics.

Three parameters discussed can be most helpful when we try to identify contrastive linguistics as a particular field of comparative linguistics. Comparative linguistics is an umbrella term to denote all types of linguistic enterprises founded on the assumption that **languages can be compared**. Juxtaposition, correlation, comparison is, in the first place, the distinctive feature of human thinking, universal foundation of cognitive activity. Nothing (including language) can be studied without comparison³. Different methods and techniques based on comparison are being applied in linguistics

²*Etymology of the word contrast: 1690 (as a term in fine art, in the sense "juxtapose so as to bring out differences in form and color")*: from French *contraster* (Old French *contrestre*), modified by or from Italian *contrastare* "stand out against, strive, contend" from Vulgar Latin *contrastare* "to withstand" from Latin *contra-* "against" + *stare* "stand" – to compare in order to show unlikeness or differences.

³*It was Aristotle who attracted attention to this fact in his "Categories": "For the same thing may be small in comparison with one thing, and great in comparison with another, so that the same thing comes to be both small and great at one and the same time, and is of such a nature as to admit contrary qualities at one and the same moment"* [Aristotle].

while studying one or several languages. Today comparative linguistics is a ramified field of research (Fig. 1.1) with lots of subdivisions.

General comparative linguistics is subdivided into Descriptive Synchronic Comparative Linguistics and Historical Comparative Linguistics. The latter was the first to emerge and a synthesis of its most basic ideas could read as this.

Some languages are related to each other and form language families. Their vocabularies and grammars show remarkable similarities that exclude random coincidences. Indo-European languages are the archetype of such a linguistic family.

The primary goal of Historical Comparative Linguistics is to classify the languages of the world, to sort them out and to assign them to genetic families and thus to ascertain the kinship between related languages and description of their evolution in time and space. Language families are generally shown as trees each branch being the divergent continuation of a given state of language (Fig. 1.2).

Historical Comparative Linguistics was the first trend of thought that put comparison on scientific grounds. It originated in Germany at the beginning of the 19th century and is connected with names of F. Bopp, J. Grimm as well as Dutch linguist Rasmus Kristian Rask, Russian linguist A. Kh. Vostokov⁴ and many others.

Synchronic comparative linguistics includes typological and contrastive linguistics. Within typological dimension the approach is synchronic: languages are typologically grouped according to their present-day characteristics, no reference being made to the histories of languages, not even to their historical relatedness. Languages grouped together in the same typological group need not be genetically (historically) related. For example, English and Chinese which are not genetically related, share a large number of grammatical properties, such as relatively fixed and grammatically constrained word order, paucity of inflections, and prominence of function words. These shared features place the two languages quite close in the typological groupings in spite of the genetic distance separating them.

⁴*During his lifetime A.Kh. Vostokov (1781–1864) was known as a poet and translator, but it is his innovative studies of versification and comparative Slavonic grammars which proved most influential.*

Another subdiscipline of comparative synchronic linguistics is concerned with the comparison of two or more languages or subsystems of languages in order to determine both the differences and similarities between them. The comparison of two or more linguistic systems as they exist today (i.e., a synchronic comparison) is known as contrastive linguistics.

Summing up we might venture the following provisional definition of contrastive linguistics:

CL is a particular linguistic enterprise within the field of descriptive synchronic comparative linguistics aimed at producing description of one language from the perspective of another and concerned with in depth analysis of similarities and contrasts that hold between them.

2. Contrastive lexicology as a subdivision of contrastive linguistics.

The principal task of this lecture course is limited to the study of similarities and differences in the lexical systems of English and Ukrainian. Lexical units are considered to be main structural elements of utterances possessing specific structure of their own. This task belongs to the field of **contrastive lexicology**.

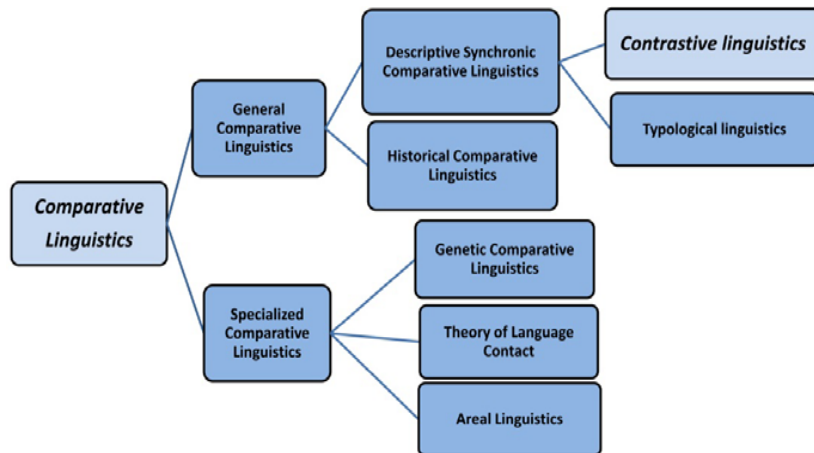


Fig. 1.1. Subdivisions of Comparative Linguistics

Lexicology (λεξιχόου – словесний, словниковий, λόγος – вчення) as a separate branch of linguistics is: a) concerned with the sign nature, meaning and use of words, b) raises some important questions about the interpretation and evaluation of the vocabulary of a language. Western European or American linguists, though acknowledge lexicological studies, commonly include them in books on grammar: “The study of words is the business of lexicology, but the regularities in their formation are similar in kind to the regularities of grammar and are closely connected to them” [Quirk et al 1999, p. 11]. We share the opinion of most Ukrainian linguists that lexicology is a separate subdivision of the language studies with lexical system as the object of its investigation.

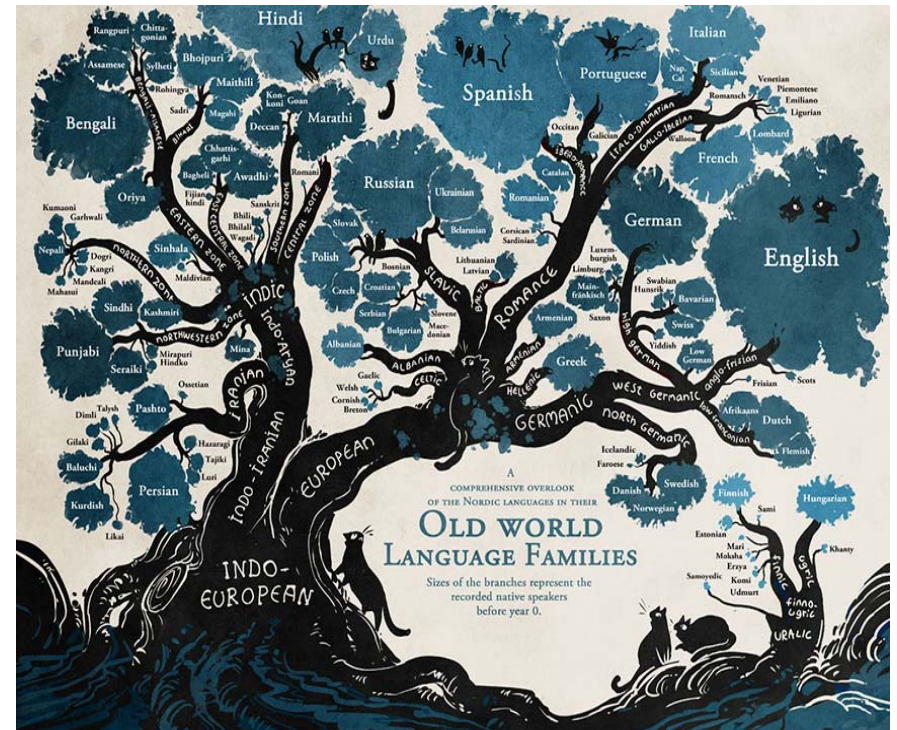


Fig. 1.2. The tree which illustrates the relationships between Indo-European languages (drawn by Minna Sundberg, a Finnish-Swedish artist)

Contrastive lexicology is a subdiscipline of contrastive linguistics which deals with synchronic contrastive analysis of lexical systems. It is concerned with the analysis of language vocabularies and lexical items in respect of their structural, semantic and functional features. Contrastive lexicology covers a number of fundamental issues, such as lack of one-to-one correspondence between expression and content of words, divergences in the semantic structure of the lexicons, variation in usage. There are also some decisive criteria in trying to estimate the relative range of lexis in contrast: socio-historical circumstances, borrowings and their assimilation etc.

Modern researches in the field of contrastive lexicology allow to state that **the essential components of contrastive lexicology agenda are the following:**

- **Synchronic orientation.** Contrastive lexicology may identify problems and phenomena worth analyzing from a historical perspective, but it provides observations of contrastive facts concerning the present state of languages development in terms of the most adequate language theory.

- **Granularity.** Contrastive lexicology is concerned with in depth analysis of similarities and contrasts that are generally inaccessible to typological generalization. In that sense it can be considered a complement to typology or a “small-scale typology”. For contrastive lexicology both the availability vs the lack of lingual objects and their contrasts in form and function in two languages are of great interest. This emphasis on fine granularity does not mean, however, that the focus is on isolated observations rather than generalizations, but these generalizations are different from the implicational statements and hierarchies of typology.

- **Comparison of language pairs.** Contrastive lexicology is mainly concerned with bilateral vocabulary comparisons, between mother tongue and a foreign language, between source language and a target language or between first language and a second language, depending on what kind of applications are envisaged. Extending the scope beyond two languages is only possible if the goal of comprehensive comparisons is given up in favour of analysis of small fragments of languages as a first step towards a typology. It is precisely this restriction to a comparison of two languages which enables contrastive lexicology to consider a wide variety of parameters of variation and get as

close as possible to the goal of providing a holistic⁵ typology for a language. The question which languages should be selected for comparison receives a different, though principled answer in all approaches to comparative studies: Historical Comparative Linguistics looks at languages of one single family; language typology is all-embracing in its scope, even though its comparisons are confined to a representative sample of the world’s languages; cross-cultural communication selects language use from cultures and communities that interact regularly and contrastive analysis selects language pairs that play a role in language acquisition, in bilingualism or translation.

Summing up, we can state that Contrastive lexicology has a great heuristic value for the analysis of language-specific properties and suggest the following definition:

Contrastive Lexicology is a particular linguistic enterprise within the field of descriptive synchronic comparative linguistics aimed at producing description of one language vocabulary from the perspective of another and concerned with in depth analysis of similarities and contrasts that hold between them

3. Tasks of contrastive lexicology. Its theoretical and practical value.

Contrastive lexicology is intimately related to culture viewed as the socially inherited customs of a society that are shared and accepted by people. Speech experience of the people is their cultural experience, i.e. those structures, spheres and means of activity into which speakers are included and which influence the understanding and the use of words. Edward Sapir (1884–1939) states that being a collective art of expression each language possesses “aesthetic factors – phonetic, rhythmic, symbolic, morphological – which it does not completely share with any other language” [Sapir]⁶. Our

⁵holistic – characterized by the belief that the parts of something are intimately interconnected and explicable only by reference to the whole

⁶See in the article by E. Sapir “The Status of Linguistics as a Science” attached to this Lecture.

task is to discover how “the colour and texture of its matrix” can be “carried over without loss of modification” as without that “a work of literary art can never be translated” [Sapir].

There are many differences among English and Ukrainian as even a superficial examination of their vocabularies reveals. But this does not mean that there are no limits on the type of lexical systems that human beings can acquire and use. Quite to the contrary, current research suggests that there are important **lexical principles and tendencies shared by all human languages**. Studying these principles contributes to the development of the general linguistic theory and is the main concern of contrastive lexicology.

Theoretical value of contrastive lexicology becomes obvious if we realize that it forms the study of one of the three main aspects of language, i.e. its vocabulary, the other two being its grammar and sound system. Just as the small set of Arabic numerals can be combined to express in writing any natural numbers, so the small set of sounds and letters can be combined to express in speech and writing respectively an indefinitely large number of words.

Practical value of contrastive lexicology is very substantial. It came into being to meet the needs of many different branches of applied linguistics: translation, lexicography, standardization of terminology, information processing, foreign language teaching, literary criticism and others.

Contrastive lexicology **stimulates a systematic approach to the facts of the vocabulary and plays a prominent part in the general training of every linguist**.

The treatment of words in lexicology cannot be divorced from the study of all the other elements in the language system to which words belong. In the process of communication, **all these elements are interdependent** and stand in definite relations to one another. We separate them for the convenience of study but afterwards we should put them back together to achieve a synthesis. The lexical level of the language system provides the most evident information on regularities of the evolutionary processes in contrasted languages, and therefore should be examined first of all and may be regarded **as a clear model for contrastive research of other language levels**.

There are three aspects that can be differentiated in contrastive lexicological research: formal, semantic and functional. Formal aspect is represented through the research of similarities and differences of different formal means used to create lexical units, for example, affixation in English and in Ukrainian. Contrastive analysis of the semantic structures of separate words and semantic groups of words represent the semantic aspect of contrastive lexicological studies, for example, the contrastive analysis of groups of synonyms with the dominant word *laugh* and *сміятися*. Contrastive analysis of different stylistic classes of words belongs to functional contrastive research, for example, neologisms in English and in Ukrainian.

4. Seminar tasks and questions.

1. **What does it mean to compare and contrast two objects? Study the meaning of “contrast” and “similarity”**
2. **Explain the term “comparative linguistics”**
3. **Comment on the position of contrastive linguistics within comparative linguistics.**
4. **Typological versus contrastive linguistics.**
5. **The object of contrastive lexicological studies.**
6. **Essential components of contrastive lexicology agenda.**
7. **Definition of contrastive Lexicology.**
8. **Main ideas of Edward Sapir and their reference to Contrastive Lexicology**
9. **Theoretical value of contrastive lexicology**
10. **Practical value of contrastive lexicology**
11. **Aspects of the contrastive analysis of lexis**
12. **Watch the video https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mGbGP_vIR-zXw and enumerate those aspects of contrastive lexicology research which have not been mentioned during the lecture**

5. Seminar library.

1. *Aristotle*. Categories. URL: <http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/categories.html>
2. *Chesterman A.* Contrastive functional analysis. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamin's Publishing Company, 1998. 230 p.
3. *Quirk R., Greenbaum S., Leech G., Svartvik J.* A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language. Longman, 1999. 1779 p.
4. *Sampson G.* Schools of Linguistics. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980. 283 p.
5. *Sapir E.* Language. An Introduction to the Study of Speech. Echo Library, 2006. 148 p.
6. *Saussure Ferdinand de.* *Course in General Linguistics* / ed. by Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye, in collaboration with Albert Riedlinger; transl. by Wade Baskin. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959. 240 p.

6. Additional Resources. Part 1.

The article below was published in 1929 in *Language*, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 207–214. Mode of access: https://pure.mpg.de/rest/items/item_2381144_2/component/file_2381143/content

The text was read by Sapir at a joint meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, the American Anthropological Association, and sections H and L of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, New York City, December 28, 1928 but still remains topical. Why?

THE STATUS OF LINGUISTICS AS A SCIENCE

BY EDWARD SAPIR



The long tried methods of Indo-European linguistics have proved themselves by the success with which they have been applied to other fields, for instance Central Algonkian and Athabaskan. An increasing interest in linguistics may be noted among workers in anthropology, culture history, sociology, psychology, and philosophy. For all of them linguistics is of basic importance: its data and methods show better than those of any other discipline dealing with socialized behavior the possibility of a truly scientific study of society. Linguists should, on the other hand, become aware of what their science may mean for the interpretation of human conduct in general.

Linguistics may be said to have begun its scientific career with the comparative study and reconstruction of the Indo-European languages. In the course of their detailed researches Indo-European linguists have gradually developed a technique which is probably more nearly perfect than that of any other science dealing with man's institutions. Many of the formulations of comparative Indo-European linguistics have a neatness and a regularity which recall the formulae, or the so-called laws, of natural science. Historical and comparative linguistics has been built up chiefly on the basis of the hypothesis that sound changes are regular and that most morphological readjustments in language follow as

by-products in the wake of these regular phonetic developments. There are many who would be disposed to deny the psychological necessity of the regularity of sound change, but it remains true, as a matter of actual linguistic experience, that faith in such regularity has been the most successful approach to the historic problems of language. Why such regularities should be found and why it is necessary to assume regularity of sound change are questions that the average linguist is perhaps unable to answer satisfactorily. But it does not follow that he can expect to improve his methods by discarding well tested hypotheses and throwing the field open to all manner of psychological and sociological explanations that do not immediately tie up with what we actually know about the historical behavior of language. A psychological and a sociological interpretation of the kind of regularity in linguistic change with which students of language have long been familiar are indeed desirable and even necessary. But neither psychology nor sociology is in a position to tell linguistics what kinds of historical formulations the linguist is to make. At best these disciplines can but urge the linguist to concern himself in a more vital manner than heretofore with the problem of seeing linguistic history in the larger framework of human behavior in the individual and in society.

The methods developed by the Indo-Europeanists have been applied with marked success to other groups of languages. It is abundantly clear that they apply just as rigorously to the unwritten primitive languages of Africa and America as to the better known forms of speech of the more sophisticated peoples. It is probably in the languages of these more cultured peoples that the fundamental regularity of linguistic processes has been most often crossed by the operation of such conflicting tendencies as borrowing from other languages, dialectic blending, and social differentiations of speech. The more we devote ourselves to the comparative study of the languages of a primitive linguistic stock, the more clearly we realize that phonetic law and analogical leveling are the only satisfactory key to the unravelling of the development of dialects and languages from a common base. Professor Leonard Bloomfield's experiences with Central Algonkian and my own with Athabaskan leave nothing to be desired in this respect and are a complete answer to those who find it difficult to accept the large scale regularity of the operation of all those unconscious linguistic forces which in their totality give us regular phonetic

change and morphological readjustment on the basis of such change. It is not merely theoretically possible to predict the correctness of specific forms among unlettered peoples on the basis of such phonetic laws as have been worked out for them – such predictions are already on record in considerable number. There can be no doubt that the methods first developed in the field of Indo-European linguistics are destined to play a consistently important role in the study of all other groups of languages, and that it is through them and through their gradual extension that we can hope to arrive at significant historical inferences as to the remoter relations between groups of languages that show few superficial signs of a common origin.

It is the main purpose of this paper, however, not to insist on what linguistics has already accomplished, but rather to point out some of the connections between linguistics and other scientific disciplines, and above all to raise the question in what sense linguistics can be called a “science”.

The value of linguistics for anthropology and culture history has long been recognized. As linguistic research has proceeded, language has proved useful as a tool in the sciences of man and has itself required and obtained a great deal of light from the rest of these sciences. It is difficult for a modern linguist to confine himself to his traditional subject matter. Unless he is somewhat unimaginative, he cannot but share in some or all of the mutual interests which tie up linguistics with anthropology and culture history, with sociology, with psychology, with philosophy, and, more remotely, with physics and physiology.

Language is becoming increasingly valuable as a guide to the scientific study of a given culture. In a sense, the network of cultural patterns of a civilization is indexed in the language which expresses that civilization. It is an illusion to think that we can understand the significant outlines of a culture through sheer observation and without the guide of the linguistic symbolism which makes these outlines significant and intelligible to society. Some day the attempt to master a primitive culture without the help of the language of its society will seem as amateurish as the labors of a historian who cannot handle the original documents of the civilization which he is describing.

Language is a guide to “social reality”. Though language is not ordinarily thought of as of essential interest to the students of social science, it

powerfully conditions all our thinking about social problems and processes. Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the “real world” is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached.

The understanding of a simple poem, for instance, involves not merely an understanding of the single words in their average significance, but [p. 210] a full comprehension of the whole life of the community as it is mirrored in the words, or as it is suggested by their overtones. Even comparatively simple acts of perception are very much more at the mercy of the social patterns called words than we might suppose. If one draws some dozen lines, for instance, of different shapes, one perceives them as divisible into such categories as “straight”, “crooked”, “curved”, “zigzag” because of the classificatory suggestiveness of the linguistic terms themselves. We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation.

For the more fundamental problems of the student of human culture, therefore, a knowledge of linguistic mechanisms and historical developments is certain to become more and more important as our analysis of social behavior becomes more refined. From this standpoint we may think of language as the *symbolic guide to culture*. In another sense too linguistics is of great assistance in the study of cultural phenomena. Many cultural objects and ideas have been diffused in connection with their terminology, so that a study of the distribution of culturally significant terms often throws unexpected light on the history of inventions and ideas. This type of research, already fruitful in European and Asiatic culture history, is destined to be of great assistance in the reconstruction of primitive cultures.

The values of linguistics for sociology in the narrower sense of the word is just as real as for the anthropological theorist. Sociologists are necessarily interested in the technique of communication between human beings. From this standpoint language facilitation and language barriers are of the utmost importance and must be studied in their interplay with a host of other factors that make for ease or difficulty of transmission of ideas and patterns of behavior. Furthermore, the sociologist is necessarily interested in the symbolic significance, in a social sense, of the linguistic differences which appear in any large community. Correctness of speech or what might be called “social style” in speech is of far more than aesthetic or grammatical interest. Peculiar modes of pronunciation, characteristic turns of phrase, slangy forms of speech, occupational terminologies of all sorts – these are so many symbols of the manifold ways in which society arranges itself and are of crucial importance for the understanding of the development of individual and social attitudes. Yet it will not be possible for a social student to evaluate such phenomena unless he has very clear notions of the linguistic background against which social symbolisms of a linguistic sort are to be estimated.

It is very encouraging that the psychologist has been concerning himself more and more with linguistic data. So far it is doubtful if he has been able to contribute very much to the understanding of language behavior beyond what the linguist has himself been able to formulate on the basis of his data. But the feeling is growing rapidly, and justly, that the psychological explanations of the linguists themselves need to be restated in more general terms, so that purely linguistic facts may be seen as specialized forms of symbolic behavior. The psychologists have perhaps too narrowly concerned themselves with the simple psycho-physical bases of speech and have not penetrated very deeply into the study of its symbolic nature. This is probably due to the fact that psychologists in general are as yet too little aware of the fundamental importance of symbolism in behavior. It is not unlikely that it is precisely in the field of symbolism that linguistic forms and processes will contribute most to the enrichment of psychology.

All activities may be thought of as either definitely functional in the immediate sense, or as symbolic, or as a blend of the two. Thus, if I shove open a door in order to enter a house, the significance of the act lies precisely in its allowing

me to make an easy entry. But if I “knock at the door”, a little reflection shows that the knock in itself does not open the door for me. It serves merely as a sign that somebody is to come to open it for me. To knock on the door is a substitute for the more primitive act of shoving it open of one’s own accord. We have here the rudiments of what might be called language. A vast number of acts are language acts in this crude sense. That is, they are not of importance to us because of the work they immediately do, but because they serve as mediating signs of other more important acts. A primitive sign has some objective resemblance to what it takes the place of or points to. Thus, knocking at the door has a definite relation to intended activity upon the door itself. Some signs become abbreviated forms of functional activities which can be used for reference. Thus, shaking one’s fist at a person is an abbreviated and relatively harmless way of actually punching him. If such a gesture becomes sufficiently expressive to society to constitute in some sort the equivalent of an abuse or a threat, it may be looked on as a symbol in the proper sense of the word.

Symbols of this sort are primary in that the resemblance of the symbol to what it stands for is still fairly evident. As time goes on, symbols become so completely changed in form as to lose all outward connection with what they stand for. Thus, there is no resemblance between a piece of bunting colored red, white, and blue, and the United States of America, – itself a complex and not easily definable notion. The flag may therefore be looked upon as a secondary or referential symbol. The way to understand language psychologically, it seems, is to see it as the most complicated example of such a secondary or referential set of symbols that society has evolved. It may be that originally the primal cries or other types of symbols developed by man had some connection with certain emotions or attitudes or notions. But a connection is no longer directly traceable between words, or combinations of words, and what they refer to.

Linguistics is at once one of the most difficult and one of the most fundamental fields of inquiry. It is probable that a really fruitful integration of linguistic and psychological studies lies still in the future. We may suspect that linguistics is destined to have a very special value for configurative psychology (“Gestalt psychology”), for, of all forms of culture, it seems that language is that one which develops its fundamental patterns with relatively the most

complete detachment from other types of cultural patterning. Linguistics may thus hope to become something of a guide to the understanding of the “psychological geography” of culture in the large. In ordinary life the basic symbolisms of behavior are densely overlaid by cross-functional patterns of a bewildering variety. It is because every isolated act in human behavior is the meeting point of many distinct configurations that it is so difficult for most of us to arrive at the notion of contextual and non-contextual form in behavior. Linguistics would seem to have a very peculiar value for configurative studies because the patterning of language is to a very appreciable extent self-contained and not significantly at the mercy of intercrossing patterns of a non-linguistic type.

It is very notable that philosophy in recent years has concerned itself with problems of language as never before. The time is long past when grammatical forms and processes can be naively translated by philosophers into metaphysical entities. The philosopher needs to understand language if only to protect himself against his own language habits, and so it is not surprising that philosophy, in attempting to free logic from the trammels of grammar and to understand knowledge and the meaning of symbolism, is compelled to make a preliminary critique of the linguistic process itself. Linguists should be in an excellent position to assist in the process of making clear to ourselves the implications of our terms and linguistic procedures. Of all students of human behavior, the linguist should by the very nature of his subject matter be the most relativist in feeling, the least taken in by the forms of his own speech.

A word as to the relation between linguistics and the natural sciences. Students of linguistics have been greatly indebted for their technical equipment to the natural sciences, particularly physics and physiology. Phonetics, a necessary prerequisite for all exact work in linguistics, is impossible without some grounding in acoustics and the physiology of the speech organs. It is particularly those students of language who are more interested in the realistic details of actual speech behavior in the individual than in the socialized patterns of language who must have constant recourse to the natural sciences. But it is far from unlikely that the accumulated experience of linguistic research may provide more than one valuable hint for the setting up of problems of research to acoustics and physiology themselves.

All in all, it is clear that the interest in language has in recent years been transcending the strictly linguistic circles. This is inevitable, for an understanding of language mechanisms is necessary for the study of both historical problems and problems of human behavior. One can only hope that linguists will become increasingly aware of the significance of their subject in the general field of science and will not stand aloof behind a tradition that threatens to become scholastic when not vitalized by interests which lie beyond the formal interest in language itself.

Where, finally, does linguistics stand as a science? Does it belong to the natural sciences, with biology, or to the social sciences? There seem to be two facts which are responsible for the persistent tendency to view linguistic data from a biological point of view. In the first place, there is the obvious fact that the actual technique of language behavior involves very specific adjustments of a physiological sort. In the second place, the regularity and typicality of linguistic processes leads to a quasiromantic feeling of contrast with the apparently free and undetermined behavior of human beings studied from the standpoint of culture. But the regularity of sound change is only superficially analogous to a biological automatism. It is precisely because language is as strictly socialized a type of human behavior as anything else in culture and yet betrays in its outlines and tendencies such regularities as only the natural scientist is in the habit of formulating, that linguistics is of strategic importance for the methodology of social science. Behind the apparent lawlessness of social phenomena there is a regularity of configuration and tendency which is just as real as the regularity of physical processes in a mechanical world, though it is a regularity of infinitely less apparent rigidity and of another mode of apprehension on our [p. 214] part. Language is primarily a cultural or social product and must be understood as such. Its regularity and formal development rest on considerations of a biological and psychological nature, to be sure. But this regularity and our underlying unconsciousness of its typical forms do not make of linguistics a mere adjunct to either biology or psychology. Better than any other social science, linguistics shows by its data and methods, necessarily more easily defined than the data and methods of any other type of discipline dealing with socialized behavior, the possibility of a truly scientific study of society which does not ape the methods nor attempt to

adopt unrevised the concepts of the natural sciences. It is peculiarly important that linguists, who are often accused, and accused justly, of failure to look beyond the pretty patterns of their subject matter, should become aware of what their science may mean for the interpretation of human conduct in general. Whether they like it or not, they must become increasingly concerned with the many anthropological, sociological, and psychological problems which invade the field of language.



LECTURE 2. CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE FORMAL STRUCTURE OF ENGLISH AND UKRAINIAN WORDS

The second lecture summarizes main ideas in the field of contrastive research of the formal structure of English and Ukrainian words. It aims at giving a survey of some general problems of the theory of the word and its morphemic structure as well as principles of contrastive morphemic analysis.

1. The word as a fundamental unit of the language.
 - 1.1. Some general issues of the theory of the word.
 - 1.2. Criteria of the definition.
2. Morphemes: free and bound forms.
3. Morphemes: contribution to the meaning and function of the word.
4. Contrastive analysis of the morphemic structure of English and Ukrainian words.
5. Seminar questions.
6. Seminar library.
7. Additional resources: Part 2.
8. Additional resources: Part 3.

*Whatever mankind creates in the way
of civilization is based on forms.*

1. The word as a fundamental unit of the language.

1.1. Some general issues of the theory of the word.

Of all the units of linguistic analysis, **the word** is the most familiar. Literate speakers of any language rarely have difficulties segmenting a stream of speech sounds into words or deciding where to leave spaces when writing a

sentence. What, though, is a word? The real essence of a word is not an easy question to answer. The problem associated with the definition of the term “word” is one of the most complicated in the analysis of linguistic entities. In typologically different groups of languages the criteria employed in establishing those entities it are of different types and each group constitutes a separate system with its own patterns of formation and own types of linguistic units.

First of all, we should define what units can be considered linguistic ones (units of the language). Any unit can be considered unit of the language on condition it:

- a) possesses external (sound or graphical) form and semantic content,
- b) is not created in the process of speech but used as something already existing and only reproduced in speech.

Thus, separate sounds cannot be considered units of the language, as a separate sound does not possess meaning: [д] in *день* is meaningless. Only the external form of *день* can be divided into sounds, but the word itself cannot. Therefore, sounds are only structural units for making up units of the language. An account of the lexicon which does not incorporate lexical semantic information is inadequate. Our fundamental assumption implies that each linguistic unit has a constant and specific meaning. Actually, if we agree with Leonard Bloomfield¹ that a phonetic form which has a meaning is a linguistic form then the word is a linguistic form. Ideally, linguistics would consist of two main investigations: **phonetics** in which we would study the speech event without reference to its meaning and semantics, in which we would deal with the relation of the event to the features of meaning. Most recent work on lexical semantics has been concerned with accounting for the flexibility of word meaning taking into account pragmatic reasoning². This extends the formalism and this extension is desirable for alternative interpretations of words in a discourse context.

¹ Leonard Bloomfield (1887–1949) was an American linguist who led the development of structural linguistics in the United States during the 1930s and the 1940s. His influential textbook “Language”, published in 1933, presented a comprehensive description of American structural linguistics.

² Pragmatics studies how the transmission of meaning depends not only on structural and linguistic knowledge (e.g., grammar, lexicon, etc.) of the speaker and listener, but also on the context of the utterance, any pre-existing knowledge about those involved, the inferred intent of the speaker, and other factors.

We will follow the Saussurian idea that the connection between the linguistic forms and their meanings is wholly **arbitrary**³. Each combination of signs is arbitrarily assigned to some features of the practical world. Linguistic study usually starts from the form not from the meaning. But each linguistic form has a constant and definite meaning, different from the meaning of any other linguistic form in the same language. If the forms are different their meanings are also different.

1.2. Criteria of the definition.

Trying to give a definition of the word it is important to remember that the definition should indicate the most essential characteristic features of the notion expressed by the term, including the features by which this notion is distinguished from other similar notions. For instance, in defining the word one must distinguish it from other linguistic units, such as the phoneme, the morpheme, or the word-combination.

The word has a good many aspects. Some scientists denied the possibility of giving a satisfactory definition of the word because in different languages it presents itself in different ways and that is why the notion of the “word in general” does not exist. In Ferdinand de Saussure’s opinion the notion of the word is not compatible with our idea of a concrete language unit. Charles Balli⁴ also considered this notion one of the most ambiguous in linguistics.

The word is a language reality and makes the principal functional-structural unit of the language. The leading position of the word among other units is

³ *Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) was a Swiss linguist and semiotician whose ideas laid the foundation for many significant developments in both linguistics and semiology. He is considered one of the founders of 20th-century linguistics and one of two major founders (together with Charles Sanders Peirce) of semiotics/semiology. Saussure’s ideas formed the central tenets of structural linguistics. According to him, linguistic entities are parts of a system and are defined by their relations to one another within said system. Saussure took the sign as the organizing concept for linguistic structure, using it to express the conventional nature of language in the phrase “l’arbitraire du signe” (довільність знака). This has the effect of highlighting what is, in fact, the one point of arbitrariness in the system, namely the phonological shape of words, and hence allows the non-arbitrariness of the rest to emerge with greater clarity. An example of something that is distinctly non-arbitrary is the way different kinds of meaning in language are expressed by different kinds of grammatical structure.*

⁴ *Charles Bally (1865–1947) was a Swiss linguist from the Geneva School. Today Charles Bally is regarded as the founding-father of linguistic theories of style and much honoured for his theories of phraseology. In terms of modern stylistics he dealt with the expressive function of signs.*

explained by the importance of the functions it performs. And though in different languages words can be singled out of the stream of speech differently, it may be difficult to suggest the definition common for all languages, but still it is not impossible. As Oleksandr Smirnitskiy⁵ remarked that the versatility of peculiarities of different languages cannot prevent us from defining the word as the linguistic unit in general because “from this versatility we can single out features that stand out as the most substantial features of the word despite all possible deviations from typical cases” [Смирницкий 1952, p. 184].

The term “word” has been reinterpreted in a lot of ways and undisputable criteria have not been produced yet. We can apply:

- orthographical criterion: words are separated by spacing;
- phonological criterion: the word has one primary stress, potential pause between words but not in the middle of words;
- semantic criterion: the word expresses coherent semantic concept;
- syntactic criterion: the word is the smallest part of the sentence.

With different modifications different criteria have been applied by a lot of scientists. When grammatical aspects prevailed, they defined the word as “an ultimate or indecomposable sentence” (Henry Sweet) or as “minimum free form” (Leonard Bloomfield). When semantic aspects were of primary importance the word was considered to be the sign of a separate notion or the linguistic equivalent of a separate concept. When semantic criterion was combined with phonological the word was defined as “an articulate sound-symbol in its aspect of denoting something which is spoken about” [Gardiner 1922, p. 355].

The eminent French linguist Antoine Meillet⁶ combines the semantic, phonological and grammatical criteria and advances a formula which underlies

⁵ *Smirnitskiy Oleksandr (1903–1954) was an outstanding soviet lexicologist who contributed a lot to our understanding of the relation between language and thought as well as language and speech. He revised the theory of the word and claimed it to be the unit of lexis and grammar because characteristic features of both are brought together in the word and provide its integrity. This made the basis of his analysis of the discreteness and identity of the word.*

⁶ *Comparing Saussure and Meillet (one of the most important French linguists of the early 20th century who lived 1866–1936) with respect to social character of linguistics facts reveals two very different conceptions of generality in linguistics. With Meillet, the social aspects of language refer to the historical diversity of external causes, thus leading to the ideal of a “general” science of language that is anthropological and encyclopedic, whereas, with Saussure, by focusing on the arbitrary, the internal character of language’s social aspects leads to generalness without generalization, and to the paradoxical, complex and prospective inclusion of linguistics within semiology.*

many subsequent definitions, both abroad and in this country: “A word is defined by the association of a particular meaning with a particular group of sounds capable of a particular grammatical employment” (cit. from [Arnold 1973, p. 26]). But this definition does not permit us to distinguish words from word-combinations because not only *трава* but *зелена трава* are combinations of a particular group of sounds with a particular meaning capable of a particular grammatical employment.

Each of the cited definitions is based on singling out of an important feature of the word or of a number of features. Let’s summarize the main points:

- the word is a dialectical unity of form and content;
- the word is internally stable (in terms of the order of the component morphemes);
- the word is the minimum significant linguistic unit capable of functioning alone and characterized by positional mobility (permutable with other words in the sentence).

These features permit us to create a basis for the opposition between the word and the phoneme, and the word and the morpheme. The phoneme and the morpheme cannot function otherwise than in the word. Thus we will proceed from the assumption that the word is the basic unit of the language system, the smallest on the syntactic and the largest on morphological plane of linguistic analysis.

2. Morphemes: free and bound forms.

The ideas below were suggested by Leonard Bloomfield and developed by other structuralists⁷. He stated that a linguistic form which is never spoken alone is a **bound** form, all others are **free** forms. Some linguistic forms bear partial phonetic-semantic resemblances to other forms: e.g. *John ran, John fell, Bill ran, Bill fell; Johnny, Billy; playing, dancing; blackberry, cranberry, strawberry*. A linguistic form which bears a partial phonetic-semantic resemblance to some other linguistic form, is a **complex** form. In any complex form, each constituent is said to accompany other constituents. The constituent

⁷ See, for example, the article “On Defining the Morpheme” by Dwight L. Bolinger in *Additional resources to this lecture*.

forms in our example above: *John, ran, Bill, fell, play, dance, black, berry, straw, cran-* (unique constituent *incranberry*), *-y* (bound-form constituent in *Johnny, Billy*), *-ing* (bound-form constituent in *playing, dancing*).

A linguistic form which bears no partial phonetic-semantic resemblance to any other form is a simple form or a **morpheme**. Thus, *play, dance, cran-, -y, -ing* are morphemes. The term morpheme is derived from Greek *morphe* – form and *-eme*. The Greek suffix *-eme* has been adopted by linguists to denote the smallest unit or the minimum distinctive feature.

A morpheme can be described phonetically, since it consists of one or more phonemes. e.g. the morpheme *pin* bears a phonetic resemblance to other morphemes, such as *pig, pen, tin, ten*. On the basis of these resemblances it can be analyzed and described in terms of three phonemes, but, since these resemblances are not connected with resemblances of meaning, we cannot attribute any meaning to the phonemes. It is the morpheme that is the smallest meaningful unit of form. The meaning of a morpheme is a **sememe**. Linguists assume that each sememe is a constant and definite unit of meaning, different from all other meanings in the language.

Since every complex form is made up entirely of morphemes, a complete list of morphemes would account for all the phonetic forms of a language. The total stock of morphemes in a language is its **lexicon**. However, if we knew the lexicon of a language, and had a reasonably accurate knowledge of each sememe, we might still fail to understand the forms of this language. Every utterance contains some significant features that are not accounted for by the lexicon.

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 those morphemes occur. Each language has a different system for the combining of morphemes. In syntax there may be alternative orders:

John ran away – Away ran John – Away John ran

But in morphology the order is fixed. The morpheme boundaries are determined on the basis of comparison with other utterances. We seek utterances which differ from our original in only one stated portion. We try to make the selection of a basic alternant so as to get, in the long run, the simplest description of facts. L. Bloomfield suggests that this principle of immediate constituents leads us to distinguishing 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*.

A sample analysis which has become almost classical, being repeated many times by many authors, is Bloomfield's analysis of the word *ungentlemanly*. Comparing the word with other utterances the listener recognizes the morpheme *un-* as a negative prefix because he/she has often come across words built on the pattern *un-* plus adjective stem: *uncertain*, *unconscious*, *uneasy*, *unfortunate*, *unmistakable*, *unnatural*. One can also come across the adjective *gentlemanly*. Thus at the first cut we obtain the following immediate constituents: *un* – *gentlemanly*. If we continue our analysis we see that although *gent* occurs as a free form in low colloquial usage, no such words as *lemanly* may be found either as a free or as a bound constituent, so this time we have to separate the final morpheme. We are justified in so doing as there are many adjectives following the pattern noun stem + *-ly*, such as *womanly*, *masterly*, *scholarly*, *soldierly* with the same semantic relationship of “having the quality of the person denoted by the stem”; we also have come across the noun *gentleman* in other utterances.

The two first stages of the analysis resulted in separating a free and a bound form: 1) *un-* + *gentlemanly*, 2) *gentleman* + *-ly*. The third cut has its peculiarities. The division into *gent-* + *-leman* is obviously impossible as no such pattern exists in English, so the cut is *gentle* + *man*. A similar pattern: *adjective stem* + *-man* is observed in *nobleman*. The word *gentle* is open to discussion. If we compare it with such adjectives as *brittle*, *fertile*, *juvenile*,

little, *noble*, *subtle* and some more containing the suffix *-le/-ile* added to a bound stem, they form a pattern for our case.

To sum up: as we break the word we obtain at any level only two immediate constituents. All the time the analysis is based on the patterns characteristic of the English vocabulary. As a pattern showing the combination of all the constituents segregated at various stages we obtain the following formula:

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

What concerns morphological types of words, Ukrainian lexicological tradition is a bit different. According to M.P. Ivchenko [Івченко 1962, p. 199–200] the following types of words with reference to the morphological structure can be distinguished in Ukrainian:

I. Non-derived words:

1. Non-derived words consisting of the root: *менер*, *тут*, *там*, *дуже*, *мало*, *завжди*, *скрізь*, *можна*, *у*, *при*, *від*, *над*, *до*, *і*, *але*.

2. Non-derived words consisting of the root and the ending: *мов-а*, *вод-а*, *вез-у*, *весел-ий*. Here belong also words with zero affix: *вік*, *віз*, *ніс*.

II. Derived words made up of roots, prefixes and suffixes:

1. Words consisting of the root and the suffix: *скрин-к-а*, *істор-ичн-ий*.

Several suffixes can be used.

2. Words consisting of the root and the prefix: *до-пис*, *пере-клад*.

3. Combination of the root with prefixes and suffixes: *пере-стриб-ну-ти*, *про-світ-и-ти*, *за-нев-ни-ти*.

III. Compound words created by combining two stems with or without infix: *лісостеп*, *скорород*.

3. Morphemes: contribution to the meaning and function of the word.

In order to represent the internal structure of words, it is necessary not only to identify each of the component morphemes but also to classify these elements in terms of their contribution to the meaning and function of the larger word.

According to the role they play in constructing words, morphemes are subdivided into **roots** and **affixes** (lat. affixus – *прикріплений*). The latter are

further subdivided, according to their position, into *prefixes*, *suffixes* and *infixes*, and according to their function and meaning, into *derivational* and *functional affixes*, the latter also called *outer formatives*. (The term was suggested by Eugene Nida⁸ as contrasted to *inner formatives* which is equivalent to our term *derivational affixes*).

When functional affix is stripped from the word, what remains is a *stem* (or a *base*). The stem expresses the lexical meaning. In many cases, the base is also the root. The principles of singling out stems and roots are different. Roots are semantic cores of words. Stems are directly connected with inflectional affixes, thus singled out on the structural principle. Root and stem can coincide but they should be viewed from different angles. In *books*, for example the element to which the affix *-s* is added corresponds to the word's root. In other cases, however, an affix can be added to a larger unit than a root. This happens in words such as *blackened*, in which the past tense affix *-ed* is added to the verbal stem *blacken* – a unit consisting of the root morpheme *black* and the suffix *-en*. Thus stems may differ structurally, they may be root stems (*work -er*), derived stems (*beauti-ful -ly*) and compound stems (*long-hair -ed*).

Stems are combined with definite affixes and their combinability or valency depends on several reasons:

- grammatical category of stems, e.g. some suffixes can be added only to nouns (adjectives, verbs etc.);
- semantic content of stems and affixes, e.g. stems negative in meaning cannot tackle prefixes of negation;
- phonetic peculiarities of stems and affixes, e.g. some stems ending in lip consonants take suffixes with initial vowel, e.g. *dist-ance*.

Root morphemes can also combine with functional affixes without being complicated by functional affixes. There are cases when root morphemes are bound morphemes. This type of root morphemes is characteristic of Ukrainian: *мандр-и*, *мандр-ув-ати*, *мандр-івн-ий*.

⁸ Eugene A. Nida (1914–2011) developed the dynamic-equivalence Bible translation theory and was one of the founders of the modern discipline of translation studies. Nida also developed the componential analysis technique, which split words into their components to help determine equivalence in translation (e.g. “bachelor” = male + unmarried). This is, perhaps, not the best example of the technique, though it is the most well-known.

Sometimes root morphemes can come close to affixes when their meaning is weakened like: 1) *-man* in *seaman*, *postman*; *-люб* in *книголюб*, *правдолюб*; 2) *tele-* in *telescope*, *telephone* or *-graph* in *phono-graph*, *telegraph*. Such morphemes are sometimes called semi-affixes. Smirnitckiy views such cases as specific root morphemes which can be used only in compounds and come close either to suffixal or prefixal morphemes [Смирницкий 1956, p. 54].

Functional affixes serve to convey grammatical meaning. They build different forms of one and the same word. Complete sets of all the various forms of a word when considered as inflectional patterns, such as declensions or conjugations, are termed paradigms. An *inflectional paradigm* is therefore defined as the system of grammatical forms characteristic of a word. e.g. *near*, *nearer*, *nearest*; *son*, *sons*, *son's*, *sons'*. Lexical derivatives make up a *derivational* or *lexical paradigm*. Thus, for instance, from the word *love* a number of derivative words can be generated: *love*, *lovely*, *loveliness*, *loveless*, *lover*, *loving*, *lovingly*, *lovable*, *beloved*.

Derivational affixes serve to supply the root with components of lexical and lexical-grammatical meaning, and thus form different words. Lexicology is primarily concerned with derivational affixes, functional affixes being the domain of grammarians. But, in fact, the whole problem of word-formation is a boundary area between lexicology and grammar.

Because inflection and derivation are both marked by affixation, the distinction between the two can be a subtle one and it is sometimes unclear which function a particular affix has. Three criteria are commonly used to help distinguish between inflectional and derivational affixes.

1. Inflexion does not change either the part of speech or the type of meaning found in the word to which it applies. The form produced by adding the plural suffix *-s* in Fig. 2.1 (a) is still a noun and has the same type of meaning as the stem. Even though *books* differs from *book* in referring to several things rather than just one, the type of thing(s) to which it refers remains the same. Similarly, a past tense suffix such as the one in Fig. 2.1 (b) indicates that the action took place in the past, but it does not change the word's category (which remains a V), nor does it modify the

type of meaning. The verb continues to denote an action regardless of whether the tense is past or non-past.

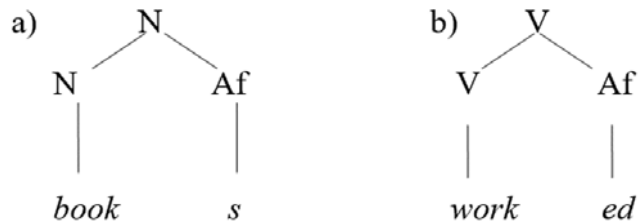


Fig. 2.1.

In contrast derivational affixes characteristically change the category and/or the type of meaning of the form to which they apply and are therefore said to create a new word. Consider the examples of derivation in Fig. 2.2.

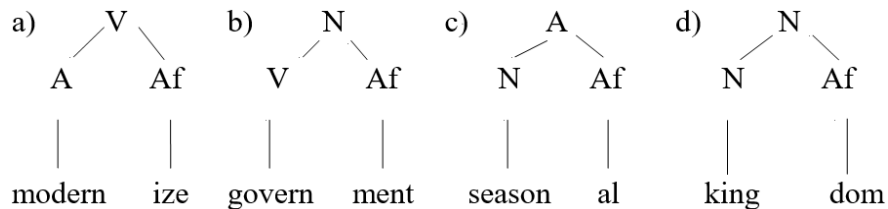


Fig. 2.2.

Parallel changes in category and type of meaning are brought about by *-ize*, *-ment* and *-al*. Matters are a little different in the case of *-dom* which does not bring about a category change (Fig. 2.2 (d)). However, *-dom* does modify the type of meaning from “person” (for *king*) to “place” (for *kingdom*).

2. The second property of inflectional affixes has to do with the order in which they are combined with a stem relative to derivational affixes. As figure 2.3 illustrates, a derivational affix must combine with stem before an inflectional affix does. (IA = inflectional affix; DA = derivational affix).

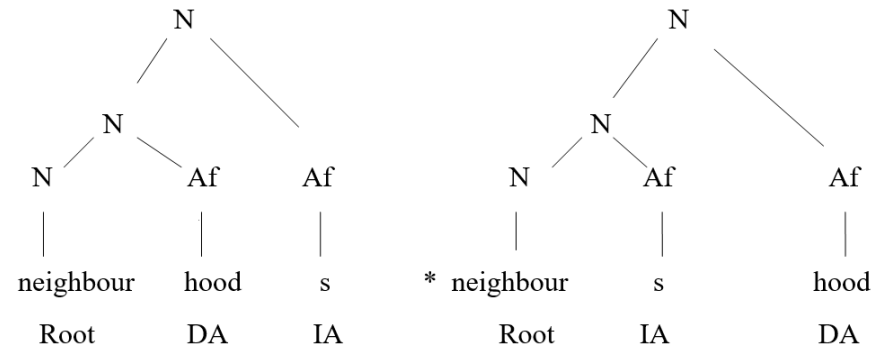


Fig. 2.3.

3. The third criterion for distinguishing between inflectional and derivational affixes has to do with productivity, the relative freedom with which they can combine with stems of the appropriate category. Inflectional affixes typically have relatively few exceptions. The suffix *-s*, for example, can combine with virtually any noun that allows a plural form. In contrast, derivational affixes characteristically apply to restricted classes of stems. Thus *-ize* can combine with only certain adjectives to form a verb.

modern -ize
legal-ize

* *new-ize*
* *lawful-ize*

4. Contrastive analysis of the morphemic structure of English and Ukrainian words.

The theoretical foundations of word analysis in terms of its morphological structure apply both to English and Ukrainian languages. But according to the classification of Indo-European languages English and Ukrainian belong to different types of flectional languages. English is analytic and Ukrainian is primarily synthetic. The terms explain themselves. In the synthetic languages the relations between words are expressed by forms of the words themselves. In analytic languages it is the sentence that is of prime importance and grammatical meanings are expressed by words arranged in a

fixed order. We never find pure synthesis or analysis in any language. But English is notably analytic. There are only seven inflectional affixes in it (all suffixes). Ukrainian has dozens of inflectional affixes and encodes contrasts not represented in English.

Firstly, we can single out derivational and functional affixes in Ukrainian but they have some peculiarities. Derivational affixes in Ukrainian include:

1. Suffixes – realize their meaning only together with the root morpheme. For example, suffixes can express the meaning of generalized property, abstract notion when combined with roots of adjectives denoting concrete properties or features of objects: *добр-ом-а* – *добр-ий*, *хоробр-ість* – *хоробр-ий*, *крут-изн-а* – *крут-ий*.

The suffix being combined with the root specifies or changes the content of the word and together with the ending indicates what part of speech it belongs to. Suffixes can transform the word into another part of speech.

2. Prefixes – differ from derivational suffixes because they are added to the whole word and not to the root and cannot transform the word into another part of speech, e.g. *весна* – *провесна*, *давній* – *прадавній*, *ходить* – *заходити*, *звично* – *незвично*.

3. Postfixes – *-ся* serves to create reflexive verbs: *лити* – *литися*, *солодкий* – *насолоджуватися*.

4. Infixes – are used to connect two or more roots thus occur within a stem. In Ukrainian this function can be performed by three vowels: о, е, э, e.g. *лісотундра*, *першодрукар*, *працездатний*, *життєрадісний*.

Functional affixes in Ukrainian are traditionally subdivided into **form-creating (формотворчі) and word-changing (словозмінні)**. Form-creating affixes differ from derivational as they are combined with the stem of one and the same word while derivational affixes are combined with the stem to create a new word. Form-creating suffixes are standardized, obligatory for all the words belonging to the part of speech within which they create a definite system of word-forms (словоформи). For example, all the infinitives have the form made up with the suffix *-ти*, forms of the past tense are built with suffix *-в* (or zero) and *-л-* to which the ending showing gender and number categories is added: *писати* – *писав*, *писала*, *писало*, *писали*; *нести* – *ніс*, *несла*, *несло*, *несли*. Form-creating suffixes *-уч* (*-юч*), *-ач* (*-яч*), *-л-* are used to make

up past and present active participles: *рожевіти* – *рожевіючий*, *зчорніти* – *зчорнілий*; suffixes *-н* (*-ен*), *-т* create past participles (дієприкметники минулого часу): *побілити* – *побілений*, *збити* – *збитий*; suffixes *-учи* (*-ючи*), *-ачи* (*-ячи*) – present participles (дієприслівники теперішнього часу) and *-ши*, *-вши* – past participles (дієприслівники минулого часу): *рожевіти* – *рожевіючи*, *зчорніти* – *зчорнівши*.

Prefixes and suffixes used to create an aspect pair of verbs in Ukrainian are also considered form-creating. e.g. *летіти* – *прілетіти*. Compare: *летіти* – *влетіти*. In the second case the lexical meaning is specified, thus the prefix is a derivational affix.

The main type of functional affixes in Ukrainian is word-changing affix called **flexion or ending (флексія або закінчення)**. It serves to indicate the combination of words with other words in word-combinations or sentences. Changeable parts of speech in Ukrainian have definite systems of word-changing (словозміна). Types of declension (відмінювання) of nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns are differentiated through the system of endings which render grammatical meanings of case, gender and number or only case (in cardinal numerals). Verbs have a complicated system of conjugation (дієвідмінювання). Main indicators of the categories of person, gender and number are endings. Endings are highly abstract. They can be easily attached to all the words belonging to a certain type of declension or conjugation and create a definite system of word-forms.

In the declension system the **zero affix** (not expressed phonemically) can have some grammatical meaning, e.g. with nouns in the genitive case, plural - *вікно* – *вікон*, *вишня* – *вишень*, *череда* – *черід*.

Isomorphism and allomorphy in the morphemic structure of English and Ukrainian words was researched by Ilko V. Korunets⁹ [Korunets 2004, p. 179–192] and the statements below are based on his research. Morphemes as minimal meaningful units in both contrasted languages can be free or

⁹ Ilko Vakulovich Korunets (1922–2018) – an outstanding Ukrainian scholar, one of the founders of the modern Ukrainian translation studies, the author of more than 100 scholarly and academic works and artistic translations from English and Italian. I. Korunets was the professor of the department of English philology and translation (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv), a sincere and bright person. He devoted all his life to the development of Ukrainian translation studies, training of future translators and was a true patriot of our Motherland.

bound. Free or root morphemes, as it has already been mentioned, are lexically and functionally not dependent on other morphemes. In both languages they may be regular words, e.g., *boy, day, he, four, день, кінь, річ, він, три* or they may constitute the lexical core of a word, e.g., *boyhood, daily, fourth, денна, нічний, тричі, etc.* In other words, root morphemes in English, Ukrainian and some other languages are not dependent on other morphemes in a word. Bound morphemes, on the other hand, can not function independently: they are bound to the root or to the stem consisting of the root morpheme and of one or more affixal morphemes, e.g., *days, spoken, fourteen, overcome, government, дивно, розумом, дні, нашим* etc. Bound morphemes like *-s, -en, -teen, over-, -ment, -o, -ом, -і, -им* in either of the two languages can not exist independently, i.e. they are not free but always dependent on roots or stems of their words.

Root morphemes. Due to its historical development, English has a much larger number of morphologically unmarked words, i.e. regular root morphemes, than Ukrainian. Consequently, the number of inflexions expressing the morphological categories is much smaller in English than in Ukrainian. Moreover, a lot of notionals in English lack even the affixes which can identify their lexico-morphological nature. Free root-morphemed words, though fewer in Ukrainian, are still represented in all lexico-morphological classes as nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc. of both contrasted languages, e.g. *arm, pen, boy, work, do, red, he, she, it, five, this, ten, here, far, etc.* Similarly, in Ukrainian: *ніс, лоб, чуб, ти, варт, хто, три, тут, де, він, etc.*

Free root morphemes in English and Ukrainian can also be functional words: *but, till, on, not, through, just* (a moment), *мов, геть, так, певне, може, ох, дзень, гав, не, ні, від, на, під, etc.* Root morphemes in English can often form part of the stem, which is especially characteristic of present-day Ukrainian, for example: *workers, friendliness, concerning, beautiful; робітництво, безмежність, переодягнутися, переробивши, тепленько, теплесенько, etc.*

Affixal morphemes in the contrasted languages split into **derivational and functional morphemes**. Derivational morphemes are in both English and Ukrainian mainly suffixes and sometimes prefixes. The number of suffixes in the contrasted languages considerably exceeds the number of prefixes. Thus

the significance of the latter (prefixes) in word-building is not so big in both languages. The number of suffixes in English does not exceed 100, there being 60 noun-forming, 26 adjective-forming, 5 verb-forming and 3 adverb-forming suffixes. Among the noun-indicating/forming suffixes in English are *-acy, -ance, -ion, -dom, -er, -ess, -hood, -ics, -ism, -ity, -ment, -ness, -ship, -ty* and others. For example, *democracy, alliance, delegation, freedom, writer, falsehood, politics, feudalism, government, management, fitness, likeness, penmanship, friendship, loyalty, etc.* The adjective-indicating suffixes are: *-able, -al, -ial, -fold, -ful, -ic, -ile, -ish, -less, -ous, -some, -ward, -y* and some others. For example, *capable, formal, presidential, manifold, grateful, laconic, futile, selfish, meaningless, dangerous, tiresome, eastward, happy, silly, etc.* The verb-indicating suffixes are *-ate, -en, -esce, -ify, -ise*. E.g., *negotiate, facilitate, blacken, shorten, acquiesce, beautify, purify, demobilise, organise*. The adverb-indicating suffixes are *-ly, -wards, -ward, -ways: quickly, slowly, southward/southwards, sideways, etc.*

Ukrainian word-forming suffixes are more numerous and also more diverse by their nature, there being special suffixes to identify different genders of nouns that are practically missing in English. Thus, masculine gender suffixes of nouns in Ukrainian are: *-ник, -івник, -ільник, -ч, -ік/-ік, -ець/-ець, -ар/-яр, -ир, -ист, -іст, -тель, -аль* and others. For example, *медик, господарник, рахівник, керманіч, кравець, хімік, прозаїк, боєць, шахтар, муляр, бригадир, збирач, діяч, окуліст, вихователь, скрипаль, etc.*

Suffixes of feminine gender in Ukrainian usually follow the masculine gender suffix in the noun stem, the most frequent of the former being *-к/а/, -иц/я/, -ес/а/, -ух/а/, -ш/а/, -івн/а/*, etc. For example, *виховат-ель-к-а, рад-ист-к-а, спів-ан-к-а, уч-ен-иц-я, ткач-их-а, поет-ес-а, коваль-івн-а, морг-ух-а, директ-ор-ш-а, Семенів-на*. The corresponding English suffixes *-or, -ess, -me, -rix, -ine, and -ette* identify the masculine and feminine sex and not the grammatical gender. For example, *actor, emperor, actress, poetess, directrix, emperatrix, heroine, suffragette*. English nouns with the so-called gender suffixes do not differ functionally from other nouns which have no such suffixes. For example, *The actor/actress sang* and *The bird sang*. Ukrainian gender nouns, however, always require corresponding gender forms in

attributes and predicates. For example, *молодий артист співав. Гарна артистка співала. Ранкове небо сіріло. Малі пташки співали, чорний ворон сидів, сива ворона сиділа, сіре котеня нявкало.*

Ukrainian suffixes can form nouns of the feminine gender denoting non-human beings as animals, birds, insects, as well as some class nouns, abstract and collective nouns, for example: *сніг-ур-к-а, переп-іл-к-а, цвірк-ун-к-а, паруб-от-а, рід-н-я, бор-н-я, біган-ин-а, бороть-б-а, сприт-ність, свіж-ин-а, балака-ни-на.*

Suffixes of the neuter gender are mostly used in Ukrainian to identify abstract and collective nouns and names of materials, babies, cubs, nurslings, as in the following nouns: *жіно-цтв-о, учитель-ств-о, нероб-ств-о, бадил-ля, заси-лл-я, збі-жж-я, кло-чч-я, смі-тт-я, гори-нн-я, вели-нн-я, терп-інн-я.*

Apart from the afore-mentioned, there exist in Ukrainian large groups of evaluative diminutive and augmentative noun suffixes as in *зір-оньк-а, сонечк-о, руч-ищ-е, голов-ешк-а, биц-юр-а, кабан-юр-а, etc.* and patronimic suffixes like *-енк-о, -ук, -чук, -ун, -щук, -ець, etc.* For example, *Бондаренко, Головащук, Петрук, Поліщук, Чергинець, Литвинець, Лівшун, Мовчун.*

The number of suffixes forming only diminutive nouns in Ukrainian is as many as 53, compared with 16 suffixes in English, only 4 of which are practically productive (e.g., *gooseling, girlie, booklet, daddy, granny*). Neither is there identity in the formation of English and Ukrainian statives, the latter mostly having in Ukrainian the same form as adverbs or modal words (e.g.: *прикро, душно, треба, краще* etc.). These groups of suffixes (as can be seen below) pertain to English as well, but they are much less represented. Nevertheless, despite the difference in the quantity and quality of suffixes, they perform in English and Ukrainian an isomorphic (either the word-forming or form-building) function. This can also be seen from the following few examples:

English Word-Forming Suffixes: a) noun-forming suffixes *-er, -or, -hood, -ment, -ance: worker, sailor, falsehood, government, alliance, appea-*

rance; b) adjective-forming suffixes: -y, -ful, -able (-ible), -less: rocky, joyful, reliable, useless;

Ukrainian Word-Forming Suffixes: a) noun-forming suffixes: *-ель, -ець, -ник, -інь, -ість, -ність: вчитель, борець, робітник, глибінь, чинник, давність, гордість; b) verb-forming suffixes: -ну, -ти, -ува, -юва: куснути, зимувати, днювати; c) verb-forming suffixes: -ise, -en: realise, shorten, blacken; -ate, -fy: elaborate, signify; d) adverb-forming suffixes: -fold, -ce, -ward, -ly: twofold, thrice, nicely, homeward, etc.; c) adjective-forming suffixes: -к,-ив, -лив: близький, правдивий, міський, примхливий; d) adverb-forming suffixes: -но, -чі, -ки, -ма: пошепки, сидьма, двічі, горілиць, сонно, вічно.*

Form-building suffixes in English and Ukrainian, when added to the root (or to the stem of a word), change the form of these words, adding some new shade to their lexical meaning. These suffixes may also change the lexical meaning of the stem, for example: *Ann – Anny, duck – duckling, hill – hillock, friend – friendship, London – Londoner, four – fourteen – forty, etc.* In Ukrainian: *дитина – дитинча, лошак – лошачок. Харків – харків'янин, плітка – пліточка, хід – ходанина – походеньки, швидко – швиденько, хутко – хуленько.*

Prefixes in the contrasted languages modify the lexical meaning of the word. They may sometimes change even the lexico-grammatical nature of the derivative word. As for example:

In English	In Ukrainian
co-existence, enclosure, insight, protector; avert, adjoin, bewrap, subordinate; anomalous, eccentric, non-standard, unable; ablaze, asleep; together; below; because, unless, until.	безмір, віддаль, зав'язь, підвид, праліс; вбігати, накричати, обійти, обмити, підвести; антивоєнний, надмірний; вголос, заміж, по-нашому, по-німецьки, поміж, понад; оскільки, позаяк, прихід, походеньки, розбити, перемеріяти, якнайкраще, щонайшвидше, etc.

Word-forming prefixes pertain mostly to the English language where they can form different parts of speech. For example,

verbs: *bedew, bemadam, embed, encamp, enable, denude, disable, endear*;

adjectives: *anti-war, non-party, pre-war, post-war*;

statives: *aboard, alike, asleep*;

adverbs: *today, tomorrow, together*;

prepositions: *below, behind*;

conjunctions: *because, unless, until*.

In Ukrainian only some conjunctions, prepositions and adverbs can be formed by means of prefixes, for example: *вдень, вночі, по-нашому, по-новому, набік, вдруге, втретє, оскільки, внаслідок, вгору, знизу, щонайменше*. Isomorphic is also the use of two (in English) and more (in Ukrainian) prefixes before the root/stem: *misrepresentation, re-embankment*. In Ukrainian three prefixes may be used to modify the lexical meaning of nouns, adjectives, past participles, and verbs, for example: *недовимолот, недовиторг, перерозподіляти, недовимолочений, не / перерозподілений, недовиторгувати, перерозподілити*, etc.

Find more information on inflexional morphemes in English and in Ukrainian in Additional resources.

5. Seminar tasks and questions.

1. Comment on the notion of the word and approaches to its definition.
2. Comment on the notion of morpheme and its grammatical and lexical meaning.
3. Types of morphemes. Free/bound morphemes.
4. Types of Affixes. Its classification.
5. The classification of prefixes.
6. Suffixation. English and Ukrainian suffixes.
8. Watch the video on Morphology. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=syjbhT45bJ14> – and be ready to discuss it.

6. Seminar library.

1. *Горпинич В.О.* Будова слова і словотвір. К.: Рад. школа, 1977. 116 с.
2. *Івченко М.П.* Сучасна українська літературна мова. К.: Видавництво Київського університету, 1962. 591 с.
3. *Ковалик І.І.* Діалектичний характер морфологічної будови слова. *Сучасна українська літературна мова. Морфологія* / за заг. редакцією І.К. Білодіда. К.: Наукова думка, 1969. 584 с.
4. *Смирницький А.И.* Лексикология английского языка. М.; Изд-во лит-ры на иностр. языках, 1956. 260 с.
5. *Смирницький А.И.* К вопросу о слове (Проблема “отдельности слова”). М.: Изд-во Акад. Наук. СССР, 1952. С. 182–203.
6. *Arnold I.V.* The English Word. М.: «Высшая школа», 1973. 303 p.
7. *Gardiner A.H.* The Definition of the Word and the Sentence. *The British Journal of Psychology*, XII, 1922, P. 352–361. URL: https://pure.mpg.de/rest/items/item_2325796_3/component/file_2325795/content
8. *Korunets I.V.* Contrastive Typology of the English and Ukrainian Languages. Вінниця: «Нова книга», 2004. P. 179–192.

7. Additional resources: Part 2.



The article below was written by Dwight L. Bolinger (1907–1992) – an American linguist and Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures at Harvard University, and was published in *WORD* in 1948, Vol. 4:1, pp. 18–23.

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DWIGHT L. BOLINGER ON DEFINING THE MORPHEME

Implicit in Bloomfield's definition of the morpheme as 'a linguistic form which bears no partial phonetic-semantic resemblance to any other form', and of the morpheme's semantic content (sememe) as 'a constant and definite unit of meaning, different from all other meanings, including all other sememes, in the language' [L. Bloomfield, *Language* 161–162; New York, 1933], is the assumption that a given phonetic concourse is either entirely with or entirely without meaning. The passage from the 'ultimate constituent' to the 'meaningless sub-unit' is abrupt: there is no meaning at all below the morpheme (if there is, we shall be suspected of not having analyzed far enough); and there is as much meaning, qualitatively, in morpheme plus zero as in morpheme plus morpheme plus morpheme ...

I believe that this concept of the morpheme needs examination because (1) it is important to constituent analysis; (2) it is a crossroads between diachronic and synchronic morphology; and (3) it shows the necessity for a more rigorous treatment of meaning as it applies to synchronic analysis. I shall maintain: (1) That the transition from sub-unit to morpheme is, as regards meaning, not abrupt, altho there is a point below which we contemplate a world that is dead, or nearly so, but above which the degree of fluidity, the degree of animation, jumps upward at a rate far exceeding its increase elsewhere; this degree of animation, by which I mean the statistically determinable

readiness with which an element enters into new combinations, is the only sure linguistic evidence that the element has a meaning of its own. (2) That this increase continues as utterances are augmented in extent and still further as they are combined with other utterances, tho at an infinitely slower rate. In other words, instead of describing the access of meaning as a rectangle open at the growing end and closed squarely at the end that represents morpheme plus zero, I should diagram it as a parabola with the narrowest part of the curve standing for a least element capable of entering into new combinations (having meaning), and with the morpheme either at the same point or slightly to the right of it. The slow widening of the open end of the parabola is only a way of depicting the fact that $a + b$ will join more readily into new combinations than a or b alone, that $(a + b) + (c + d)$ will combine more freely in new arrangements than $a + b$ or $c + d$ alone, etc.-in other words, that the linguistic environment of a smaller unit tends to be more predictable than that of a larger unit. (3) That the morpheme, as defined, is a variable, and scarcely easier to pin down than a word. And (4) that the morpheme needs redefinition, as it represents at present a curious survival of the confusion of contemporary and historical analysis.

The application of the definition that I have quoted is illustrated by the statement that '*unhesitating* is not a morpheme' [R. S. Wells, *Immediate Constituents*, *LANG.* 23.81 (1947)]. Since *un-*, *-hesitat-*, and *-ing* are all encountered elsewhere with meanings similar to the ones that they reveal here, *unhesitating* is not an ultimate constituent, or morpheme. The difficulty arises when we attempt to deal with words like *away* or *disease*. We know, of course, etymologically, that there are two components in *disease*; but this knowledge is diachronic, and cannot be invoked in a synchronic analysis. As far as the contemporary meanings of *dis-* and *-ease* are concerned, they are irrelevant to the contemporary meaning of *disease*-it would be impossible for a modern speaker of English to create *disease* out of *dis-* and *-ease* as we now use them, as he might, for example, create *de-hair* or *de-sugar*. Stimulated by our etymological information we may imagine to ourselves how the meaning of *disease* developed from the combined meanings of its etymological components; but this in no way represents any picture that the vast majority of the users of the language carry about with them. If we were limited to usage we

could no more divide *disease* (as spoken, *diziiz*) into *dis-* plus *-ease* than we can divide *curfew* into *cur-* and *-few*, or *copper* into *cop-* and *-er*. Etymology has undoubtedly motivated attempts at synchronic constituent analysis of many words, but needs to be carefully separated from it.

Now when we pass from words like *disease* in which the combination is different semantically from its elements (and the difference is not attributable to any tagmeme, such as order or modulation, but is a psychological transformation related to the frequency of the combination), to words in which the combination is clearly the sum of the parts, such as *unhesitating*, we traverse a zone in which there is every imaginable degree of relationship between the part and the whole. In some, the relationship is dim-one scarcely knows whether to affirm it, or to call the totality a morpheme-word; as indicated by the stressed *-sai-* versus the unstressed *-si-* of *motorcycle* and *bicycle*, we seem to have two cognate forms one of which is clearly separable and the other may or may not be. This wavering continues all the way up into fairly complex combinations, with of course fewer and fewer examples the farther we go. To most unsophisticated users of the language a *short circuit* has nothing to do with either *short* or *circuit* (except in so far as the phrase itself has been clipped to a *short*); and to not a few of these it has come to signify merely some kind of electrical mishap, completely removed from even that technical meaning which might, on reflection, be traced to *short* plus *circuit*. Ask one of these persons to account for the contrast *short circuit* versus *long circuit* and he will only look astonished.

If we abandon the etymological standard of analysis we resign ourselves to the fact that the *cept* of *receptive*, *concept*, and *except* is no more 'a morpheme', synchronically speaking, than is the *taf* of *taffeta*, *taffy*, and *distaff*, for neither meets the test of meaning. May we go a step farther? Suppose that a form which under many conditions does meet the test of meaning, such as the *re-* of *recall*, *reclaim*, *rebate*, *return*, *remand*, and a host of neologisms, under other conditions has its primary meaning swallowed up, as in *repertory*, *religion*, *recipe*, or again has it contrasting with itself as in *re-creation* versus *recreation*, or, finally, relates to a secondary meaning of the etymon as in *research*. Unless we resort to etymology there is no way to identify all these instances as a single morpheme.

The *re-* of *research* ('diligent, intensive') of *recall* ('back'), of *rewrite* ('again'), and of *religion* (zero) are, synchronically, merely homonyms or near-homonyms. Besides identity and mere homonymy there may be partial synonymy, as in the *un-* of *undetermined* and the *un-* of *unwind*, which are related as negatives but distinguished by their peculiar connotations of 'yet to be' and 'in reverse'.

This raises the all-important question of WHOSE meaning, since meaning is the criterion. Clearly in the speech of the person who says a *three-wheeled bicycle* we cannot analyze *bicycle*. There are speakers of English who could never see a resemblance between the *com-* of *compare* and the *com-* of *compound* except the resemblance of sound, tho these same speakers would readily note the kinship of the *co-* in *co-worker* and *co-defendant*; there are others who might be taught to see the connexion in *compare* and *compound*, but would never think of it otherwise. For these people, who probably make up the bulk of the speakers of the language, can we rightly say that *com-* (*con-*) is a morpheme? It is doubtful whether for them any collocation of phonemes can be called a morpheme (as defined) unless it is still an active formative in the language, such as *un-*, *re-*, *anti-*, *de-*, in many or most of their combinations.

Obviously we cannot use meaning to determine an element in speech until we decide whose meaning, and what kind of meaning, we mean. As for whose, it can scarcely be other than that of the majority of speakers. As to what kind, it should be the kind that the majority would recognize as constituting a basis of similarity among complex forms that are otherwise dissimilar in meaning. For the latter, we might speak of 'proper meaning', referring to the meaning that can be assigned to a segment taken separately. The *in-* of *infer* and *intense* would not have proper meaning because the majority of speakers would never take it separately; it would not, therefore, be a morpheme. It follows that proper meaning, as the determinant of a morpheme, is intimately connected with freedom. If it is a bound form, the element must -in order to be a morpheme-be active; for the moment that it becomes inert the new generation of speakers take it merely as a sound element, not a meaning element, of the larger signal. How proper meaning begins to dim the moment a combination becomes stereotyped is illustrated by a class in which the twelve students attempting to use the *he (him) + who (that)* construction to translate Spanish *al que* were

divided equally between those who called it *he who* (as verb object!) and those who chose *him who*; fifty per cent made the wrong choice because *he who* had partially lost its active relation to the independent use of the pronoun.

Attempts to identify morphemes by formal means will probably bear little fruit, for juncture and stress are too erratic and bear no simple relationship to meaning. The open juncture in *an aim* and the close juncture in *a name* do not distinguish *an* as a morpheme and *a* as a non-morpheme, but rather distinguish *an aim* from *a name* as wholes. Tho *holiday* is not a phonemic phrase by the Bloch-Trager definition, the *-day* is a morpheme in the sense that most speakers would immediately use the word *day* in defining it, and would associate the similar sounds with similar meanings. Freedom rather than form is what marks the morpheme, tho the form is affected in loosely predictable ways. An utterance can perhaps be speeded up until all open junctures disappear, and yet it is understood, because its morphemes are identified thru memory. *Holiday* has often been encountered alone, and it is tied to a similar verbal habit or memory in *birthday* and *washday*; freedom in the sense of not being phrasally bound, and freedom in the sense of the manipulability of its parts, both REMEMBERED, enable us to identify it as a word and its ending as a morpheme.

We thus arrive at a definition of the morpheme which parallels that of the word. If a word is a least element that can be used by itself, a morpheme is a least element that can enter into new combinations. Potentiality for new combination has two distinct advantages, as criterion for the morpheme. In the first place, it enables us to replace the ill-defined *meaning* with a measurable fact, the recurring appearance in new environments. In the second place, we shall discover that it is necessary in our definition of the word; for if a 'minimum free form' is one which merely HAS appeared in varied contexts, it would actually be BOUND to those (extensive but finite) contexts; only its potentiality for new combination keeps it from being phrasally bound. The actual number of new combinations made out of any given morpheme may be extremely small, but the appearance of only one in the lifetime of a speaker is still sufficient proof that the element has proper meaning, that its user views it as something existing at least partly to itself. Admittedly such a definition will not be altogether easy to apply; but it is an improvement on the definition that it replaces, which is just as difficult in application and is impossible in theory.

The definition, however, rules out meaningless residual forms as morphemes such as the *cran-* of *cranberry*—as well as etymological components. There is no way by which they can be included without opening the door to forms that we should not wish to include. This is an inconvenience, as it flies in the face of usage of the term *morpheme*, and the change would involve correcting too many things already written. Since very little constituent analysis has been done, it will be easier to leave *morpheme* alone and to give a new name to the KIND of morpheme that I have described as pertinent to constituent analysis. I therefore propose *formative* in place of *morpheme* as I have defined it, and *component* for an etymological entity (as used by Bloomfield, *component* and *constituent* are precise synonyms, so that we can utilize the surplus term), whence a *morpheme* is 'a formative, residue, or component'. But we must remember, if this is done, that synchronic meaning is no longer the criterion for the morpheme; tho meaning of some sort there would be, whether diachronic or synchronic. Formatives would include morpheme words (whence *formative* might be defined also as 'a minimum active form'). (Tho there is wide duplication between residue and component and between formative and component, we still need to distinguish them, for there are residues which are not components such as certain portions of *discombooberate*, and there are even formatives which are not components, such as the *-aroo* as encountered in the originating word *buckaroo*).

Constituent analysis is more and more hemmed in as it moves from the open end of the parabola toward smaller and smaller units at the closed end. Th smaller the unit, the more likely it is to be partially or wholly bound. I do not refer now to the kind of bondage which mechanically limits certain forms to one or a few environments, without altering materially the value of the parts, such as *brand*, adj., limited to *new* (or *span new*), or *hard* of limited to *hearing*; I mean the bondage which makes the whole radically different from the sum of its parts. *By all means* in present-day speech belongs to the focus class of *yes* or *certainly*, not to that of *in every way possible*; it is even less analyzable than *certainly*, where *-ly* affects *certain-* just as it affects *glad-* in *gladly*, whereas *by that method* is not semantically parallel to *by all means*. *How do you do?* belongs to the focus class of *Hello*, not to that of *How do you know?* *Like nobody's business* belongs to the focus class of *like sixty*, *like*

fun, like hell, not to that of *like my brother. Why don't you be careful!* (admonition or reproach) versus *Why not be careful?* (suggestion or hypothesis)-unlike the semantically related *Why don't you try it!* and *Why not try it?* or *What do you say we-?!* paralleling *Suppose we-?*, etc., are to be analyzed or not depending on how much the analyzer insists upon fidelity between meaning of the whole and meanings of the parts. The analyst will generally elect to analyze, and rightly so, for he cannot assume the impossible burden of identifying all the stereotypes in a language. Bondage-in the sense of uniqueness of meaning-is virtually complete by the time we reach down to the word, and quite complete when we reach the formative. It is true that there are hints of meaning with vague resemblances of form at inferior levels, such as the *n* of *un-*, *in-*, *non-*, *nude*, *numb*, *nix*, *no*, or the vowel of *goof*, *boob*, *google*, etc., the occupants of the sharpest part of the parabola that describes the access of meaning; but constituent analysis should stop before it reaches this stage. Its problems are too specialized to be included.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Constituent analysis as undertaken up to the present works successfully reflecting not perfectly but with a high degree of accuracy actual practise in the language-in larger groups, less successfully as groups are made smaller, until, at the point of the 'morpheme,' it breaks down a large part of the time. This necessitates a redefinition of the morpheme so as to separate morphemes that are valid for constituent analysis (formatives and residues) from those which are valid for diachronic morphology (components). The pluralizing component of *Cincinnati* and the genitive component of *Evans* are irrelevant to a constituent analysis of contemporary English.

2. The redefinition of the morpheme suggests a clarification of freedom and bondage. This is called for also because *bondage* is now used in two different senses: a sub-word formative is 'bound' by the very fact that it is not a word, that is by never appearing alone, tho the variety of its environments may be almost infinite; a word, on the other hand, is 'bound' when it is restricted as to its environments. Let us say, then, that: (1) Components are locked in 'inert bondage.' (2) Formatives and residues may be locked in 'active bondage.' (3) Words are locked in 'phrasal bondage' when the combi-

nation is mechanical and the meaning of the parts answers to the meaning of the whole. The phrasally bound *gob* in *Shut your gob* has the same meaning as *mouth* in this context, and admits of the same ornamentation as in *Shut your silly gob* (or *mouth*). Phrasal bondage is in turn divided into (a) 'complete phrasal bondage' when the word is used only in enumerable combinations such as full adv. in *full well* and *full many* or *tapis* in *on the tapis*; (b) 'partial phrasal bondage' when the word is used only in certain types of context such as *budge* (largely in negative contexts); and (c) 'complex phrasal bondage' (itself either complete or partial) when a phrase is phrasally bound, such as the *no uncertain* of *in no uncertain terms* (*words, phrases*) or *suffice it* in *suffice it to say* (*point out*). (4) Words are locked in 'semantic bondage' when a set phrase, made up of words which may or may not be perfectly free under other circumstances, has a meaning which does not answer to the sum of the meanings of the . parts. Semantic bondage comprises most of the so-called 'idioms' in the language. Since no expression is ever quite as free as the focus class to which it belongs, semantic bondage affects in greater or lesser degree every utterance in the language--this is to say that (even disregarding supra-segmental modifications) the whole is never quite the same as the sum of the parts. In practice, the difference can as a rule be safely ignored. Thru analogic creation, any form of bondage may be released into its corresponding form of freedom: the phrasally bound *hard of hearing* (not *hard of seeing*, *hard of smelling*) may become 'Is your car hard of starting?'[PDQ commercial announcement on Abbott and Costello program, 19 Nov. 1947]. The inertly pound suffix in *delicious*, *luscious* may become actively bound in *galuptious*, *curvaceous*, *crematious*.

8. Additional resources: Part 3.



Excerpts from the paragraph “**Iso-morphisms and Allomorphisms in the Morphemic-Structure of English and Ukrainian Words**” in Ilko V. Korunets’ book “**Contrastive Typology of the English and Ukrainian Languages**”. – **Вінниця: “Нова книга”, 2004.** – **P. 184–192.**

Inflexional morphemes in the contrasted languages express different morphological categories. The number of genuine English inflexions today is only 14 to 16. They are noun inflexions, for example: -s (-es), -en, -ren (boys, watches, oxen, children); inflexions of the comparative and the superlative degrees of qualitative adjectives: -er, -est (bigger, biggest); inflexions of degrees of qualitative adverbs: -er/-ier, -est/ -iest (oftener, oftenest; slower, slowliest); the verbal inflexions: -s/-es, -d/-ed, -t, -n/-en; he puts/he watches; she learned the rule (burnt the candle); a broken pencil. The inflexions of absolute possessive pronouns: -s, -e: (hers, ours, yours, mine, thine). There are also some genuinely English plural form inflexions of nouns with restricted use. These are the plural form inflexions of kine (poetic for cows), fane (archaic of foes), and shoen (archaic of shoes).

Apart from the genuine English inflexional morphemes there exist some foreign inflexions borrowed and used with nouns of Latin, Greek and French origin only. Among them are Latin inflexions -um – -a: datum – data, erratum – errata, etc.); -us – i (focus – foci, terminus – termini); -a – ae (formula – formulae); -us – a (genus – genera); -is – es (axis – axes, thesis – theses); -ix – es (appendix – appendices); -ies – ies (series – series). The few pairs of Greek inflexional oppositions in singular and plural are the following: -is – es (*analysis – analyses, basis – bases*); -on – a (*phenomenon – phenomena*); -ion – ia (*criterion – criteria*). In French borrowings only the plural forms are inflected, whereas in singular there are zero inflexions: 0 – s/x (*beau –*

beaus/beaux); 0 – x (*bureau – bureaux*); 0 – s (*monsieur – messieurs*); 0 – es (*madam – madams*).

The number of inflexions in Ukrainian by far exceeds their number in English since every notional part of speech has a variety of endings. The latter express number, case and gender of nominal parts of speech and tense, aspect, person, number, voice and mood forms of verbs. For example: *Петра, Петрові, йому, всіма; червоний – червоного – червоному – червоним, двоє – двох – двом – двома; сонний – сонного – сонному – сонним; танцюючий – танцюючого – танцюючому – танцюючим; даю – даєш – дає – даємо – даєте – дають – даватимемо; читав – читала – читали, читатиму – читатимеш – читатимете*, etc. Because of the difference in the structural nature of the contrasted languages, their paradigms of the same notion also naturally differ, the Ukrainian paradigms being much richer than the English ones. However, in Old English the noun paradigm included 9 different inflexional forms, the weak verbs paradigm had 10 forms, and the paradigm of adjectives – 13 synthetic (inflected) forms. The variety of case inflexions of Ukrainian nouns is also predetermined by the existence of four declensions, the first and the second of which have different case and number inflexions. This depends on the nouns belonging to the hard, palatalised or to the mixed stem consonant type (e.g. *вода – води, учень – учні, поле – поля, лоша – лоша́та, миша – мишею, доня – донею*, etc.).

Some morphological relations and categories in English and Ukrainian (though much rarer) are expressed with the help of analytical means – prepositions, analytical word forms, and particles; for example: *to give smth. to Peter, not far from the river, written (painted) with (in) pencil*. Analytically expressed are also the degrees of comparison of some adjectives and adverbs (e.g., *more (most) interesting/important; more (most) quickly (slowly)*, etc. In Ukrainian the construction is less frequently used (e.g., *більш/менш важливий, найбільш/найменш важливий; більш/менш важливо, найбільш/найменш важливо, більш/найбільш економна, etc.*).

The future tense in Ukrainian can also be expressed analytically though it is closely connected with the modal meaning of certainty (e.g., *я буду на зборах, ми будемо боротися*).

Only analytical in form is the expression of the passive voice in English, whereas in Ukrainian the present passive has generally a synthetic form, like the past and future passive which can also have a synthetic form of expression; e.g., *the plant is being built, the plant was being built, the plant will have been built*. And in Ukrainian: завод *будується (будувався), завод будува-тиметься, завод буде будуватися, завод був/буде збудований*, though the future form may also be *збудується (коли цей завод збудується)*.

The totality of the synthetic and analytical paradigms of the notional parts of speech in a language reflects the structural peculiarity of the language as a whole. Hence, contrastive morphology also deals:

a) with the specific traits of morphemes in languages under contrastive research;

b) with classes of paradigms (both synthetic and analytical) pertaining to a notional part of speech and reflecting its paradigmatic variety;

c) with the morphological categories and their manifestation in the contrasted languages, and d) with the parts of speech and their typological features.

It is worth emphasising that the general implicit and dependent grammatical meanings of notional parts of speech in both languages coincide which considerably facilitates their contrastive investigation. Besides, it should be emphasised that in the process of typological investigation only correlated language units and phenomena can be contrasted. That means that the units or phenomena have to be of the same status, i. e. they have to belong to a common class of units or phenomena in both the languages in question. They have to occupy the same place in both the languages' systems and consequently serve as constants for typological comparison. Common/isomorphic in the contrasted languages are also some other morphological phenomena of word-building nature. Among these are first of all to be mentioned such phenomena as agglutination and suppletivity.

Agglutination at the morphological level represents a mechanical adding of one or more affixal morphemes in pre-position, post-position or in interposition to the root morpheme. Somewhat different, however, is the quantitative representation of the parts of speech that are formed in the contrasted languages by means of preposed agglutinating morphemes. In present-day

English, which has more zero-morphemed root words than Ukrainian, there exists a larger number of words belonging to different parts of speech and formed by agglutinating prefixes; for example, the verbs: *adhere, assure, co-exist, bedim*; adjectives: *post-war, pre-war*; statives: *afraid, alike, aloof*; adverbs and prepositions: *be-side, inside, before, afterwards, unwell, etc.*

Prepositive agglutinators apart from forming new parts of speech or creating some shades in the lexical meaning of many such words (e.g., *do – undo – overdo, lead – mislead*; Ukr.: *cxid – захід – вихід – дохід – прухід*, etc.) can also perform some purely grammatical functions. Thus, they can sometimes turn the intransitive verbs into transitive, for example: *live – outlive, moan – bemoan, weep – bewEEP, vote – outvote*; Ukrainian: *жити – дожити – прожити – пережити, спати – проспати (переспати), плакати – оплакати*. In Ukrainian pre-posed affixes can change imperfective verbs into perfective (cf. *бити – збити – забити – добити – розбити; вчити – вивчити – довчити – завчити – перевчити*).

Post-positive agglutination is observed in both contrasted languages, being in Ukrainian even more frequent than in English. All Ukrainian infinitives without exception are formed by mechanical adding to the root the post-positive morphemes *-ти/-ть, -ся, -ки, -оньки, -тусі/-туні* (diminutive forms), e.g: *набити, пролити, змити, опрацювать, злитися, спатки, їстки, питоньки, купці, спатусі/спатуні*, etc. In English most of the indefinite form infinitives are pure root-morphemed words (e.g., *come, live, love, fly, sit, read, swim, warm*). There are only some five verbal morphemes that are agglutinated post-positively. These are *-ate, -en, -esce, -ify, -ise*, e.g., *create, blacken, acquiesce, purify, civilise*, etc. A notable difference in Ukrainian exists, however, in the larger amount (up to four) of affixal preposed agglutinators added to the root morpheme, e.g., *вхід, вихід, cxid, ухил, недосвіт, недовиторг, вздовж, навкруг, навздогін, недоперерозподілити*.

Post-positive agglutination is often used to form nouns in both contrasted languages as well. For example, in English: *attendance, diary, freedom, employee, hostess, boyhood, pumpkin, highness, friend-ship, attitude, politics, mighty*, etc. Similarly, in Ukrainian: *бідняк, дудар, гуляр, багач, борець, дудик, дудник, нудота, колій, сонливість, холодок, ясність*, etc.

Among other parts of speech formed by means of postpositive agglutinators are English relative adjectives (*economic, Polish, political*, etc.), adverbs of both languages (*nicely, sideways, westwards: гарно, швидко, вище*), Ukrainian statives (*треба, можна, жалко, прикро, краще*); numerals (*fifty, sixty, fifteen, eighteen*), in Ukrainian: *одинадцять, дванадцять, двадцять, сімдесят*, etc. Single post-positive affixal morphemes are also agglutinated in the contrasted languages with compound stems of verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, as in the following words: *backbiting, cockfighting, trustworthy, grasshopper, skyscraper*, etc. Similarly, in Ukrainian: *народоволець, односе-лець. косоокість, однобічність, мимохідь, загальновизнано, малопереконливо, односторонньо*, etc.

Isomorphic is also the post-posed agglutination of two affixal morphemes to a stem. The stems thus formed can be of different lexico-grammatical nature: nouns (*capableness, equalizer, responsibility*); adjectives (*communicable, meaningful, motionless*); numerals (*thirteenth, twentieth*); adverbs (*foolishly, nationally, needlessly, powerfully, down-wards, southwards*).

Note. Pre-posed agglutinating affixes lose their grammatical relevance in Ukrainian when accent is employed to identify the imperfective aspect of verbs (e.g., *забити – забивати, набити – набивати, позичити – позичати*, etc.). There are many words in Ukrainian with two post-posed affixal morphemes added to the root as in the reflexive and aspect verbs (with the suffixes *знатися, вітатися, мазонутти, рубонутти, стуконутти*), and also in such nouns as *болючість, будиночок, відповідальність, людськість*; in adverbs: *тихесенько, ранесенько*; in participles: *борючись, опинившись, тримаючись* and others.

Root morphemes in the contrasted languages can be agglutinated pre-posed and post-posed simultaneously as in the English words *disagreeableness, incorruptibility, indisputableness, irresponsibility. Incommunicableness, unrealistically*. Or in Ukrainian: *безвідповідальність, заробітчанин, нереалістично, некомунікабельність, перешипуватися, запобігливість*, etc.

Agglutination is also a productive means of compounding (especially in English) where different parts of speech may be formed in this way – nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, e.g., *chimney-sweep, money-order, long-away*,

knee-deep, present-day, short-sighted, broad-minded, long-range, hi-jack, to April-fool, goose-step, cross-examine, plate-rack, sideways, etc. Or in Ukrainian: *бурят-монгол, дизель-генератор, двійка-байдарка, шаф-холодильник, кахи-кахи, тиць-миць, човг-човг, сяк-так, хоч-не-хоч*, etc. Highly productive in English is also the agglutination with the help of prepositions, e.g.: *stick-in-the-mud, commander-in-chief, matter-of-fact, up-to-date*, etc.

Agglutination of predicative units is observed in both languages though more common it is still in the English language, e.g., *pick-me-up, forget-me-not, merry-go-round, push-me-pull-me, Gradgrind, Mr. Know-All*, etc. (e.g., Ukrainian family names as *Куйбіда, Неїжмак, Незовибатько, Ненійвода, Підкуймуха, Убийвовк*, etc.). Only in English, however, there is observed agglutination of abbreviated parts with root nouns like *A-bomb, H-bag (handbag), Xmas, X-ray*, etc.

Inflexional morphemes in the contrasted languages are also mostly agglutinated to the root or to the stem like other affixal morphemes. E.g., in English nouns: *arms, armies, children*; in adjectives: *longer, longest*; in pronouns: *hers, mine*; in numerals: *fifth, second, first*; in verbs: *does., puts, crept, working*; in participles: *reading, listening, known, taken*. Similarly, in Ukrainian: *брати/косарі дерева, дівчата; зелений (зелена, зелене, зелені), батьків, батьковим; п'ята (п'ятій, п'яте, п'яті), п'ятого; ваша (вашій, ваше, ваші), вашого; маю, матиму, матимемо; шитий (шита, шите, шиті), шитого*. Sometimes, as has already been shown, a word may consist of a regular chain of preposed and post-posed affixal (including inflexional) morphemes (e.g., *redistributions, недовимолочування*).

Apart from outer morphemes that are agglutinated, i.e. mechanically added to the root or stem, both languages have internal interchanges or alterations. The latter are regular correlations which may involve, as has been shown above, vowel alterations, e.g., *bring – brought, know – knew, take – took, shake – shook; рости – ріс; нести – ношу – ніс; вести – відвів – водив; гребти – гріб*.

Exclusively Ukrainian are the sound alterations which appear as a result of declension. E.g., *ти-тебе-тобі-тобою; ви-вас-вам-вами, etc; Львів – у Львові, ніч-ночі, річ-речі*, etc.

Suppletivity. As a means of grammatical expression suppletivity is observed in words, word-forms and morphemes of all Indo-European languages. At the lexical level it helps to express, both in English and Ukrainian, sex distinctions, e.g., *boy – girl, bull – cow, man – woman, cock – hen, хлопець – дівчина, чоловік – жінка, півень – курка*, etc. Of suppletive nature are most of nouns forming the LSG denoting kinship. E.g., *father – mother, brother – sister, son – daughter, aunt – uncle; батько – мати, брат – сестра, син – дочка, дядько – тітка, зять – невістка, дід – баба*, etc.

In the system of lexico-grammatical classes of words suppletivity can express in English and Ukrainian different categorial meanings of notionals at the lexical level as in the pairs of verbs *carry – bring, say – tell, take – give; брати – взяти, ловити – ніймати*. Suppletive forms of a verb paradigm can be used in English and Ukrainian to express some morphological categories. The most striking in this respect is the verb “to be” which has more forms to express different categorial meanings in English than in Ukrainian. Thus, in English “am, is, are – was, were” which are respectively the corresponding forms for tense (the Present and Past Indefinite), for number (singular or plural) and for person: *am/was* for the first person singular, *is/was* for the third person singular and *are/were* for plural forms respectively.

The Ukrainian verb “бути” possesses only one suppletive form in present tense – “є”, which is used for all persons in singular and plural (e.g., *я є, ти є, ми є, всі є, кожен є*). But: *Я був, ти була, ви будете*, etc.

As to the suppletive forms of other notionals, they are of form-building, i. e. of categorial nature expressing in the contrasted languages degrees of comparison in some qualitative adjectives and adverbs. E.g., *good – better – best, bad – worse – worst and little – less – least*. In Ukrainian: *добрий – кращий – найкращий, добрий – ліпший – найліпший, поганий – гірший – найгірший*. In Ukrainian two more adjectives have suppletive forms in the comparative and suppletive degrees: *гарний – кращий – найкращий; великий – більший – найбільший*.

Common in English and Ukrainian are also almost all qualitative adverbs with the suppletive forms in the comparative and superlative degrees: *well – better – best; badly – worse – worst; little – less – least;*

добре – краще – найкраще; погано – гірше – найгірше; зле – гірше – найгірше; гарно – краще – найкраще.

Suppletivity of pronouns finds its expression and realisation in English and Ukrainian at different levels: a) at the level of the lexico-grammatical class of words as a whole (pronouns are regular signs of signs, i. e. representation nouns): *Pete, lion, tiger-he, fox, ship-she; дім, лис, хліб-він; життя, поле-воно; люди-вони*; b) at the level of paradigmatic word forms: *I – me, he – him, she – her, we – us; я – мене, воно – його, він – його, ми – нас, вони – їх*, etc. c) at the level of different case forms of pronouns (e.g., the objective and possessive case forms: *me, him, her, us, them; his, hers, ours, yours*). These forms are more numerous in Ukrainian where all pronouns are declinable: *я – мене, мені, мною; він – його, йому, ним, на ньому, вона – її – нею; ми – нам – нами; що – чого – чому – чим, ніщо – нічого – нічим*, etc.

Some common systemic relations can be observed in the suppletive forms of the possessive pronouns in the contrasted languages as well. In Ukrainian the pronouns’ paradigm is much richer, since there exist separate forms to express different numbers and genders. E.g., *я, мене, мій, моя, моє, мої; вона, нею, її, воно, його, ним; ми, наш, наша, нашої, нашої; вони, їхній, їхня, їхнє, їхнього*, etc. In English, however, there exist possessive absolute suppletive forms of pronouns, which are absolutely unknown in Ukrainian (*mine, hers, yours, ours, theirs*). Ukrainian, on the other hand, has fully and partly and suppletive forms of some interrogative and indefinite pronouns, which are not available in English *хто – кого, кому, ким; що – чого, чому, чим; хтось – когось, комусь, кимсь*. They also retain their suppletive forms in compound pronouns used in different case forms: *хто-небудь – кого-небудь, кому-небудь, ким-небудь; що-небудь, чого-небудь, чому-небудь, чим-небудь*. Least represented at the word form/morphological level in both languages are suppletive forms of numerals, there being only two ordinal numerals of the kind in English (*one – the first, two – the second*) and only one in Ukrainian (*один – перший*), whereas all simple numerals are suppletive in both languages. E.g., *one – two, three – four, five – six, seven – eight, nine – ten*. Similarly, in Ukrainian: *один – два, три – чотири, п’ять – шість, сім – вісім*, etc...



LECTURE 3. CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CATEGORIES AND TYPES OF PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH AND UKRAINIAN WORD-FORMATION

This lecture introduces the notion of word-formation and some fundamental methodological issues of cross-linguistic studies of creating new words. Special attention is paid to derivation as the most productive type of word-formation in English and in Ukrainian.

1. Definition of the field of word-formation.
2. Principal types of word-formation.
3. Word-formation rules.
4. Productivity of different types of word-formation.
5. Contrastive analysis of affixation in English and in Ukrainian.
6. Seminar questions.
7. Seminar library.
8. Additional resources: Part 4.

*A person's tongue is a twisty thing, there are plenty of words there
of every kind, and the range of words is wide and their variation.
(Homer. The Illiad, 20)*

1. Definition of the field of word-formation.

Word-formation is generally defined as the branch of the science of language which studies the patterns on which a language forms new lexical units, i.e. words. Thus word-formation is said to treat of composites which are analyzable both formally and semantically.

The distinction between the formation of new lexical units and inflection has long been regarded as controversial. It is generally acknowledged now that while inflection produces all the word-forms of that lexeme from the stem (or stems) of

a given language, derivation results in the formation of what is traditionally considered to be a different word.

To most common derivational process utilized throughout many languages of the world belong affixation and prefixation, compounding, back-derivation, clipping, blending and some others.

Great importance is attached nowadays to the study of various processes of word-formation for the ability to make and understand new words is admittedly as much of our linguistic competence as the ability to make and understand new sentences.

The problems of the intersection between word-formation and syntax (syntactic and lexical derivation, transposition and derivation, nominalization etc.) which have an immediate bearing on the problem of nomination and transposition of linguistic sign in word-making, seem to be of special linguistic interest.

Studies of the processes occurring in separate words can help to describe the word-formation system of a language in general and to determine means and ways of forming new words.

2. Principal types of word-formation.

All types of word-formation may be studied in two respects: word-creation as a historical process and the relation of new words to other words in the language. As it has been emphasized earlier, contrastive lexicology is a particular linguistic enterprise within the field of descriptive **synchronic** comparative linguistics aimed at producing description of one language vocabulary from the perspective of another at **the present state of their development**. Thus our chief purpose is to analyze those types of word-formation which characterize modern English and Ukrainian lexical systems.

There are two principles of classification of the types of word-formation:

I. Based upon the morphemic structure of the initial word or words.

Proceeding from this principle we may distinguish:

A. Derivation – the type where the word has only one semantic centre, other morphemes being affixes, e.g. *brotherhood*.

B. Compounding – the type where the word has at least two semantic centres, e.g. *red-hot, navy-blue, walking-stick, newspaper, to whitewash*.

II. Based on the relationship of components to the new word.

According to this principle we can single out the following types:

A. Morphological word-building – creating new words using morphemes and changing the structure of the existing words after certain linguistic patterns.

This type of word-building comprises:

derivation – suffixation, prefixation and zero-derivation;

compounding – joining of two or more stems to form a new unit;

shortening – abbreviation or curtailing of the word;

sound-interchange – the change of a unit in a morpheme resulting in a new lexical meaning (*life* – *live*);

back – formation (*editor* – *to edit*);

reduplication (*to murmur*)

B. Morphological-syntactic word-building – new words appear through transference from one part of speech into another which implies both a change in morphological and syntactic peculiarities of a word, e.g. substantiation of adjectives: *the unemployed*, *the poor*, *молода тополя і молода запрошувала гостей на весілля*; other types of conversion (*to drink* – *a drink*).

C. Lexico-syntactic word-building i.e. the formation of new units through the process of isolation from free word-combinations, e.g. *forget-me-not*, *marry-go-round*, *stay-at-home*, *happy-go-lucky*, *kill-me-quick (a hat)*, *for-eyes-only (a film-star)*, *pie-in-the-sky (promise)*, *добранич*, *нісенітниця*.

Some scholars (M. Zhovtobriuh, B. Kulyk, M. Pliushch) are inclined to include into this classification lexical-semantic word-building, i.e. any change in the meaning of a word that comes out as the result of the historical development of the language, e.g. *to run* – *to move* and *to manage*; *машина* – *механізм* and *автомобіль*. But if a word acquires a new meaning its just its semantic system that is broadened. It becomes polysemantic but no new word appears. A new word appears when the limit of semantic variation is reached and a homonym is created. Homonyms retain no semantic connection with the initial word.

3. Word-formation rules.

A rule of word-formation usually differs from a syntactic rule in one important respect: it is of limited productivity, in the sense that not all words

which result from the application of the rule are acceptable. They are freely acceptable only when they have gained an institutional currency in the language. Thus there is a line to be drawn between “actual words” (*sandstone*, *unwise*), and “potential words” (**lemonstone*, **unexcellent*) both of these being distinct from “non-English words” like **selfishless*, which, because it shows the suffix *-less* added to an adjective and not to a noun, does not obey the rules of word-formation.

Rules of word-formation are therefore at the intersection of the historical and synchronic study of the language, providing a constant set of “models” from which new words, ephemeral or permanent, are created from day to day. Yet, on a larger scale, the rules themselves (like grammatical rules) undergo change: affixes and compounding processes can become productive or lose their productivity; can increase or decrease their range of meaning or grammatical applicability. We will concentrate on productive or on marginally productive rules of word-formation, leaving aside “dead” processes, even though they may have a fossilized existence in a number of words in the language. For example, the Old English suffix *-th*, no longer used to form new words, survives in such nouns as *warmth*, *length*, *depth*, *width*, *breadth*. A corollary of this approach is that the historical study of a word is irrelevant to its status as an illustration of present-day rules: the fact that the word *unripe* has existed in the English language since Anglo-Saxon times does not prevent us from using it as an example of a regular process of word-formation still available in the language.

New formations, invented casually for a particular occasion (as in *She needs guidance*, and *the poor child is as guidanceless as she is parentless* are normally comprehensible, but are used at a certain cost to acceptability. They are often referred to as **nonce formations** and are liable to be criticized if too many are used.

History provides quite a number of examples where a derived form has preceded the word from which (formally speaking) it is derived. Thus *editor* entered the language before *edit*, *lazy* before *laze*, and *television* before *televize*. The process by which the shorter word is created by the deletion of a supposed affix is known as **back-formation**, since it reverses the normal trend of word-formation, which is to add rather than to subtract constituents. Back-

formation is a purely historical concept, however of little relevance to the contemporary study of word-formation. To the present-day speaker of English, the relationship between *laze* and *lazy* need be no different from that between *sleep* and *sleepy*. Still new formations of this kind continue to be made. The process is particularly fruitful in creating denominal verbs. It should be noted that new formations tend to be used with some hesitation, especially in respect of the full range of verbal inflections. We had the agential *baby-sitter* before the verb *baby-sit* and the form “Will you *baby-sit* for me?” before inflected forms “He *baby-sat* for them”. Other back-formations continue to display their lack of established acceptability: **They sight-saw*, **She housekept*.

4. Productivity of different types of word-formation.

Any description of word-formation should obviously be concerned with processes that are productive at the present time. The fact that words have resulted from the past operation of word-formation processes is in itself irrelevant from a synchronic point of view. Thus the word *gospel* cannot be seen as a modern English word-formation, though formed in earlier English from the words *good* and *spell* (in the obsolete sense “news”). Nor, as an English word, can *karate* be seen as a ‘formation’, though in Japanese it is clearly a junction of *cara* ‘empty’ and *te* ‘hand’. On the other hand, words like *ice-cream*, *conceptualize*, *psychosomatic*, *workaholic*, *motel*, *bionic* have all been formed within English sufficiently recently as to be representative of currently productive processes. The native speaker operates daily in the implicit knowledge that the meaning of most adjectives can be negated by prefixing *un-* and that most adjectives will permit the formation of abstract nouns by suffixing *-ness*.

But the distinction between productive and nonproductive is by no means straightforward. There is in word-formation no simple parallel to the use and non-use of forms:

- * fulgrace-dis (on syntagmatic grounds: *-dis* can only prefix);
- * emptyless (on semantic and grammatical grounds: *-less* cannot be added to adjectives);

- * thinkledge (*-ledge* is obsolete);
- * doorleg (pragmatically excluded in present world);
- * snow-cream (a possible but unused compound) etc.

Still we can speak about some types of word-formation being used more often than the others for creation of new words. If we call such means productive, then we should admit that here belong affixation and compounding. This statement is supported by the data provided by Merriam Webster Dictionary. Third International Dictionary informs that about two-fifths of English new words is nowadays formed through affixation and about three fifths by compounding. Oleksandr Taranenko (see an article indicated in Additional resources) who analyzed modern tendencies in Ukrainian word-formation also attracts attention to the dominant role of derivation, in particular affixation, in Ukrainian. In particular, he speaks about suffixal feminization as the most productive phenomenon. He claims that processes of democratization of the lingual activity in modern Ukraine brought to life word-formation processes of creating nouns to denote feminine gender through derivation: *банкiрка*, *барменка*, *бiзнесменка*, *пiарниця*, *продюсерка*, *роботодавиця*; *бойовичка*, *рекетирка*; *ваххабiтка*, *iсламiстка*, *шахiдка* and others. O.Taranenko analyzes some others different means of affixations in modern Ukrainian which prove the productivity of this type of word-formation.

There exists a point of view that productive means are not merely those with the aid of which we can form new words at a given stage of the development of the language but those that can be used for the formation of unlimited number of new words. Therefore, we can speak of limited productivity and absolute productivity. There are means of word-formation that are not used at present. For example, lexicalization of grammatical forms, sound-interchange, stress-interchange.

The **lexicalization of grammatical form** is a term used to denote the creation of an independent word from one of word-forms. Thus a number of English and Ukrainian nouns in the plural form underwent lexicalization and acquired independent forms and meaning: *bead* – *коралик*, *beads* – *вервечка*; *colour* – *колiр*, *colours* – *пранор*. Synchronically *-s* in such words is regarded not as a grammatical inflexion expressing plurality but as a special case of affixation. It is not used in modern English to coin new words.

Sound-interchange includes vowel and consonant interchange. Both are nonproductive and offer no model to form new words after, e.g.:

food – to feed; a house – to house; gold – to gild; to speak – speech; blood – to bleed; defense – defend; present – presence.

Stress-interchange formally served as word-formation means and produced pairs like *cónflict – to conflict*.

5. Contrastive analysis of affixation in English and Ukrainian.

One of the most productive means of word-formation both in English and in Ukrainian is affixation. Affixation is commonly defined as the formation of words by adding derivational affixes to stems. Once formed derived words become independent lexical items that receive their own entry in a speaker's mental dictionary.

Affixes can be classified into two different ways: according to their position in the word and according to their function in a phrase or sentence. According to their position in the word, affixes are classified into prefixes and suffixes.

Prefixes and suffixes differ significantly in their linguistic status. Prefixes primarily effect a semantic modification of the stem, primary function of suffixes being, by contrast, to change the grammatical function (for example the word class) of the stem.

Derived words can be classified into groups in two ways:

1) according to the root-morpheme (e.g. *woman, womanly, womanish, womanized; добро, добрий, доброта, добряга*),

2) according to the affix morpheme (e.g. *swimmer, speaker, drinker; ногонич, підпасич, керманич*)

The first classification would put derived words into a large number of small groups, while the second would produce a limited number of very large groups. It is usual that some affixes have far more frequent productive use than others. We should also note that there are often significant relations between affixes: especially antonymy as with *pre-* and *post-*, *-full* and *-less*.

In order to make a comparative analysis of suffixation in English and Ukrainian we will group affixes according to the word class that results when they are added to a base. We therefore will speak of **noun suffixes, verb suf-**

fixes etc. In addition, since particular suffixes are frequently associated with attachment to stems of particular word classes, it is also convenient to speak of them as **denominal suffixes, de-adjectival suffixes**, etc.

Suffixation can be substantialized and zero-suffixation. This word-building type is the leading one in Indo-European languages. The characteristic feature of suffixation is its ability to combine with other means of word-building:

prefixation, e.g. *un-predict-able, по-дорож-ник*;

compounding, e.g. *blue-eye-ed, ясновид-ець*,

postfixation, e.g. *гурт-ув-а-ти-ся*.

Suffixation can be used to create all principal parts of speech, except pronouns:

nouns: *teacher, kingdom, difference, вмикач, переселенець, танцюрист*; numerals: *seventh, семеро*; adjectives: *readable, денний, капроновий*; verbs: *threaten, страхати, гукати*; adverbs: *quickly, швидко, пішки, трічі*.

Suffixes can be added to stems of all parts of speech: noun: *тан-ly, україн-ець, хат-инк-а*; adjective: *black-ish, нов-ин-а*; numeral: *тр-ійк-а*; pronoun: *ти-ка-ти, сам-ець*; verb: *чита-льн-я, снів-ець, протот-er*; adverb: *вчора-шн-ій, тут-ешн-ій*; conjunction: *але-ка-ти*; exclamation: *ох-а-ти, му-ка-ти, ну-ка-ти*.

Suffixation is the most productive means for noun-creation. Zero-suffixation is recognized by some linguists (Marchand, V.V. Lopatin) and rejected by others (М. Докуліл, О.С. Кубрякова). Zero-suffixation actually means cutting off (усічення) the initial form and adding a zero-suffix. Sound- or stress-interchange can occur: *зрубати – зруб, різати – різь (з: з'), відсікати – відсіч (к: ч)*.

Sometimes zero-affixation is viewed as cutting – a specific form of abbreviations: *зам, зав, ехат, lab* [Горпинич, р. 118].

Let's try and compare English and Ukrainian suffixes by means of which we form abstract nouns of status or activity.

ENGLISH:

Denominal nouns:

1. **-age** – measure of, collection of: *baggage, frontage, mileage*.

2. **-dom** – not very productive, tends to convey pejorative overtones: *officialdom* (but not in *stardom* or *kingdom*).

3. **-ery, -ry** – (a) the condition of behaviour *drudgery, slavery*.
 (b) location of: *nursery, refinery, bakery*.
 (c) non-countable concrete: aggregate *machinery, rocketry*, nouns rather freely formed: *gadgets*.
4. **-ful** – the amount contained in: *spoonful, glassful* (freely formed).
5. **-hood** – only mildly productive: *boyhood, brotherhood, widowhood*.
6. **-ing** – (a) noncount concrete aggregates fairly freely formed) *tubing, panelling carpeting* all with reference to the material; (b) activity connected with *cricketing, farming*, (fairly freely made) *blackberrying*.
7. **-ism** – doctrine of, practice of: *Calvinism, idealism*.
8. **-ocracy** – government by: *democracy, aristocracy*.
10. **-ship** limitedly productive: *membership, dictatorship*.

UKRAINIAN:**Denominal nouns:**

1. **-ство(о), цтво(о)** властивість, стан: *геройство, молодецтво, материнство, дитинство, скотарство, бджільництво*.
2. **-ізм, изм** вчення, ідеологічні напрями: *реалізм, натуралізм*.
3. **-чина, щина** часові відтинки, історичні рухи: *бувальщина, панщина*.
4. **-няк** сади за породою дерев і кущів: *дубняк, вишняк*.
5. **-в(а)** поняття збірності: *мошва*.
7. **-н(я)** pejorative: *комашня*.
8. **-ор(а)** дітвора.
9. **-ин(а)** agricultural products: *садовина, городина*.

ENGLISH**Deverbal nouns:**

1. **-age** – action of, instance of: *breakage, coverage*.
2. **-ation** – the process or state of: *exploration, starvation*.
3. **-al** – the action or result of: *refusal, revival dismissal*.
4. **-ing** – results from the action: *building, opening*.
5. **-ment** – the result of: *arrangement, management, amazement*.

UKRAINIAN**Deverbal nouns:**

1. **-анн(я), енн(я), інн(я)** широке узагальнення процесу дії чи стану: *споживання, благання, зазіхання, терпіння*.
2. **-к(а)** опредмечена дія, результат процесу *розробка, перевозка*.

3. **-б(а), -от(а)** процес, стан *боротьба, сліпота, турбота*.
4. **-ин(а)** метушливі, безладні дії *біганина, мішанина*.
5. **-тв(а)** nonproductive *битва, клятва, жертва*.
6. **-ізаці(я), изаці(я)** заходи класифікація.

ENGLISH**De-adjectival nouns:**

1. **-ity** freely productive *elasticity, diversity, regularity*.
2. **-ness** freely productive *happiness selfishness*.

UKRAINIAN**De-adjectival nouns**

1. **-ість** *радість, певність*.
2. **-ощі** *хитрощі, гордощі*.
3. **-ин(а)** time, space, quality: *старовина, височина*.
4. **-інь** space: *височінь, глибочінь*.
5. **-изн(а)** feature: *жовтизна, сивизна*.
6. **-от(а)** quality, characteristic *доброта, теплота*.

Even a superficial analysis can reveal significant differences in the number and semantics of the analyzed affixes in languages under study.

6. Seminar tasks and questions.

1. How is word-formation defined?
2. What are the principles of classification of the types of word-formation?
3. What are the principal types of word-formation?
4. Comment on the difference between morphological, morphological-syntactic and lexical-syntactic word-building.
5. How does a rule of word-formation differ from a syntactic rule?
6. What types of word-formation are most productive in English and in Ukrainian?
7. Specify differences in English and Ukrainian suffixes by means of which we form abstract nouns of status or activity given in the last part of the lecture. Try to add more suffixes to the list.

8. Read the article from the Additional resources and enumerate most productive types of affixation in Ukrainian.

7. Seminar library.

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3. *Горпинич В.О.* Будова слова і словотвір. К.: Рад. школа, 1977. 116 с.
4. *Горть Є.І.* Теоретична й практична лексикологія сучасної англійської мови. Луцьк: Волин. нац. ун-т ім. Лесі Українки, 2011. 340 с.
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6. *Сравнительная типология* англійського, німецького, російського і українського мов: учебное пособие / *Левицкий А.Э.* и др. К.: Освіта України, 2009. 360 с.
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8. *Arnold I.V.* The English Word. М.: “Высшая школа”, 1973. 303 с.
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8. Additional Resources: Part. 4.



The excerpts below are selected from the article written by Oleksandr Taranenko (born 1949) – head of the Department of General Linguistics at O.O. Potebnia Institute of Linguistics of The National Academy of Sciences in Ukraine.

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О. О. ТАРАНЕНКО СЛОВОТВОРЕННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ МОВИ В АСПЕКТІ ЇЇ СУЧАСНИХ СИСТЕМО-НОРМОТВОРЧИХ ТЕНДЕНЦІЙ (КІНЕЦЬ ХХ – ПОЧАТОК ХХІ СТ.).

У статті розглядаються структурно-семантичні моделі словотворення сучасної української літературної мови (друга половина 80-х років ХХ – початок ХХІ ст.), актуалізовані внаслідок значної активізації в цей період потреб широких кіл суспільства в дальшому коригуванні (нормуванні та систематизації) різних сегментів літературної мови і, зокрема, системи словотворення.

Ключові слова: словотворення сучасної української мови, норми української літературної мови, кодифікація української літературної мови, культура української мови.

1. Вступні зауваження. Інтенсивна динамізація українського словотворення кінця ХХ – початку ХХІ ст., що виявляється як у творенні нових, так і в поширенні у масовому вжитку певних уже наявних окремих найменувань відповідних словотвірних типів і словотвірних типів у цілому, зумовлена активізацією трьох основних чинників, рушійних сил номінативно-словотвірних процесів, в основі кожного з яких лежить

демократизація суспільного життя і в тому числі мовної діяльності суспільства відзначеного періоду, що розширює межі для реалізації цих мовних потреб, – 1) це потреба в значному оновленні номінативних засобів мови як наслідок появи / актуалізації значно більшого й, головне, іншого, ніж досі, кола понять, що потребують мовного вираження, фокусування пріоритетної уваги суспільства на інших, ніж дотепер, сферах його життя і соціальних цінностях (у зв'язку з переходом країни до іншого типу соціально-економічних та політичних відносин і формуванням власної державності); 2) це потреба в дальшому коригуванні – нормуванні та систематизації різних сегментів словотвірної структури української літературної мови внаслідок підвищеної уваги суспільства як до встановлення її якомога питоміших, органічніших основ – пошуків її ідентичності (часто це розуміють як «відновлення» її чистоти), так і до її структурного розвитку – у зв'язку з проголошенням її державною мовою країни та розширенням її функціонування в різних сферах суспільного життя; 3) це потреба в розширенні загальностилістичних (номінативно-експресивних) і власне стильових можливостей мовного самовираження суспільства, що інтенсивно реалізується тепер у мові масового вжитку в процесах інтенсифікації оказіонального словотворення, у явищах мовної гри (це фактор, що діє звичайно одночасно з реалізацією потреб у номінації тих чи інших понять, які ще не мають загальноприйнятої назви, але реалізується у творенні одиниць явно «неофіційного» й навіть «несерйозного» характеру), у посиленні елементів колоквіалізації й навіть жаргонізації словотворення, у поширенні словотвірних моделей професійних сфер слововжитку (див., наприклад, у п. 6.1.1 серед прикладів перфективізації дієслів одиниці на зразок *зісканувати, заінвентаризувати, відрекламувати, прокредитувати, проплатити* і под.)

Якщо перший і третій з названих чинників словотворення характерні приблизно однаковою мірою для мов народів різних слов'янських і ширше – постсоціалістичних країн цього періоду, то другий – насамперед для тих мов, які в умовах бездержавності народів – їх носіїв мали до цього або й продовжують мати явно недостатньо умов для повнокровного соціального функціонування і зазнавали (зазнають) потужного впливу інших, сусідніх, слов'янських мов. Найповніші паралелі історич-

ко-, соціально- та власне структурно-мовного плану тут можна простежити між українською і білоруською мовами.

Реалізація системно-нормотворчого чинника у функціонуванні українського словотворення на сучасному етапі його розвитку полягає в тенденціях, з одного боку, до максимально можливого обмеження (аж до повного усунення) реалізації тих словотвірних формантів, словотвірних типів, що їх розцінюють у певних (ширших чи вужчих) колах суспільства як більшою чи меншою мірою не властиві структурі української мови, а з другого, – а) до культивування тих її структурних особливостей, що сприймаються як характерні саме для неї, вирізняючи її на тлі інших слов'янських і насамперед, зрозуміло, російської мови (з неминучим при цьому, звичайно, суб'єктивізмом в оцінюванні мовних фактів з боку членів мовного колективу – в їх сприйманні цих фактів як справді українських чи ні); б) до побудови «правильної», регулярної в структурно-словотвірному плані української мови. Загальними відмітними особливостями комплексу сучасних системно-кодифікаційних тенденцій в українському словотворенні є:

а) у плані стратегії нормативного орієнтування – посилення пріоритетності власних словотвірних ресурсів і словотворчого потенціалу української мови з прагненням до обмеження впливів російської мови, в руслі чого активізувалася, зокрема, й увага до залучення мовних елементів і явищ, станом на кінець 80-х – початок 90-х років відсутніх або менше представлених у структурі «офіційної» літературної мови (насамперед до мовної практики періоду українізації 20-х – початку 30-х рр. ХХ ст., до західноукраїнського варіанта літературної мови та мови західної діаспори);

б) у плані тактики реалізації цієї стратегії – досить помітна радикалізація підходів до оновлення словотвірних ресурсів української мови, посилення ролі особистісного начала (зокрема, літературних редакторів ЗМІ, перекладачів, лексикографів, особливо укладачів термінологічних словників – немовознавців) у розбудові її структури одночасно з ослабленням авторитетності «офіційної» мови, наслідком чого є посилення динамічності такого оновлення, зростання варіантності мовних одиниць і

явищ та співіснування цих варіантів у мовній практиці (нерідко без належного семантичного або стилістичного їх розмежування: так, у різних нормативних джерелах та рекомендаціях і навіть у різних виданнях тих самих словників можуть подаватися різні норми);

в) у плані більшої сприйнятливості різних сфер функціонування літературної мови та мовної діяльності різних кіл її користувачів для реалізації таких тенденцій – це насамперед, з одного боку, мовна практика різних суб'єктів недержавної форми власності (приватних друкованих та електронних ЗМІ, книговидавництва: так, досить значного суспільного резонансу набула в цьому плані мовна практика інформаційної програми т/к СТБ «Вікна»), а з другого, – мовні проекти як окремих ентузіастів, так і різних груп, центрів, що об'єднуються навколо проблем удосконалення й розвитку української наукової термінології та номенклатури різних сфер виробничої і т. ін. діяльності, оскільки саме в межах цих підсистем літературної мови не тільки особливо відчувається недостатня розробленість (точніше, недостатня однозначна усталеність і «припасованість» до реальних потреб практики) певних сегментів системи словотворення, а й найбільшою мірою може здійснюватися активний і не просто свідомий, а цілеспрямований та планомірний вплив мовців на мовні процеси, і в функціонуванні саме їх наявний значний елемент експериментування (у галузевих словниках, особливо перекладних – з українською як мовою, на яку здійснюється переклад, у нових українськомовних державних стандартах на терміни і визначення понять тощо). Відносно ширші можливості для реалізації на практиці ці тенденції дістають у мовній діяльності тих верств мовного соціуму, мовні смаки яких не сформувалися ще протягом попереднього періоду, а формуються тепер, – це передусім представники молодших поколінь, а також особи з базовою російською мовою, які внаслідок різних причин частково або повністю стали переходити на користування українською літературною мовою (це тепер досить масове явище). Наслідком дії відзначених процесів протягом описуваного періоду є безперечний факт дальшого унормування та урізноманітнення різних сегментів українського словотворення, помітного очищення їх від неорганічних для української мови рис (це неважко помітити, зокрема, порівнюючи слова української частини в перекладних

словниках, особливо російсько-українських, причому не тільки в тих із них, що будуються на «радикальних» платформах, а й у достатньо «поміркованих»), але водночас і збільшення номінативно й комунікативно недоцільної варіантності мовних одиниць, а в певних випадках – і породження мовних недоречностей.

Інтенсивність перебігу дериваційних процесів зі швидким множенням варіантності назв можна продемонструвати на прикладах як цілком умотивованого підшукування кращої назви замість тієї, що, на думку відповідних кіл мовців, не відповідає критеріям нормативності (наприклад, поряд з донедавна єдиним *соковижималка*, пор. рос. *соковыжималка*, уживаються *сокодавка*, *сокодавилка*, *сокодавильниця*, *соковитискач*, *сокоробка*), так і менш зрозумілих із суто практичного погляду словотворчих пошуків (зрозуміло лише, що, очевидно, саме так, на переконання ініціаторів відповідних актів словотворення, має бути справді «по-українському»). Так, після різкої активізації у вжитку в мовній практиці ЗМІ іменника *шпиталь* (у конкуренції з *госпіталь*) відразу стали виникати й дієслова на заміну *госпіталізувати*: найчастіше (навіть у державних ЗМІ) це *шпиталізувати* (з іменником *шпиталізація*), але також (особливо на т/к СТБ) *шпиталювати* (недок. і док.; з іменником *шпиталювання*) і *ушпиталити* (док.; з іменником *ушпиталення*) / *ушпиталювати* (недок.): «Петра Симоненка шпиталізовано... Лідера КПУ ушпиталювали...» (СТБ, «Вікна», 8.05.2003). Істотного оновлення зазнало кілька синонімічних рядів із загальним значенням «керівник, лідер»:

а) «керівник, начальник»: наприкінці 90-х років у ЗМІ в конкуренції з *керівник* стало вживатися *чільник* (пор. *чільний*), яке невдовзі саме почало тіснитися наступним варіантом *очільник* (пор. *чільник* і *очолювати*, з іменником *очільництво* «керівництво»: «під **очільництвом** М. П-ка»): *чільник* / *очільник міста, області, міліції, МВС, СБУ, уряду, держави* (жін. *чільниця, очільниця*); «Шкода, що провідні *чільники* нашої держави й словом не обмовилися про цькування патріота України» («Літературна Україна», 24.06 1999, с. 7); «*Очільника* ОДА звинувачують у проведенні непрозорої політики» («Україна молода», 7.06.2012, с. 3);

б) «службова особа; чиновник»: *посадовець* – від *посада* (жін. *посадовиця*), *високопосадовець*, а також повернені до вжитку вже застарілі

урядовець і рідше вживане *урядник* (жін. *урядовиця, урядниця*), які функціонують тепер як у відновленому значенні «чиновник; службовець органів державної влади та управління» (від старого *уряд*), так і в новому значенні «член уряду» – від *уряд: місцеві урядовці*; «Нині урядовці й фінансисти шукають додаткових шляхів поповнення бюджетів різних рівнів» («Урядовий кур'єр», 23.01.2001); «Урядовці про себе подбали. Керівництво уряду знову піднесло приємний подарунок собі і своїм підлеглим...» (У. Сурмай. – «Експрес», 10.06.2003); *столичні урядники, українські урядники*;

в) «сильні світу цього» – як найвищі посадові особи (держави, регіону, міста), так і ширше – багаті і впливові люди. Так, після актуалізації в мові ЗМІ (переважно у мн., причому вже практично без стилістичних конотацій, цілком «буденно» і з широкою можливістю застосування щодо цілком конкретних окремих осіб) іменника *можновладець* (рідко жін. *можновладниця*) відразу ж на його основі виникли нерегулярні зі словотвірного погляду *владоможець* і навіть *заможновладець*: «...всяка спілка з компартійними *владоможецями* тільки скомпрометує національно орієнтовані сили» («Вечірній Київ», 14.09.1994), «Коли до кабінету чиновника прийшов посильний від підприємця з двома сотнями доларів (за таку суму *владоможець* погодився допомогти бізнесменові), у працівника мерії раптом прокинулися рештки сумління» (Б. Скаврон. – «Експрес», 17.06.2003, с. 6), «Мода на “Бентлі”, або Хто з українських “заможновладців” “осідлав” 15 скандинавських корів?» (І. Пуків-Юнко. – «Високий замок», 30.07.2009). Так само ніби нейтрально й цілком «побутово-приземлено» у ЗМІ (а з орієнтуванням на них – і в мові осіб, які прагнуть спілкуватися «правильною» або навіть «вишуканою» українською мовою) стали вживатися *владець: українські владці* («Критика», 2001, ч. 5, с. 6), «А якщо нові *владці* не почують вимог, їм обіцяють наступний “Майдан”» (В. Дудар – «Експрес», 5.06.2014, с. 10), пор. п. *władca* «владар, володар» (стилістично піднесено), новоактуалізоване *державець* «представник найвищої державної влади»: «...ніхто з боку *державців* особливо й не змушує до неї (державної мови. – О. Т.) звертатися» (Юрій Андрухович. – Урок української, 2001, № 7, с. 2), сучасні *державці* (Василь Захарченко. – Урок української, 2003, № 1)

(у плані своєї мотивації останнє може бути продовженням семантичного розвитку застарілого *державець*, а може – й новим словом від *держава*).

Демократизація мовної практики з ослабленням її донедавна тісної залежності від наявного стану й рекомендацій «офіційної» літературної мови полегшує не тільки виникнення все нових і нових фактів конкуренції дублетних найменувань, а й пошуки для заповнення номінативних лакун (у межах книжних стилів літературної мови відсутність однослівної назви для того чи того поняття могла бути зумовлена й відсутністю такого найменування в арсеналі російської мови), наприклад: *буруля* «велика бурулька» (акт зворотної деривації; слово вживається в лексиконі працівників комунального господарства та у ЗМІ протягом кількох останніх років у грудні – березні, коли є небезпека падіння бурульок з дахів); *дошкілля* замість «дошкільне виховання» (наприклад, у назві книжки: Українське *дошкілля* : Пісні, ігри, вірші й загадки. К., 1992); поповнення словотвірного типу іменників – назв особи на **-ач**: *надавач* (послуг, інформації), *сприймач* (інформації, мова-сприймач), *сприяч* «той, хто сприяє чому-небудь» («Дякую особам та організаціям – *сприячам* видання цього словника!»).

Діапазон охоплення мовного матеріалу новими / відновленими нормотворчими пропозиціями й самими тенденціями – з прагненням як до обмеження, так і, навпаки, до розширення дії тих чи інших словотвірних типів – достатньо різноманітний Ось, з одного боку, випадки досить непослідовно представленої в сучасній мовній практиці тенденції до усунення деяких зразків непродуктивного типу іменників на **-иш** (як очевидних росіянізмів): замість *вкладиш* – 1) (те, що вкладається в щонебудь) *вкладка* (вушні вкладки); 2) (вкладна деталь) *вкладень*; рос. *ввертиш* – укр. *вкрутень*; замість *окатиш* – *котун*, хоча і у виробничій, і в офіційній мові ще лишаються і *вкладиш*, і *окатиш*, поява варіантів із суфіксами **-ин(к)-а** в конкуренції з уже наявними формами на **-к-а**: *закладинка* (у книжці), пор. *закладка, клітина (грудна, сходовая*, наприклад: «Згори, зі *сходової клітини*, ... струмувало химерне світло скляного ліхтаря над дахом». – Дмитро Малаков. Оті два роки... У Києві при німцях. К., 2002, с. 24), пор. *клітка*; серед прикметників – конкуренція між давнішими *мислительний, понятійний* і новішими *мисленнєвий, поняттєвий*, яка відбувається явно на користь останніх (пор., наприклад,

буття – буттєвий, життя – життєвий). З іншого боку, ось, наприклад, пропозиція повністю усунути із системи словотворчого арсеналу української мови один з поки що дуже продуктивних різновидів такого способу словотворення, як аббревіація: *абонплата, педколектив, «Київміськбуд», «Укртелеком»* і под. – як «радянський» у своїй основі. Неважко простежити досить виразні паралелі – і в стратегії, і в тактиці, і в самому комплексі актуалізованих мовних явищ (сукупності як тих словотвірних типів, що повинні бути замінені, так і тих, за допомогою яких це має бути зроблено) – між сучасним етапом розвитку української літературної мови й, зокрема, системи її словотворення і періодом українізації 20-х – початку 30-х рр. XX ст. Але тепер, по-перше, значно менш помітно виявляється вплив відповідних державних інституцій на процеси кодифікації української літературної мови, який існував у загальних умовах тодішньої тоталітарної держави, тепер спостерігається більша розпорошеність діяльності теоретиків і практиків мовної кодифікації, недостатня узгодженість їхніх зусиль та пропозицій і, як наслідок, більша невпорядкованість мовної практики. По-друге, тепер відбувається в основному заміна тих чи тих ланок системи українського словотворення, а не їх первинна кодифікація в лоні літературної мови, що, звичайно, потребує не просто перегляду, а навіть ламання вже достатньо усталених для переважної частини мовного колективу стереотипів. По-третє, у мовних настановах тепер загалом спостерігається більша категоричність порівняно з рекомендаціями мовознавців, лексикографів, термінологів 20-х років, оскільки покоління того періоду ще, очевидно, не мало достатньої впевненості в своїх позиціях як єдино правильних, тоді як нормалізатори нової доби вже відчують за собою авторитет своїх попередників, тим більше авторитет, освячений їхньою страдницькою долею (під час сталінських репресій).

2. Іменники.

А. Сфера позначення осіб.

2.1. Суфіксальна фемінізація (моція) – явище, активізація якого, безперечно, найперше привертає до себе увагу серед словотворчих процесів української мови на сучасному етапі її розвитку – в іменниках

жін. р., похідних від іменників чол. р., на позначення осіб жіночої статі переважно за родом занять (професійною й суспільною діяльністю) та соціальним становищем (посадою, званням тощо), рідше – за місцем проживання, етнічною належністю та деякими іншими ознаками. Оскільки ця тематична сфера словотворення є однією з найактуальніших у мовному житті сучасного суспільства, до теперішньої активізації її розвитку безпосередньо причетні всі три визначальні фактори словотворення, відзначені вище (див. п. 1), на загальному фоні демократизації всієї мовної діяльності в описуваній період, – загальносоціальний, системнонормотворчий і номінативно-експресивний (щодо дії останнього пор., наприклад, відомі ще з радянського часу *адвокатеса, гідеса, деканеса, доктореса, редактриса, шефиня, філологиня* і под.). Соціальний чинник для аналізованої сфери словотворення – це не тільки поява нових або актуалізація вже наявних понять, що потребують мовного вираження, – як наслідок ширшого залучення жінок до сфери «чоловічих» родів діяльності, а вже й, безперечно, активізація в українському суспільстві ідей фемінізму, спрямованих, зокрема, й на подолання «мовної дискримінації» жінки, наприклад: *банкїрка, барменка, бізнесменка, піарниця, продюсерка, роботодавиця; бойовичка, рекетирка; ваххабітка, ісла-містка, шахідка* та багато інших. Об'єктом же пропонованого в цій статті розгляду мають бути, звичайно, ті явища моцїйного словотворення, які зумовлюються насамперед актуалізацією другого з цих чинників, хоча відокремити його дію від наслідків впливу першого фактора можна далеко не завжди.

У загальних межах активізації цього явища в одних випадках відбувається стилістична нейтралізація (повна або часткова) фемінативів, уже наявних у літературній мові (зокрема, в 20-і – на початку 30-х рр. XX ст., у західноукраїнському варіанті літературної мови), але пізніше (до 90-х рр.) фіксованих у словниках з обмежувальними позначками (так, *директорка, мільйонерка, мільярдера* в СУМ-11 марковані як розмовні, а в СУМ-20, СУМ-12 – уже нейтрально; *викладачка* – як розмовне в СУМ-11 та СУМ-12 і як нейтральне в СУМ-20; *поетка* – як застаріле в СУМ-11 і нейтральне в СУМ-12; *організаторка* – з позначкою «рідко» в СУМ-11, з позначкою «розм.» у СУМ-12 і нейтрально в УРПС),

в інших – творення нових одиниць або засвоєння їх з мовної практики західної української діаспори.

У структурному плані це кілька словотвірних типів:

1) деривати із суфіксом **-к-а**, наприклад: *водійка, прес-секретарка, режи-серка* та ін., навіть *пілотка*: «героїчна українська *пілотка*» – про Надію Савченко («Експрес», 14.08.2014, с. 10); відновлюване, але так загалом і не сприйняте мовною практикою *членка* («Ольга з Левицьких – членка УВО»: «Українське слово», 4.02.1999); активно поширювані в друкованих та електронних ЗМІ, зокрема в інформаційних програмах теле- і радіоканалів, як нейтральні назви, але для широких верств населення все ще, очевидно, з конотаціями розмовності: *дипломатка* («головна *дипломатка* США»: т/к ICTV, «Факти», 19.09.2008), *кандидатка* («Китай готуватиме жінок-космонавтів. *Кандидатками* будуть випускниці середніх шкіл»: «Поступ», 29.07.2004; «*кандидатка* в президенти»: т/к «Новий», «Репортер», 15.03.2004; т/к К-1, «Один день», 4.05.2007), *керманичка*: (*керманичка автівки; керманичка уряду, Німеччини, Литви*), *міністерка* (*праці, соціальної політики, юстиції*); неофіційні варіанти деяких військових звань (не тільки в розмовній мові, а вже й у деяких ЗМІ): *сержантка* («молодша *сержантка*»: т/к СТБ, «Вікна», 8.03.2005), *лейтенантка; президентка* («*президентка* Латвії»; «NN, *президентка* Інституту освіти»: із сучасних ЗМІ); «NN, *докторка* економічних наук» і под.; щодо реалій зарубіжного життя: «*держсекретарка* США Кондоліза Райз», *канцлерка* (насамперед щодо канцлера Німеччини Ангели Меркель), *сенаторка, спікерка*. Особливо ж активними серед них виявилися на початку ХХІ ст. фе-мінативи *прем'єрка*, рідше *прем'єр-міністерка*, а також *лідерка* (у застосуванні переважно до Юлії Тимошенко): «тюрма, де сиділа чинна *прем'єрка*» («Україна молод», 17.07.2008), «Із осені *прем'єрка* збирається щоквартально піднімати на 20 відсотків ціну на газ» («Газета по-українськи», 31.07.2009), «*Прем'єрка* йшла поряд з *ветеранкою*» (т/к СТБ, «Вікна», 23.02.2005), «Юлія Тимошенко, *прем'єр-міністерка* України» – підпис під зображенням (т/к «Новий», «Репортер», 18.03.2009), «*лідерка* БЮТ Юлія Тимошенко» (УР-1, Ранкова інформаційна програма, 17.02.2006). Розмовність багатьох подібних фемінативів – цілком очевидна для багатьох одиниць, як відомих ще з радянських часів (таких, наприклад, як *політичка,*

шефка), так і новозапроваджуваних на зразок *нардепка* – від *нардеп*, тобто народний депутат («*Нардепка* бере чай і давить ложкою лимон»: «Газета по-українськи», 31.07.2009), *комісарка* (як назва посади: «*комісарка* з питань зовнішньої політики ради Європи». – СТБ, «Вікна», 3.03.2006), на вживання їх у ЗМІ, очевидно, мало впливає.

Активізується конкуренція між моцїйними дериватами з цим суфіксом і дериватами не тільки з іншомовними суфіксами *-ес-, -не-*: *акторка, директорка* {*директорка заводу, архіву, програми*}, *поетка* («українська *поетка* Дарія Рихтицька із США»: «Вечірній Київ», 7.03.1997; «...*поеток* Світлани Йовенко і Ганни Чубач»: «Літературна Україна», 26.02.1998), *патронка* («...святої Марти, *патронки* добрих господинь»: «Поступ», 29.07.2004), пор. відповідно *актриса, директриса* (розм.), *поетеса, патронеса*, а й з питомими: *керівничка* {*закладу, партії, групи*} – замість *керівниця*: так (напевне, вже цілком механічно) опрацьовують тексти інформаційних програм на теле- і радіоканалах літредактори (СУМ-11, як видається, цілком адекватно кваліфікував *керівниця* як нейтральне, а *керівничка* – як розмовне слово);

2) деривати із суфіксом **-(н)иц-я**: (*високо*)*посадовець* – (*високо*)*посадовиця, урядовець* – *урядовиця, комп'ютерниця, односелиця, державниця, достойниця* та ін., у тому числі й такі, що перебувають на межі з оказіоналізмами: «Фотографія для письменниці, художниці, *мистецтвознавиці* та *мовознавиці* Лідії Йолтуховської-Скоропис...» («Високий замок», 29.07.2006); зокрема, в мовній практиці т/к СТБ: *бізнесовиця, доброволиця, науковиця, товарознавиця* і под.;

3) деривати із суфіксом **-(к)ин-я** – тип, що досі функціонував як непродуктивний: актуалізовані *мисткиня* – від *мистець* (останнє СУМ-11 подавав з позначкою «заст.»): «українська *мисткиня* із США» (ЛУ, 28.01.1999, с. 1), щорічна художня виставка (у 90-і роки) «Видатні українські *мисткині*», «*мисткиня* веселкових барв» («Українське слово», 15.05.2003), пор. п. *mistrz – mistrzyni* «майстриня»; *членкиня* – від *член* (якої-небудь організації): «*членкиня* Всеукраїнського жіночого товариства ім. О. Теліги» («Українське слово», 11.04.2002, с. 14), «*членкиня* Центрального Комітету КПУ» (Час, 1997, № 13), пор. п. *członek – członkini*; нове, але за останні роки вже досить закріплене у вжитку

продавчиня – від *продавець* (у конкуренції з *продавиця* – словом з «небажаним» суфіксом: див. п. 2.3), пор. п. *sprzedawczyni*, за зразком останнього з'явилося вже й *покупчиня* (хоча, здавалося б, уже наявне в «офіційній» мові *покупниця* нічим не «грішить» проти норми); навіть *бомжиня* – від *бомж* («Високий замок», 15.05.2014, с.14) у конкуренції з *бомжиха*, активізовані в межах загальноукраїнського мовного простору назви представниць західноукраїнських етнографічних груп *бойкиня*, *лемкиня* (пор. уже закріпленій у літературній мові етнонім *грекиня*), нові назви жінок-спортсменок: *борець* – *борчиня* («найсильніша *борчиня* континенту»: «Україна молода», 23.03.2012, с. 1; також перен.: «борчиня з комунізмом» – «Україна молода», 20.11.2013, с. 11, «борчиня за справедливість» – т/к «Студія 1+1», ТСН, 25.11.2009), *плавець* – *плавчиня* (у конкуренції з уже наявним *плавчиха*), набуває поширення *стрільчиня* – від *стрілець*!, від іменників спільного роду: *колега* – *колегиня*, уживається також *старостиня*. Цей словотвірний тип в українській загальнонародній мові повніше зберігся, як відомо, на західноукраїнських теренах (*мовець* – *мовкиня*, *швець* – *шевкиня*: Жел., в етнонімії: *німкиня*, *туркиня*, *чехиня*), маючи безперечне підживлення і з боку західнослов'янських мов (у цій групі слов'янських мов він представлений найповніше), і, відповідно, в мовній практиці західної української діаспори. Пор. також давніші, вже узвичаєні в літературній мові одиниці *господиня*, *кравчиня*, *майстриня* – у конкуренції з *господарка*, *кравчиха*, *майстриха*, уже за новітнього часу поширене в загальноукраїнському масштабі *газдиня* (СУМ-20 подає також *жрекиня* «жриця» – з ілюстраціями із творів західноукраїнських письменників, але без стилістичних ремарок).

Ці три актуалізовані типи словотвірної фемінізації помітно різняться між собою за своїми частотними та стилістично-конотативними характеристиками: найчастотнішим із них виступає, як і до цього, тип із суфіксом **-к**, але він же, з іншого боку, порівняно більше – у багатьох формах своєї конкретної реалізації – позначений конотаціями розмовності й, отже, тим чи іншим ступенем стилістичної зниженості. Саме це, безперечно, уже протягом тривалого часу стоїть на заваді, наприклад, міжстильовому використанню фемінативів на зразок *діловодна*, *науковка*, *обліковка*, *службовка*, *урядовка*; якщо слово *двірничка* в одних словни-

ках української мови (СУМ-11; СУМ-12) подається як стилістично нейтральне, в інших же – як розмовне (СУМ-20), це свідчить тільки про те, що в останньому випадку до стилістичної кваліфікації цього слова поставилися уважніше. На користь активізації двох інших типів «працюють» такі важливі фактори, як: 1) у структурному плані – регулярність творення незалежно від кінцевого характеру твірної основи (на відміну від типу на **-к-а**, процесам фемінізації в межах якого стає на заваді наявність певних звуків: задньоязикових **г**, **к**, **х** і гортанного **г**, губних, скупчення приголосних: *-кт*, *-рг*, *-тр* та ін., суфіксів з випадними голосними **е**, **о**, наприклад: *знавець*, *свідок*); 2) у стилістичному плані – відсутність у них конотацій розмовності, а для типу на **-(к)ин-я**, крім того, ще й, з одного боку, наявність певної стилістичної піднесеності (пор. також *героїня*), зокрема й через його архаїчність (пор. *богиня*, *рабиня*, *монахиня*, у назвах дружини за чоловіком: *бояриня*, *княгиня* і под.), а з другого, – значно менша продуктивність його в сучасній російській мові, але помітна представленість у мовній практиці діаспори. Саме тому останній з названих словотвірних типів став так активно виявлятися; його регулярність особливо демонструє мовна практика деяких телеканалів, насамперед СТБ (програма «Вікна»), наприклад: *критикиня*, *тезкиня* – від *тезка*, *фотографиня*, *фізіатриня* – від *фізіатр*, від іменників на **-ець**: *виборець* – *виборчиня*, *знавець* – *знавчиня*, *курець* – *курчиня*, навіть *молодець* – *молочиня* («Вона *молочиня*!»): СТБ, «Час К», 31.03.2003); в інших ЗМІ: *гравець* – *гравчиня* (т/к «Новий», «Репортер», 2.09.2009), *драматург* – *драматургиня* (ICTV, «Факти», 25.01.2011; «молода українська *драматургиня* Катерина Демчук»: В. Сердюк. – «Літературна Україна», 22.10.1998); уживається також фемінатив *свідк(ч)иня* – від *свідок*. Однак якщо наявність цього суфікса видається цілком доречною в таких стилістично піднесених фемінативах-новотворах, як, наприклад, *вождиня* (зокрема, про Юлію Тимошенко), *патріархиня* (перен.: «патріархиня національної культури» і под.), а також у слові *ворогиня* («непримиренні *ворогині*»: Оксана Забужко), то вживання подібних утворень у стилістично нейтральних контекстах, тим більше в інформаційному стилі, у назвах посад жінки, поки що, безпе-

речно, сприймається далеко не однозначно в українському мовному соціумі.

У загальнослов'янському мовному просторі продуктивність моделей суфіксальної фемінізації на позначення особи жіночої статі за соціальним статусом, як відомо, істотно варіюється (у назвах за ознаками національності, походження, проживання, за певними якісними характеристиками ця межа зміщується й міжмовні відмінності є не такими виразними) – від найменш активного їх функціонування в сучасній російській літературній мові (після активності цих процесів наприкінці XIX – на початку XX ст. і особливо в 20–30-і роки XX ст.) ^{11 12} до ширшого їх представлення в двох інших східнослов'янських мовах і ще повнішого – у західно- (особливо в чеській і словацькій) і південнослов'янських мовах. Відмінності в цьому плані між слов'янськими літературними мовами загалом можна пояснити різною мірою впливу на особливості їх формування та розвитку двох таких визначальних чинників нормативності літературної мови, як: 1) більша / менша наявність комплексу тривалих і міцних нормативних традицій у межах кожної з мов – це зумовлює відмінності між російською (з її тривалою й відносно безперервною традицією розвитку і функціонуванням як мови державного життя, потужним струменем книжно-писемної мови в її основі і, як наслідок, найсуворішими, очевидно, нормами в межах слов'янського мовного світу) і більшістю інших слов'янських літературних мов (з більшою або меншою перервністю в їхньому розвитку між старокнижним і новим періодами або й порівняно молодих, ширшою наявністю народно-розмовної основи та ширшою наявністю різноманітних варіантних явищ у їхній структурі – як мов з відсутньою або ослабленою традицією державного функціонування), а також, хоча вже й меншою мірою, між польською (з її тривалою традицією функціонування не просто як літературної, а й як мови державного життя) і іншими як західно-, так і південнослов'янськими літературними мовами; 2) більша / менша можливість для літературних мов у їхній попередній історії, особливо вже в XX ст., самостійного або ж, навпаки, залежного від інших (насамперед, зрозуміло, від сусідніх слов'янських) мов розвитку, коли культурна еліта народів – носіїв мов, що протягом тривалого часу перебувають під таким

впливом, керується прагненням (не завжди, звичайно, прямо усвідомлюваним) розвивати, культивувати саме ті особливості структури їхніх мов, що їх можна вважати справді питомими й визначальними для них, вирізняючи їх на тлі мов – джерел такого впливу: це зумовлює поділ насамперед між українською, білоруською (на фоні російської), «недомінантними» мовами колишньої Югославії (на фоні сербської), з одного боку, і іншими слов'янськими мовами, – з другого. Саме як наслідок комплексної дії цих двох факторів явище словотвірної фемінізації ширше виступає, зокрема, в українській та білоруській мовах, ніж у російській, у хорватській на фоні сербської. Окремо в такому поділі слов'янських мов стоїть чеська літературна мова з її досить регулярним співвідношенням форм чоловічого й жіночого роду в позначеннях осіб, яка хоча й спирається на традиції словотворення старочеської книжної мови, але мала значну перерву у своєму історичному розвитку, а в процесі свого відродження зазнавала інтенсивного свідомого регулювання.

В умовах теперішньої демократизації функціонування й розвитку мов народів постсоціалістичних країн дія цього явища активізувалася в усіх слов'янських літературних мовах, однак не просто з різною повнотою, але й унаслідок переважаючого при цьому дії різних із зазначених вище (див. п. 1) факторів словотворення. Так, усі слов'янські мови, звичайно, демонструють активізацію процесів суфіксальної фемінізації як наслідок дії першого – загальносоціального, а також певною мірою (в загальних умовах дальшої демократизації мовного життя) й третього з названих чинників. Але російська мова при цьому, як правило, й обмежується дією відзначених чинників: *бизнесменк(и)а, боксерк(и)а, депутатша, диджейк(и)а, інтерв'юерша, комп'ютерица, наркокур'єрша, психоаналитичка, снайперша, принтерк(и)а* та ін., тоді як у плані нормотворчості для російського мовного соціуму загалом самоочевидним є факт, що подібним одиницям не місце в кодифікованій літературній мові, крім хіба що сфери спорту та деяких інших сфер, де стать жінки є одним з визначальних для її роду занять показників, і то лише для дериватів із суфіксом **-к-** (*каратистка, культуристка, стриптизерка* і под.). Для польської мови важливим є також вплив другого з цих чинників – нормотворчого, але в польському суспільстві, зокрема й серед мовознавців, усе

ще тривають дискусії щодо коректності застосування в різних випадках іменування особи жіночої статі за її соціальним статусом або словотвірних фемінативів, або форм чол. р. – маскулінізованих позначень із синтаксичною фемінізацією¹⁸. При цьому, однак, констатується переважання не тільки в офіційній, а й у розмовній сферах слововжитку форм чол. р. для позначення осіб обох статей. В усвідомленні ж носіїв чеської та словацької мов нормативний статус різних структурних типів суфіксальних фемінативів є загалом безперечним (аж до офіційного закріплення їх у статусі військових звань). Найвиразніше ж – унаслідок, з одного боку, динамічного розширення набору таких фемінативів та суспільних сфер їх використання, а з другого боку, далеко не однозначного ставлення до цього в різних колах мовного соціуму – дія другого з цих факторів виявляється в таких мовах, як українська і білоруська: це не просто пошуки норми, а пошуки її саме в дальшому розмежуванні з російською мовою.

Ставлення не тільки різних верств мовного колективу, а й мовознавців-україністів до явища широкої активізації процесів суфіксальної фемінізації в сучасній українській мові істотно варіюється. З-поміж немовознавців, судячи за читацькою поштою, інтерв'ю в газетах, значно більшу активність виявляють ті, хто не сприймає, причому категорично, це явище, пор., наприклад: «Я й ... не писала б, але так вже “дістало” оте “прем'єрка”. І це пішло вже усіма каналами! Спеціально їм хтось такі слова підкидає, чи що? А що ж буде, як “прем'єрка” стане президентом – буде “президентка”?» (М. Осадца, м. Львів. – «Літературна Україна», 7.08.2008, с. 6). У ЗМІ, як уже відзначалося, найактивніше вдається до вживання у функції стилістично нейтральних назв жінки, цілком прийнятних і в офіційному вжитку, уже наявних у мові фемінативів, що досі кваліфікувалися нормативними джерелами як розмовні, і широкого творення нових одиниць телеканал СТБ у діяльності своєї інформаційної програми «Вікна». Серед тих мовознавців, філологів, які оприлюднюють свою думку з цього приводу, частіше, як видається, виступають ті, хто рішуче підтримує відзначене явище, висловлюється, з іншого боку, і його критичне сприйняття.

Звичайно, оскільки певні кола мовців сприймають це явище як одну зі специфічних, характерних ознак української мови (особливо ж на

фоні однієї з інших слов'янських мов, яку вони також знають і яка вже протягом кількох століть справляє потужний вплив на українську, а саме російської), у теперішньому контексті функціонування української літературної мови цей процес розвивається фактично вже незалежно від ставлення до цього з боку мовознавців і лексикографів. Однак це аж ніяк не має означати, що деривати жін. р. можна творити в подібних випадках майже автоматично. У межах цієї тенденції, цілком слушно спрямованої на істотне розширення місця суфіксальних фемінативів у словотвірній системі української мови, далеко не завжди можна провести вододіл між тими явищами, яких об'єктивно потребує українська літературна мова, але які були штучно стримувані в попередні періоди її розвитку, і тими, які перебувають уже поза цими потребами, які призводять уже, з одного боку, до сплутування й нівеляції виражальних ресурсів різних стилів і жанрів літературної мови, до того чи іншого спрощення її стилістики, а з другого, – до семантичної нечіткості в характеристиках особи жіночої статі:

а) це, як відзначалося вище, проблема явної стилістичної неадекватності багатьох механічно створюваних і поширюваних, насамперед журналістами та літредакторами ЗМІ, суфіксальних фемінативів – як недоречного піднесення їхнього стилістичного статусу (наприклад: «NN, ткарка-епідеміологиня»: СТБ, «Вікна», 16.07.2007), так і ще частіше – зниження й навіть огрублення конотації таких слів у загальних рамках сучасної тенденції до надмірного «орозмовлювання» літературної мови (це стосується насамперед фемінативів із суфіксом **-к-а**): «керівничка партії» (чому б уже тоді не *керівниця*?), «колишня мерка Ірпеня» (СТБ, «Вікна», 21.06.2007);

б) це питання про доцільність поширення словотвірної фемінізації, зокрема, у випадках, де, по-перше, переважає семантичне акцентування на позначенні не стільки власне особи жіночої статі за її соціальним статусом, скільки самого статусу, представником якого в даному разі виступає саме жінка, або соціальної функції, яку в даному разі виконує саме жінка (у таких випадках традиційно виступає форма чол. р. у його генеричній – «родовій» – семантичній функції), а по-друге, йдеться про оцінювання соціального місця тієї чи іншої жінки серед певної сукуп-

ності осіб обох статей. Так, якщо *секретарка* як позначення відповідного роду занять (фаху) є вже цілком звичною й стилістично нейтральною назвою, то вживання цього слова в назвах відповідних керівних посад, що їх можуть виконувати й жінки (з наявністю форми род. в. іменника на позначення установи, організації і т. ін.), усе ще привертає до себе увагу: «*секретарка* ЦК КПУ Катерина Самойлик» (Час, 24.05.1996), «розмова з *секретаркою* РНБО Раїсою Богатирьовою» (т/к «Новий», «Репортер», 9.02.2010), «*держсекретарка* США Мадлен Олбрайт» (СТБ, «Вікна», 16.02.2002); у ряді інших випадків: «Юлія Тимошенко балотується у *президентки*» (СТБ, «Вікна», 27.03.2014), «Президент усунув від обов'язків *губернатори* Сумської області Ніну Гаркаву» (СТБ, «Вікна», 24.11.2006), «Вона виступила *адвокаткою* у справі...» (СТБ, «Вікна», 10.04.2002), «Чи стати *гаранткою* своєму протеже?» – розмірковування героїні фільму (УТ-1, т/с «Сорая», 20.07.2005). Ось приклади вживання суфіксальних фемінативів при оцінюванні фахових якостей особи жіночої статі, яка працює в певній галузі (поряд з особами чоловічої статі): «Вона найкраща *агрономка* в районі» (СТБ, «Вікна», 3.09.2004: найкраща серед кого саме – серед усіх агрономів чи тільки серед агрономів-жінок?) (пор., з іншого боку, цілком адекватне в семантико-комунікативному плані – в інших семантико-синтаксичних позиціях – уживання цього фемінатива: «*Агрономка* натякала на те, що вона торік першою почала хлібоздачу державі». – Олесь Гончар). Пор., наприклад, істотно відмінне визначення місця видатних представниць вітчизняної культури в контекстах на зразок: «Леся Українка (Марія Заньковецька, Оксана Петрусенко) належить до найвизначніших українських *поетів / поетес*» (*акторів / актрис, співаків – співачок*). Пор., з іншого боку, в мовній діяльності тих же телеканалів, що схильні досить широко практикувати явище словотвірної фемінізації, і випадки цілком адекватного із семантичного погляду застосування щодо особи жіночої статі за її родом діяльності форм генеричного чол. р. та синтаксичної фемінізації (в родовому узгодженні слова-означення та координації слова-присудка): «Новий *прем'єр-міністр* затверджений. ... Нова *прем'єр-міністр* приступила до виконання своїх обов'язків» (ICTV, «Факти», 4.02.2005), «Юлія Тимошенко – найвідоміший український *політик*... Про це повідомила

одна з *лідерів* Комітету національного порятунку Юлія Тимошенко» (ICTV, «Факти», 2.12.2004), а також уживання форм обох родів на зразок: «*NN* – одна з *лідерів* політичного руху і одна з *лідерок* жіночого руху». У звичайних тепер повідомленнях у ЗМІ на зразок «На чеченських *смертницях* були пояси *смертників*» наявність у другому з цих слововживань форми саме чол. р., очевидно, не може викликати сумніву. У тих випадках, коли основною (родовою) назвою людини за її соціальним статусом виступає найменування неістоти, творення фемінатива взагалі може блокуватися, наприклад: «Перше місце в змаганнях *здобула другий номер* забігу Марія П.».

Активізація вживання суфіксальних фемінативів спостерігається також при позначенні неживих понять (хоча подібні випадки досі не мають системного впорядкування у граматиках та стилістиках української мови, пор., наприклад, цілком нормативні випадки: *країна-* або *команда-переможниця, країна-учасниця*, але звичайно *країна-донор, держава-агресор*, досі фемінативи тут, без сумніву, фіксувалися помітно рідше), наприклад: *партії-лідерки* (ICTV, «Факти», 15.10.2007), *фірма-підрядниця* («Студія 1 + 1», ТСН, 11.11.2011), «*компанії – операторки* реклами» і под.; у мовній діяльності телеканалу СТБ (програма «Вікна»): *ракета-перехоплювачка* (22.11.2002), «Росія – *лідерка* з продажу зброї» (30.10.2006), «Пісня “Червона рута” стала *лауреаткою* конкурсу» (15.08.2005), «Україна не стала *кандидаткою* у члени НАТО» (3.04.2008), «*країни – членкині* ЄС» (4.05.2011).

У мовах з андроцентричним принципом граматичної та словотвірної будови система назв на позначення особи жіночої статі за її соціальним статусом змушена постійно «наздоганяти» (за деякими винятками на зразок *доярка – дояр, стриптизерка – стриптизер*) систему відповідних назв осіб чоловічої статі, неминуче відстаючи від неї, – навіть тоді, коли в самій соціальній дійсності вже з'являються об'єктивні підстави для відповідного позначення жінки й семантичний фактор номінації, таким чином, уже може вступати в дію. Словники і граматики, у свою чергу, також постійно відстають від мовної практики, причому не тільки через зрозумілу інертність їх укладачів та їхню можливу неухважність, але й, безперечно, через невпевненість їх у кваліфікуванні тих чи інших кон-

кретних випадків як уже фактів мови чи ще тільки мовлення. Це стосується не лише суфіксальної фемінізації, а й іменників з відсутністю в їхній морфемній структурі вказівки на стать та субстантивованих прикметників і дієприкметників, що можуть бути віднесені не тільки до чоловіка, а й, можливо, до жінки. Так, у групі невідмінюваних іменників іншомовного походження на позначення осіб такі слова, як *візаві, зомбі, парвеню, протеже, хімі*, подаються в сучасних нормативних джерелах як іменники спільного роду (*мій / моя протеже*), але ті з них, що стосуються роду занять, соціального статусу особи, – переважно тільки в чол. р.: (*прес-*)*аташе, імпресаріо, круп'є, кутюр'є, порт'є, рантьє, рефері, сек'юриті, шансон'є (конферансьє, профі* тільки недавно стали трактувати як іменники чол. і жін. р.). Сучасні нормативні словники, фіксуючи, наприклад, родові кореляції субстантиватів на зразок *вартівий – вартова, ланковий – ланкова, уповноважений – уповноважена*, не подають, однак, форм жін. р. не тільки, наприклад, до *лісничий, постовий, дільничний, рядовий (рядовий Поплавська)*, що ще можна пояснювати недостатньою поки що представленістю в цих випадках дії семантичного фактора, а й до *учений, слідчий* та ін.



LECTURE 4. CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF COMPOUNDING IN ENGLISH AND UKRAINIAN

The question we set out to answer in this lecture is the nature of compounds and methodological basis of their contrastive analysis in the languages under study.

1. Compounding as the type of word-formation.

1.1. Characteristic features of compounds and the treatment of compounds in linguistics.

1.2. Types of compounds and suggested classification in terms of syntactic paraphrase.

2. Contrastive analysis of noun compounds in English and Ukrainian.

3. “Bahuvrihi” compounds.

4. Reduplicatives.

5. Seminar questions.

6. Seminar library.

7. Additional resources: Part 5.

*The game is to say something new with old words
(Ralph Waldo Emerson)*

1. Compounding as the type of word-formation.

1.1. Characteristic features of compounds and the treatment of compounds in linguistics.

Compounding is one of the productive means of word-formation both in English and in Ukrainian. It is characterized by the ease with which compound words are formed when need arises without becoming permanent units of the

vocabulary. Compounding should be studied both diachronically and synchronically. Our task is to make a synchronic review and this implies the solving of the following questions:

1. The principal features of compounds which distinguish them from other linguistic units.
2. The semantic structure of compound words.
3. The principles of classification.

A compound is a lexical unit consisting of more than one stem and functioning both grammatically and semantically as a single word. I. V. Arnold states that these stems occur in English as free forms [Arnold 1973, p. 60]. In Ukrainian lexicological tradition compounding is subdivided into:

1. Stem-combining with the help of interfixes *o, e, e* (*доброзичливий, працездатний, життєрадісний*) or without them (*триповерховий, всюдихід*);
2. Word-combining or juxtaposition (Lat. *juxta* – near, *positio* – place) – combining several words or word-forms in one complex word (*хата-лабораторія, салон-перукарня*) [Плющ 1994, с. 158].

In principle any number of stems may be involved, but in English, except for a relatively minor class of items (normally abbreviated), compounds usually comprise two stems only, however internally complex each may be. Compounding can take place within any of the word classes, but with very few exceptions, the resulting compound word in English is a noun, a verb or an adjective. In Ukrainian this list includes nouns, adjectives and adverbs.

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

The integrity of a compound is manifested in its indivisibility, i.e. the impossibility of inserting another word or word-group between its elements. e.g., *a sunbeam* – we can insert *bright* or *unexpected* between the article and the noun: *a bright sunbeam, a bright and unexpected sunbeam*, but no such insertion is possible between *sun* and *beam*.

1.2. Types of compounds and suggested classification in terms of syntactic paraphrase.

In describing the structure of a compound we should examine the relations of the members to each other. Compounding associates stems drawn from the whole lexicon in a wide range of semantic relations. Although both bases in a compound are in principle equally open, they are normally in a relation whereby the first is modifying the second. In short, compounding can in general be viewed as prefixation with open-class items. [A Comprehensive grammar, p. 1568] But this does not mean that a compound can be formed by placing any lexical item in front of another. The relations between items brought together in compounding must be such that it is reasonable and useful to classify the second element in terms of the first. Such compounds are called **endocentric**. In **exocentric** compounds there is no semantic center as in *scarecrow* (*figure of a man in old clothes set up to scare birds away from crops*). Only the combination of both elements names the referent.

The semantic integrity of a compound is on the other hand very often idiomatic in its character, so that the meaning of the whole is not a mere sum of its elements and the compound is often very different in meaning from a corresponding syntactic group. e.g. *a blackboard* – *a black board*. In some cases, the original motivation of the idiomatic compound cannot be easily re-created, e.g. *blackmail* -getting money or some other profit from a person by threats.

The analysis of the semantic relationship existing between the constituents of a compound presents many difficulties. Some linguists are treating semantic connections within compounds in terms of syntactic relations. For example, such mode of presentation which (where possible) links compounds to sentential or clausal paraphrases is adopted by A Comprehensive Grammar, H. Marchand. As an example of this approach we may take the two compounds: *daydreaming* and *sightseeing* which can be analyzed in terms of their sentential analogues:

X dreams during the day, i.e. verb + adverbial

X sees sights, i.e. verb + object

V. Arnold calls such approach a “mistake” because syntactic ties are ties between words, whereas in dealing with compounds one studies relations within a word [Arnold, p. 61–62]. Although not all compounds are directly “derived” from the clause-structure functions of the items concerned we still consider such treatment of word-formation appropriate enough in the context of general description and concentrating attention on the language’s productive capacity.

2. Contrastive analysis of noun compounds in English and Ukrainian.

Major categories of compounds in English are notably Noun Compounds and Adjective Compounds. We can distinguish subsets on the basis of a grammatical analysis of the elements, together with the indication of the relationship between them in terms of syntactic paraphrase.

I. SUBJECT + ACTION: вода спадає – водоспад. This type is represented by the following ways of combining of structural components:

- **noun (subject) + deverbal noun** e.g.

English: *sunrise, rainfall, headache, bee-sting, frostbite, daybreak, heartbeat, rainfall*

Ukrainian: *небосхил, серцебиття, зорепад, сонцестояння, снігопад*

This type is rather productive in both contrasted languages.

- **deverbal noun + noun (subject)**

In English we refer to this type those compounds where the first component is a verbal noun in *-ing*, e.g. *flying machine, firing squad, investigating committee* and it is very productive. In Ukrainian examples are few: *падолицт (арх.), трясогузка*.

- **verb + noun (subject)**

This type can be found only in English: *watchdog, playboy*.

II. OBJECT + ACTION: вказує дорогу – дороговказ

- **noun (object) + deverbal noun**

This is a moderately productive type in English but very common in Ukrainian, e.g.

English: *birth-control, handshake*. Ukrainian: *душогузб, сінокіс, гречкосій, родовід*.

In English we can single out a subtype **noun (object) + verbal noun in *-ing***: *book-keeping, town-planning*. In Ukrainian compounds of that subtype correspond to compounds in ***-ння***: *сироваріння, містобудування*.

- **noun (object) + agent noun**

In English this is a very productive type and designates concrete (usually human) agents: *matchmaker, stockholder, hairsplitter*. Note, however, *dish-washer, lawn-mover*. All compounds of this type in English are nouns with ***-er*** suffix. As in Ukrainian there is a wide range of suffixes forming agent nouns, so examples of compounds reflect this diversity: *м'ясорубка, законодавець, користолобець, квартирнаймач, містобудівник*.

- **verb + noun (object)**

English: *call-girl, push-button, drawbridge*. In Ukrainian the first component of these compounds is a verb in imperative: *голиборода, крутивус, пройдисвіт, дурисвіт*. This type is often encountered in plant-names as *дериліт, ломикамінь, ломиніс* and for poetic characterization of people as *Вернигора, Перетанцюйбіс, Непийвода*. This structural type of compounds belongs to the ancient layer of Ukrainian vocabulary, for example, the God of Sun in ancient Ukrainian religion was named *Дажбог*: imperative form of the verb *dadjú* – дай and noun *bogú* – щастя, добробут.

III. ACTION + ADVERBIAL: ходить пішки – пішохід.

In English this type of noun compounds has the following subtypes:

- **verbal noun in *-ing* + noun** (adverbial component which can be transformed into prepositional phrase), e.g. *writing-desk* (write at a desk), *hiding place* (hide in a place), *walking stick* (walk with a stick).

- **noun (adverbial component) + agent noun**, e.g. *city-dweller* (dwell in the city), *baby-sitter* (sit with the baby),

- **noun (adverbial component) + verbal noun in *-ing***, *sunbathing* (bathe in the sun), *handwriting* (write by hand),

- **noun (adverbial component) + noun (converted from verb)**, *homework* (work at home), *gunfight* (fight with a gun).

In English the 2)nd and the 4)th subtypes can actually be combined and this combined type can be encountered in Ukrainian: *місцеперебування, працездатність, світогляд*. Besides, In Ukrainian there exists a rather productive type of compounds formation: **adverb (adverbial component) + deverbal noun**, e.g. *скоронис, марнослів'я, пішохід*.

Till now we have been discussing compound types that include the component 'action': subject + action, object + action, action + adverbial. We should also mention 'verbless' compounds like:

- silkworm, молокозавод* (noun₂ produces noun₁);
- doorknob, лісостеп, глинозем* (noun₁ has noun₂);
- raindrop, скловата* (noun₁ is of, consists of noun₂);
- ashtray, птахоферма, зерноховище* (noun₂ is for noun₁);
- girlfriend, лісосмуга* (noun₂ is noun₁);
- security officer* (noun₂ controls/works in connection with noun₁).

The most productive types of verbless compounds in both languages belong to the type "subject and object":

- *windmill*: noun₁ + noun₂ (noun₁ powers/operates noun₂ "the wind powers the mill"). e.g.: *air-brake, steam engine, gas cooker*;
- *toy factory*: noun₁ + noun₂ (noun₂ produces/yields noun₁, "the factory produces toys"). e.g.: *honey-bee, silkworm, gold mine*.

Ukrainian: *шовкопряд, нафтопромисел*:

- *bloodstain*: noun₁ + noun₂ (noun₁ produces/yields noun₂, "the blood produces stains"). e.g.: *hay fever, tortoise-shell, whalebone, food poisoning*;
- *doorknob*: noun₁ + noun₂ (noun₁ has noun₂ "the door has a knob"). This is a very productive type. Noun is inanimate. With animate nouns we use a noncompound genitive phrase: compare *the table leg* with *the boy's leg*. e.g.: *window-pane, cartwheel, bedpost*;

- *security officer*: noun₁ + noun₂ (noun₂ controls/works in connection with noun₁ "The officer looks after security"). e.g.: chairperson, fireman, deckhand. This is a very productive type, with the second constituent always a human agent. Indeed, so commonly has man been thus used (in its unmarked gender role, "human adult") that in some compounds it has a reduced vowel, /mən/. This item and its gender-free alternative person might in fact be viewed as a suffix. In Ukrainian terminology some final elements of compounds are

called suffixoids: *-грійка, -думець, -лов*, e.g.: *тілогрійка, однодумець, птахолов*.

It should be mentioned that combining-form compounds (in Ukrainian scholarly tradition – compounds with interfixes) are commonly used in the fields of science and learning. In consequence, many are in international currency, adopted or adapted in numerous languages. For example, *psycho-analysis*: noun₁ (in its combining form) + noun₂ (= noun₂ in respect of noun₁) "the analysis of the psyche". This is a highly productive type both in Ukrainian and in English. Various relations can be involved. Typically, the first constituent is neo-classical and does not occur as a separate noun stem, but the model has been widely imitated with common stems, with an infix (usually *-o-* but often *-i-*) as a link between the two parts: *cryptography, insecticide*, etc. Stress patterns are various and the primary stress often falls on the link vowel of the combining form. Among common second constituents are *-meter, -graph(y), -gram, -logy*. In Ukrainian: *-метр(ія), -граф(ія), -лог(ія), -ман(ія)*.

Speaking about compounding we should also mention that a particularly productive type of back-formation relates to the noun compounds in *-ing* and *-er*. For example, the verbs: *sleep-walk, house-keep, dry-clean, sight-see*.

3. "Bahuvrihi" compounds.

The term *bahuvrihi* was introduced by the Sanskrit grammarian Panini in his famous Grammar, in which he classifies compounds into four types: *avyayibhava, tatpuruṣa, bahuvrihi, and dvandva*. According to Panini, *bahuvrihis* are those compounds which denote a new thing not connoted by the constituent members individually. The Sanskrit compound *bahuvrihi* exemplifies this type of compounding since its literal meaning is 'much rice' and is used to denote something which is not connoted by the compound members, that is, 'having much rice, i.e. a rich man'. Given that the meaning of most *bahuvrihis* is 'having X', these formations are also attested as possessive compounds in the relevant literature. Leonard Bloomfield attracted attention to the fact that the large class of English compounds that is exemplified by

whitecap, longnose, swallow-tail, blue-coat, blue-stocking, red-head, short-horn has noun function and a noun as head member, and yet is to be classed as exocentric, because the construction implies precisely that the object does not belong to the same species as the head member: these compounds mean ‘object possessing such-and-such an object (second member) of such-and-such a quality (first member)’ [Bloomfield 1933, p. 236].

We will accept the approach that the term *bahuvrihi* refers not to the pattern of formation but to the relation that such compounds have with their referents. Neither constituent refers to the entity named but, the whole refers to a separate entity (usually a person) that is claimed to be characterized by the compound, in its literal or figurative meaning. Thus, *a highbrow* means ‘an intellectual’, on the basis of the facetious claim that people of intellectual interest and cultivated tastes are likely to have a lofty expanse of forehead. Many *bahuvrihis* are somewhat disparaging in tone and are used chiefly in informal style. They are formed on one or other of the patterns already described. e.g: *birdbrain, egghead, hardback, loudmouth, blockhead, butterfly-fingers, featherweight*.

Ukrainian: *твердолобий, криворукий*.

4. Reduplicatives.

Some compounds have two or more constituents which are either identical or only slightly different, e.g. *goody-goody* (a self-consciously virtuous person, informal). The difference between the two constituents may be in the initial consonants, as in *walkie-talkie*, or in the medial vowels, e.g. *criss-cross*. Most of the reduplicatives are highly informal or familiar, and many belong to the sphere of child-parent talk, e.g. *din-din* (dinner). The most common uses of reduplicatives (sometimes called ‘jingles’) are:

- to imitate sounds, e.g. *rat-a-tat* [knocking on door], *tick-tock* [of clock], *ha-ha* [of laughter], *bow-wow* [of dog].
- to suggest alternating movements, e.g. *seesaw, flip-flop, ping-pong*.

• to disparage by suggesting instability, nonsense, insincerity, vacillation (вагання) etc.: *higgledy-piggledy, hocus-pocus, wishy-washy, dilly-dally, shilly-shally*.

• to intensify, e.g. *teeny-weeny, tip-top*.

In connection with reduplication (Ук.: тихо-тихо, ледь-ледь, думав-думав) Ukrainian linguists single out such compounds as:

- synonymic unities, e.g. *пане-брате, стежки-доріжки, часто-густо*;
- semantic unities, e.g. *батько-мати, руки-ноги, хліб-сіть, діди-прадіди*;
- appositional unities, e.g. *машина-амфібія, дівчина-смуглянка*.

5. Seminar tasks and questions.

1. The notion of compound.

2. Compounds versus syntagmatic word combinations.

3. Structural types of compounds.

4. Semantic types of compounds.

5. Form of compounds: spelling peculiarities.

6. Endocentric versus exocentric compounds.

7. Relation of components. Bahuvrihi compounds.

8. Reduplicatives.

9. Approaches to contrastive analysis of noun-compounds.

10. Exercises:

1. Define the type of compound:

Get-at-able, undertaker, looking-glass, stay-at-home, bird's-eye, butterfly-fingers, frontbencher

2. Explain the compounds applying syntactic paraphrase or otherwise. Translate the compound words into Ukrainian.

Nobleman, lady-killer, masterpiece, sunflower, bell-hop, horseradish, red-handed

6. Seminar library.

1. *Горпинич В.О.* Сучасна українська літературна мова: морфеміка, словотвір, морфонологія. К.: «Вища школа», 1999. 207 с.
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3. *Сучасна українська літературна мова:* підручник / за ред. М.Я. Плющ. К.: Вища школа, 1994. 414 с.
4. *Сучасна українська мова:* підручник / за ред. О.Д. Пономарева. К.: Либідь, 2001. 400 с.
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6. *Bloomfield L.* An introduction to the study of language. URL: <https://archive.org/details/introductiontost00bloo/page/n13>
7. *Potiatynuk U.* All about Words: An Introduction to Modern English Lexicology. Львів: ПАІС, 2014. 362 с.
8. *Quirk R., Greenbaum S., Leech G., Svartvik J.* Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language. Longman, 1999. 1779 p.

7. Additional Resources: Part 5.



Read the following excerpts from the article by Nigel Fabb on compounding taken from “The Handbook of Morphology” / Eds. Andrew Spencer and Arnold M. Zwicky. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2017, and get ready to discuss the principal ideas of the author concerning compounding.

Mode of access: <http://www.ai.mit.edu/projects/dm/bp/fabb-compounds.pdf>

1. Overview

A compound is a word which consists of two or more words. For example, the Malay compound *mata-hari* ‘sun’ is a word which consists of two words: *mata* ‘eye’ and *hari* ‘day’. Compounds are subject to phonological

and morphological processes, which may be specific to compounds or may be shared with other structures, whether derived words or phrases; we explore some of these, and their implications, in this chapter. The words in a compound retain a meaning similar to their meaning as isolated words, but with certain restrictions; for example, a noun in a compound will have a generic rather than a referential function: as Downing puts it, not every man who takes out the garbage is a garbage man.

1.1. Structure and interpretation.

The meaning of a compound is usually to some extent compositional, though it is often not predictable. For example, *popcorn* is a kind of corn which pops; once you know the meaning, it is possible to see how the parts contribute to the whole – but if you do not know the meaning of the whole, you are not certain to guess it by looking at the meaning of the parts. This lack of predictability arises mainly from two characteristics of compounds:

(a) compounds are subject to processes of semantic drift, which can include metonymy, so that *a redhead* is a person who has red hair;

(b) there are many possible semantic relations between the parts in a compound, as between the parts in a sentence, but unlike a sentence, in a compound, case, prepositions and structural position are not available to clarify the semantic relation.

1.1.1. Endocentric and exocentric compounds. Compounds which have a head are called ‘endocentric compounds’. A head of a compound has similar characteristics to the head of a phrase: it represents the core meaning of the constituent, and it is of the same word class. For example, in *sneak-thief*, *thief* is the head (*a sneak-thief* is a kind of thief; *thief* and *sneak-thief* are both nouns). Compounds without a head are called ‘exocentric compounds’ or ‘bahuvrihi compounds’ (the Sanskrit name). The distinction between endocentric and exocentric compounds is sometimes a matter of interpretation, and is often of little relevance; for example, whether you think *greenhouse* is an endocentric or exocentric compound depends on whether you think it is a kind of house. The major interest in the head of a compound relates to the fact that where there is a clear head, its position seems to be constrained;

endocentric compounds tend to have heads in a language systematically on either the right (e.g. English) or left (e.g. Vietnamese, French).

1.1.2. Co-ordinate compounds There is a third kind of compound, where there is some reason to think of both words as equally sharing head-like characteristics, as in *student-prince* (both a student and a prince); these are called ‘appositional’ or ‘co-ordinate’ or ‘dvandva’ (the Sanskrit name) compounds. Co-ordinate compounds can be a combination of synonyms (example from Haitian): *toro-bèf* (bull-cow) ‘male cow’ a combination of antonyms (example from French): *aigre-doux* (sour-sweet) or a combination of parallel things (example from Malayalam): *acchanammamaal* (father-mother-pl.) ‘parents’

1.1.3. The semantic relations between the parts The semantic relations between the parts of a compound can often be understood in terms of modification; this is true even for some exocentric compounds like *redhead*. Modifier–modifiee relations are often found in compounds which resemble equivalent phrases; this is true, for example, of English AN%N1 compounds (XY%Z is to be interpreted as: [XY] is a compound of word class Z) and many Mandarin compounds. It is not always the case, though; the French compound *est-allemand* (East German) corresponds to a phrase *allemand de l’est* (German from the East). In addition, many compounds manifest relations which can be interpreted as predicator – argument relations, as *sunrise* or *pull-chain*. Note that in *pull-chain*, *chain* can be interpreted as an argument of *pull*, and at the same time *pull* can be interpreted as a modifier of *chain*.

1.1.4. Transparency: interpretive and formal The transparency and predictability of a compound are sometimes correlated with its structural transparency. For example, in languages with two distinct types of compound where one is more interpretively transparent than the other, the less interpretively transparent type will often be subject to greater phonological or morphological modification. A diachronic loss of transparency (both formal and interpretive) can be seen in the process whereby a part of a compound becomes an affix, as in the development of English -like as the second part of a compound to become the derivational suffix *-ly*.

1.2. Types of compound.

Accounts of compounds have divided them into classes. Some of these – such as the exocentric, endocentric and appositional types, or the various interpretive types (modifier–modifiee, complement–predicator, etc.) – are widespread across languages. Then there are compound types which are language- or languagefamily-specific, such as the Japanese postsyntactic compounds, Hebrew construct state nominals, or Mandarin resultative verb compounds. Other types of compounds are found intermittently; these include synthetic compounds, incorporation compounds and reduplication compounds.

1.2.1. Synthetic (verbal) compounds The synthetic compound (also called ‘verbal compound’) is characterized by a co-occurrence of particular formal characteristics with particular restrictions on interpretation. Not all languages have synthetic compounds (e.g. English does, but French does not). The formal characteristic is that a synthetic compound has as its head a derived word consisting of a verb plus one of a set of affixes (many writers on English restrict this to agentive *-er*, nominal and adjectival *-ing*, and the passive adjectival *-en*). Thus the following are formally characterized as synthetic compounds: *expert-test-ed*, *checker-play-ing* (as an adjective: *a checker-playing king*) *window-cleaning* (as a noun) *meat-eat-er* (There is some disagreement about whether other affixes should also be included, so that *slum-clear-ance* for example would be a synthetic compound).

1.2.2. Incorporation compounds In some languages, incorporation words resemble compounds: for example, both a verb and an incorporated noun may exist as independent words. Even where the two parts may be independently attested words, an incorporation word may differ from a compound in certain ways. This includes phonological or morphological differences between incorporated and free forms of a word. Another difference may distinguish incorporation from compounding processes is that the incorporation of a word may depend on its semantic class. For example, in Pawnee it is mainly body part words which are incorporated, while various kinds of name are not (such as personal names, kinship terms, names of particular species of tree, etc.). It is possible that compounding is not restricted in this way; as we will see, semantic restrictions on compounding tend to be in terms of the relation between the parts rather than in terms of the individual meanings of the parts.

1.2.3. *Repetition compounds* Whole-word reduplication is sometimes described as a compounding process, because each part of the resulting word corresponds to an independently attested word. English examples of this type of compound include words like *higgledy-piggledy*, *hotchpotch*, and so on.

1.3. Compounds which contain ‘bound words’.

In a prototypical compound, both parts are independently attested as words. However, it is possible to find words which can be parsed into an independently attested word plus another morpheme which is not an independently attested word but also does not appear to be an affix. Here are some examples from English (unattested part italicized): *church-goer*, *ironmonger*, *television*, *cranberry*. The part which is not attested as an isolated word is sometimes found in other words as well; in some cases it may become an attested word: for example, *telly* (= television). These parts fail to resemble affixes morphologically (they are relatively unproductive compared to most affixes), and there is no good evidence on phonological grounds for considering them to be affixes. They are also unlike affixes semantically; judging by their contribution to the word’s meaning, they have lexical rather than grammatical meanings.

2. The structure of compounds.

One thing that is reasonably clear about the structure of compounds is that they contain two words, and the distinctness of these two components is visible to various rules. Other aspects of structure are not so obvious, however: in the order of the parts regulated by rules 2.1, are their word classes visible to any rules 2.2, and are three-word compounds hierarchically structured (2.3)?

2.1. Directionality.

A compound can be ‘directional’ in two senses. One sense involves the position of the head: whether on the right or the left. The other sense involves the direction of the relation between the parts of the compound: the direction of modification in a noun–noun compound (e.g. in *log cabin* modification is rightwards) or the direction of complementation in a verb-based compound (e.g. in *push-bike* complementation is rightwards). Notice that the two senses

of directionality can be independent, because a compound can have internal modification or complementation without having a head: *killjoy* has no head, but it does have a predicator – complement order. This is an important descriptive issue; some accounts assume that a modifier – modifée or predicator – argument relation inside a compound is itself evidence that part of the compound is a head. To the extent that there are any useful claims about directionality of the head to be made, it is probably best to focus on the narrowest definition of head (which involves a semantic link between head and whole).

2.1.1. *The location of the head.* In English, the head of an endocentric word is on the right. In French, the head is on the left (as in *bal masqué*, ‘masked ball’). It has been argued that all true endocentric compounds are right-headed, and that any left-headed compounds should be considered as exceptions – for example, as phrases which have been reanalysed as words. This is not a widely accepted account.

2.1.2. *An argument about directionality and synthetic compounds.* The direction of relations inside a compound is responsible for determining whether a language is able to have synthetic compounds. In a synthetic compound, the non-head must modify the head, and be a complement of the head. This means that the direction of modification must be opposite to the direction of complementation: – modifies → meat-eater ← takes as complement – Because in English, the directions of complement taking and modification are opposed, synthetic compounds are possible (the same is true of Fon). In French and Haitian (a Fon–French creole), on the other hand, both modification and complementation are leftward, and so the particular conditions which allow a synthetic compound are absent – hence there are no synthetic compounds in these languages.

2.2. The word classes of the component words.

Another question which must be asked about the structure of compounds is whether the class of the component words is relevant, or whether word class is lost when the words are formed into a compound. ‘Relevant’ would mean, for example, visibility of word class to a class-sensitive phonological or morphological rule. Little attention has been focused on this question; clearly

some compound-internal affixation rules are class-sensitive (but this might be because they are added before the compound is formed). Most of the attention to word class in a compound has focused on the attested word-class structures of compounds in a language. For example, in Punjabi there are large numbers of compounds involving a combination NN, AN, AA, NV and VV, but none with a structure VA, and very few with a structure VN. Selkirk (1982) suggests that these facts about a language are best expressed by compound-specific rewriting rules analogous to phrasestructure rules. This approach has been adopted by many people, and is useful as a descriptive device. However, there are some fundamental differences between structure-building rules for compounds and structure-building rules for phrases:

(a) There is no true equivalent of X-bar theory as a constraint on compound-building rules. Most obviously, compounds need not have a head. More generally, it is hard to find structural generalizations across compound structures analogous to the generalizations expressed by X-bar theory for phrases.

(b) Compound-building rules would rarely be recursive. In English, for example, the only clearly recursive type is the NN%N combination.

(c) There is a problem about productivity. Phrase-structure rules are fully productive; each rule can underlie an infinite number of phrases (partly because of recursion). But some rules for building compounds are manifested by very few actual compounds. Selkirk recognizes this, and distinguishes rule-built compounds from non-rule-built compounds. Perhaps, though, there is an alternative way of explaining the prevalence of certain compound types along functional rather than formal lines. Thus, in English, the prevalence of NN%N and AN%N types might be because of a functional need for compound nouns before other word classes, and because these have a modifier– modifée structure which is easily interpreted. This is a complex problem which requires metatheoretical decisions about the place of functional considerations and the meaning of productivity.

2.3. Subconstituency in three (or more) word compounds.

Where compounds consist of three or more words, the compound can sometimes be interpreted by breaking it down into subconstituents. This is

true, for example, of *chicken-leg-dinner*, which is interpreted by taking *chicken-leg* as a subcompound within the larger compound. In some cases, ambiguity arises from the possibility of two alternative groupings of words, as in American history teacher (a history teacher who is American or a teacher of American history). This fact about interpretation raises the question of whether three-or-more-word compounds might perhaps have a subconstituent (hierarchical) structure like a phrase (i.e. (b) or (c) rather than the flat structure (a)). (a) American history teacher (b) American history teacher (c) American history teacher. It is not obvious that the interpretive facts alone demonstrate the presence of a complex structure. The interpretive rules might simply pick any pair of adjacent units and make them into a unit, taking a ‘syntactic’ structure like (a) and building a ‘semantic’ structure like (b) or (c). Compare hierarchical phrase structure, which pre-exists any interpretive strategy, as can be shown by the sensitivity of syntactic processes (such as binding theory) to constituent structure. But compounds are relatively inert compared to syntactic constituents (no movement, anaphoric coindexing, etc.), so it is harder to find supporting evidence for complex constituent structure. As we will see, there is some evidence in English from the stressing of four-word compounds that the compound-specific stress rules are sensitive to a subconstituent structure, and hence that such structure exists outside the interpretive component. Note that some multiple-word compounds are not interpreted as having a hierarchical structure; this is true particularly of dvandva compounds such as the following from Tamil: vDra-tDra-cakacaØ-kaE (courage-bravery-valour-pl.) ‘courage, bravery and valour’

2.3.1. *Hierarchies which include non-word components.* A three-member compound need not contain three words. For example, a morpheme may appear between two words in a compound or at one end of a compound. It has been argued by a number of writers that in (English) synthetic compounds, the suffix is a third constituent of the compound; synthetic compounds on this analysis have a hierarchical structure such as [[meat-eat]-er].

3. The interpretation of compounds: interpretive gaps.

Extensive descriptive work has been undertaken on the semantic relations holding between the components of English compounds. An interesting theme that arises from some of this work is the possibility that there are certain gaps:

semantic relations between the parts of a word which are possible in principle, but are not attested in practice. In this section we look at two such gaps in English compounds.

3.1. The missing goal.

One of the commonest kinds of compound in English is the NN%N type. Many different relations can be interpreted as holding between the two members of such a compound. The interesting question in these cases is whether any relationships are not attested; in surveys of NN%N compounds, both Downing (1977) and Warren (1978) found that while source (something moved away from) was attested, goal (something moved towards) was only marginally attested. Warren found only fourteen potential examples out of 3,994 compounds, and suggests that these may not even be true examples of 'goal' compounds. In her list of relations between the parts of nominal compounds, Levi (1978) has 'from' (e.g. *store-clothes*) but not 'to'. The same gap can be seen in other compounds; for example, while we find VN%N compounds like *print-shop* (a shop where printing takes place), there are no compounds like *go-place* (meaning a place to which someone goes). This gap also appears in synthetic compounds: *heaven-sent* can be interpreted only as sent from heaven, not sent to heaven. Note that apparent goal compounds like *church-goer* actually mean 'someone who attends church' (not someone who moves towards church); similarly, *sea-going* means 'going on the sea' (not to the sea).

3.2. Synthetic compounds in English: the absence of 'subject'.

In a synthetic compound, the crucial interpretive restriction is that the lefthand word (a noun, adverb or adjective) must be interpretable as a complement of the right-hand word (and must not be interpretable as an external argument or subject). In effect, synthetic compounds with *-ing* or *-er* are like reversed active verb phrases with equivalent components (*play checkers* > *checker-playing*), while synthetic compounds with passive *-en* are like reversed passive verb phrases (*tested by experts* > *expert tested*). Synthetic compounds thus differ from other compounds (sometimes called 'root compounds'); hence while **bird-singing* is excluded, there is a compound *bird-song* where the lefthand member is interpretable as the subject of the right-hand member. Synthetic compounds are interesting because the rules for their

interpretation seem to be related to rules for building the meaning of sentences (e.g. the assignment of thematic roles to particular positions in a sentence, depending on the active or passive nature of the verb).

3.3. Ways of explaining interpretive gaps.

Interpretive gaps in compounds could in principle be explained in one of three ways:

(a) Constrain the compound-building rules to make them sensitive to interpretation-relevant aspects such as thematic relations. The gaps exist because there is no possibility of building synthetic compounds which have a verb combined with a nonsubcategorized argument such as its subject. But Roeper and Siegel's approach (in particular) runs into a problem. Consider, for example, the compound *bird-singing*. This cannot be built by the synthetic-compound-building rule, because it combines the verb with a non-subcategorized argument (its subject). But nothing stops it being built by an alternative rule – the root-compoundbuilding rule, which takes two nouns and combines them (bird + singing). This rule is not subject to thematic constraints, as can be seen in subject-predicate compounds like *sunrise*. So whatever rules out *bird-singing* as a root compound is clearly not associated with the compound-building rules.

(b) Instead, it may be that the subject is ruled out by some filter which looks at the compound, and if it has the structure of a synthetic compound, applies certain constraints on interpretation to it. This would differentiate root from synthetic compounds not in how they are built, but in their surface form.

(c) A third possible approach would be to explain interpretive gaps in compounds in terms of general constraints on the possible meanings of a word. Such an approach does not necessarily require that compoundinternal thematic relations be specified, because these relations are not explicitly referred to. This approach might provide an explanation of the 'goal' gap. Note that this gap is found also in non-compound word formation: Hale and Keyser (1992) point out that while there is a verb *shelve*, meaning 'put on a shelf', there is no verb *church*, meaning 'go to church'. It may be that a meaning of 'movement towards' is incompatible with some aspect of possible word meaning. For example, Downing (1977) comments that 'unambiguously fortuitous or

temporary relationships' are ruled out in favour of generic or habitual relationships. Perhaps 'movement towards' is ruled out in general because it is not usually a generic or habitual relationship: in this light, it is interesting to compare 'source' (movement from) with 'goal' (movement towards). The source of something remains a stable and permanent property of that thing; the goal of something is its goal only while it is travelling towards it.

4. Compounds and syntax.

In this section we look at some language (or language-family)-specific compound types which have an internal structure open to syntactic manipulation and visible to syntactic processes. Incorporation compounds are a clear example, and synthetic compounds have also been argued to have such a structure. There are two complicating factors when considering the 'syntactic' aspects of compounds. One is that compounds tend to have relatively fixed meanings, so that it is difficult, for example, to modify them; the question of syntax vs morphology may be irrelevant here. Thus, for example, the ASL compound 'blue-spot' (= bruise) cannot be morphologically modified to '*darkblue-spot' (?= bad bruise); and the French compound *garde-malade* (= nurse) cannot be syntactically modified to *garde-bien-malade* (?= good nurse). The second problem relates to the possibility that some compounds are the result of lexicalization of phrases. Thus, while in English it is generally impossible to have *the* inside a compound, there is a word *middle of the road* which looks like a compound but may best be analysed as a lexicalized phrase; the same can be said for many French compounds such as *pomme-de-terre* (= potato) or *trompe-l'œil* (= illusion), both of which contain typically syntactic components, the preposition *de* or the article *l'*. Compounds containing *and*, such as *foot-and-mouth disease* may perhaps be dealt with by claiming lexicalization of a phrase; or it may simply be that coordination can involve parts of words with no syntactic implications.



LECTURE 5. CONTRASTIVE STUDIES OF SEMANTICS OF ENGLISH AND UKRAINIAN WORDS: METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

The fifth lecture summarizes some ideas concerning the notion of meaning in modern linguistic studies focusing on semiotic approach. The comparability criterion and the notion of tertium comparationis in reference to the contrastive studies of the semantic structure of words is discussed.

1. **The study of meaning: semasiology and semantics.**
2. **Semiotics. Dimensions of semiosis in lexicological studies.**
3. **Comparability criterion: possible approaches to establishing *tertium comparationis* in contrastive lexicology.**
4. **Seminar questions.**
5. **Seminar library.**
6. **Additional resources: Part 6.**

*Linguistics without meaning is meaningless
(Roman Jakobson)*

1. The study of meaning: semasiology and semantics.

Long before linguistics existed as a discipline, thinkers had been speculating about the nature of meaning. For thousands of years, this question has been considered central to philosophy. Contributions to the studies of meaning have come from a diverse group of scholars, ranging from Plato and Aristotle in antiquity to Ludwig Wittgenstein in the twentieth century. In linguistics the branch of the study concerned with the meaning of words is called **semasiology** or **semantics**. The terms semasiology and semantics are often used indiscriminately as if synonymous. In case of semantics, however, there are several more

meanings, e.g. the term *pure semantics* refers to a branch of symbolic or mathematical logic originated by R. Carnap¹.

For a very long period of time the study of meaning constituted part of philosophy, logic, psychology, literary criticism and history of the language. Semasiology came into its own in the 1830's when a German scholar Christian Karl Reisig (1792–1829), lecturing in classical philology, suggested that the studies of meaning should be regarded as an independent branch of knowledge. Reisig's lectures were published by his pupil F. Heerdegen in 1839 some years after Reisig's death.

It was Michel Breal², a Frenchman, who played a decisive part in the creation and development of the new science. His book "Essai de sémantique" (published in Paris in 1897) became widely known and was followed by a considerable number of investigations and monographs on meaning not only in France, but in other countries as well. He proposed to investigate how it happens that words, once created and endowed with a certain meaning, extend that meaning or contract it, transfer it from one group of notions on to another, raise its value or lower it. He believed that studying such changes constitutes semantics, i.e. science of meaning. According to professor J. R. Firth³ the English word for the historical study of the change of meaning was semasiology, until in 1900 Breal's book (Essai de s'émantique) was published in English under the title of "Semantics". Nowadays the term semantics prevails and is used to denote **the branch of linguistics which specializes in the study of meaning of linguistic units on all levels of language and language use**. This term is widely accepted by a lot of linguists and we consider it possible to use it for:

- the branch of linguistics which specializes in the study of meaning;
- the expressive aspect of language in general;

¹ Carnap Rudolf (1891–1970) – German-American philosopher. Was one of the most influential of contemporary philosophers, is known as a founder of logical positivism and made important contributions to logic, semantics, and the philosophy of science. His works include „Introduction to Semantics" (1942).

² Michel Jules Alfred Bréal (1832–1915) was a French philologist, Professor of Comparative Grammar at the Collège de France, and one of the founders of modern semantics.

³ John Rupert Firth (1890–1960) was an English linguist, the first professor of general linguistics in Great Britain. He was the originator of the London School of Linguistics and played important role in the foundation of linguistics as an autonomous discipline. He is famous for his ideas on phonology and the study of meaning.

- the meaning of one particular word in all its varied aspects and nuances.

The definition of lexical meaning has been attempted more than once in accordance with the main principles of different linguistic schools. However, at present there is no universally accepted definition reflecting all the basic characteristic features of meaning and being at the same time operational. Thus, meaning is considered to be one of the most ambiguous and controversial terms in the linguistic theory. This complex phenomenon has been studied by many outstanding linguists [see Bibliography of linguistics papers dealing with lexical semantics].

2. Semiotics. Dimensions of semiosis in lexicological studies.

Meaning is also studied in semiotics (or semiology) – the study of signs. The Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure defined this science, which he called semiology, as the the study of "the life of signs within society." In structuralist tradition, that is the tradition of Saussure's semiology, **language is considered as the sole key to the world of semiosis – the action of signs**. Semiosis is defined as the operation which, by setting up a relationship of reciprocal presupposition between the signifier and the signified produces signs. Only language gives structure to our perception of the world: nothing is distinct before the appearance of language.

Another great semiotic project was developed by Charles Sanders Peirce⁴ who devoted himself to *semeiotic*, which would be the science of sciences, since "the entire universe is perfused with signs if it is not composed exclusively of signs". For Peirce semiosis is the "intelligent or triadic action of sign". The triad consists of: *the representamen* as the signifying stimulus, *the object* represented by the sign, *the interpretant* as the outcome of the sign in the mind of its inter-

⁴ Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914) is the greatest American philosopher who is noted for his work on the logic of relations and on pragmatism as a method of research. Logic in its widest sense he identified with semiotics, the general theory of signs. Alongside Ferdinand de Saussure Peirce is one of the founders of semiotics but in contrast to Saussure's concept of the sign, which refers exclusively and formally to language, so that essential impulses for linguistics arose from it, Peirce's Semiotic, is the general account of signification, representation, reference and meaning. His account is distinctive and innovative for its breadth and complexity.

preter [Commens dictionary] (Fig. 5.1). Semiosis is any form of activity, conduct, or process that involves signs, including the production of meaning. We will try to apply different dimensions of semiosis to the contrastive studies of lexical meaning.

In 1938 Charles William Morris (1901–1979) published *Foundations of the Theory of Signs* [Morris] where he suggested three dimensions of semiosis:

- syntactical – deals with combinations of signs without regard for their specific significations;
 - semantical – deals with the signification of signs in all modes of signifying;
 - pragmatial – deals with effects of signs on the interpreter.
- These dimensions can be modified applying the notion of interpretant (see the article by N.Andreichuk in Additional resources). It has never been argued that word is a SIGN, thus Word possesses CODE dimension; INFORMATIONAL dimension and CULTURAL dimension. Actually, these dimensions of the word make the object of Lexicology.

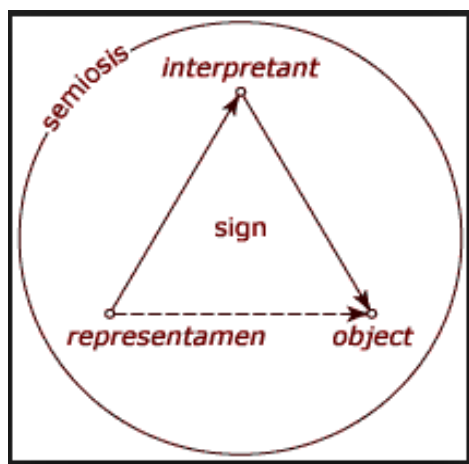


Fig. 5.1. Semiosis in Ch. Peirce's view

In contrastive lexicology the ultimate goal of the studies of the **code dimension** of semiosis is to discover similarities and differences between lexical units through the analysis of actual realization of the chosen universal

property referring to word-formation in English and Ukrainian which we have already discussed.

The ultimate goal of the studies of the **informational dimension of semiosis** is to discover similarities and differences between lexical units through the analysis of actual realization of the chosen universal property referring to meaning in English and Ukrainian.

The ultimate goal of the studies of the **cultural dimension** of semiosis is to discover similarities and differences in the actualization of conceptual features of mental models underlying processes of creating lingual objects in different languages which are determined by culture.

3. Comparability criterion: possible approaches to establishing *tertia comparationis* in contrastive lexicology.

Tertium comparationis has to be established prior to any analysis and assumes defining the relations of equivalence, similarity and difference in the observed languages. It is **an overall platform of reference which enables the comparison to be performed**. Tertium comparationis presents the actual realization of that universal feature (an essential or indispensable element, condition, or ingredient) in the two languages which the contrastivist is interested in. Tertium comparationis, which enables the comparison to be performed, is a background of sameness, and the *sine qua non* for any justifiable, systematic study of contrasts. Tertia comparationis in contrastive lexicological studies depend on the approach selected (Fig. 5.2.)

As it has been stated previously, tertium comparationis assumes defining the **relations of equivalence, similarity and difference** in the lexical units of the observed languages on three levels: code dimension, informational dimension and cultural dimension.

In this lecture course we accept the semiotic approach to meaning and identify it with semiosis – the action of signs, that is inseparable unity of representamen, object and interpretant (see Peirce's triangle in Fig. 5.1). **The informational dimension of semiosis** presupposes that the meaning of the word is studied through the prism of the relation between the interpretant and the object established by the interpreter via representamen.

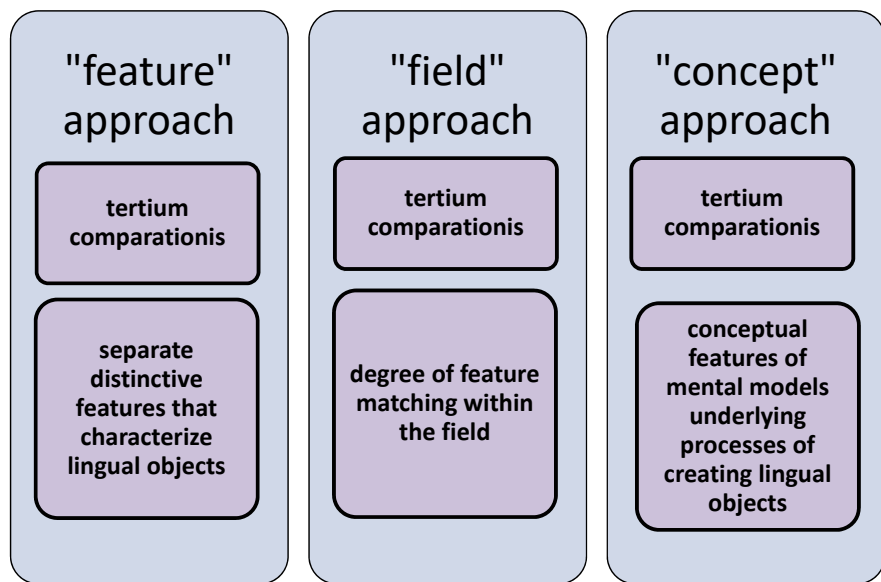


Fig. 5.2. Possible approaches and tertium comparationis in contrastive lexicology

The analysis of different possible contexts in which the representamen is encountered, makes it possible to bring to light all the nuances of the relations between the object and the interpretant and to discover what is traditionally called the notional nucleus of meaning (“objective”, “nominative”, “representative”, “factual”, components of meaning) abstracted from stylistic, pragmatic, modal, emotional, subjective, communicative and other shades. The emotional content of the word i.e. its capacity to evoke or directly express emotions is rendered by connotative component of meaning (also called emotive charge or intentional connotations). This content is studied at the cultural level of semiosis (cultural interpretant).

When linguists contrast the meaning of words in a language, they can be interested in characterizing the **notional interpretant, cultural interpretant or both of verbal signs**. Notional interpretant covers those basic, essential components of meaning which are conveyed by the literal use of a word. Some of the basic components of a word like *needle* in English might include “thin,

sharp, steel, instrument”. These components would be part of the denotative meaning of *needle*. However, you may have “associations”, or “connotations”, attached to a word like *needle* which lead you to think of “*painful*” whenever you encounter the word. This “association” is not treated as part of the denotative meaning of *needle*. In a similar way you may associate the expression *low-calorie*, when used to describe a product, with “good for you”, but we would not want to include this association within the basic denotative meaning of the expression. Poets and advertisers are of course, very interested in using terms in such a way that their associative meanings are evoked, and some linguists do investigate this aspect of language use. In contrastive lexicology we may be interested in characterizing what constitutes the denotative meaning of words in both languages (informational dimension of semiosis) as well as any components which add to the denotative meaning (cultural dimension).

Applying **feature approach** (see Fig. 5.2) presupposes that semantic components are revealed and organized in the process of componental analysis which is used for a detailed comparison of meaning in two languages. The results of the analysis based on this approach can provide a more adequate basis for translational equivalences as it explains semantic transpositions of words, figurative extension in particular and facilitates judging of the semantic compatibility as an important feature of style.

“Feature approach” to contrastive analysis can be accepted for all the three dimensions of semiosis. When we research the code dimension “the feature” that serves as Tertium comparationis refers to the formal structure of words, in case of informational dimension – the semantic component of the semantic structure of words and for the cultural dimension – the conceptual component of mental models underlying processes of creating lingual objects in different languages. For example:

- Code dimension: means of expressing gender. Tertium comparationis: derivational suffixes.
- Informational dimension: verbs rendering speech activity. In this case Tertium comparationis for comparing systems of verbs in English and in Ukrainian is their common feature – the projection on the invariant denotatum and microdenotata, e.g. **in Ukrainian:** *казати, промовляти,*

проказувати, вимовляти, балакати, мовити, (заст.) повідати, прорікати, (вульг.) гавкати, тягти, тягнути (повільно, протяжно), (розм.) цідити, рубати, виціджувати, карбувати, чеканити, гарчати (сердито, невдоволено), видушувати, витискати (із себе, через силу), хрипити, хлипати, сичати, шуніти and others; **in English:** *to say, to tell, to communicate, to inform, to blab out, to proclaim, to announce, to dispute, to negotiate, to report, to declare, to comment, to slander, to stagg, to nark, to retell, to interpret, to broadcast, to repeat, to explain, to sort, to joke, to whisper* and others. Each of the verbs in both languages renders the action performed by different objects (persons) and each of these lexemes, naming the corresponding denotata (microdenotata) has certain shades of meaning. Compare Ukr.: *промовляти* and *виціджувати* (промовляти неохоче, недбало); Eng.: *to pronounce* and *to whisper* (to inform someone secretly) (for more examples see [Іваницька]).

- Cultural dimension: means of expressing evaluative attitude. Possible tertium comparationis: the lexical choice of news reporting accidents in Ukrainian and English papers. By analyzing the difference of the word choice, the contrastivist can reveal the hidden ideologies in the news discourse covertly implied and discover differences in the representation of the same event in vastly different ways through the particular uses of lexicon that reflect different cultural standpoints.

So, how would a semantic approach help us to understand something about the nature of contrasted languages?

In this lecture course it is claimed that the **main objects of contrastive semantic studies in lexicology are the following:**

- to compare and contrast semantic structures of separate words and their development including causes and classification of the latter (feature approach);
- to compare and contrast semantic grouping and relationships in vocabulary systems i.e. synonyms, antonyms, terminological systems etc. (field approach);
- to compare and contrast mental models underlying processes of interpreting words (concept approach).

4. Seminar tasks and questions.

1. Semasiology versus semantics: terminological difference.
2. Peirce's semiotic ideas.
3. Comment on the notion of interpretant and dimensions of semiosis. Make use of Additional resources.
4. The notion of tertium comparationis.
5. Approaches to establishing tertium comparationis in contrastive lexicology.

5. Seminar library.

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THE POTENTIAL OF INTERPRETANT FOR DEFINING LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS OF SEMIOSIS

This paper attempts to explore some potential contributions of Ch. W. Morris' ideas on semiosis to the development of semiotic theory. Proceeding from the conviction that semiotic study, following Peirce, actually consists in analyzing the sign's action, i.e. semiosis, the author exposes the views of Ch. Morris on the latter and tries to provide evidence that some of his ideas concerning the dimensions of semiosis can be viewed with reservation. It is claimed that the starting point for determining such dimensions is the interpretant – the integral element of sign and the outset of semiotic inference. The triadic nature of interpretant is substantiated and three types of interpretants – primary, notional and cultural – are singled out. It is brought to light that each type of the interpretant “works” on a different level of semiosis: perceptive, informational and evaluative, correspondingly. The correlation of interpretants and levels of semiosis is extended to establishing relations between interpretants and objects. The analysis of these relations on different levels leads to the substantiation of three dimensions of semiosis: code, informational, and cultural.

Key words: Ch. Pierce, Ch. Morris, sign, semiosis, interpretant, object, levels of semiosis, dimensions of semiosis

Semiosis explains itself by itself: this continual circularity is the normal condition of signification (U. Eco)

Introduction

Modern semiotics as a meta-science has influenced, through its methods and applications, almost every field in the humanities and sciences. Its current understanding was shaped in the works of three scholars: Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913), Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914) and Charles William Morris (1901 – 1979). In this paper we mostly focus on Morris' semiotics and his ideas concerning dimensions of semiosis.

The semiotic study, following Peirce, actually consists in analyzing the sign's action, i.e. what Peirce calls *semiosis* or *semeiosis*.⁵ He uses both forms of the term in his article “Pragmatism” written in 1907. Here Peirce writes about “*semiosis*” or “*semeiosis*” **as action of a sign**⁵ and provides the following explanation:

“It is important to understand what I mean by semiosis. All dynamical action, or action of brute force, physical or psychical, either takes place between two subjects [whether they react equally upon each other, or one is agent and the other patient, entirely or partially] or at any rate is a resultant of such actions between pairs. But by “semiosis” I mean, on the contrary, **an action, or influence**, which is, or involves, a cooperation of *three* subjects, such as a sign, its object, and its interpretant, this tri-relative influence not being in any way resolvable into actions between pairs” [12].

In the same article Peirce introduces the term *semeiosis* to speak about the “action of sign” having a “triadic character”. Defining semiosis as the action of the three relata, Peirce emphasizes that signs acquire more meaning through their own activity and that dynamicity of semiosis is a crucial feature of this semiotic activity. The word “semiosis” was borrowed by Peirce from the Epicurean philosopher Philodemus⁶; according to Peirce, it is an experience

⁵ Here and further in this text highlighting in bold type is done by the author of this article.

⁶ Philodemus of Gadara (ca. 110 – ca. 30 BC) was an Epicurean philosopher and epigrammatist who studied in the Epicurean school at Athens led by Zeno of Sidon. Philodemus was under the influence of Epicurus who was, perhaps, the originator of the Hellenistic debates over the nature and existence of a ‘criterion of truth’, which allows us to separate true from doubtful or false beliefs. This debate, conducted by both philosophers and medical writers, also concerned methods of proof and sign-inference to extend knowledge beyond our immediate perceptions [2]. For more details on Epicurean sign-inference (*sēmeiōseōn*) in Philodemus see [1, p. 194–241].

which everyone has at every moment of life. To explain this experience, we need a special theory which he calls semiotics, adding that it is another name for logic:

“Logic, in its general sense, is, as I believe I have shown, only another name for *semiotic* (σημειωτική), the quasi-necessary, or formal, doctrine of signs” [5].

A few years later Peirce specified that:

“...the one sole way to success in logic is to regard it as a science of signs; and I defined it in 1867 as the theory of the relation of symbols to their objects. Further experience has convinced me that the best plan is to consider logic as embracing more than that, and the general theory of signs of all kinds, not merely in their relation to their objects but in every way. This way of looking upon logic is the one salvation for the science” [5].

No introduction to the Peircean science of signs, however brief, will fail to mention that the sign is a **triadic relation** and that it can be defined as something that stands for something else (its *object*) for something third (its *interpretant*), or alternatively as something that mediates between its object and its interpretant. Peirce adopted the term “object” from the 13th century scholastic terminology, where “objectum” meant “a creation of the mind in its reaction with a more or less real something [...] upon which cognition is directed” (cit. from [8, p. 29–30]).

The most obvious mark of a sign is its structure, which distinguishes it from monadic and dyadic relations. Peirce differentiates between signaction (semiosis) and sign-representamen which is the point of departure of semiotic inference. This led him to use “sign” when speaking of the sign in action and “representamen” when analyzing the constituent elements of semiosis. These constituents are the representamen, the interpretant and the object, which he calls the “Immediate Object” within semiosis in order to discriminate the object outside semiosis which he calls the “Dynamical Object”:

“...every sign has *two* objects. It has that object which it represents itself to have, its Immediate Object, which has no other being than that of being represented to be, a mere Representative Being, or as the Kantian logicians used to say a merely *Objective* Being; and on the other hand there is the Real Object which has really determined the sign [,] which I usually call the

Dynamical Object, and which alone strictly conforms to the definition of the Object” [4].

In letters to Lady Welby, he uses a different term explaining the difference between two objects:

“As to the Object of a Sign, it is to be observed that the Sign not only really is determined by its Object, – that is, for example, the name Charlemagne is in correspondence with the historic Emperor who lived in the IXth century, or the name Othello is fitted to that Moorish general whom Shakespeare imagined, or the name “the Ghost in Hamlet” is fitted to that ghost of an ancient King of Denmark that Shakespeare imagined that Prince Hamlet either imagined or really saw, – but in addition, the Sign may be said to pose as a representative of its Object, that is, suggests an Idea of the Object which is distinguishable from the Object in its own Being. The former I term the **Dynamoid Object** (for I want the word “genuine” to express something different); the latter the **Immediate Object** (a well-established term of logic.) Each of these may have either of the three Modalities of Being, the former in itself, the latter in representation” (1908, Letters to Lady Welby) [4].

Thus, Peircean logic assumes that all knowledge is obtained from triadic sign action of pointing to an external world – however, not to real objects but to semiotic objects as they are represented by signs which point to our phenomenal world. The followers of Peirce’s ideas believe that “semiotic logic leads us to a new methodology, an integrated methodology for inquiry involving the unification of science and phenomenology” [10].

Theoretical Background. It was the great ambassador, Charles Morris, who foresaw more of the universal possibility and potential of semiosis for the science of semiotics. In his “Foundations of the Theory of Signs” (1938)⁷ he discusses what he calls “dimensions of semiosis” (syntactical, semantical and pragmatcal) and states that semiotics as the study of semiosis can be divided into three interrelated disciplines: (1) syntactics (studies the methods by which

⁷ A collection of Morris’s most important writings on semiotics and the philosophy of language, entitled “Writings on the General Theory of Signs,” was published in 1971 [7]. Part one consists of “Foundations of the Theory of Signs” (1938), Part two consists of “Sign, Language and Behavior” (1946) and Part three (“Five Semiological Studies”) consists of the first chapter of “Signification and Significance” (1964) and four other studies: “Esthetics and the theory of Signs”, “Signs about Signs about Signs”, “Mysticism and its Language and Man Cosmos Symbols”.

signs may be combined to form compound signs); (2) semantics (the study of the signification of signs) and (3) pragmatics (the study of the origins, uses and effects of signs). The basic relation of the latter sciences to semiotic is variously indicated by the terms “component discipline” [6, p. 52], “discipline (of)” [6, p. 52], “component” [6, p. 53], “subscience” [6, p. 53], “subordinate science” [6, p. 8], “subordinate branch” [6, p. 8], and “branch” [6, p.13]. For my further presentation I choose “(is a) subdiscipline (of)” as a representative term. These subdisciplines can nowadays be found in any textbook on linguistics.

Morris defines semiosis as “the process in which something functions as a sign”:

“**The process in which something functions as a sign** may be called *semiosis*. This process in a tradition which goes back to Greeks, has commonly been regarded as involving three (or four) factors: that which acts as a sign, that which the sign refers to, and that effect on some interpreter in virtue of which the thing in question is a sign to that interpreter. These three components in semiosis may be called, respectively, the *sign vehicle*, the *designatum* and the *interpretant*; the interpreter may be included as a fourth factor” [6, p. 3].

For Morris the sign vehicle becomes a sign because it is interpreted as a sign of something by its interpreter. He emphasizes that four components involve one another and are **ways of referring to** the process of semiosis, and something can become a sign “only because it is interpreted as a sign of something by some interpreter” [6, p. 4]. The properties of being a sign, a designatum, an interpreter or an interpretant are relational properties which things take on by participating in a functional process of semiosis.

To describe the process of semiosis, Morris uses a rather vague term *mediated-taking-account-of* [6, p. 4]. An interpreter mediately takes account of something, and interpretant which is evoked by something functioning as a sign is explained as *taking-account-of-something*. As the notion of interpretant is the key one for this research, it should be mentioned that Morris treats this notion differently in different parts of his work: a) “the effect on some interpreter in virtue of which the thing in question is a sign to that interpreter” [6, p. 3]; b) “a-taking-account-of-something in so far as it is evoked by something functioning as a sign” [6, p. 4]; c) “the habit in virtue of which sign vehicle can be said to designate certain kinds of objects or situations; as the

method of determining the set of objects the sign in question designates, it is not itself a member of that set” [6, p. 34]; d) “part of the conduct of the individual” [6, p. 39]. One cannot but agree that the interpretation of the phrase “taking account of” is behavioristic⁸ and not sufficient for a complete study of semiosis.

Actually, in developing the ideas concerning the **triadic relations of semiosis**, Morris indicates three components: sign vehicle, designatum and interpreter, completely omitting the interpretant. Suggesting the dimensions⁹ of semiosis, which made his theory so famous, Morris describes **dyadic relations** between the three correlates: 1) the formal relation of signs to other signs (syntactic dimension); 2) relation of signs to objects that is to what they denote (semantic dimension); 3) the relation of signs to interpreters (pragmatic dimension) [6, p. 6]. These dimensions may be viewed with certain reservation. Firstly, the first dimension refers to the sign vehicle while the second and the third – to the whole sign. Secondly, the sign vehicle does not provide any information about the object without the interpretant. Thirdly, the third dimension calls for stricter definition of the interpreter which should include the sender and the receiver of signs. Morris does not differentiate between them.

To describe functional characteristics of signs from the point of view of semiosis, Morris suggests such terms: syntactics “**implicates**”, semantics “**designates**” or “**denotes**” and pragmatics “**expresses**” [6, p. 7]. By the example of ‘table’ he explains that this sign: 1) *implicates* (but does not designate) ‘furniture with a horizontal top on which things may be placed; 2) *designates* a certain type of object and *denotes* objects to which it is applicable and 3) *expresses* its interpreter. This example testifies to the fact that to describe semantics Morris actually uses terms which characterize the function of the sign vehicle to denote objects and not to provide their interpretation. Semantics does not deal with the relation of signs to objects and considers

⁸ Behavioristic here refers to a psychological approach which emphasizes scientific and objective methods of investigation. The approach is only concerned with observable stimulus-response behaviors, and states that all behaviors are learned through interaction with the environment.

⁹ The term dimension in this context is not used in its primary meaning of a measurable extent of a particular kind, such as length, breadth, depth, or height, but is a synonym of coordinate or parameter. In this paper it is defined as a certain amount of significant parameters, which are crucial for the existence of an object and can provide its comprehensive description.

only the relation of signs to their designata. However, on the same page he writes that semantic rules correlate sign vehicles with their objects providing no explanation of how this correlation occurs.

Results and Discussion. The principal goal of this research is to substantiate the conviction that dimensions of semiosis (defined as the action of sign) should be based primarily on the interpretant which is triadic (Fig. 1). For example, when we approach a fruit stand on the street and see an advertisement for strawberries (primary interpretant) we connect this advertisement with a basket of bright red strawberries on the stand (notional interpretant). If we have in mind to bake a strawberry pie, then the ad signifies for us that we have reached a destination where we may purchase strawberries to bake a pie (cultural interpretant). If we are allergic to strawberries and pass by the same ad and basket of strawberries, we will perhaps quicken our step or reach for an allergy medication.

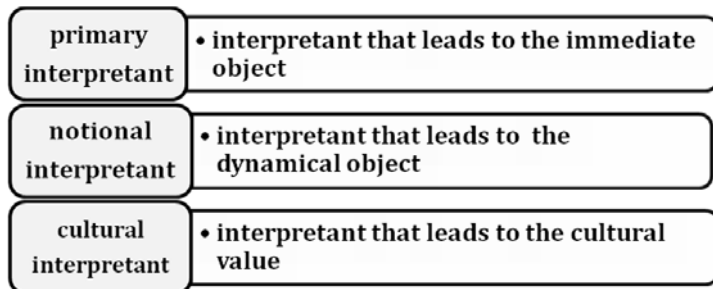


Fig. 1. Triadic nature of interpretant

Proceeding from the suggested triadic nature of the interpretant, I will make an attempt to revise Morris' dimensions of semiosis. First of all, it should be noted that semiosis generates the interpretant. It is the agency of the sign itself rather than the agency of an interpreter. An interpreter's interpretation can be regarded as the perception of the meaning exhibited by the sign itself through the interpretants it generates. Joseph Ransdell argues that meaning creation and change "is never due solely or primarily to what *we* do: man proposes but the sign disposes" [11]. Thus, the process of semiosis is self-governing: the sign has

a power of generating interpretants. However, as it is something that actually occurs or exists (sign vehicle), the dimension of the relation of the interpretant and sign vehicle can be called the **code dimension of semiosis**, since primarily the interpreter perceives the sign vehicle as a unit of code. Semioticians state that all intelligibility depends upon codes, and code in this context is used to designate the set of systemically organized signs and rules of their combining.

Code dimension does not correspond to syntactical dimension as defined by Morris. He views syntactics as "the consideration of signs and sign combinations in so far as they are subject to syntactical rules" [6, p. 14]. His syntactics does not treat qualities of sign vehicles but only their syntactical relations. In the article published by Curt Ducasse in 1942, the latter criticizes Morris for the fact that subordination to rules of formation and transformation of signs are crucial for his syntactics and whether the objects formed and transformed are signs beyond those rules is of no importance [3, p. 50]. Code dimension, as suggested in this article, refers to the study of the nature of sign vehicles and codes which they belong to.

The second dimension of semiosis is shaped through the relation of sign vehicle and notional interpretant. The sign vehicle *determines* notional interpretant and *represents* designatum. Terms 'determination' and 'representation' are used as advanced by Richard Parmentier who, commenting on Pierce's ideas on the nature of sign, writes that vector of representation is directed from the sign and interpretant to the object and vector of determination – from the object to sign and interpretant, and these are "two opposed yet interlocking vectors involved in semiosis" [9, p. 4]. If these vectors are brought into proper relations, then knowledge of objects through signs is possible.

Notional interpretant provides the connection of identified object with the dynamical object. The suggested definition makes this interpretant close to "concept" as used in modern lingual-and-cultural studies which are directed at the elucidation of the lingual picture of the world. The researchers in the field proceed from the idea that human consciousness is realized in the meanings of lingual units which are formed by the interaction of mental and sensual components [13]. In the semiotic framework, the concept is defined as a synthesizing linguomental entity, as a "unit of thought, which is fixed by a language sign for the purpose of communication" [14, p. 8].

It is claimed in this article that concept is a part of sign and correlates with the notional interpretant for the dynamical object. This makes possible to single out two basic characteristics of the latter: 1) mental nature (is localized in the consciousness and is a mental projection of an object); 2) affiliation to knowledge as a set of relatively stable, objective and collective notional interpretants. Since knowledge is turned into information in the process of transference, it is suggested to call the second dimension of the action of sign as **informational dimension of semiosis**.

The third dimension of semiosis is associated with cultural interpretant reflecting the evaluative ideas of interpreters. This dimension correlates with Morris' pragmatic rules, but is interpreted in the broader context: the connection of mentality and culture as a "special way of organizing and developing life activities" [15, c. 292] and the relationship with the system of evaluations and values in the mind of the interpreter. Thus, the triadic nature of the interpretant forms the basis for singling out the dimensions of semiosis which are associated with levels and tasks of its analysis (Fig. 2).

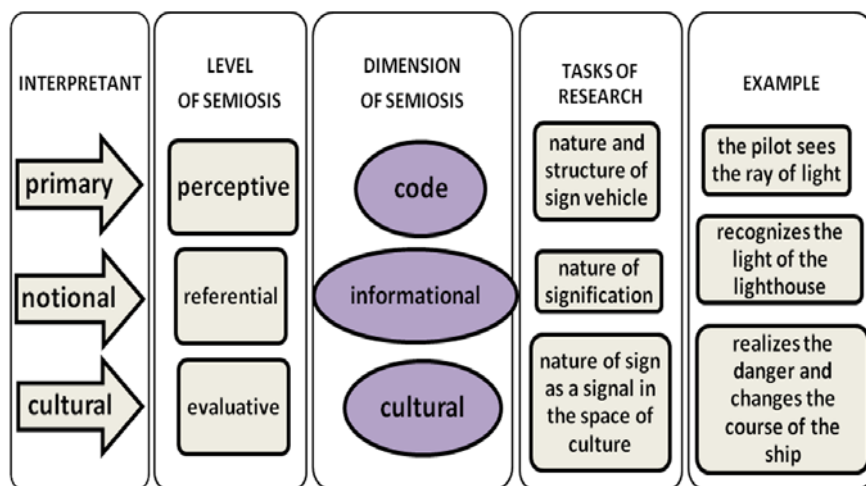


Fig. 2. The potential of interpretant in the field of semiotic studies

Conclusions. Thus, the singling out of code, informational and cultural dimensions of semiosis can modify the ideology of semiotic research as it seeks an explanation of (a) the nature and structure of signs, (b) the nature of signification and (c) the nature of signs as signals in the space of culture – through the notion of interpretant. Understanding the nature of the latter is considered to be crucial for better understanding of semiosis and can become a starting point to develop a theory of semiosis that can illuminate the ensemble of processes that usually fall under the headings of language, culture, and mind.

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LECTURE 6. CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF SEMANTICS OF ENGLISH AND UKRAINIAN WORDS: FEATURE APPROACH

This lecture provides some insights to bear on the semantic change of words and types of such change as well as the contrastive analysis of the development of the semantic structure of English and Ukrainian words conditioned by different semantic processes.

1. The nature of semantic change.
2. Types of semantic change.
3. Processes involved in changes of the semantic structure of words.
4. Seminar questions.
5. Seminar library.
6. Additional resources: Part 7.

...continuous change is an essential or necessary attribute of natural languages. This claim would mean that natural languages have at least one attribute (or a combination of attributes) from which their continuous change follows with logical necessity (Rudi Keller).

1. The nature of semantic change.

As it has been mentioned previously, lexical semantics is a subdivision of lexicological studies which is concerned with the systematic study of word meanings. Descriptively speaking, the main topics studied within lexical semantics involve either the internal semantic structure of words, or the semantic relations that occur within the vocabulary, or issues of cognitive semantics. In contrastive lexicology this differentiation brought to life three methodological approaches to contrastive research: feature, field and concept

approaches. The concern of this lecture is to discuss the first topic and to demonstrate how feature approach can be applied to contrastive studies of the semantic change in English and Ukrainian words. This presupposes that we will try to find answers to two most fundamental questions addressed by lexical semanticists:

(a) how to describe the meanings of words, and

(b) how to account for the variability of changes in meaning. These two are necessarily connected, since an adequate description of meaning must be able to support our account of variation and our ability to interpret it. The study of semantic variation leads in two directions: on the one hand, to the processes of selection from a range of permanently available possibilities; and on the other hand, to the creation of new senses from old, by such means as, for example, metaphor and metonymy, in response to contextual pressure. An understanding of synchronic variation of meaning (variation observable at any one time in a language) is essential to an understanding of diachronic change (change over time). The latter observations are the seeds of **etymology**, the study of the history of words. Over longer stretches of time, such changes become very obvious. Words seem to shift around: some narrow in meaning such as English *queen* which earlier meant *woman*, *wife* but now means *wife of a king*. Others become more general, while still others shift to take on new sense or disappear altogether. Words are borrowed from language to language. The study of such processes is now part of **historical semantics**.

Another motivation for the study of word meaning comes from dictionary writers as they try to establish meaning correspondences between words in different languages, or in monolingual dictionaries, seek to provide definitions for all the words of a language in terms of a simple core vocabulary. In lexicology, similarities and differences in word meaning are a central concern. In contrastive lexicology one of the tasks of contrastivists is to find out similarities and differences in the processes of changes which occur in word semantics. To solve this task, the researches apply the “**feature approach**”, i.e. start with selecting features of the semantic structure of words as Tertium comparationis.

The alteration of meaning (understood as the set of semantic features) occurs because words are constantly used in different senses and these senses are not

exactly the same each time. When new senses are shared by speech community and become established in usage a semantic change has occurred.

In his book “On language change. The invisible hand in language” [Rudi Keller 1994] Rudi Keller writes that when our primary interest in regard to semantic change is the meaning of words, we may say that the meaning of a word is its conventional use, or the rule of its use. Thus to trace changes in a word’s meaning, we have to find out how and why the rules of use for the word changed. Changes in meaning are as common as changes in form. Like the latter they can be internally or externally motivated. Semantic changes are externally motivated when:

a) changes in social life of a community result in the necessity to find nominations for new objects or phenomena, for example, *computer*, *spaceship*, *гривня*, *Рада* (*Верховна рада*) and others. Quite commonly new nominations are borrowed, for example, comparatively new borrowings from the English language in present-day Ukrainian are *менеджмент*, *маркетинг*, *бартер*, *імпичмент*, *інтернет*, *кліп*, *сканер*, *серфінг*, *валеологія*, *трант*, *офшорний*, *провайдер*, *траст*, *пабліситі*, *тренінг*, *фрістайл*, *боді шейпінг*, *пауерліфтинг*, *фітнес*, *кікбоксинг*, *плеймейкер*, *топ-шоу*, *памперси*, *блюз*, *рекет*, *офіс/офісний*, *ретро*, *сервіс*, *аудит*, *стільниковий зв'язок*, *мобільний телефон*, *i-мейл*, *гамбургер*, *чізбургер*;

b) the existing objects or phenomena are modified thus the meaning of existing nominations is changed to correspond to modifications, for example, the word *car* from Latin ‘carrus’ which meant ‘a four-wheeled wagon’, but now it denotes ‘a motor-car’, ‘a railway carriage’. Other examples: *зелені* (*амер. долари*), *шкура* (*шкіряна куртка*), *Бушові стегенця* (*стегенця американських бройлерів*), *кравчучка* (*вертикальний/легенький двоколісний візок*), *кучмовоз* (*більший і міцніший двоколісний вертикальний візок типу тачки*), *попса* (*американські чи інші естрадні пісні низької якості*), *стречі* (*вузькі дівчачі штани*), *капрі* (*дівочі штани-кльош із розрізом унизу*), *фритюр* (*смаження*), *мондіаль* (*світовий чемпіонат*), *візаж* (*косметичний і художній догляд за обличчям*).

New senses are created by speech communities and therefore the number of semantic features (semes) which make the basis of senses may change. New semes may be added or dropped out or the semes may be rearranged in the

semantic structure. For example, in English: Old English *fæger* – ‘fit, suitable’, Modern English *fair* came to mean ‘pleasant, enjoyable’ then ‘beautiful and pleasant in conduct’ from which the second modern sense ‘just, impartial’ derives. The first meaning continued to develop in the sense of ‘light complexion’ and a third one arose from ‘pleasant’ in a somewhat pejorative sense, meaning ‘average, mediocre’, e.g. *He only got a fair result in his exam.*

In Ukrainian: the word *поле* used to mean ‘безліса рівнина, порожній великий простір’, now it is also used in the sense ‘ділянка землі, відведена під що-небудь’, ‘простір, у межах якого відбувається якась дія’, ‘сфера діяльності’, ‘смушка вздовж краю аркуша паперу’, ‘відігнуті краї капелюха’ and some others.

In this course of lectures semantic change will be understood as the emergence of new senses of the lexeme caused by different reasons and based on different semantic processes.

2. Types of semantic change.

The most neutral way of referring to semantic change is simply to speak of semantic shift without stating what type it is. For instance the Latin verb *arrivare* derives ultimately from *ad ripam* – ‘at the shore’ but has long lost this meaning¹. A closer look at all changes in meaning shows that alterations in meaning can be classified according to type. There are several basic types of semantic change which on the one hand refer to the range of a word’s meaning and on the other, to the way the meaning is evaluated by speakers:

1) semantic expansion. Here a word increases its range of meaning over time. For instance, in Middle English *bride* was a term for ‘small bird’, later the term *bird* came to be used in a general sense and the word *fowl*, formally the more general word was restricted to the sense of ‘farmyard birds bred especially for consumption’. Another case is *horn* – ‘bone-like protrusion on the heads of certain animals’, then ‘musical instrument’, then ‘drinking vessel’ of similar shape. The instance of *arrivare* just

¹ Some English examples are taken from the materials published by the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Duisburg-Essen. at the site https://www.uni-due.de/SHE/HE_Change_Semantic.htm

quoted belongs to this category. In Ukrainian: *буксувати* in its sense ‘стояти на місці, не рухатися внаслідок того, що колеса, обертаючись, ковзають на місці (about the car)’ was widened to ‘знаходитися в скрутному становищі; не виконувати якісно і своєчасно (about work)’.

2) semantic restriction. This change is the opposite to expansion. Can be seen with such words as *meat* which derives from Middle English *mete* with the general meaning of ‘food’ and now restricted to ‘processed animal flesh’. In turn the word *flesh* was narrowed in its range to ‘human flesh’. Borrowing from another language may be involved here. For instance, Old English *sniban* (German *schneiden*) was replaced by Old Norse *cut* as the general term and the second Old English word *ceorfan* was restricted in meaning to ‘carve’. The word *wit* meaning ‘the faculty of thinking, good or great mental capacity’ was reflected by borrowed word *reason* and now means ‘the utterance of brilliant or sparkling things in an amusing way’. In Ukrainian: *бігати* besides denoting ‘the action of moving quickly on foot’ got the sense ‘тривожитися, піклуватися, турбуватися за когось, щось’; the old Slavonic word *билина* denoted the name of the plant. In modern Ukrainian it means only ‘стеблина трави, травинка’.

3) semantic deterioration. “A disapproval” in the meaning of a word. The term *knave* meant originally (Old English) ‘male servant’ from ‘boy’ (cf. German *Knabe*) but deteriorated to the meaning of ‘base or coarse person’, having more or less died out and been replaced by *boy*. *Villain* developed from ‘inhabitant of a village’ to ‘scoundrel’. The word *peasant* is used now for someone who shows bad behaviour as the word *farmer* has become the normal term. In official contexts, however, the term ‘peasant’ is found for small and/or poor farmers. In Ukrainian semantic deterioration can be illustrated by the semantic development of the word *бурца*. Primarily the word denoted ‘нижче духовне училище’, then the meaning was expanded and *бурца* started to be used in reference to any male clerical school. In modern Ukrainian youth environment, it denotes any educational establishment (school, professional training school, university) but the sense has ironic connotation.

4) semantic amelioration. This type of semantic change concerns cases when the meaning is “improved”. Words arise from humble beginnings to

position of greater importance. For example, the term *nice* derives from Latin *nescius* 'ignorant' and came, at the time of its borrowing from Old French, to mean 'silly, simple' then 'foolish, stupid', later developing a more positive meaning as 'pleasing, agreeable'. Many words have been elevated in meaning through the association with the ruling class, e.g., *knight* meant 'a young servant', now – 'a man who fought for his feudal'; *minister* meant 'a servant', now – 'an important public official'. In Ukrainian such words as *офіс*, *менеджмент*, *кур'єр* are more prestige than *контора*, *управління* or *популярний*.

Amelioration is the opposite case of the previously discussed semantic deterioration. In some sources it is called **pejoration** and is considered even more usual than amelioration, i.e. there are more instances of words developing a negative meaning than the opposite case. **Pejoration**, or degradation of meaning is a process that commonly involves a lowering in social scale, the acquisition by the word of some derogatory emotive charge. The pejorated meanings are also proper to the words that mean the names of diseases, bad habits, social evils, injustice etc. For more details and examples of pejoration see [Borkowska, Kleparski, 2007].

Semantic changes can bring about the shift in markedness. The scholars who research the shift in markedness prefer to use the terms **the specialization or the generalization of meaning**. The stylistically marked lexical unit becomes unmarked and vice versa. If the word with the new meaning is used in the specialized vocabulary of some professional group we speak of **the specialization of meaning**, e.g., *to glide* meant 'to move gently smoothly', now – 'to fly with no engine'. Originally a jet was a special type of airplane (a marked item in the stylistic sense), now it is stylistically neutral and a propeller machine is regarded as the special kind. If the word with the extended meaning passes from the specialized vocabulary into common use, we describe the result of the semantic change as **the generalization of meaning**, e.g., *barn* meant 'a place for storing barley', now – 'a covered building for storing grain'; *pioneer* – 'soldier', now – 'one who goes before'; the meaning of the word *vehicle* that meant 'a trolley' spread on all the means of transport. The word *столяр* first meant only 'the man who made tables' and then started to mean 'a specialist in processing wood and manufacturing things from it'.

In some cases, semantic change is inseparable from processes referring to the structural level of analysis:

1) reanalysis. The Latin morpheme *min* 'little' is seen in *minor* and *minus* but the words *minimum* and *miniature* led to the analysis of *mini-* as the morpheme meaning 'small' which has become general in English (and German) as a borrowed morpheme, cf. *minibar*, *minicomputer*, *miniskirt*.

2) truncation. An element is deleted without substitution. Developments in word formation often show this with some elements understood but not expressed: *mini* in the sense of *miniskirt*. Other cases may involve compound phrases, e.g. *documentary film* and *feature film* have both been reduced by truncation of the head noun *film* to the qualifiers *documentary* and *feature* which are used on their own. Truncation may also involve an expansion in meaning. For instance, in American English the term *Cologne*, from *Eau de Cologne*, is often used in the broader sense of 'perfume for men'.

3) meaning loss through homophony. Old English had two verbs *lætan* 'allow' and *lettan* 'obstruct, hinder'. These became homophonous and only the meaning 'allow' survived. However, in the expression *without let or hindrance* the original meaning survives.

4) meaning change in discourse. Words may become indicators of the structure of discourse. Two illustrations of this are *but* and *while*. The former once meant 'outside of' and the latter 'a period' (still to be seen in *She rested for a while*). Now these words mean 'however' and 'during'. *She took a rest while the others were in the restaurant*.

5) semantic effect of grammatical changes. There are also grammatical changes taking place in English which bring about semantic changes. For instance, the verb *talk* is assumed to take the preposition *about* when the object is inanimate as in *She was talking about the weather*. But there is an increasing use without a preposition to add force and immediacy to what one is saying: *Okay, so we're talking big money now*.

Present-day English and Ukrainian show quite a number of semantic changes which consist of expansions, restrictions, ameliorations and deteriorations. To start with, one can quote an unusual semantic development with the word *sanction* which has come to have two opposite meanings. It can mean

‘to allow something’ as in *They sanctioned the proposal* or ‘to forbid something’ especially in the nominalized form as in *Britain imposed sanctions on the country*.

Decimate originally meant to reduce something by one tenth but now simply means to reduce drastically. *The staff was decimated by the restructuring of the firm*. Up until recently the sole meaning of the word *joy* was ‘pleasurable, euphoric state’ but has come to be used in the sense of success as in *They got no joy out of the insurance company*. *Philosophy* is originally a science concerned with the use of reasoning and argument in the pursuit of truth and greater understanding of reality and the metaphysical. Now it has come to mean little more than ‘policy’ in a sentence like *The company’s philosophy is to be aggressively competitive*. *Culture* is a collective term referring to the arts and human intellectual achievement in general. However, it has come to be used in the sense of ‘general set of attitudes and behavioural types, usually in a public context’ as in *The culture of violence in our inner cities*.

Students used to be an exclusive term for those studying at universities and other institutions of higher education. But more and more the term is also being used for *pupils* perhaps to attribute more adult status to those still at school.

It should be noted that it is obvious from even the briefest of surveys of semantic change that if any one word in a group of semantically related words shifts, then the others are immediately effected and may well react by filling the semantic ‘space’ vacated by the item which made the move. Semantic change does not occur with words in isolation. But the issue of contrastive analysis of lexical fields applying field approach will be discussed in the next lecture.

3. Processes involved in changes of the semantic structure of words.

Any semantic change, no matter what its cause, is based on the establishing new relationship between the existing and new sense of the word. There are several process that make the basis for establishing those new relationships.

The first process reflects associating two things, one of which in some way resembles the other. This process is called **metaphorization**. Metapho-

rization is most vividly represented on the lexical level and we can discover a lot of common features while analyzing linguistic metaphors in English and Ukrainian. Thus, the character of similarity making the basis of metaphors is basically the same

Metaphor (from Greek μεταφορά – transposition) is the result of the semantic process when a form of a linguistic unit or expressing of a linguistic category is transposed from one object of designation to another on the basis of a certain similarity between these objects as reflected in the speaker’s mind. Metaphor is actually based on comparison. It has been discussed by different linguists [Shibles 1971, Тараненко 1986, Тараненко 2004, Телия 1988, Теория метафоры 1990]. Metaphors may be based upon very different types of similarity.

A) Similarity by physical features:

- **form and sight**, for example, Ukr.: *стріла крана, гірський хребет*, Eng.: *head of a cabbage, teeth of a saw*;
- **position**, for example, Ukr.: *голова колони*, Eng.: *foot of the mountain, a page, back of the sofa*;
- **sounding**, for example, Ukr.: *барабанити у двері*, Eng.: *drum fingers*;
- **peculiarities of movement**, for example, Ukr.: *коник – комаха, супутник – небесне тіло*, Eng.:
- **peculiarities of functioning**, for example, Ukr.: *голова зборів, голова правління*, English: *Head of the school (of an army, of a procession, of a household), the key to a mystery, leg of the chair*.

B) Similarity by physiological and psychological impressions

- **Synesthetic**. Synesthesia (from Greek συναίσθησις – simultaneous perception) is treated in linguistics as the reflection of the semantic structure of physiological associations between different types of senses. Synesthetic metaphors can be based on the perception of hearing, sight, touch, taste, for example, Ukr.: *крикливий (одяг), високий/низький (звук), солодкий (запах, голос, обійми)*, Eng.: *soft (voice)*.

Most often such metaphors reflect the feeling of touch, for example, Ukr.: *гострий (запах, блиск), м’який (голос, світло, рух)*, Eng.: *soft (voice, colour)*, least often – smell. Most productive directions of their development are spheres of sight and hearing.

- **Transference from the sphere of the physical world to psychological and social spheres, to some abstract relations**, for example, Ukr.: *горіти* (завзяттям), *гострий* (розум), *дрібний* (урядовець), Eng.:, in particular, from space to time, for example, *довгий* (день), *long* (speech), *a short (path) – a short (time)*.

- **Transference through actualization of a relatively indistinctive semantic feature**, often of emotional-evaluative character, for example, *горить* (взуття), *прітва* (безліч).

C) **Similarity which exists only in the imagination of the speaker** and is only desirable for him, for example, to give intimate colouring to communication one can address a person, who is not a good acquaintance or a relative, as *друже – брате*.

Stephan Ullmann [Ullmann, 1972] suggests the following types of transference:

- a) anthropomorphic;
- b) zoomorphic;
- c) from concrete to abstract;
- d) synesthetic;
- e) from lexical units that attract a special attention of the society in that or other period.

The last type reflects the position of some lexical units on the scale of the social values of the society. E.g. “religious” and “agricultural” metaphors used to be quite popular in Ukrainian (*чорт, ірод, бусурман; нива, галузь, сіяти добро*), but now the accent is mostly on sports, technologies, space investigation, medical science (*цейтнот, хід конем, орбіта інтересів, запрограмуватися на що-небудь, больові точки*).

Classification of the models of the metaphoric evaluative lexical units is commonly based on the opposition **bad – good** which reflects the transference of the experience acquired in the physical world to the moral and social sphere. For example, “light – dark” (*світло знань – морок нецтва*), “warm – cold” (*теплий – холодний погляд*), “відлига – заморозки” (у суспільстві), “up – down” (*верхи – низи суспільства, high – low position, підноситися – падати духом*), “move – stand still” (суспільний рух – застій) and others.

The second process underlying semantic change may be described as a semantic process of associating two things one of which makes part of the other or is closely connected with it. It is called **metonymization**. **Metonymy** (from Greek *μετωνομία* – renaming) is the result of the semantic process when a form of a linguistic unit or expressing of a linguistic category is transferred from one object of designation to another on the basis of a certain contiguity of these objects conditioned by spatial, temporal, causal, symbolic, instrumental, functional and other relations as reflected in the speaker’s mind. The metonymic transfer may be conditioned by different relations. Spatial relations, for example, are present when the name of the place is used for the people occupying it: *the bar* (the lawyers), *the town* (inhabitants), *the House* (the members of the House of Lords or Commons). *Аудиторія, клас* mean not only the premise, but also people. The meaning appears metonymical when the dishes are named in the meaning of the substance contained, e.g., *з’їв миску борщу, розлив відро*. The thing may be named after material it is made of, e.g., *nanip* means ‘the material and the documents’. Instrumental relations are obvious when the instrument for the agent is used instead of the agent: *the best pens of the day* (the best modern writers), *hand* (handwriting). The functional relations between the primary and secondary meanings appear in the result of the functional transfer of the name from one subject to another, e.g., *воротар* first meant ‘the guardian of the gate’ and later ‘the person who defended gates in football’.

The simplest case of metonymy is **synecdoche** – a word or phrase in which a part of something is used to refer to the whole of it, for example, *a pair of hands* for ‘a worker’, *ABC* (alphabet), *man* (humanity), or the whole of something is used to refer to a part, for example, *the law* for ‘a police officer’. In a metonymy, on the other hand, the word we use to describe another thing is closely linked to that particular thing, but is not a part of it. For example, the word *crown* is used to refer to power or authority is a metonymy. It is not a part of the thing it represents.

Most commonly metonymic transference occurs when the speakers substitute:

- The container for the thing contained, for example, Ukr.: *склянка* (випив склянку), *зал* (аплодував), *місто* (зустрічає гостя), Eng.: *a cup* (drank a cup), *a kettle* (is boiling);

- The material for the thing made of it, for example, Ukr.: *чай, салат* (*рослина – трава*), *золото* (*вироби з нього*) Eng.: *marble* (*the statue made of marble*), *silver* (*coin*), *glass* (*articles made of glass*);
- The object for what is on it, for example, Ukr.: *стіл* (*їжа*), *лікти* (*протерлися*), Eng.: *dish*;
- The object for a certain activity, for example, Ukr.: *корона, скіпетр, трон* (*влада монарха*), *булава* (*гетьманство*), Eng.: *the crown*;
- The sign for the thing signified, for example, Ukr.: *номер* (*окремий примірник газети, журналу, окрема кімната в готелі, окремих виступ артиста*), *тріюка* (*гральна карта, трамвай № 3*), Eng.: *from the cradle to the grave* (*from childhood to death*), *arena* (*Lat. sand – a reminder that sand was used to strew the floors of the ancient amphitheatres*);
- The feature (quality, action etc.) for its subject. Here metonymy can reflect the transference from abstract to concrete, from action to object etc. For example, Ukr.: *магістр, граф* (*про носія титулу*), *талант* (*він талант*), *симпатія* (*про людину*), *весілля* (*святкування*) Eng.: *the authorities* (*were greeted*);

There are other types of semantic change, besides metaphor and metonymy. They are:

- **Hyperbole** (from Greek *ὑπερβολή* – overexaggeration). It is based on intentional exaggeration of the quantity and size of objects, intensity of a feature or an act aimed at making the image of an object more distinct and thus, the utterance- more convincing. For example, Ukr.: *півтора чоловіка* (*дуже мало людей*), *скажу два слова, море крові, черепашача швидкість*; Eng.: *haven't seen you for ages, I hate troubling you, a thousand thanks*.
- **Litotes** (from Greek *λιτότης* – simplicity) is aimed at making the statement less categorical through the use of indirect designation of a certain notion, namely through the negation of the notion that is opposite to the given. Litotes can be based on negation, for example, Ukr.: *не заперечую* (*погоджуюсь, неважко* (*легко*); Eng.: *no* *coward*, *not* *bad*; double negation, for example, Ukr.: *така подія не видається неможливою* (*not characteristic of English*); without negation, for example, Eng.: *I could do with a cup of coffee* (*Not characteristic of Ukrainian*).

• **Irony** (from Greek *εἰρωνεία* – mockery) is the type of the semantic change which occurs when a word with a positive or assertive connotation (in a wide sense) is used to denote opposite characteristics. It is usually pronounced with a specific intonation, which in written form can be marked by inverted commas. For example, Ukr.: *святий та божий, частувати* (*палицею*), *нагородити* (*стусаном*), *баталія* (*сварка, бійка*), Eng.: *a pretty mess*.

• **Euphemism** (Greek *εὐφημισμός* – mild expression, from *εὖ* – well and *φημίζω* – praise, glorify) is a word or phrase used for indirect, particularly, mild and polite designation of some objects, phenomena or actions to avoid using their already existing primary names which would be better logically motivated. The sources of euphemisms are the taboo phenomena and the desire to substitute some names by their neutral, “positive” or “negative” equivalents. For example, Ukr.: *нерозумний* (*замість дурний*), *на заслужений відпочинок* (*на пенсію*), *пішов з життя* (*помер*), *знайтися* (*народитися*); Eng.: *queer* (*mad*), *deceased* (*dead*), *elevated* (*drunk*).

4. Seminar tasks and questions.

1. How do the the main topics studied within lexical semantics correlate with three methodological approaches to contrastive research of lexis?
2. What are the possible causes of changes in a word's meaning?
3. Do you agree with the statement of Rudi Keller that “to trace changes in a word's meaning, we have to find out how and why the rules of use for the word changed”? Give your reasons.
4. What are the four principle types of semantic change? Supply examples of each type in English and Ukrainian.
5. Explain how semantic change can be connected with processes referring to the structural level of analysis.
6. What processes of establishing new relationship between the existing and new sense of the word are semantic changes based on?

5. Seminar library.

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6. Additional Resources: Part 7.



Read the information about the project “The physical and metaphorical power of water is a universal human concern” carried out at University of Tampere.

URL: <https://researchandstudy.uta.fi/2017/10/05/the-physical-and-metaphorical-power-of-water-is-a-universal-human-concern/> (text prepared by Anna Ojalahti) and conduct a mini-research to supply the project with facts from the Ukrainian language.

The physical and metaphorical power of water is a universal human concern

The physical and metaphorical power of water is a universal human concern

Researchers analysed the meanings of water in different cultural and social contexts. The fact that there is no life without water is a familiar one both to farmers and to researchers looking for life in outer space. At the same time, water is one of the oldest enduring universal symbols; it features heavily in ancient myths and continues to play a key role in contemporary literature. The impact of water on human culture can be seen in many ways, and its ambiguous nature makes it an excellent topic for research.

Between 2012 and 2016, Professor **Arja Rosenholm** of the University of Tampere directed the Academy of Finland funded research project *Water as Social and Cultural Space: Changing Values and Representations – AQUA*, which investigated water from a multidisciplinary perspective. The project critically studied and analyzed the representations and cultural meanings of water. The perspectives of language, literature, culture, history, technology and environmental sciences were used to illuminate what water has meant to people at different times and in different places. The aim of the project was to introduce a humanities perspective to the debate on water.

“Water is a fruitful topic. It has economic, technological and social dimensions, because communities are formed close to seas, lakes or rivers. Water also has an aesthetic and psychological meaning; what is the power in water that

calms people when they sit on the beach and listen to the lapping of the waves?" Rosenholm says. Throughout history, water has been researched in many different fields. Water is a thing related to our everyday lives. "It is also an old symbol that has been pondered throughout the study of philosophy and the philological history of literature. In many ways, water is present in the great rituals of life, such as baptism. People spend their first nine months in water and are mostly made of water. Water is an element of both daily life and special occasions," Rosenholm explains.

Water is also manifested in language and literature in the form of various metaphors, especially when a person's inner life is described. For example, thinking "flows" and "still waters run deep". Water is also used to describe our feelings: one can be "dead calm" or feel "waves" of emotion that "roil" and "burst out", as if from a broken dam. "Water has always been an element of literature. It has had significance especially as a metaphor when the process of creativity has been described," Rosenholm adds.

The imagery of water has changed with the times. Water continues to be important, but today people may construct dams, run water through pipes or produce hydroelectricity. Because of scientific and technological progress, water may have lost some of its mythical significance.

"The technological standpoint has had an effect on the imagery. For example, in premodern times, mythical elements were associated with water and nature, which were read as superhuman elements closely connected to deities. At least partly today, efforts have been made to replace some of the holy and mythological elements of water by making people think of water as an element that can be controlled through scientific and technological knowhow. The human relationship with water is a story about scientific and technological advancements, the times we live in and how we see our role in the dialogue between nature and culture," Rosenholm continues.

For Finns, who live in "the country of a thousand lakes", access to clean water is taken for granted. However, water threatens people in many ways globally because there is often either too much or too little of it. On the one hand, melting glaciers threaten to raise sea levels and flood coastal towns, and tsunamis can destroy entire cities. On the other hand, droughts can decimate harvests and dam projects may lead to desertification.

"For us today in Finland, having this everyday relationship with water is rather exceptional, because having clean water has been rare throughout history," Rosenholm says.

Water is a lifeline but also a devastating force. The hazards of climate change, which also include an increase in the occurrence of extreme weather conditions, are profoundly related to the relationship between water and people. People will never be able to control water completely.

Literary and cultural imageries show the human relationship with water in its different forms. Water can also be used to describe human characteristics, for example, to emphasise human strength. Flowing water can be presented as a challenge and a symbol of victory and vitality. To illustrate this point, Rosenholm and researcher **Mika Perkiömäki** mention the recurring cultural images of world leaders who swim in rivers. A swim in a river can elevate a leader's image and endow him (or her, although it is usually a him) with an air of courage and bravery.

"Chairman **Mao Zedong** swam across the Yangtze and **Benito Mussolini** took a plunge in the Tiber. **Saddam Hussein**'s swim across the Tigris was a great media spectacle, and I believe President **Putin** is also a great swimmer," Perkiömäki notes.

"Rivers are key waters. The imagery of flowing water is repeated in literature and culture and it connotes strength and power. One of the dimensions is to overcome water and to experience and show courage," Rosenholm adds.

Everyday life and the holy are represented by water, just like life and death. It is an ambiguous research topic whose meanings are increasingly interwoven with ecological awareness. Water should not only be understood as a resource that serves people if it is properly channelled: it also reveals things about people.

"One of the guiding lights in our project was that as humanists we try to remind people that the way we talk about and produce representations tells us something about our nature-water relationship. It is important to realise that the different meanings also create a concrete environment. How we talk about water is crucially important," Rosenholm explains.

Researching water

- The main aim of the Academy of Finland-funded multidisciplinary research project *Water as Social and Cultural Space: Changing Values and*

Representations – AQUA (2012–2016) was to critically reevaluate the values, meanings, opportunities and threats associated with water.

- The project resulted in several publications, conference presentations and three books. Two of the books are in English: *Meanings and Values of Water in Russian Culture* (Jane Costlow and Arja Rosenholm [eds.] Routledge, 2017) and *Water in Social Imagination: From Technological Optimism to Contemporary Environmentalism* (Jane Costlow, Yrjö Haila, Arja Rosenholm [eds.], Brill Rodopi, 2017). The manuscript of the third book, which is in Finnish, *Veteen kirjoitettu: veden merkitykset kirjallisuudessa*, is currently undergoing the peer review process.

- A new multidisciplinary research consortium with funding from the Academy of Finland called *The Changing Environment of the North: Cultural Representations and Uses of Water* (2017–2021) is continuing research on the topic at the University of Eastern Finland, with the University of Tampere acting as a partner.

- The project investigates the meanings of northern – especially Arctic – areas from the perspectives of centre-periphery relations and aquagraphy. The study analyses the history and the real and imaginary realities of the north and the Arctic through water (glaciers, ice, snow, and floods) rather than land.

- The aim is to generate new knowledge about life and narratives in the north, especially the Arctic, and their impact on contemporary debate.



LECTURE 7. CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF SEMANTICS OF ENGLISH AND UKRAINIAN WORDS: FIELD APPROACH

This lecture brings to light that both universal and nationally biased lexical units are systemically arranged and make up different semantic groups of words which can become the object of contrastive analysis.

1. Factors facilitating the contrastive study of lexicon.
2. Lexical fields.
3. The semantic relationship of synonymy.
4. Approaches to the research of synonyms in contrastive lexicology.
5. Seminar tasks and questions.
6. Seminar library.
7. Additional resources: Part 8.

*Fields are living realities intermediate between individual words and the totality of the vocabulary
(Jost Trier)*

1. Factors facilitating the contrastive study of lexicon.

The lexical level of any language is naturally represented by some characteristic constants. Ilko Korunets [Korunets, p. 118–119] states that these constants are the following:

- 1) words, their semantic classes and word-forming means as well as their structural models and stylistic peculiarities of use;
- 2) lexicosemantic groups (LSGs) of words;
- 3) stable and idiomatic expressions which are also of universal nature, though they always have some national peculiarities in every single language.

Trying to compare lexicons of the two languages we proceed from such fundamental ideas:

- the idea that the basic lexicalization assumption should be explained within the framework of even more fundamental ideas of semiosis – the action of language signs which possesses code, informational and cultural dimension;
- despite seemingly chaotic mass of different words in both languages they are, like units of other language levels, systemically arranged.

Ilko Korunets also emphasizes that regular lexemes and lexical units can be divided into two typologically relevant groups: **universal lexicon and nationally specific lexicon** [Korunets, p. 118–119]. The systemic organization of **universal lexicon** is conditioned in all languages by lingual and extralingual factors which are of universal nature. Extralingual factors, predetermining the systemic organization of lexicon are *the physical and mental factors, the environmental factors, the social factors*. The physical needs of human beings are rendered in a great number of common notions of actions designated by such verbs as *live, eat, drink, sleep, wake, run, jump, love, die* etc. The common mental activity of man is rendered by the notions designated by such words as: *speak, think, ask, answer, decide, realize, imagine, understand* and many others. What concerns natural environment of human beings, all languages have acquired a large number of common notions designated by words which reflect the multitudes of objects and phenomena surrounding every human being on the globe, such as *the sun, the moon, the stars, the wind, the sky, thunder, lightning, rain* as well as various species of flora and fauna, colours etc. Social factor involves social phenomena as well as relationships and activities of man, e.g. at the family level: *mother father, child, sister, brother, aunt, uncle, grandmother, grandfather* etc. [Korunets, p. 118–119].

It should be noted that the fact that some words in English and in Ukrainian belong to universal lexicon does not mean that these words have completely identical semantic structures. There are certain anomalies in the structure of the vocabulary which disturb the pretty patterns of structural analysis. Such ‘holes’ in the vocabulary have been called lexical gaps, especially when viewed in the light of another language’s lexis. For example, such a universal emotion as ГНІВ is verbalized in English as *anger* and *wrath* and in Ukrainian as *гнів, лют, роздратування*.

Besides universal lexicon each language possesses nationally specific lexicon designating national customs, traditions, folk rites and feasts, administrative or political systems, etc. I. Korunets indicates [Корунець, 2017] that they may also designate peculiar geographical, geological or environmental conditions of a speech community life. No less peculiar may also be the cultural or religious traditions of a nation often expressed through certain proper names or names of saints, e.g. Ukrainian *Івана Купала, Маковія*, or Ireland’s *St. Patrick*, Scottish *tartan*, American *Uncle Sam* or the British *John Bull, the British Lion*.

Culturally biased, i.e., nationally specific are often elements in a governmental or election systems of a country (e.g., *the administration, secretaries and undersecretaries* or *primary elections* in the U.S.A.). The monetary systems in most countries contain some nationally peculiar units as well, e.g., *shilling, penny, dollar, гривня*. Culturally biased are mostly the titles of address and the ways of conduct, and, at last but not at least, some articles of clothing / footwear, e.g., the Scottish *kilt, tartan*, the Ukrainian *вишиванка, кептар* or the American *Indians’ moccasins*.

Most peculiar are always national meals, beverages and even partaking of food, established as a result of a nation’s agricultural traditions and consumption of peculiar products. The nationally biased notions as non-equivalent units of lexicon are also observed in some national systems of weights and measures, e.g., English *mile, ounce*, Ukrainian *верста, пуд*. All in all, these notions are found both in English and in Ukrainian, for example, in English: *county, borough, butterscotch, custard, muffin, toffee, bushel, chain, furlong, inch, mile, pint, penny, shilling, pound, lady, mister, sir; lobby, speaker, teller (Parliament), Lord Chancellor, Number 10 Downing Street, Whitehall*, etc. Ukrainian: *кобзар, веснянка, коломийка, козак, запорожець, кептар, копа (яць), пуд, січ, свитка, хата, лежанка, весільний батько, троїсті музики, вечорниці, борщ, вареники, галушки, кутя, медок, ряжанка, опришок, плахта, гривня* [Корунець, 2017].

Both universal and nationally biased lexical units are systemically arranged and make up thematic and lexico-semantic groups of words which can become the object of contrastive analysis. A **thematic group** is a subsystem of the vocabulary for which the basis of grouping is not only lingual but also extralingual: the words

are associated because the things they name occur together and are closely connected in reality, e.g.: terms of kinship: *father, cousin, mother-in-law, uncle*; names for parts of the human body: *head, neck, arm, foot, thumb*; colour terms: *blue, green, yellow, red / scarlet, crimson, coral*; military terms: *lieutenant, captain, major, colonel, general*.

In this lecture attention will be paid to the contrastive analysis of lexical fields that are most commonly called **lexicosemantic groups (LSGs)**. The latter is defined as the semantic class of words which meets the following criteria: the lexemes are of the same part of speech and their meanings have at least one semantic feature in common. Most commonly the words belonging to one LSG contain words put together by the semantic relationship of synonymy, e.g., *to think, to conclude, to consider, to reflect, to mediate, to reminisce, to contemplate*.

2. Lexical fields.

A great amount of studies in the field of contrastive lexicology are connected with what has come to be known as the lexical or semantic field theory. This theory has its history (see [Кучер, 2014]).

Lexical field is defined as the extensive organization of related words and expressions into a system which shows their relations to one another. The members of the lexical groups are joined together by some common semantic component known as the common denominator of meaning.

An example of a simple lexical field are verbs denoting speech acts: *to speak, to talk, to chat, to natter, to mumble, to ramble, to stammer, to converse*.

Several terms are alternatively used for 'lexical field': 'lexical set', 'semantic field', 'semantic domain', 'lexico-semantic group'. Semantic field is defined as "a set of lexemes which cover a certain conceptual domain and which bear certain specifiable relations to one another" (A. Lehrer) or as a "named area of meaning in which lexemes interrelate and define each other in specific ways" (D. Crystal) [cit from Potiatynyk, p. 108–109]. Uliana Poyiatynyk puts it in simpler terms and defines a lexical field as a group of words whose members are related by meaning, reference or use

[Potiatynyk, p. 109]. She also indicates that the vocabulary of the language is essentially a dynamic and well-integrated system of lexemes structured by relationships of meaning. Mainly these relationships are synonymy and antonymy, hierarchical, general-particular and part-whole relationships, and also relationships of sequences and cycles (Fig. 7.1).

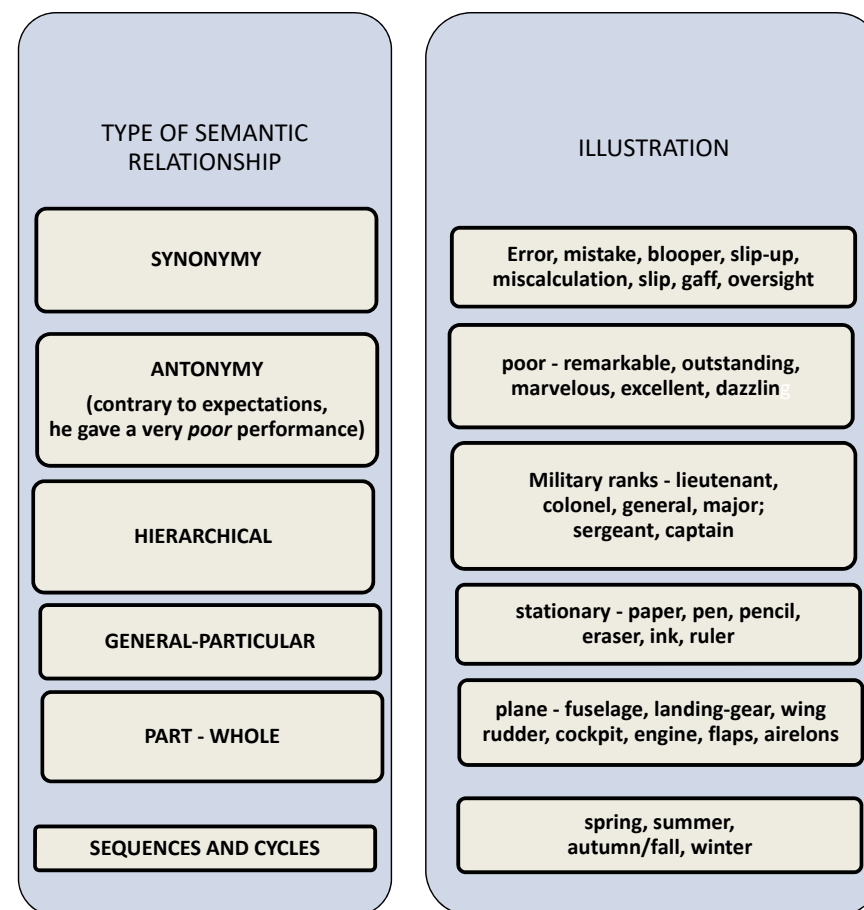


Fig. 7.1. Relationships of meaning in the vocabulary system
(from Potiatynyk, p. 110)

Different types of semantic relationships bring to life lexicosemantic and thematic groups. The latter contain words belonging to different parts of speech. They have been mostly studied diachronically (see [Бойко; Войтів; П'яст] and others). Proceeding from the conviction that the meaning of words can be understood only when we study it in connection with synonymic words [Покровский, с. 82], we will proceed with discussing the synonymic relations in the vocabulary of the contrasted languages.

3. The semantic relationship of synonymy.

Different attempts have been made to conduct contrastive analysis of LSGs represented by synonymic rows. Synonymy is a phenomenon that is widely spread in both English and Ukrainian. It is defined as "two or more lexical items which have the same meaning if they can replace each other without any change in the meaning of that context". [Lyons 1968, p. 448] For example *tall* and *high* are synonymous in: *a tall building* and *a high building* whereas they are not in a structure such as: *a tall boy*, since *high* cannot be used instead of *tall* to indicate the same meaning. The same is true in Ukrainian, for example *мораль* in one of its senses has synonyms: *повчання, настанови, поради*. But they cannot be used interchangeably with *давати: давати настанови/поради* but not *повчання*.

At present synonymy remains a problem in terms of its identification and delimitation. Moreover, the relative size of synonymy in English as compared to Ukrainian has not been investigated yet.

It is widely accepted that synonyms can be classified into four types [Lyons 1968, p. 448]: 1) complete and total synonymy; 2) complete, but not total; 3) incomplete but total; 4) incomplete and not total. Complete and total synonymy which is often called "absolute" or "real" synonymy is an extremely rare occurrence, a luxury that language can ill-afford. Many linguists, Ullmann and Lyons among them, argue that this type of synonymy can be obtained if the complete equivalence and total interchangeability are connected. The second type requires the equivalence of both cognitive and emotive senses while the third type refers to all synonyms which are interchangeable in all contexts. Finally, the fourth type represents an objection to the phenomenon of synonymy as a whole.

Ullmann [Ullmann 1962, p. 142] states that two or more words may be absolutely synonymous on the conceptual level, but the speaker needs to choose between these synonyms. So, he/she makes his/her choice according to certain factors:

- 1) social status including the level of education, e.g. *refuse / turn down*;
- 2) age, i.e., language of children /adults, e.g. *daddy / father*;
- 3) profession, e.g. *death /decease*;
- 4) geographical differentiation, e.g. *butcher / flesher*;
- 5) pejorative affectivity, e.g. *skinny / thin*.

Thus, meaning is distinguished by the potential presence of the semantic features which words do not have in common. As a consequence, two words may be absolutely synonymous as far as their conceptual symbolic content is concerned, but they are never such if we consider the above factors which depend on the speaker and the structure of the language. So, [Ullmann, 1962, p. 251] states that the cognitive sense allows absolute synonymy while a cluster of additional stylistic values do not allow it.

Palmer [Palmer 1981, p. 89] argues that English is rich in synonyms for several reasons:

- 1) synonyms may belong to different dialects of the language, e.g. *fall / autumn*;
- 2) the process of euphemization, which is a way of avoiding taboo words enriches English with many words to replace those that have socially distasteful subjects;
- 3) English borrowed words from almost every language in the world, e.g. words of arts were taken from Italian; words referring to law, fashion and meals are from French. Borrowings enrich the vocabulary and make the number of synonyms grow, e.g., the general idea of "thief" has thirty-seven synonyms: *robber, burglar, plunderer, cracksman, house breaker, pick pocket, cut-purse, stealer* and others;

4) English knows a large number of synonyms by extension, e.g. "the capital of France" is an extension of Paris and "the morning star" and "the evening star" are the synonyms of Venus [Ullmann 1962, p. 241]. All these reasons are true for Ukrainian.

Synonymic words form **synonymic paradigm** that consists of number of words with similar or identical meaning. Every synonymic paradigm has a central member, whose meaning is the simplest semantically, the most neutral stylistically. For instance, in the paradigm *big, large, sizeable, colossal, giant, enormous, gigantic, great, huges, immense, vast, large-scale* the word *big* is evidently the central member.

4. Approaches to the research of synonyms in contrastive lexicology.

Approaches to the research of synonyms include the following aspects: 1) the equivalence of meaning; 2) the full or partial ability of synonyms to interchange; 3) the evaluative, stylistic qualities of synonyms.

As it has been mentioned, mostly synonyms are partial, that is words become synonyms when used in one of their meanings or in certain combinations. For instance, the words *student* and *pupil* are synonyms only in the meaning *a person who is being taught*. In most textbooks in lexicology synonyms are subdivided into the following types:

1. **Semantic (ideographic) synonyms** which describe different qualities of the object denoted, e.g. *mistake, error, slip, lapse; помилка, хиба, провина, похибка, неточність, блуд, недогляд*, or show different degree of the same quality or phenomena, e.g., *mistake – blunder*.

2. **Stylistic synonyms** which are used in different communicative styles: *insane* (formal) and *loony* (informal); *salt* (everyday speech) and *sodium chloride* (technical); may have different evaluative quality (compare *horse* and *steed*) or differ in both semantic content and stylistic colouring, like *to eat* and *to pig* (i.e. *to eat greedily*).

3. **Dialect differences:** *autumn* (British English) and *fall* (American); *картопля, бульба, біб; дорога, асфальт, гостинець; рискаль, заступ, городник, лопатка; штани, гачі, фотографія, знимка*.

4. **Collocational difference:** *rancid* (is used only of *butter*) and *rotten* (of *bacon*).

5. **Differences in connotation:** *youth* (less pleasant) and *youngster*.

All these types of synonyms can be studied in contrastive lexicology applying field approach, that is through the analysis of the degree of feature matching in two contrasted languages. According to Sternin [Стернин] SA of lexical units can be described as an algorithm which presents a logical sequence of researcher's activities where each activity reflects a separate stage or step of research. Technique of the contrastive analysis of synonyms can be based on the algorithm suggested by Sternin. The stages of this analysis are the following:

STAGE 1. Singling out synonyms in SL.

Step 1. Compiling a basic list of synonyms.

Central member is defined using explanatory dictionaries.

Step 2. Expansion of the basic list.

The lexeme selected is looked up in synonymic dictionaries and as the result new lexemes are detected and added to the list.

Step 3. Expansion of the basic list through text analysis.

Texts of different genres are being analyzed (electronic corpora are most helpful) and new units are detected and added. Text analysis also provides the data concerning the frequency of occurrence of the units under study at the present stage of language development.

Step 4. Structuring of the list of synonyms.

The list is subdivided into sense subgroups. Key and peripheral members of the subgroups are determined.

STAGE II. Determination of interlingual correlations of separate units.

Step 1. Detecting of dictionary translation correspondences.

Each word in the SL is checked in translation dictionaries and all translation correlates fixed in dictionaries are registered.

Step 2. Detecting of interlingual lexical correlations.

All the lexemes obtained at the previous step are checked in synonymic dictionaries and detected units are added to the list of correlates of the unit under research. As those new units are not registered in translation dictiona-

ries, the new list including both: units selected at the previous step and new words obtained from dictionaries of synonyms will no longer present the list of translation correlations but – of interlingual lexical correlations (of which translation correlations are only a part).

STAGE III. Semic description of meanings in contrasted lexemes.

Step 1. Semic description of units in both languages within subgroups singled out.

Semic description is conducted using a set of methods. Among them: semic analysis of dictionary definitions, componential analysis, associative experiment, Bendix interpretational test¹, contextual analysis and others.

Step 2. Determining the frequency of occurrence of the researched units.

This is done by means of calculations or interviewing informants using the scale: frequently used, used, rarely used, not used. Step 3. Verification of the semic description. Interviewing informants in order to confirm the list of semes singled out for separate words (the procedure of verification of the componential structure of words) in the SL and language of comparison.

¹ E. Bendix developed „interpretational test with incomplete phrase” [Bendix 1972] which can be used to research word meanings that for some reasons cannot be studied applying componential analysis. His method is based on the following procedure: informants are given a phrase within the limits of which a researched word is opposed to another. Informants interpret the opposition by completing the phrase. Thus, the researcher obtains data for semantic analysis. Generalizing similar answers he gets differential components of words opposed in the phrase. By sequential presentation to informants of all units under study in the test phrase, the researcher obtains data about the structure of the word meaning. For example, to detect differences of English adjectives **undaunted**, **gallant**, **courageous** from the dominant of the row **brave**, informants were given a test phrase «He is not brave, he is ... because ...» Generalizing similar answers the researches got the following data: Brave is willing to do things which are dangerous, and does not show fear in difficult or dangerous situations.

1) He is not brave, he is undaunted because despite the threats that surround him/ of which he is aware, he goes ahead and does something (thus, unlike brave, the adjective undaunted possesses a differential seme «acts despite surrounding dangers»).

2) He is not brave, he is gallant because he is noble, chivalrous. Gallant is used to describe knights/heroes in stories. (unlike brave, the adjective gallant possesses differential semes «of noble origin», «noble in character» and “about knights and heroes in literature”).

3) He is not brave, he is courageous because, although brave=courageous, courageous is more literary. (thus unlike stylistically neutral brave, the adjective courageous is believed by the informants to be bookish) The interpretational test may show that some lexemes listed in synonymic dictionaries are not used in live language or their meaning has changed so much that they cannot be considered synonyms any longer.

STAGE IV. Semantic description of contrasted pairs.

Step 1. Formation of the contrasted pairs.

Contrasted pair is viewed as two units of compared languages presenting an interlingual lexical correlation. At this step pairs for contrastive semantic analysis are determined.

Step 2. Semic opposition of the units of contrastive pairs.

For each contrasted pair separate semes determined in the process of componential analysis are being compared and the unification of the semic description is being done. Semes which are alike in two languages are considered to be equal and one explanation is being chosen or constructed that gives the most general description of the definite component. The absence of a seme in the sememe of one of the languages is checked and in case it is proved, semic lacuna is registered. If the absence of the seme can be explained by odd reasons, for example drawbacks of componential analysis, then the seme is included into the semic structure of the word. Thus, at this stage the semic description of the researched units can be supplemented or the wording of the seme can change. As the result of this step the researcher obtains parallel semic descriptions of the contrasted pair in which the archisemes and differential semes are opposed and lacuna semes are discovered.

STAGE V. Discovering national-specific components of meaning.

This stage presupposed detecting and describing of noncorresponding (national-specific) semes in contrasted pairs. At this stage “false” translation equivalents can be discovered and different forms of national specificity of meaning are described. The latter can be as follows:

- national-specific meaning (full non-equivalence);
- non-correspondence of key semes;
- non-correspondence of peripheral semes;
- non-equivalence of semes;
- differences in the status of semes (permanent or probable);
- lacuna.

STAGE VI. Differential semantization of the contrastive pairs members.

The meaning of each word is described as the enumeration of noncorresponding semes in reference to the other member of the contrasted pair.

STAGE VII. Differential explanation of the contrastive pairs members meaning.

This is the last stage of the contrastive description of lexical units and it presents their differential interpretation. The latter contains all translation correspondences with the list of semantic components which differentiate the unit of SL from all translation correspondences. Differential interpretation is the main material for compiling contrastive dictionaries of different types. Thus, having gone through all the stages of analysis, the researcher gets the following results:

1. The description of the content and structure of synonyms under study.
2. Setting of interlingual correlations.
3. Semic description of sememes under study in two languages.
4. Formation of semic definitions of units in two languages.
5. Detection of national-specific semes in two languages.
6. Differentiation of correspondences in two languages in reference to national-specific semantic components.
7. Contrastive dictionary entries.

The technique suggested by Sternin or at least some stages of it are rather traditional and applicable mostly for lexicographic purposes. With the advent of new anthropocentric paradigm of linguistic research, the new cognitive approach has been developing rapidly and has contributed to the advance of contrastive studies on different levels.

5. Seminar tasks and questions.

1. **Universal versus nationally biased lexicon.**
2. **Systemic organization of lexicon: lexical fields.**
3. **Types of semantic relationships within the vocabulary system.**
4. **Approaches to the research of synonyms in contrastive lexicology.**
5. **Comment on the essence of the interpretational test suggested by Bendix.**
6. **Read the article by G. Miller in Additional Resources and indicate the value of WordNet for contrastive lexicological studies.**

6. Seminar library.

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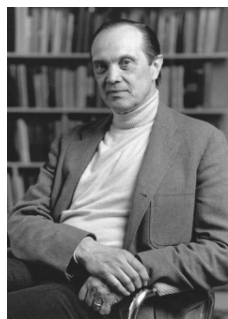
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7. Additional resources: Part 8.



The article below was written by **George A. Miller (1920–2012)** – an American psychologist who was one of the founders of the cognitive psychology field. He contributed to the birth of psycholinguistics and cognitive science in general. Miller wrote several books and directed the development of WordNet, an online word-linkage database usable by computer programs.

The article is reproduced from **COMMUNICATIONS OF THE ACM**. – November 1995, Vol. 38, No. 11. – P. 39–41.

Mode of access: <http://www1.cs.columbia.edu/~vh/courses/LexicalSemantics/Ontologies/miller-wordnet95.pdf>

GEORGE A. MILLER

WORDNET: A LEXICAL DATABASE FOR ENGLISH

This database links English nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs to sets of synonyms that are in turn linked through semantic relations that determine word definitions.

Because meaningful sentences are composed of meaningful words, any system that hopes to process natural languages as people do must have information about words and their meanings. This information is traditionally provided through dictionaries, and machine-readable dictionaries are now widely available. But dictionary entries evolved for the convenience of human readers, not for machines. WordNet provides a more effective combination of traditional lexicographic information and modern computing. WordNet is an online lexical database designed for use under program control. English nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs are organized into sets of synonyms, each representing a lexicalized concept. Semantic relations link the synonym sets [4].

Language Definitions

We define the vocabulary of a language as a set W of pairs (f,s) , where a form f is a string over a finite alphabet, and a sense s is an element from a given set of meanings. Forms can be utterances composed of a string of phonemes or inscriptions composed of a string of characters. Each form with a sense in a language is called a word in that language. A dictionary is an alphabetical list of words. A word that has more than one sense is polysemous; two words that share at least one sense in common are said to be synonymous. A word's usage is the set C of linguistic contexts in which the word can be used. The syntax of the language partitions C into syntactic categories. Words that occur in the subset N are nouns, words that occur in the subset V are verbs, and so on. Within each category of syntactic contexts are further categories of semantic contexts – the set of contexts in which a particular f can be used to express a particular s . The morphology of the language is defined in terms of a set M of relations between word forms. For example, the morphology of English is partitioned into inflectional, derivational, and compound morphological relations. Finally, the lexical semantics of the language is defined in terms of a set S of relations between word senses. The semantic relations into which a word enters determine the definition of that word. AI commonsense problems This database links English nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs to sets of synonyms that are in turn linked through semantic relations that determine word definitions. 1 WordNet is a registered trademark of Princeton University, available by anonymous ftp from clarity.princeton.edu

More Than 166,000 Word Form and Sense Pairs

In WordNet, a form is represented by a string of ASCII characters, and a sense is represented by the set of (one or more) synonyms that have that sense. WordNet contains more than 118,000 different word forms and more than 90,000 different word senses, or more than 166,000 (f,s) pairs. Approximately 17% of the words in WordNet are polysemous; approximately 40% have one or more synonyms.

WordNet respects the syntactic categories noun, verb, adjective, and adverb – the so-called open-class words (see Table 1). For example, word forms like “back,” “right,” or “well” are interpreted as nouns in some linguistic contexts, as verbs in other contexts, and as adjectives or adverbs in other contexts; each is entered separately into WordNet. It is assumed that the closed-class categories of English – some 300 prepositions, pronouns, and determiners – play an important role in any parsing system; they are given no semantic explication in WordNet.

Inflectional morphology for each syntactic category is accommodated by the interface to the WordNet database. For example, if information is requested for “went”, the system will return what it knows about the verb “go.” On the other hand, derivational and compound morphology are entered into the database without explicit recognition of morphological relations. For example, “interpret”, “interpreter”, “misinterpret”, “interpretation”, “reinterpretation”, “interpretive,” “interpretative”, and “interpretive dancing” are all distinct words in WordNet. A much larger variety of semantic relations can be defined between words and between word senses than are incorporated into WordNet. The semantic relations in WordNet [6] were chosen because they apply broadly throughout English and because they are familiar – a user need not have advanced training in linguistics to understand them. They are shown in Table 1.

WordNet includes the following semantic relations:

- Synonymy is WordNet’s basic relation, because WordNet uses sets of synonyms (synsets) to represent word senses. Synonymy (syn same, onyma name) is a symmetric relation between word forms.
- Antonymy (opposing-name) is also a symmetric semantic relation between word forms, especially important in organizing the meanings of adjectives and adverbs.

- Hyponymy (sub-name) and its inverse, hypernymy (super-name), are transitive relations between synsets. Because there is usually only one hypernym, this semantic relation organizes the meanings of nouns into a hierarchical structure.

- Meronymy (part-name) and its inverse, holonymy (whole-name), are complex semantic relations. WordNet distinguishes component parts, substantive parts, and member parts.

- Troponymy (manner-name) is for verbs what hyponymy is for nouns, although the resulting hierarchies are much shallower.

- Entailment relations between verbs are also coded in WordNet.

Table 1

Semantic Relation	Syntactic Category	Examples
Synonymy (similar)	N, V, Aj, Av	pipe, tube rise, ascend sad, unhappy rapidly, speedily
Antonymy (opposite)	Aj, Av, (N, V)	wet, dry powerful, powerless friendly, unfriendly rapidly, slowly
Hyponymy (subordinate)	N	sugar maple, maple maple, tree tree, plant
Meronymy (part)	N	brim, hat gin, martini ship, fleet
Troponymy (manner)	V	march, walk whisper, speak
Entailment	V	drive, ride divorce, marry

Note: N = Nouns Aj = Adjectives V = Verbs Av = Adverbs

Each of these semantic relations is represented by pointers between word forms or between synsets. More than 116,000 pointers represent semantic relations between WordNet words and word senses.

Relational theories of lexical semantics hold that any word can be defined in terms of the other words to which it is related. For example, a definition of the compound noun “sugar maple” might start with its hypernym, “A sugar maple is a maple that ...,” followed by a relative clause based on meronymy or other semantic relations that specify how sugar maples differ from other kinds of maples. However, not enough semantic relations are encoded into WordNet to support such constructions. Following standard lexicographic practice, definitional glosses are included in most synsets along with the synonyms that represent the sense.

An XWindows interface to WordNet allows a user to enter a word form and to choose a pull-down menu for the appropriate syntactic category. The menus provide access to the semantic relations that have been coded into WordNet for that word. For example, if “leaves” is entered, a noun menu for “leaf” and a verb menu for “leave” are available. The noun menu includes options for synonyms, hyponyms, hypernyms, sisters, meronyms, and holonyms for “leaf”; no antonyms for “leaf” are available. If synonyms of the noun are requested, the window displays three synsets, along with their immediate hypernyms:

- Leaf, leafage, foliage – the main organ of photosynthesis in higher plants; plant organ – a functional and structural unit of a plant.
- Leaf, folio – a sheet of written or printed matter; sheet, piece of paper, sheet of paper used for writing or printing.
- Leaf – hinged or detachable flat section, as of a table or door; section, segment – one of several parts that fit with others to constitute an object.

Other choices from the menus would result in other displays of lexical information. A command line interface to the database is also available.

Contextual Representations

Polysemy is a major barrier for many systems that accept natural language input. For example, two different senses of an English word form may translate into totally different words in another language. Therefore, systems for machine translation should be able to determine which sense the author had in mind.

In information retrieval, a query intended to elicit material relevant to one sense of a polysemous word may elicit unwanted material relevant to other senses of that word. For example, in computer-assisted instruction, a student asking the meaning of a word should be given its meaning in that context, not a list of alternative senses from which to pick.

WordNet lists the alternatives from which choices must be made. WordNet would be much more useful if it incorporated the means for determining appropriate senses, allowing the program to evaluate the contexts in which words are used. This unmet requirement is a goal for further development.

Choosing between alternative senses of a polysemous word is a matter of distinguishing between different sets of linguistic contexts in which the word form can be used to express the word sense. People are quite skillful in making such distinctions [1]. For instance, people who are told, “He nailed the board across the window,” do not notice that “board” is polysemous. Only one sense of “board” (or of “nail”) reaches conscious awareness. How people make such distinctions is not well understood.

An algorithm for sense identification must distinguish sets of linguistic contexts, raising the question of how much context is required. The limits of a linguistic context can be defined arbitrarily, but we prefer to define it in terms of sentences. That is to say, two words co-occur in the same context if they occur in the same sentence. Given this definition, sense identification is a matter of distinguishing among sets of sentential contexts. Miller and Charles [5] proposed that a contextual representation associated with each sense characterizes sentential contexts in which a given word can be used to express that sense. Therefore, the empirical problem is to determine what contextual representations should look like.

The usual way computational linguists have coped with polysemy has been to limit the domain of discourse. For example, the noun “flight” has eight senses in WordNet, but when the domain of discourse is limited to air travel, only one of the eight is likely to occur. Therefore, topical context (the vocabulary used to discuss a well-defined topic) provides some of the information needed for a contextual representation. However, results obtained by Leacock, Towell, and Voorhees [3] indicate that topical context can identify senses correctly only about 80% of the time. People seem to make more use of

local context – the exact sequence of words immediately preceding and following the polysemous word. How best to characterize the contexts associated with word senses remains an open question.

Semantic concordances are being prepared to provide a basis for empirical studies of sense identification [7]. A semantic concordance is a textual corpus and a lexicon combined so that every substantive word in the text is linked to its appropriate sense in the lexicon. For example, words in passages from the Brown Corpus [2] are linked to their senses in WordNet, providing a test bed for proposed sense-identification systems. However, this semantic concordance is still too small to provide representative samples of contexts indicative of the different senses of polysemous words. Supplementing WordNet with a textual database remains an ongoing project.

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LECTURE 8. CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF SEMANTICS OF ENGLISH AND UKRAINIAN WORDS: CONCEPT APPROACH

The eighth lecture summarizes some ideas concerning the notion of concept in modern linguistic studies and sets out to demonstrate that the concept approach offers another way to discover how the experience, the conceptual system, and the semantics of lexical signs are differently brought together in different cultural environments.

1. Defining cognitive linguistics and cognitive semantics.
2. Defining concept in modern cognitive science.
3. Principal approaches to studying concepts.
4. Conceptual analysis in contrastive lexicology.
5. Seminar questions.
6. Seminar Library.
7. Additional resources: Part 9.
8. Additional resources: Part 10.

*Culture is never a universal set,
but always a subset organized in a specific manner
(Yu. Lotman and B. Uspenskyi)*

1. Defining cognitive linguistics and cognitive semantics.

The cognitive approach to language encompasses a wide variety of theoretical proposals with a common denominator: the idea that language is an integral part of cognition and therefore it should be understood in the context of conceptualization and mental processing. **Cognitive linguistics** is defined as a study of language in connection with different human faculties which include perception, categorization, memory, thinking etc. [Potapenko, 2013]. In this view lexical units are of special importance because they serve as primary means to

verbalize the interaction of cultural, psychological and communicative aspects involved in the process of cognition.

Serhiy Potapenko believes that the existing cognitive theories can be classified into those related to different human faculties: perception-based, categorization-based, memory-based, reasoning-based, socially-based and discourse related [Potapenko, 2013, p. 10] and methods applied in cognitive linguistics are usage- and corpus-based analysis, quantitative methods and empirical methods.

It is also emphasized in S.Potapenko's textbook [Potapenko, 2013, p. 19–21] that the main empirical method is that of associative experiment which allows to confirm the psychological relevance of the theoretical assumptions made by the investigator, i.e. that the associative network is not arbitrary but to a large extent motivated as a reflection of hierarchical conceptual structures in a speaker's consciousness. As a lexical sign is included into the associative network, after a word-stimulus is perceived, an appropriate fragment of the complex conceptual structure with its specific features and associated emotions and evaluations becomes fully or partially activated. Hence, responses evoked by a stimulus can be viewed as a reflection of corresponding conceptual structures. Besides the associative experiment allows us not only to reveal pertinent cognitive domains but also rank them according to their relative salience for the speakers. The prominent Ukrainian scholars applying the associative experiment methodology are Andrei Levitsky (the concept CHERNOBYL) [Левицкий, 2018] and Svitlana Martynek (binary oppositions of RIGHT and LEFT in Slavic languages) [Martinek, 2007].

The area of study known as **cognitive semantics** is concerned with the investigation of the relationship between the experience, the conceptual system, and the semantic structure encoded by language. Semantic structures are characterized relative to knowledge systems whose scope is essentially open-ended. Scholars investigate knowledge representation (conceptual structure), and meaning construction (conceptualization). Cognitive semanticists have employed language as the lens through which these cognitive phenomena can be investigated. Consequently, research in cognitive semantics tends to be interested in modelling the human mind as much as it is concerned with the analysis of lin-

guistic semantics. Cognitive scientists are aware of the range of linguistic diversity. Moreover, the crucial fact for understanding the place of language in human cognition is its diversity. For example, languages may have less than a dozen distinctive sounds, or they may have 12 dozen, and sign languages do not use sounds at all. Languages may or may not have derivational morphology (to make words from other words, e.g., *run* – *runner*), or inflectional morphology for an obligatory set of syntactically consequential choices (e.g., plural *the girls are* vs. singular *the girl is*). But what is of utmost importance is that culturally meaningful reference of lingual signs which is obtained from all means of denotative-connotative presentation of cultural senses also differs.

Technique of the contrastive lexicological study based on concept approach is expected to provide the explication of cognitive procedures applied by the subject when interpreting those culturally meaningful references of lingual signs. Two factors should be taken into consideration: a) cognitive contrastive lexicological analysis is productive only for concepts which have partial interlingual equivalence; b) when intending to conduct contrastive analysis of concepts one has to apply a complex of analytical devices, operations and procedures which are used to analyze the interconnection of language and culture.

2. Defining concept in modern cognitive science.

Concept is an umbrella term used in several scientific fields: first of all, in cognitive psychology and cognitive linguistics, dealing with thinking and cognition, storing and transforming information, as well as in cultural linguistics, which is still defining and refining the boundaries of the theory formed by its postulates and basic categories. **The concept in cognitive science** is the basic axiomatic category; the hyperonym of the *notion, ideas, frame, script, gestalt* etc. It is a discrete unit of the collective consciousness, which is stored in the national memory of native speakers in verbally determinate form. S. Potapenko believes that concepts refer to structures meant for the storage of verbalized knowledge and thus should be included into memory-based language models together with concept-structuring schemas and worldview as a repository of various concepts [Potapenko, p. 55].

As a **cognitive unit of meaning**, a concept is an abstract idea or a mental model sometimes defined as a “unit of knowledge” or as a “unit of culture” which is **associated with the corresponding representation in a language**. In some linguistic definitions concept is even treated as an entity that substitutes meaning though most researchers consider it a mistake to confuse a concept with the meaning of a word. Generally, the nature of concepts – the kind of things concepts are – and the constraints that govern a theory of concepts have been the subject of much debate. Philosophers suggest three main options to identify concepts: with mental representations, with abilities, and with Fregean senses (see [Margolis, Laurence]).

The first of these options (**Concepts as mental representations**) maintains that **concepts are psychological entities**, taking as its starting point the representational theory of the mind (RTM). According to RTM, thinking occurs in an internal system of representation. Beliefs and desires and other propositional attitudes enter into mental processes as internal symbols. RTM is usually presented as taking beliefs and other propositional attitudes to be relations between an agent and a mental representation.

The second option (**Concepts as abilities**) maintains that concepts are neither mental images nor word-like entities in a language of thought. Rather, concepts are abilities that are peculiar to cognitive agents. The concept CAT, for example, might amount to the ability to discriminate cats from non-cats and to draw certain inferences about cats. While the abilities view is maintained by a diverse group of philosophers, the most prominent reason for adopting the view is a deep skepticism about the existence and utility of mental representations, skepticism that traces back Ludwig Wittgenstein. One of the most influential arguments along these lines claims that mental representations are explanatorily idle because they reintroduce the very sorts of problems they are supposed to explain. For example, Michael Dummett cautions against trying to explain knowledge of a first language on the model of knowledge of a second language. In the case of a second language, it is reasonable to suppose that understanding the language involves translating its words and sentences into words and sentences of one’s first language. But according to Dummett, one can’t go on to translate words and sentences of one’s first language into a prior mental language. “There is really no sense to speaking of a concept’s coming into someone’s mind. All we can think of is some image coming to mind which we take as in some way representing the

concept, and this gets us no further forward, since we still have to ask in what his associating that concept with that image consists” (cit. from [Margolis, Laurence]).

The third view (**concepts are Fregean senses**) identifies concepts with *abstract* objects, as opposed to mental objects and mental states. Concepts are said to be the constituents of propositions. For proponents of this view, concepts mediate between thought and language, on the one hand, and referents, on the other. An expression without a referent (“Pegasus”) needn’t lack a meaning, since it still has a sense. Similarly, the same referent can be associated with different expressions (e.g., “Eric Blair” and “George Orwell”) because they convey different senses. Senses are more discriminating than referents. Each sense has a unique perspective on its referent – a unique mode of presentation. Differences in cognitive content trace back to differences in modes of presentation. Philosophers who take concepts to be senses particularly emphasize this feature of senses. Christopher Peacocke, for example, locates the subject matter of a theory of concepts as follows: “Concepts *C* and *D* are distinct if and only if there are two complete propositional contents that differ at most in that one contains *C* substituted in one or more places for *D*, and one of which is potentially informative while the other is not” (cit. from [Margolis, Laurence]). In other words, *C* and *D* embody differing modes of presentation. To avoid terminological confusion, we should note that Frege himself did not use the term “concept” for senses, but rather for the referents of predicates. Similarly, it is worth noting that Frege uses the term “thought” to stand for propositions, so for Frege thoughts are not psychological states at all [Margolis, Laurence].

3. Principal approaches to studying concepts.

The contrastive lexicological research brings forth the necessity of referring to the analysis of the semantic structure of the separate words-variants which objectify concepts in verbal forms and can be viewed as cultural phenomena with specific histories. This approach permits:

1) to deduce the peculiarities of thinking and world perception of different ethnic communities;

2) to trace the formation of their culture;
3) to structure the concepts and provide linguocultural description of their components.

For contrastive lexicological analysis of full value, a researcher has, first of all, to determine **the feature (features) of correlating objects – the basis or common denominator of comparison** – tertium comparationis. When one applies “concept” approach he or she should accept that though the meaning of the word is closely connected with the underlying concept, it is not identical with it. Concept is associated with a number of the most diverse points of view in modern linguistics. The intensive research of it in the field of cognitive linguistics has demonstrated a great disparity in the understanding of the term. Two main approaches can be mentioned: “cultural” and “informational”.

“Cultural” approach considers **the concept to be a cultural phenomenon** as it describes typical situations of culture. Proponents of this approach state that the ‘concept’ is an object from the ‘ideal’ world which has the name and reflects the people’s cultural understanding of the real world. According to **Anna Wierzbicka**¹ there exists a Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM), i.e. a mini-language which is an effective tool for describing and comparing meanings and ideas expressed through lexical units in any language. It is constructed on the basis of extensive cross-linguistic investigations conducted by many scholars over many years. The effectiveness of this tool stems from the fact that it corresponds to the shared core of all languages. This shared core of all languages can be identified through a small set of words which have their exact semantic equivalents in all languages. Anna Wierzbicka claims that there are universal terms which we find in all languages. There are 65 of them.

¹ Anna Wierzbicka (born 10 March 1938 in Warsaw) is a Polish linguist who is Emeritus Professor at the Australian National University, Canberra. Brought up in Poland, she graduated from Warsaw University and emigrated to Australia in 1972, where she has lived since. In her 1972 book “*Semantic Primitives*” she launched a theory now known under the acronym “NSM” (Natural Semantic Metalanguage), which is now internationally recognized as one of the world’s leading theories of language and meaning. This approach has been used in hundreds of semantic studies across many languages and cultures (NSM homepage: <http://www.griffith.edu.au/humanities-languages/school-languages-linguistics/research/natural-semantic-metalanguage-homepage>). With over twenty published books, many of which were translated into foreign languages, she is a prolific writer in semantics, pragmatics and cross-cultural linguistics.

They correspond, we believe, to what Leibniz called “the alphabet of human thoughts” (*alphabetum cogitationum humanarum*). They have their inherent, universal, grammar. This means that they can be combined in the same way in different languages, to allow cross-translatable phrases and sentences. For example: *Everyone in his/her life experiences the disease, or the loss of a health status*. In NSM, in any language of the world, there is the word “to feel” and the evaluators “bad” and “good” and the word “body”. Could we put as a hypothesis that the disease experience and the healing process could be related to these words which are universally present in all languages? “Body” is a word present in every language you studied. On the contrary, “mind” is an abstract concept and varies among cultures. Does it mean that when we are ill we are naturally getting back to the body, or that we have to deal with the body? There are certainly deep cultural differences in the way people in different parts of the world think about what is happening to them, how they feel, why they feel the way they do, and so on. All such differences can be explained and clarified through the same meta-language based on universal human concepts such as *happen, feel, bad, good, body*, and so on. As evidence suggests, every language has a word for *body*, conceptualized in the same way, but not a word for *mind*. But people can talk about how they feel, and how they think, without referring to the *body*, e.g. they can say: *something very bad is happening to me; I can't think, I can't do anything, I feel very bad all the time, I don't want to do anything*, and so on. But people also often think about what is happening to them in terms of words which are not language-independent but which, on the contrary, depend on their culture. For example, English speakers tend to think about such things in terms of the English word *mind*, French speakers, in terms of *l'ame*, Ukrainian speakers in terms of *dusha*, and so on [Wierzbicka, 1999; Wierzbicka, 2011].

A Russian semiotician Yurii Stepanov believes that concept is a “**bunch of culture**” in the consciousness of people; it is something in the form of which the culture enters the mental world. People enter the culture and affect it through concepts. Concepts are not only contemplated, they are experienced. They are the subject of emotions, likes and dislikes, and sometimes collisions. According to Stepanov “**a basic cultural cell in the mental world of a man**”;

a mental structure that represents the knowledge of an individual about a particular segment of the world; a part of the world picture that reflects the orientation of values of both the individual person and the entire linguistic community. The content of the concept can be discovered only within the frame of a particular culture and epoch [Степанов, 1997].

Representatives of the “**informational**” approach propose to consider the concept to be a linguistic-cognitive phenomenon that is defined as **the information** about what an individual knows, suggests, thinks, imagines about the objects of his/her world. “Concept” corresponds to those senses, which a person operates with in the process of thinking and the senses which reflect the content of experience and knowledge, the content of the results of all human activities in the form of some “**quanta**” of knowledge”.

Concepts have **verbal means of expression**. Language does not form concepts, but serves as means of the exchange of knowledge in the process of communication. Concepts exist in the real mentality of an individual, thus, to communicate they have to be verbalized, that is, to be expressed by language means.

In any language the concept can be verbalized by individual words and phrases and by sentences or even entire texts, which determine the concept itself. The choice of verbal forms depends on meanings, mental representations and the internal lexicon of the speaker, which are interconnected.

In the semiotic framework, the concept can be defined as a unit of thought, which is fixed by a language sign for the purpose of communication and correlates with the notional and cultural interpretants for the object. This makes possible to single out such basic characteristics of the concept:

- 1) mental nature (is localized in the consciousness and is a mental projection of an object);
- 2) affiliation to knowledge as a set of relatively stable, objective and collective notional interpretants;
- 3) affiliation to culture as set of evaluations and values in the mind of the interpreter (cultural interpretants).

Let's revise that according to the semiotic approach suggested in Lecture 5 any verbal sign has three interpretants: primary, notional and cultural.

Notional interpretant provides the connection of identified object with the dynamical object. The suggested definition makes this interpretant close to “informational concept” (second approach) as used in modern cognitive linguistics. Cultural interpretant reflects the evaluative ideas of interpreters and correlates with the system of evaluations and values in the mind of the interpreter (“cultural concept”). In the framework of semiotic approach suggested in this lecture course the contrastive analysis of concepts presupposes comparison of both – notional and cultural interpretants of lingual signs verbalizing the concepts in two languages.

4. Conceptual analysis in contrastive lexicology.

In contrastive lexicology different lexical means used for verbalizing the concept are compared, the separate conceptual features being *tertium comparationis*. Over the last few decades cognitive approach to language phenomena proved to be applicable to modern contrastive analysis. The main advantage of the research performed in the cognitivist framework is seen in the fact that it essentially aims to reveal and explain the intricate structure of the conceptual and semantic organization of human experience [Kurteš, p. 120]. It should be noted that conceptual analysis is not a standardized method but a combination of different techniques. Most linguists share O. Selivanova’s views on the purpose of conceptual analysis that seeks to establish cognitive mechanisms of individual or group consciousness that influence the formation of knowledge about the objects of real world and results of cognition [Селіванова, 2006, p. 7]. The main goal of conceptual analysis is to identify the structure of verbalized concepts in order to determine their properties and specific features.

The procedures of conceptual analysis in contrastive studies presupposes several stages. At **the first stage of the analysis** a contrastivist studies the key words. At this stage the names of the concepts in both contrasted languages is investigated, with the help of the analysis of dictionary definitions. According to Svitlana Zhabotynska the study of the semantic structure of the lexical units

that verbalize the concept serves as a key to understanding the mechanisms of conceptualization [Жаботинская, с. 53–55]. Cognitive properties of the concept selected for the contrastive analysis are studied through the semantic analysis of lexical units that verbalize the concept. For example, concept EDUCATION in English and ОСВІТА in Ukrainian² is verbalized by key words: *education* and *освіта*. Analysis of semantics of these lexical units and their derivatives proves that there are several cognitive components in their structure: ‘subject’, ‘process’, ‘result’, ‘discipline’, ‘improvement’, ‘establishment’, ‘training’.

According to the linguosemiotic approach suggested in this lecture course contrastive analysis of concepts should be based on the comparative study of notional and cultural interpretants of lingual signs. Most of modern researchers agree that the core of the concept is formed by the cognitive (rational, logical, notional) component. In the suggested approach this component corresponds to notional interpretant. At **the second stage of contrastive analysis** we determine what semantic features represent the notional component in the semantics of lexical units verbalizing the concept. In modern semantic theory they are commonly referred to as denotative semes.

At **the third stage of analysis** attention is paid to cultural interpretant which provides access to values in the mind of interpreter and can be discovered through the analysis of connotative semes in the semantic structure of lexical units verbalizing the concept.

According to R. Langacker lingual units profile parts of the content of the concept that are in the focus of the speaker’s attention [Langacker, p. 145]. Verbal explication of the actualized seme serves as the equivalent of profiling [Стернин, p. 116–117]. The researchers should primarily identify the semes of the names of the concept that are ‘profiled’. The study of the structure of rational (logical) layer of the concept provides researchers with an inventory of its components that are actualized. Applying linguosemiotic approach we can state that the action of sign activates notional interpretant.

² The contrastive analysis of this concept was conducted by Anastasiia Beliaieva in her PhD thesis and was based on the material of four languages: English, French, Ukrainian and Russian (defended in Donetsk in 2012). Some of the examples used in this lecture are taken from her research and one of her articles can be found in Additional resources 9 to this lecture.

Accepting cognitive components (denotative semes) as Tertium comparationis we discover that for the names of the concept (OCBITA and EDUCATION) they coincide in both languages. For example, cognitive component 'system' of the concept EDUCATION is profiled by key words in English and Ukrainian:

He concludes, however, that our employers will not, indeed cannot, change; therefore, the education system must continue to bail them out;

Сучасна багаторівнева система вищої освіти, природно, взаємозв'язана з особливостями соціально-економічних структур, які функціонують сьогодні

Another cognitive component is 'activity':

They adored her physical beauty but did everything in their power to educate her mind. Her father tutored her in sports, her mother in literature and the arts;

Роль батьків у підготовці дітей до школи величезна: дорослі члени сім'ї часто самотужки готують та освічують їх ...

Cultural interpretant can be revealed through the analysis of conceptual metaphors that are the result of cognitive operations of correlation of the structure of the source domain and the target domain. Commonly metaphorical conceptualization reflects attitudinal and evaluative ideas about the world. In A. Beliyeva's PhD [Беляєва] substantiates that the concept OCBITA is the evaluative concept-goal in Ukrainian and the evaluative concept-means in English. Thus, the cultural interpretant which correlates with the study of the axiological mode of the concept enables scholars to discover differences in the phenomenon of education as evaluated by speakers belonging to different cultures.

Thus 'concept' approach has great potential in contrastive lexicology and contains the following stages of analysis: 1) at the first stage the lexical units that verbalize the concept are established, cognitive properties of the concept are then defined; 2) the second stage involves analysis of the notional interpretant of lingual signs verbalizing the concept in compared languages; 3) the third stage deals with the analysis of cultural interpretant represented by evaluative components of meaning and cognitive metaphors; 4) the final stage is modelling concept structures in compared languages.

5. Seminar tasks and questions.

1. How can existing cognitive theories be classified?
2. Read the article by A. Levitskyi on the concept ЧОРНОБИЛЬ (see Seminar library.) and get ready to discuss the suggested methodology of analysis.
3. Discuss approaches to defining concepts in modern cognitive science
4. What is the main task of contrastive lexicological studies?
5. Explain the difference between "cultural" and "informational" approaches to understanding the concept in cognitive linguistics.
6. What is a Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) according to Anna Wierzbicka and what is its potential for the contrastive study of languages?
7. What is the definition of concept in the semiotic framework?
8. Comment on the potential of interpretant in contrastive studies based on "concept approach".
9. Describe the stages of contrastive analysis of concepts in linguosemiotic framework. Choose a concept to illustrate your answer and conduct a mini-research (e.g. HAPPINESS – ЩАСТЯ, SOUL – ДУША, HEART – СЕРЦЕ etc.)

6. Seminar library.

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13. **Стернин И.А.** Моделирование концепта в лингвоконцептологии. *Международный конгресс по когнитивной лингвистике*: сб. материалов. Тамбов : Изд-во ТГУ им. Г.Р. Державина, 2006. С. 77–79.

7. Additional Resources: Part 9.



Read the excerpts from the article by Anastasiia Be-liayeve published in *Наукові записки Національного університету «Острозька академія». Серія «Філологічна». Випуск 42. Р. 13–16* and get ready to discuss the procedure of conceptual analysis suggested by the author

CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS AND CONCEPT MODELLING IN CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS

1. Introduction. Contrastive analysis works on the basis of the assumption that the entities to be compared have certain properties in common, that any differences between them can be laid against this common background. Thus contrastive analysis should always involve a common platform of reference, against which contrastive deviations are stated. Depending on this common platform, or *tertium comparationis*, the same aspects of language may turn out to be similar or different [25, p. 16]. Over the last few decades cognitive approach to language phenomena proved to be applicable to modern contrastive analysis. The main advantage of the research performed in the cognitive framework is seen in the fact that it essentially aims to reveal and explain the intricate structure of the conceptual and semantic organization of human experience [26, p. 120]. The present study aims to outline the theoretical bases of conceptual analysis and concept modelling that can be utilized in contrastive studies. The objectives of the article include reviewing concept analysis and establishing techniques that can be used in contrastive research. Currently conceptual analysis is not a standardized method but a combination of different techniques. Most linguists share O. Selivanova's views on the purpose of conceptual analysis that seeks to establish cognitive mechanisms of individual or group consciousness that influence the formation of knowledge about the objects of real world and results of cognition [11, p. 7]. Conceptual

analysis is aimed at identifying and understanding the structure of verbalized concepts in order to determine its properties and specific features, to get knowledge about the world, traditions and culture. The article outlines the procedures of conceptual analysis in contrastive study of concept EDUCATION in English, French, Ukrainian, and Russian languages. Research procedures have been put forward by T.V. Lunyova [6], but the contrastive focus calls for modification of the research procedures. Analysis of the concept EDUCATION in English, French, Ukrainian, and Russian languages is carried in several stages.

2. Analysis. In the study EDUCATION is regarded as verbalized concept that is expressed by the units of language. Consequently, the first stage of the analysis utilizes the method of key words. At this stage the name of the concept is investigated, with the help of analysis of dictionary definitions, its lexical compatibility is established. The study of the semantic structure of the lexical units that verbalize the concept serves as a key to understanding the mechanisms of conceptualization [5, c. 53–55]. Dictionary definitions and texts are used to establish cognitive properties of the concept. Cognitive properties form the concept and can be studied with the help of semantic analysis of lexical units that verbalize the concept and interpretation of associations that reflect stereotyped knowledge, beliefs, assumptions, evaluation, expectations that are associated with the phenomenon concept represents [8, p. 102]. Conceptual analysis is linked to the semantic analysis. However, unlike the latter it involves not only language but also cultural data and studies meaning in cultural and national context. Thus, conceptual analysis is much broader than semantic analysis; the latter is regarded as a stage in conceptual analysis in the present study. For example, concept EDUCATION in English, French, Ukrainian, and Russian languages is verbalized by key words: *education, éducation, освіта, образование*. Analysis of semantics of the above mentioned lexical units and their derivatives leads to singling out such cognitive components in its structure: ‘subject’, ‘process’, ‘result’, ‘discipline’, ‘improvement’, ‘establishment’, ‘training’. Analysis of the structure of the concept involves singling out a number of components (modes). The nature and number of components or layers that scholars single in concepts vary

according to the research objectives. Majority of linguists distinguish three major components in a concept: notional, perceptive and value layers. The notional component of a concept is its language representation, its name, structure and definition, its characteristics as compared to other groups of concepts. Perceptive component represents visual, auditory, tactile, taste characteristics of objects or events reflected in human consciousness [3, p. 49; 12, p. 51]. Crucial task of conceptual analysis is to present a concept in schematic form of central (core) layers and the periphery. Researchers agree that the concept is not a one-dimensional structure. Core of concept is formed by the cognitive (rational, logical, notional) component and perceptive component (based on imagery and visual, auditory sensations). Interpretive field of concept or its periphery contains evaluation of the concept and includes such elements as figurative component (conceptual metaphor), and axiological (value) component. Rational (logical) component of the concept is the result of the process of conceptualization; it reflects the structure and characteristics of the relevant phenomena and notions [3, p. 56]. According to R. Langacker, usage of language units profile the most significant parts of the content of the concept that serve as the speaker’s focus of attention [27, p. 145]. In language verbal explication of the actualized seme serves as the equivalent of profiling [13, p. 116–117]. In the study of rational (logical) component and perceptive mode of concept researchers should identify the semes of the names of the concept that are ‘profiled’ in the context. The study of the structure of rational (logical) layer of the concept provides researchers with an inventory of its components that are verbal equivalents of notional components of concept.

For example, cognitive component ‘system’ of concept EDUCATION is profiled by key words in English, French, Ukrainian, and Russian languages: *He concludes, however, that our employers will not, indeed cannot, change; therefore the **education** system must continue to bail them out* [28]; *Dans son roman L’Ornière, Hesse montre comment un système **d’éducation** rigide peut détruire un jeune homme sensible* [28]; *Сучасна багаторівнева система вищої освіти, природно, взаємозв’язана з особливостями соціально-економічних структур, які функціонують сьогодні* [4]; *При подготовке программы должны быть учтены все моменты, с которыми уже сталкивалась система российского **образования*** [9].

According to some scholars concepts are primarily sensual images that arise as perceptions and then go through several stages of abstraction to become mental images [7, p. 46–53; 14]. Concepts are structured by selecting the most prominent features of the empirical analysis of the impact different fragments of reality (objects, events) have on the perception, emotions. Thus, the impact of a particular element of objectively existing world on perceptual or somatic sphere of an individual forms a persistent associative relationship, which later becomes a concept. The result of these processes is the emergence of a generalized image, mental «footprint» of the qualities and properties of the element of the physical world [15, p. 16].

For example, information about education as activity or characteristics of people encountered by speakers in their daily life form part of perceptive component of concept EDUCATION in English, French, Ukrainian, and Russian: *They adored her physical beauty but did everything in their power to educate her mind. Her father tutored her in sports, her mother in literature and the arts* [30, p. 22]; *Il conversa avec sa femme et s'amusa avec ses enfants qu'il éduquait de son mieux, mais il n'avait plus rien à dire à ses parents dont la pensée limitée sous 10 empêchait tout dialogue* [33, p. 81]; *Роль батьків на підготовці дітей до школи величезна: дорослі члени сім'ї часто самотужки готують та освічуючи їх* [4]; *Благоразумный родитель мой ничего так прилежно в нас не образовал, как сердце. Большую часть дня просиживал с ним, и он образовал своими поучениями мой разум, мое сердце* [9].

Somatic knowledge is involved in conceptualization through the creation of metaphor. Conceptual metaphors are the result of cognitive operations of correlation of the structure of the source domain and the target domain [29, p. 161–162; 31, p. 250]. In cognitive linguistics scholars are interested in the sources of metaphor and transformations of metaphorical models; they study metaphorical conceptualization as source of human knowledge about the world [10].

For example, in English, Ukrainian, and Russian languages EDUCATION is metaphorically perceived as a product: *There is a need to whet society's appetite for education and training throughout life* [28]. *It will awaken a new thirst for education in those not wishing or unable to learn in a conventional teaching setting* [28]; *Люди спрагли за освітою* [4];

Понятно, что мы сегодня доедаем остатки советской системы образования, – точно так же большевистская Россия сначала доедала, а потом по-своему достроила, тысячекратно увеличив, систему образования царских времен [9].

Results of human perception are also reflected in evaluation [1, p. 9–17; 2, p. 227]. Analysis of the ways and means by which evaluation of concepts is verbalized is the study of axiological mode of a concept. It enables scholars to establish the role and place of the phenomenon in culture because the concept exists as the unit of reasoning and perception, and the latter involves evaluation [16, p. 8; 21]. Phenomenon of education is evaluated by speakers of English, Ukrainian, and Russian languages which is evident in axiological layer of concept EDUCATION: *Ten years ago sponsorship might well have been included in the company's charity budget, along with health, education and other good causes* [28]; *До того ж, система інклюзивної освіти позитивно впливає і на батьків хворих дітей* [4]; *При правлящій партії комуністів, в советское время народ имел все блага: бесплатное образование, бесплатное лечение, бесплатные квартиры, обеспеченную старость, счастливое детство* [9].

The most significant information about the results of the speakers' conceptualization can be found in the core of the concept. The latter includes components that are formed as a result of human cognitive and sensory perception of the world, rational (logical) and perceptive layers are the core of the concept. Mental structures that sustain the integrity of the concept and enable the combination of its core components of different nature are image schemas [22, c. 29; 32]. Image schemas «help to explain how our intrinsically embodied mind can at the same time be capable of abstract thought. As patterns of sensory-motor experience, image schemas play a crucial role in emergence of meaning and in our ability to engage in abstract conceptualization and reasoning that is grounded in our bodily engagement with our environment» [23, p. 15]. Image schema is an embodied prelinguistic structure of experience that motivates conceptual metaphor mappings, playing an important part in understanding the world. It can be defined as a dynamic pattern of perceptual interactions and motor programs that give coherence to experience without which human experience would be chaotic and incomprehensible [22, p. XIX; 24, p. 207]. Image schemas

make it possible for people to use the structure of sensory and motor operations to understand abstract concepts and draw inferences about them. They are repeated patterns of sensory-motor experience of the individual that are perceived as a whole [22, p. XIV]. Scientists have created a list of image schemas presented in the works of T. Clausner and W. Croft [17; 18, p. 15; 19]. For example image schema PROCESS can be found in the core of concept EDUCATION in English, French, Ukrainian, and Russian languages: *When he finishes his secondary education, Vicente will receive the principal in the fund, which could be put toward college or starting a business* [28]; *Mes parents ont été incapables de gérer correctement mon education* [20, p. 9]; *Тільки врахувавши усі тенденції, а краще – передбачивши їхній вплив на майбутні події, ми зможемо забезпечити ефективну освітянську діяльність, результатом якої буде підготовлена, конкурентоспроможна молода людина, що повністю відповідає професійним і суспільно-громадським вимогам майбутнього життя [4]*; *До того обривание сводилось к подражанию. Ребенка отдавали мастеру: никто, надо сказать, этого ученика ничему не учил, он просто выполнял наиболее трудоемкие и не требующие особых навыков дела: краски растирал, чего-то варил, чего-то строгал* [9].

3. Conclusion and Prospects. The combination of different methods of analysis of the concept allows for their integration into a single method of study in conceptual analysis. As the concept has a complex structure, the method of its study has to include a number of methodologies. The structure of concept EDUCATION can be established following seven stages of analysis: 1) at the first stage the lexical units that verbalize the concept are established, cognitive properties of the concept are then defined; 2) the second stage involves analysis of rational (logical) component of the concept structure; 3) at the third stage perceptive component of concept is studied; 4) the fourth stage deals with the analysis of figurative components of concepts represented by cognitive metaphors; 5) the fifth stage is modelling axiological (value) component of concept; 6) sixth stage is comparing the core of the concept; 7) modelling concept structure and comparing it in the contrastive aspect. The prospect of the research is the study of concept EDUCATION in discourse and combining Corpus Linguistics methods with concept analysis procedures in contrastive studies.

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8. Additional Resources: Part 10.



Read the excerpts from the article by Cliff Goddard and Anna Wierzbicka published in *Philosophica* 55 (1995, 1) pp. 37–67 and get ready to discuss the idea of conceptual universals as a ‘common measure’ for comparing semantic systems

KEY WORDS, CULTURE AND COGNITION

1. Introductory remarks.

How much does language influence how we think? How far are the categories of our language contingent and culture-specific? Few questions are of greater significance to the social sciences. In this paper we attempt to demonstrate that linguistic semantics can address these questions with rigour and precision, by analyzing some examples of cultural ‘key words’ in several languages. We want to argue for two complementary positions: on the one hand, that there are enormous differences in the semantic structuring of different languages and that these linguistic differences greatly influence how people think; but on the other, that all languages share a small set of ‘universal concepts’ which can provide a solid basis for cross-cultural understanding and for the culture-independent formulation of philosophical problems.

The insight that languages and cultures are deeply interconnected is an old one. For example, in 1690 John Locke observed that in any language there is a ‘great store of words ... which have not any that answer them in another [language]’. Such language-specific words, he said, represent certain ‘complex ideas’ which have grown out of ‘the customs and manner of life’ of the people. He further observed that such complex ideas were ‘collections made and abstracted by the mind’ and were thus contingent, rather than being the product of ‘the steady workmanship of nature’, which would not vary from culture to culture. This same insight burned bright throughout the German Romantic tradition, led by Johann Herder and Wilhelm von Humboldt. It was eventually carried to America in the person of Franz Boas, who founded

cultural and linguistic anthropology in that country. Boas and his students could not fail to be impressed by the vast linguistic and cultural differences between Europe and the New World. So great were differences in the area of vocabulary alone that, as Edward Sapir observed: ‘Distinctions which seem inevitable to us may be utterly ignored in languages which reflect an entirely different type of culture, while these in turn insist on distinctions which are all but unintelligible to us’. He also pointed out that such differences go far beyond the names of cultural objects, extending also to the ‘mental world’, and warned: ‘The philosopher needs to understand language if only to protect himself against his own language habits’...

On the other hand, it is true that investigations of the relationship between language, culture and cognition have been greatly hindered by conceptual and methodological difficulties, not least of which is the tendency for upholders of linguistic relativity to rely on impressionist ‘evidence’ and to resort to vague and slippery generalizations. To overcome these difficulties, what is needed is a rigorous and precise method for analyzing conceptual differences between languages. Such methods can be provided, we believe, by developments in linguistic semantics, developments which depend (paradoxically, it might seem) on a theory of semantic universals.

2. Semantic universals.

Critics of Whorf have often pointed out an apparent contradiction in his thinking. On the one hand, he insisted (or seemed to insist) that we are all of us trapped in the conceptual prison of our own language; yet, on the other, he went out of his way to try to explain the exotic conceptual categories of Hopi and other American Indian languages to an English speaking audience. In truth, however, Whorf did not believe that all the ‘foundational categories of reality’ are imposed by one’s culture. In some of his writings at least, he recognized the existence of a ‘common stock of conceptions’, underlying all different languages of the world. This ‘common stock of conceptions’, he wrote (Whorf 1956: 36) ‘seems to be a necessary concomitant of the communicability of ideas by language; it holds the principle of this communicability, and is in a sense the universal language to which the various specific languages give an entrance.’ As Whorf here acknowledges, to compare the meanings of words from different languages requires a

common measure, in a sense, a ‘universal language’ of culture-independent concepts. To put it another way: if the meanings of all words were culture specific, then cultural differences could not be explored at all. The hypothesis of ‘linguistic relativity’ makes sense only if it is combined with a well thought-out hypothesis of ‘linguistic universality’. Only well-established linguistic and conceptual universals can provide a valid basis for comparing conceptual systems entrenched in different languages and for elucidating the meanings which are encoded in some languages but not in others.

The idea of conceptual universals as a ‘common measure’ for comparing semantic systems goes back to Leibniz, who wrote of ‘an alphabet of human thoughts’, meaning by this ‘the catalogue of those concepts which can be understood by themselves, and by whose combination all our other ideas are formed’. Similarly, despite his emphasis on the conceptual and grammatical peculiarities of individual languages Humboldt acknowledged the existence in grammar and lexicon of a ‘midpoint around which all languages revolve’. Other champions of linguistic relativity, such as Boas and Sapir, also defended the idea that there is a universal core of cognition and of language; Boas with his insistence on ‘the psychic unity of mankind’, and Sapir with his oft-repeated claim that the ‘fundamental groundwork’ of language is everywhere the same. It should be obvious that the opposition often drawn between ‘relativity’ and ‘universalism’ is spurious (or worse, pernicious). Not only is there no conflict between an interest in linguistic and conceptual universals and an interest in the diversity of language-and-culture systems, but in fact to achieve their purposes these two interests must go hand in hand.

If there are universal concepts, shared between all languages, what are they? How can they be discovered? Here we will outline an empirically-oriented approach to linguistic semantics, known as the ‘natural semantic metalanguage’ (NSM) approach. This approach begins with two assumptions: first, that in every language there is a finite number of word-meanings (‘semantic primes’) which are indefinable and in terms of which all the other complex meanings can be analyzed; and second, that the sets of such semantic primes coincide across languages. After a great deal of trial-and-error experimentation in diverse areas of semantic analysis, and taking into account a

number of in-depth cross linguistic studies, nearly sixty such **universal semantic primes** have been identified:

Substantives: I, YOU, SOMEONE/PERSON, SOMETHING/THING, PEOPLE

Determiners: THIS, THE SAME, OTHER

Quantifiers: ONE, TWO, SOME, ALL, MANY/MUCH

Attributes: GOOD, BAD, BIG, SMALL

Mental predicates: THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR

Speech: SAY, WORD

Actions, events and movement: DO, HAPPEN, MOVE

Existence: THERE IS

Life and death: LIVE/ALIVE, DIE

Logical concepts: NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF, IF ... WOULD

Time: WHEN/TIME, NOW, AFTER, BEFORE, A LONG TIME, A SHORT

TIME, FOR SOME TIME

Space: WHERE/PLACE, HERE, UNDER, ABOVE, ON (CONTACT); FAR,

NEAR; SIDE, INSIDE

Intensifier, Augmentor: VERY, MORE

Taxonomy, partonomy: KIND OF, PART OF

Similarity: LIKE

The available evidence suggests that these meanings are not the exclusive property of the English language, but have exponents in every human language. That is, the meanings listed above could equally well be presented as a list of words in Yankunyjtajara, Malay, Japanese, Russian, Ewe, or any other language. Two qualifications should be mentioned, however. First, the equivalents of semantic primes are not always separate ‘words’, in the literal sense, but may be affixes or fixed phrases (phrasemes).

... Second, polysemy is extremely wide-spread in natural language, and common everyday words – including indefinables – are particularly likely to be involved in it. A semantic primitive cannot be identified, therefore, simply by pointing to an indefinable word. Rather, it must be identified with reference to

some illustrative sentences. For example, the English word *move* has at least two meanings, as illustrated in these two sentences:

(a) *I couldn't move*

(b) *Her words moved me.*

Of these two meanings, only that in (a) is proposed as a semantic primitive.

The set of semantic primes is intended to be a complete lexicon for semantic analysis. It should contain only expressions which are indefinable and it should contain all such expressions, making it powerful enough to take on the full range of complex meanings capable of being expressed in any human language. The primitives and their rules of combination constitute a kind of mini-language with the same expressive power as a full natural language; hence the term 'natural semantic metalanguage' (NSM). If a meaning analysis is composed purely in terms of universal semantic primes it can be readily 'transposed' without any loss or distortion of meaning, into Russian, Japanese, Yankunyjtjajara, Ewe, or any other language.

Of course, to say anything meaningful we need not only words: we need sentences in which words are meaningfully put together. Similarly, to think something we need not just 'concepts': we need meaningful combinations of concepts. For example, the indefinable word WANT makes sense only if it is put in a certain syntactic frame, such as 'I want to do this'. As well as positing the elements listed above as innate and universal conceptual primitives, the NSM theory also posits certain innate and universal rules of syntax, in the sense of universally available combinatorial patterns of primitive concepts. For example, it is posited that a sentence corresponding exactly in meaning to 'I want to do this' can be said in any language, notwithstanding that there may be various language-specific formal features involved.

To illustrate: in Russian the equivalent sentence to '*I want to do this*' is '*я хочу это сделать*'. *Я* matches with *I*, *хочу* with WANT, *это* with THIS, and *сделать* with DO; the combination *я хочу* matches with I WANT, the combination *это сделать* matches with TO DO THIS, and the whole combination *я хочу это сделать* matches with the whole combination I WANT TO DO THIS. The various formal differences between the English and Russian sentences (for example, the fact that *хочу* occurs in a specifically 'first-person

singular' form) do not detract in the least from their overall semantic equivalence, which is based on the equivalence of the primitives themselves and of the rules for their combination ...

The discovery that there is indeed a universal core of linguistically embodied 'common conceptions' (as Leibniz, Boas, Sapir, and Wharf had speculated was the case), means that there are no utterly irreconcilable conceptual differences between languages. Cultural differences between human groups do not reside in the existence of some basic concepts in one cultural group and their absence in another, but rather in the ways in which the shared pool of basic concepts is utilized. From this point of view, it can be said that modern linguistic semantics provides strong empirical evidence in favour of the 'psychic unity of mankind' and against the thesis that there are impenetrable differences between conceptual systems.

On the other hand, the absence of any essential 'qualitative' differences between conceptual systems does not mean that the real differences are insignificant. The 'psychic unity' pertains only to the most fundamental level of conceptual structure, the level of semantic primes. When we turn our attention away from these few score basic concepts to the huge numbers of complex concepts in any language, we immediately encounter large differences between cultural groups.

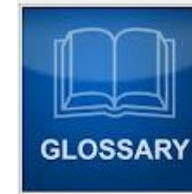
3. Concepts as artefacts of cultural history.

Consider the domain of food. It is clearly not an accident that, for example, Polish has special words for cabbage stew *bigos*, beetroot soup *barszcz* and plum jam *powidla*, which English does not; or that Japanese has a word *sake* for a strong alcoholic drink made from rice; or that thenomadic Pitjantjajara have a word *tjirpika* for a bed of leafy sprigs to putcuts of meat on after a hunted animal has been butchered. Few people find examples of this kind surprising.

It is also widely known that there are customs and social institutions which have specific names in one language but not in others, and no-one considers this accidental either. Consider, for example, the German noun *Bruderschajt*, which *Harrap's German and English Dictionary* glosses laboriously as

‘(to drink) the pledge of ‘brotherhood’ with someone (subsequently addressing each other as *du*). Clearly, the absence of a word meaning *Bruderschajt* in English has something to do with the fact that English no longer makes a distinction between an intimate/familiar ‘thou’ and a more distant ‘you’; and that English-speaking societies do not have a common ritual of pledging friendship through drinking. Similarly, it is no accident that English doesn’t have a word corresponding to Japanese *miai*, referring to a formal occasion when the prospective bride and her family meet for the first time the prospective bridegroom and his family; or a word corresponding to Pitjantjatjara *alpiri*, referring to the style of public speaking practiced in the early morning as people are waking up around their campfires.

What is less widely appreciated is that what applies to material culture, and to social rituals and institutions, applies also to people’s ideas about human nature and to their values and ideals about life. In this section we illustrate the claim that culture-specific concepts differ significantly in their content, and also the point of Sapir’s (1949) assertion that ‘linguistics is of strategic importance to the social science’, with an examination of two areas of lexical variation in abstract vocabulary: ethno-psychological concepts and ‘ethno-ethical concepts’.



Abbreviation is part of the study of word-formation, distinguishing several ways in which words can be shortened. **Initialisms** or **alphabetisms** reflect the separate pronunciation of the initial letters of the constituent words (*TV, COD*); **acronyms** are pronounced as single words (*NATO, laser*); clipped forms or **clippings** are reductions of longer forms, usually removing the end of the word (*ad* from *advertisement*), but sometimes the beginning (*plane*), or both beginning and ending together (*flu*); and **blends** combine parts of two words (*sitcom, motel*).

Acceptability denotes the extent to which linguistic data would be judged by native-speakers to be possible in their language.

Affix is the collective term for the types of formative that can be used only when added to another morpheme (the root or stem), i.e. affixes are a type of ‘bound’ morpheme. Affixes are limited in number in a language, and are generally classified into three types, depending on their position with reference to the root or stem of the word: those which are added to the beginning of a root/stem (**prefixes**), e.g. *un-happy*; those which follow (**suffixes**), e.g. *happ-iness*; and those which occur within a root/stem (**infixes**). Less common terms include **circumfix** or **ambifix**, for a combination of prefix and suffix (as in *en-light-en*). The morphological process whereby grammatical or lexical information is added to a stem is known as affixation (‘prefixation’, ‘suffixation’, ‘infixation’). From an alternative point of view, affixes may be divided into inflectional and derivational types.

Analytic is a term which characterizes a type of language established by comparative linguistics using structural (as opposed to diachronic) criteria, and focusing on the characteristics of the word: in analytic languages, all the words

are invariable (and syntactic relationships are shown primarily by word-order). The term is seen in opposition to **synthetic** (and sometimes also **polysynthetic**) languages (which include agglutinative and inflecting types), where words typically contain more than one morpheme. Different languages will display the characteristic of analyticity to a greater or lesser degree.

Antonymy is a term used in semantics as part of the study of oppositeness of meaning. Antonymy is one of a set of semantic relations recognized in some analyses of meaning, along with synonymy, hyponymy and others. In its most general sense, it refers collectively to all types of semantic oppositeness (antonyms), with various subdivisions then being made (e.g. between graded antonyms, such as *big* ~ *small*, where there are degrees of difference, and ungraded antonyms, such as *single* ~ *married*, where there is an either/or contrast). Some linguists (e.g. the British linguist John Lyons) have reserved the term for a particular type of oppositeness: graded antonyms are referred to as ‘antonyms’, the other type just illustrated being referred to as antiformant complementaries. It is a matter of controversy how many types of opposites one should usefully recognize in semantic analysis, and the use of the term ‘antonym’ must always be viewed with caution.

Archaism is a term used in relation to any domain of language structure for an old word or phrase no longer in general spoken or written use. Archaisms are found for example in poetry, nursery rhymes, historical novels, biblical translations and place names. Archaic vocabulary in English includes *damsel*, *hither*, *oft*, *yon*; in Ukrainian: *уста*, *рать*, *вертоград*, *вої*, *ніім*, *злато*.

Asterisk is used in linguistics to mark a linguistic construction that is unacceptable or ungrammatical, e.g. **man do been go*. An asterisked word (or ‘starred word’) is a form which cannot occur in a language, e.g. **hoodneighbour*.

Back-formation is a term used in word-formation studies to refer to an abnormal type of word-formation where a shorter word is derived by deleting an imagined affix from a longer form already present in the language. *Edit*, for example, comes from *editor*, and not the other way round. This derivation

presumably took place because native-speakers saw an analogy between *editor* and other words where a normal derivational process had taken place, e.g. *credit/creditor*, *inspect/inspector*, *act/actor*, the nouns being in each case formed from the verbs. The derivation of *edit* thus reverses the expected derivational pattern, hence the term ‘back-formation’.

Bahuvrihi is a Sanskrit term (lit., having much rice, equiv. to *bahu-* much + *vr̥thi* rice) used to name the type of compound word of which it is an example (denoting *a rich man*). It is a compound noun or adjective consisting of two constituents, the first of which is adjectival and describes the person or object denoted by the second, which is nominal. The compound as a whole denotes or describes a person or object having what is denoted by the second element, as *bonehead*, *heavy-handed*, *redcoat* but an entity is characterized without either of the constituents directly naming it. It is also called an exocentric or possessive compound. Examples include *loudmouth* (a person ‘whose mouth speaks loudly’) and *scarecrow* (an object whose job is to ‘scare crows’).

Base (or stem) is what remains when functional affix is stripped from the word. For example, in *unhappy* the base form is *happy*; if *-ness* is then added to *unhappy*, the whole of this item would be considered the base to which the new affix is attached. In many cases, the base is also the root. The principles of singling out bases and roots are different. Roots are semantic cores of words. Bases are directly connected with inflectional affixes, thus singled out on the structural principle. Root and stem can coincide.

Blending is a process found in the analysis of grammatical and lexical constructions, in which two elements which do not normally co-occur, according to the rules of the language, come together within a single linguistic unit (**a blend**).

Borrowing is a term used in lexicology to refer to a linguistic form taken over by one language or dialect from another; such borrowings are usually known as ‘loan words’ (e.g. *restaurant*, *bonhomie*, *chagrin*, which have come into English from French), and several types have been recognized.

Bound is a term used as part of the classification of morphemes; opposed to free. A **bound morpheme** (or **bound form**) is one which cannot occur on its own as a separate word, e.g. the various affixes *de-*, *-tion*, *-ize*, etc.

Cognitive is a term sometimes used in semantics as part of a classification of types of meaning. **Cognitive meaning** refers to those aspects of meaning which relate directly to denotations of lexical items and the propositional content of sentences, and thus corresponds to an intellectually objective level of interpretation, as opposed to one where emotional or subjective interpretation is involved. Alternative terms include denotative and referential; opposite terms include emotive and connotative.

Cognitive linguistics is defined as a study of language in connection with different human facilities which include perception, categorization, memory, thinking etc.

Cognitive semantics is the area of study concerned with the investigation of the relationship between the experience, the conceptual system, and the semantic structure encoded by language. This semantic theory identifies meaning with conceptualization – the structures and processes which are part of mental experience. The theory stresses the importance of bodily experience in conceptualization. It operates with an encyclopedic view of meaning, not recognizing a clear boundary between linguistic and general knowledge. Lexical items, which act as pointers or triggers for encyclopedic knowledge, are therefore typically polysemous, and analysed as a network of related senses. The theory identifies a number of processes such as metaphor and metonymy as general cognitive processes rather than purely linguistic devices. A central notion is how a conceptual content is ‘construed’: the construal of a lexical item depends on several factors, including the ‘cognitive domains’ in which it appears (e.g. space, time, colour) and variations in perspective and salience.

Collocation is a term used in lexicology to refer to the habitual co-occurrence of individual lexical items. For example, *auspicious collocates* with *occasion*, *event*, *sign*, etc.; and *letter collocates* with *alphabet*, *graphic*,

etc., on the one hand, and *postman*, *pillarbox*, etc., on the other. Collocations are, then, a type of syntagmatic lexical relation. They are linguistically predictable to a greater or lesser extent.

Comparative concepts are concepts created by comparative linguists for the purpose of formulating readily testable cross-linguistic generalizations. They are used to describe specific aspects of linguistic systems, e.g. *subject*, *case*, (*past/present/future*) *tense*, etc. For instance, a *subject* in German does not have precisely the (system-internal) properties of a *subject* in English. Still, *subject* can be used as a comparative concept, in the sense of „grammaticalized neutralization over specific types of semantic roles” (Haspelmath 2008)

Comparative Linguistics is a term used to characterize a major branch of linguistics, in which the primary concern is to make statements comparing the characteristics of different languages (dialects, varieties, etc.), or different historical states of a language. During the nineteenth century, the concern for comparative analysis was exclusively historical, as scholars investigated the relationships between such families of languages as Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, their hypothetical antecedents (i.e. the proto-language from which such families developed), and the subsequent processes which led to the formation of the language groups of the present day. Early twentieth-century linguistics switched from a diachronic to a synchronic emphasis in language analysis, and, while not excluding historical studies, **contrastive linguistics** these days is generally taken up with the theoretical and practical analysis of the structural correspondences between living languages, regardless of their history.

Comparison is the identification of similarities and differences between two or more categories along a specific (set of) dimension(s). The categories compared must be of the same type, i.e. there has to be a set of properties that they have in common, or a superordinate category containing them. One major challenge for comparative linguistics thus is to determine the nature of that superordinate category for any pair of categories under comparison.

Compound is a term used in lexicology to refer to a linguistic unit which is composed of elements that function independently in other circumstances. Of particular currency are the notions of **compounding** found in ‘compound words’ (consisting of two or more free morphemes, as in such ‘compound nouns’ as *bedroom*, *rainfall* and *washing machine*) but other applications of the term exist, as in ‘compound verbs’ (e.g. *come in*).

Conceptual metaphor is a theory, associated with cognitive semantics, in which metaphor is seen as a process of understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another. A typical metaphor is a mapping between a better-known, more concrete conceptual domain (the ‘source domain’) and the conceptual domain which it helps to organize (the ‘target domain’). Thus a conceptual metaphor such as THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, as described by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson has physical objects as source and abstract mental entities as target, and gives rise to an open set of linguistic metaphors, such as *Your theories lack foundation* and *He needs to construct a stronger argument*. In its view of metaphor as a general cognitive process, this approach contrasts with the purely stylistic account of metaphor, with its distinction between literal and figurative meaning, and its focus on rhetorical and literary contexts.

Connotation is a term used in semantics as part of a classification of types of meaning; opposed to denotation. Its main application is with reference to the emotional associations (personal or communal) which are suggested by, or are part of the meaning of, a linguistic unit, especially a lexical item. **Denotation**, by contrast, covers the relationship between a linguistic unit and the non-linguistic entities to which it refers. For example, the connotations of the lexical item *December* might include ‘bad weather’, ‘dark evenings’, etc. (for north Europeans, at least), or ‘parties’, ‘Christmas’, etc. Alternative terms for **connotative** meaning include affective and emotive.

Context is used in linguistics to refer to specific parts of an utterance (or text) near or adjacent to a unit which is the focus of attention. The occurrence of a unit (e.g. a sound, word) is partly or wholly determined by its

context, which is specified in terms of the unit’s relations, i.e. the other features with which it combines as a sequence. The everyday sense of the term is related to this, as when one ‘puts a word in context’ (**contextualizes**), in order to clarify the meaning intended, as in dictionary entries. Providing a context in this way is referred to as **contextualization**. Words, it is suggested, have meaning only when seen in context.

Contrastive analysis is traditionally defined as a method which helps the analyst to ascertain in which aspects the two languages are alike and in which they differ. It includes two main processes – description and comparison, set up in four basic steps: a) assembling the data; b) formulating the description; c) supplementing the data as required; d) formulating the contrasts.

The term is also used to denote a general approach to the investigation of language (**contrastive linguistics**), particularly as carried on in certain areas of applied linguistics, such as foreign-language teaching and translation. In a contrastive analysis of two languages, the points of structural difference are identified, and these are then studied as areas of potential difficulty (interference or ‘negative transfer’) in foreign-language learning. The claim that these differences are the source of difficulty in foreign-language learning, and thus govern the progress of the learner, is known as the contrastive analysis hypothesis.

Contrastive Linguistics is a particular linguistic enterprise within the field of descriptive synchronic comparative linguistics aimed at producing description of one language from the perspective of another and concerned with in depth analysis of similarities and contrasts that hold between them.

Contrastive Lexicology is a subdiscipline of contrastive linguistics which deals with synchronic contrastive analysis of lexis of two or more languages. It is concerned with the analysis of language vocabularies and lexical items with respect to their structural, semantic and functional features. Its essential task is to examine how human experience is reflected in the lexical units of languages compared. The linguist will do this by examining whether and to what extent the words of one language can be said to be ‘translational equivalents’ or

‘interlingual synonyms’. For an item of one language to be fully equivalent to an item of another language (to be an interlingual synonym), both must have identical communicative value in comparable linguistic contexts and in comparable situations, i.e. they must convey the same conceptual content, have the same connotations, belong to the same language variety and enter into comparable connotations. The term ‘translational equivalence’ is, however, often used in a weaker sense, i.e. the relation that holds between lexical units which are regularly used as translations of each other and are presented as such in bilingual dictionaries. Contrastive lexicological analysis can be also conducted of the formal level (word-building) and the level of functioning (stylistic differentiation of the vocabulary).

Contrastive Pragmatics is the type of study within contrastive linguistics which deals with cross-cultural and cross-linguistic pragmatic differences and similarities. Contrastive pragmatics, studies how language use varies across languages and cultures taking into consideration the context (place and time of communication) and the users: relation between speaker and hearer; communicative goals of users; world knowledge of users; users’ pragmatic competence. Despite the pragmatic principles that exist across languages, the ways people abide by in one language to realize communicative functions are often different in another and the task of contrastive pragmatics is to discover those differences.

Contrastive study of concepts is the technique that should provide the explication of cognitive procedures applied by the subject when interpreting culturally meaningful reference of lingual signs which is obtained from all means of denotative-connotative presentation of cultural senses.

Conversion is a term used in the study of word-formation to refer to the derivational process whereby an item comes to belong to a new word-class without the addition of an affix, e.g. verbs/nouns: *smell/taste/hit/walk/bottle/brake*; adjectives/verbs: *dirty/empty/lower*. Some scholars distinguish between full conversion and partial conversion – the latter being cases where only some of the characteristics of the new word-class are adopted (e.g. *the rich*).

Culture is the term most commonly used to designate the sum total of knowledge, attitudes and values which inform a society or characterize an individual. In this sense, culture is the product of human achievements and is directly related to the human power of transformation. The arts belong to culture, as do thought products in general or, for that matter, culture is anything produced by human beings.

Denotation is a term used in semantics as part of a classification of types of meaning; often opposed to connotation. It has been given different though overlapping uses in philosophy and branches of linguistics, so it has to be used with care. In one sense, in traditional linguistic terminology, denotational meaning equates roughly with literal meaning, contrasting with the subjective and personal associations of connotation. For example, the denotation of *dog* would be its dictionary definition of ‘canine quadruped’, etc., while its connotations might include ‘friend’, ‘helper’, ‘competition’, etc. In a second sense, the denotation of an expression is the set of entities that it properly applies to or identifies; so for *dog* this is the set of all actual dogs. In this case it is equivalent to extension. In a third usage, the denotation of an expression is the set of properties that something has to have to allow the expression to be applied to it. In this case it is equivalent to intension.

Derivation is a term used in lexicology/morphology to refer to one of the two main categories or processes of word-formation (**derivational morphology**), the other being inflection(al); also sometimes called **derivatology**. These terms also apply to the two types of affix involved in word-formation. Basically, the result of a derivational process is a new word (e.g. *nation* ⇒ *national*), whereas the result of an inflectional (or **non-derivational**) process is a different form of the same word (e.g. *nations*, *nationals*). **Derivational affixes** can change the grammatical class of morphemes to which they are attached (as in suffixation, e.g. *-tion* is a noun-forming derivational suffix); they also usually occur closer to the root morpheme than do inflections, e.g. *nation-al-ize* + *-ing/-s/-d*. Often they have independently stateable lexical meanings (e.g. *mini-*, *sub-*), though these are not always easy to identify (e.g. *-er*). The combination of root and derivational affixes is usually referred to as the stem of the word, i.e. the element to which inflections are attached.

Derivational affix is the type of affix that serves to convey lexical meaning and unlike inflexional affixes derivational affixes characteristically change the category and/or the type of meaning of the form to which they apply and are therefore create a new word.

Derivational paradigm is a complete set of all the various words formed from another word or base by the addition of a derivational affix), e.g. *love, lovely, loveliness, loveless, lover, loving, lovingly, lovable, beloved*

Diminutive is a term used in morphology to refer to an affix with the general meaning of ‘little’, used literally or metaphorically (as a term of endearment). Examples include *-ino* in Italian, *-zinho* in Portuguese, *-let* in English, *-еньк* in Ukrainian. The term is usually contrasted with **augmentative**.

Distribution is a general term used in linguistics to refer to the total set of linguistic contexts, or environments, in which a unit (such as a phoneme, a morpheme or a word) can occur. Every linguistic unit, it is said, has a characteristic distribution. A **distributional analysis** would plot the places in larger linguistic units where smaller units occur, such as the distribution of phonemes within a syllable or word, or of words within a sentence.

Endocentric compound is a type of compound which one member functions as the head and the other as its modifier, attributing a property to the head. The relation between the members of an endocentric compound can be schematized as ‘AB is (a) B’. For example, the English compound *steamboat* as compared with *boat* is a modified, expanded version of *boat* with its range of usage restricted, so that *steamboat* will be found in basically the same semantic contexts as the noun *boat*. The compound also retains the primary syntactic features of *boat*, since both are nouns. Hence, a *steamboat* is a particular type of *boat*, where the class of steamboats is a subclass of the class of boats.

Equivalence in contrastive linguistics is understood as the content adequacy of the two lingual units of different levels with possible deviations in terms

of structure. Types: 1) referential equivalence (when compared languages have signs for representation of the same referent); 2) conceptual equivalence (as soon as the cases of notion/concept coincidence are few, this type of equivalence is quite limited); contextual equivalence; situational equivalence.

Etymology is the term used for the study of the origins and history of the form and meaning of words. In so far as etymology derives its methods from linguistics (especially semantics), it may be seen as a branch of historical linguistics. The linguistic form from which a later form derives is known as its **etymon**.

Euphemism (Greek εύφημισμός – mild expression, from εϋ – well and φημίζω – praise, glorify) is a word or phrase used for indirect, particularly, mild and polite designation of some objects, phenomena or actions to avoid using their already existing primary names which would be better logically motivated. The sources of euphemisms are the taboo phenomena and the desire to substitute some names by their neutral, “positive” or “negative” equivalents. For example, Укр.: *нерозумний* (instead of *дурний*), *на заслужений відпочинок* (*на пенсію*), *пішов з життя* (*помер*), *знайтися* (*народитися*); Eng.: *queer* (*mad*), *deceased* (*dead*), *elevated* (*drunk*).

Exocentric compound is a compound construction that lacks a head word, that is, the construction as a whole is not grammatically and/or semantically equivalent to either of its parts. Also called a **headless compound**. Contrast with **endocentric compound** (a construction that fulfills the same linguistic function as one of its parts). Most compounds in English are endocentric, that is, one of the elements (typically the right-hand element) is the head of the construction. Headedness is shown most clearly by hyponymy: the compound as a whole is a hyponym of its head. For example, *traffic-light* is a hyponym of *light*, but not a hyponym of *traffic*. In Ukrainian compounds take their declension class or gender from those of the head element, but in English this is not particularly important. An exocentric compound lacks a head (or ‘centre’) external to the compound itself. English examples such as *redhead* ‘a person with red hair’, *flat-foot* ‘policemen (slang)’ and *egghead* ‘intellectual’ abound. The first person to extend the notion of exocentricity from syntax to the morphological form of compounds was Leonard Bloomfield.

Extralingual in its most general sense, refers to anything in the world (other than language) in relation to which language is used – the **extralingual situation**. The term **extralingual features** is used both generally, to refer to any properties of such situations, and also specifically, to refer to properties of communication which are not clearly analysable in linguistic terms, e.g. gestures, tones of voice. Some linguists refer to the former class of features as metalingual; others refer to the latter class as paralingual.

False friends in contrastive lexicology is a term describing words in different languages which resemble each other in form, but which express different meanings; also called **false cognates**, and often known by the French equivalent expression **faux amis** /fo:za'mi:/. Examples include French *demander*, which translates into English as 'to request' not 'to demand', and Italian *caldo* which translates as 'warm' not 'cold'.

Feature is a term used in linguistics to refer to any typical or noticeable property of spoken or written language. Two entities are similar if they share at least one feature and two entities are the same if neither has features that the other lacks. Features are classified in terms of the various levels of linguistic analysis.

Field is a term used in semantics to refer to the vocabulary of a language viewed as a system of interrelated lexical networks, and not as an inventory of independent items. The theory of **semantic fields (field theory)** was developed in Europe in the 1930s (especially by Jost Trier (1894–1970), and later Johann Leo Weisgerber (1899–1985)). Conceptual fields (e.g. colour, kinship) are isolated, and the lexical items used to refer to the various features of these fields are analysed in terms of a network of sense relations. This network constitutes the lexical structure of the semantic (or 'lexical') field.

Free is a term used in a range of linguistic contexts to refer to a linguistic feature lacking a specific type of formal constraint. For example, a **free form** or **free morpheme** is a minimal unit which can be used as a word without the need for further morphological modification (opposed to **bound**).

Homography is a term used in semantic analysis to refer to words which have the same spelling but differ in meaning. **Homographs** are a type of homonymy. Homography is illustrated from such pairs as *wind* (blowing) and *wind* (a clock). When there is ambiguity on account of this identity, a **homographic clash** or 'conflict' is said to have occurred.

Homonymy is a term used in semantic analysis to refer to lexical items which have the same form but differ in meaning. **Homonyms** are illustrated from the various meanings of *bear* (= animal, carry) or *ear* (of body, of corn). In these examples, the identity covers both spoken and written forms, but it is possible to have partial homonymy (or heteronymy), where the identity is within a single medium, as in homophony and homography. When there is ambiguity between homonyms (whether non-deliberate or contrived, as in riddles and puns), a **homonymic clash** or **conflict** is said to have occurred.

Homophony is a term used in semantic analysis to refer to words which have the same pronunciation, but differ in meaning. **Homophones** are a type of homonymy. Homophony is illustrated from such pairs as *threw/through* and *rode/rowed*. When there is ambiguity on account of this identity, a **homophonic clash** or **conflict** is said to have occurred.

Hyperbole is the result of the semantic process when a linguistic unit renders a deliberate exaggeration used to make something sound much more impressive than it really is, e.g. *he embraced her a thousand times*, *mile-high ice-cream cones*

Hyponymy is a term used in semantics as part of the study of the sense relations which relate lexical items. Hyponymy is the relationship which obtains between specific and general lexical items, such that the former is 'included' in the latter (i.e. 'is a **hyponym** of' the latter). For example, *cat* is a hyponym of *animal*, *flute* of *instrument*, *chair* of *furniture*, and so on. In each case, there is a superordinate term (sometimes called a **hypernym** or **hyperonym**), with reference to which the subordinate term can be defined, as is the usual practice in dictionary definitions ('a cat is a type of animal ...'). Hyponymy is distinguished from such other sense relations as synonymy, antonymy and meronymy.

Idiom is a term used in lexicology to refer to a sequence of words which is semantically and often syntactically restricted, so that they function as a single unit. From a semantic viewpoint, the meanings of the individual words cannot be summed to produce the meaning of the **idiomatic** expression as a whole.

Infix is a type of affix inserted within stems in a compound or a morpheme without independent meaning placed between the stem and derivational or inflexional affix. English has almost no true infixes but in Ukrainian there are about 30 interfixes. Compounds are commonly formed with interfixes -o, -e, -e, e.g., *бур-е-вій*, *скл-о-дуб* and they facilitate adaptation of borrowings like in *григор-(іан)-ськ-ий*, *депо-(в)-ець*, *драм-(ат)-ичн-ий*, *мексик-(ан)-ець* and others.

Inflectional affix is the type of affix that serves to convey grammatical meaning. Basically, the result of a derivational process is a new word (e.g. *nation* ⇒ *national*), whereas the result of an inflectional (or **non-derivational**) process is a different form of the same word (e.g. *nations*, *nationals*).

Inflectional paradigm is a complete set of all the various grammatical forms characteristic of a word, e.g. *near*, *nearer*, *nearest*; *son*, *sons*, *son's*, *sons'*.

Interpretation is a part of the analysis and production phase in the intelligence process in which the significance of information is judged in relation to the current body of knowledge. It involves the operations of recognition and identification. 'Re'-cognition or 're'-discovery (in this sense contrary to acquiring knowledge) is an act of comparing a proposition with what is already known. Recognition as comparison, furthermore, necessarily comprises identifying, in any particular utterance, all or parts of a truth one already possesses. Interpreting any statement means weighing what one already knows to be true against what is being proposed and deciding in the light of this on its meaning and accuracy.

Item is a term used in linguistics to refer to an individual linguistic form, from the viewpoint of its occurrence in an inventory and not in a classification. For example, the vocabulary of a language, as listed in a dictionary, can be seen as a set of 'lexical items' (e.g. the headwords in this dictionary).

Irony (from Greek εἰρωνεία – mockery) is the type of the semantic change which occurs when a word with a positive or assertive connotation (in a wide sense) is used to denote opposite characteristics. It is usually pronounced with a specific intonation, which in written form can be marked by inverted commas. For example, Ukr.: *святий та божий, частувати (налицею), нагородити (стусаном), баталія (сварка, бійка)*, Eng.: *a pretty mess*.

Language universal is a postulated linguistic feature or property which is shared by all languages, or by all language and which is independent from historical transmission or language contact. Types: 1) absolute universals: shared by all natural languages; 2) implicational universals: feature A and feature B exist in a language: 2.1) unilateral universals: if feature A exists, feature B exists but not vice versa; 2.2) bilateral/ equivalent universals; 3) statistic/frequency universals: a feature exists with a probability higher than chance.

Lexeme is a term used by some linguists to refer to the minimal distinctive unit in the semantic system of a language. Its original motivation was to reduce the ambiguity of the term word, which applied to orthographic/phonological, grammatical and lexical levels, and to devise a more appropriate term for use in the context of discussing a language's vocabulary. The lexeme is thus postulated as the abstract unit underlying such sets of grammatical variants as *walk*, *walks*, *walking*, *walked*, or *big*, *bigger*, *biggest*. Idiomatic phrases, by this definition, are also considered **lexemic** (e.g. *kick the bucket* (= 'die')). Lexemes are the units which are conventionally listed in dictionaries as separate entries.

Lexical Contrastive Analysis is carried out between the vocabulary system(s) of two or more languages. It is concerned with the way lexical items in one language are expressed in another language. This can be done through identifying both the semantic fields and the semantic properties in order to specify the divisions and sub-divisions of the lexicon. Lexical CA may result in complete, partial, or nil equivalence between languages.

Lexicology is a separate branch of linguistics concerned with a) the sign nature, meaning and use of words; b) some important questions about the interpretation and evaluation of the vocabulary of a language.

Lexicon is a total stock of morphemes in a language that account for all the phonetic forms of a language. In most general sense the term which is synonymous with vocabulary. A dictionary can be seen as a set of lexical entries. The lexicon refers to the information about the properties of the lexical items in a language, i.e. their specification semantically, syntactically and phonologically. The **mental lexicon** is the stored mental representation of what we know about the lexical items in our language.

Lexis is a term used in linguistics to refer to the vocabulary of a language, and used adjectivally in a variety of technical phrases. A unit of vocabulary is generally referred to as a **lexical item**, or lexeme. A complete inventory of the lexical items of a language constitutes that language's dictionary, or lexicon. Items are listed 'in the lexicon' as a set of **lexical entries**. The way lexical items are organized in a language is the **lexical structure** or **lexical system**. A group of items used to identify the network of contrasts in a specific semantic or **lexical field** (e.g. cooking, colour) may also be called a 'lexical system'. Specific groups of items, sharing certain formal or semantic features, are known as **lexical sets**. The absence of a lexeme at a specific structural place in a language's lexical field is called a **lexical gap** (e.g. *brother v. sister, son v. daughter*, etc., but no separate lexemes for 'male' v. 'female' *cousin*). In comparing languages, it may be said that one language may **lexicalize** a contrast, whereas another may not.

Litotes (from Greek λιτότης – simplicity) is a type of the semantic change aimed at making the statement less categorical through the use of indirect designation of a certain notion, namely through the negation of the notion that is opposite to the given, for example, Ukr.: *не заперечую (погоджуюсь), неважно (легко)*; Eng.: *no coward, not bad*

Markedness is an analytic principle in linguistics whereby pairs of linguistic features, seen as oppositions, are given different values of positive (**marked**) and neutral or negative (**unmarked**). In its most general sense, this distinction refers to the presence versus the absence of a particular linguistic feature.

Meaning is the basic notion used in linguistics both as a datum and as a criterion of analysis: linguists study meaning, and also use meaning as a criterion for studying other aspects of language (especially through such notions as contrastivity and distinctiveness). The topic of 'meaning' in the context of language, however, necessitates reference to non-linguistic factors, such as thought, situation, knowledge, intention and use. When the emphasis is on the relationship between language, on the one hand, and the entities, events, states of affairs, etc., which are external to speakers and their language, on the other, terms such as 'referential/descriptive/denotative/extensional/factual/ objective meaning' have been used. When the emphasis is on the relationship between language and the mental state of the speaker, two sets of terms are used: the personal, emotional aspects are handled by such terms as 'attitudinal/affective/connotative/emotive/expressive meaning'; the intellectual, factual aspects involve such terms as 'cognitive/ideational meaning'. When the emphasis is on the way variations in the extralinguistic situation affect the understanding and interpretation of language, terms such as 'contextual/functional/interpersonal/social/ situational' have been used. The term **semantic meaning** may be used whenever one wants to emphasize the content, as opposed to the form or reference, of linguistic units.

Meronymy is a term used in lexicology as part of the study of the sense relations which relate lexical items. Meronymy is the relationship which obtains between 'parts' and 'wholes', such as *wheel* and *car* or *leg* and *knee*. 'X is a part of Y' (= X is a **meronym** of Y) contrasts especially with the 'X is a kind of Y' relationship (hyponymy).

Metalinguage is a language that is unique to a particular branch of knowledge. It is composed of the specialized concepts or terminology needed to define the discipline. Medicine, for example, has its own metalinguage, as does the science of law, literature etc. Linguistics, as other sciences, uses

metalanguage in the sense of a higher-level language for describing an object of study – in this case the object of study is itself language. The meanings of terms used in a metalanguage tend to be stable, i.e. independent (as far as possible) of any specific context. The subject of this glossary is linguistic metalanguage.

Metaphor is a term used in lexicology and stylistics, referring to the result of the process in which the name of an entity is transferred to another entity because of their similarity in some respect or capacity.

Metonymy is a term used in lexicology and stylistics, referring to the result of the process in which the name of an attribute of an entity is used in place of the entity itself. People are using **metonyms** when they talk about *the bottle* (for the drinking of alcohol) or *the violins* (in *The second violins are playing well*).

Model is a specially designed formal representation of the structural and functional characteristics of an object of study. Models are used in order to explain a theory, to simulate a process or to illustrate the functioning of an object of study.

Morpheme is the minimal distinctive unit of grammar, and the central concern of morphology. Its original motivation was as an alternative to the notion of the word, which had proved to be difficult to work with in comparing languages. Words, moreover, could be quite complex in structure, and there was a need for a single concept to interrelate such notions as root, prefix, compound, etc. The morpheme, accordingly, was seen primarily as the smallest functioning unit in the composition of words. Morphemes are commonly classified into free forms (morphemes which can occur as separate words) and bound forms (morphemes which cannot so occur – mainly affixes): thus *unselfish* consists of the three morphemes *un*, *self* and *ish*, of which *self* is a free form, *un-* and *-ish* bound forms. A word consisting of a single (free) morpheme is a monomorphemic word; its opposite is polymorphemic. A further distinction may be made between lexical and grammatical

morphemes; the former are morphemes used for the construction of new words in a language, such as in compound words (e.g. blackbird), and affixes such as *-ship*, *-ize*; the latter are morphemes used to express grammatical relationships between a word and its context, such as plurality or past tense (i.e. the inflections on words).

Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) is a decompositional system of meaning representation based on empirically established universal semantic primes, i.e., simple indefinable meanings which appear to be present as identifiable word-meanings in all languages

Nonce is a term describing a linguistic form which a speaker consciously invents or accidentally uses on a single occasion: a **nonce word** or a **nonce formation** (which may involve units larger than the word). Many factors account for their use, e.g. a speaker cannot remember a particular word, so coins an alternative approximation (as in *linguistified*, heard from a student who felt he was getting nowhere with linguistics), or is constrained by circumstances to produce a new form (as in newspaper headlines). Nonce formations have occasionally come to be adopted by the community – in which case they cease by definition to be ‘nonce’ (forms used ‘for the (n)once’), and become **neologisms**.

Onomasiology is a term sometimes used in semantics to refer to the study of sets of associated concepts in relation to the linguistic forms which designate them, e.g. the various ways of organizing lexical items conceptually in thesauri.

Paronymy is a term sometimes used in semantic analysis to refer to the relationship between words derived from the same root. It is especially applied to a word formed from a word in another language with only a slight change: French *pont* and Latin *pons* are **paronyms**, and the relationship between them is one of paronymy.

Examples of paronymy in Ukrainian: *білити* – *біліти*; *сильний* – *силовий*; *ступінь* – *степенінь*.

Polysemy is a term used in semantic analysis to refer to a lexical item which can be used in a range of different senses, e.g. *plain* = ‘clear’, ‘undorned’, ‘obvious’ ...; also called **polysemia**; opposed to **monosemy** (or **univocality**). A large proportion of a language’s vocabulary is **polysemic** (or **polysemous**). The theoretical problem for the linguist is how to distinguish polysemy (one form – several senses) from homonymy (two lexical items which happen to have the same phonological form).

Positional mobility is a term often used in linguistics to refer to a defining property of the word, seen as a grammatical unit. The criterion states that the constituent elements of complex words are not capable of rearrangement (e.g. *unsuccessful* cannot vary to produce *full-un-success*, etc.), thus contrasting with the way words themselves are mobile in sentences, i.e. they can occur in many contrasting positions.

Potential word is a term for any word which can be generated using the word-formation rules of a language, even though it has not yet been attested. In English, the attested lexicon includes *revision* from *revise*, but not *division* (from *devise*), which thus remains part of the **potential lexicon**.

Pragmatics. Pragmatic theory was first originated as a philosophical theory (Morris, 1938; Wittgenstein, 1953; Austin, 1962; Strawson, 1964; and Searle, 1969). It can be seen, at least, in two fields: (1) a branch of semiotics – the study of signs, where it is concerned with the relationship between signs or linguistic expressions and those who use them; (2) a branch of linguistics which deals with the contexts in which people use language and behaviour of speakers and listeners. In modern linguistics pragmatics has come to be applied to the study of language from the point of view of the users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction, and the effects their use of language has on the other participants in an act of communication. The field focuses on an ‘area’ between semantics, sociolinguistics and extralinguistic context; but the boundaries with these other domains are as yet incapable of precise definition. At present, no coherent pragmatic theory

has been achieved, mainly because of the variety of topics it has to account for – including aspects of deixis, conversational implicatures, presuppositions, speech acts and discourse structure.

Prefix is a term used in morphology referring to an affix which is added initially to a root or base (stem). The process of **prefixation** (or **prefixing**) is common in English, for forming new lexical items (e.g. *para-*, *mini-*, *un-*), but English does not inflect words using prefixes. Languages which do inflect in this way include German (e.g. the *ge-* of perfective forms), Greek, Ukrainian (3- /*zi-*, *c-* for perfective forms: *opamu* – *zopamu*) and some others.

Productivity is a general term used in linguistics to refer to the creative capacity of language users to produce and understand an indefinitely large number of utterances. The term is also used in a more restricted sense with reference to the use made by a language of a specific feature or pattern. A pattern is **productive** if it is repeatedly used in language to produce further instances of the same type (e.g. the derivational affix *-er* in English is productive as it can be added to any verb to denote a doer of the action). **Non-productive** (or **unproductive**) patterns lack any such potential; e.g. the change from *mouse* to *mice* is not a productive plural formation – new nouns would not adopt it, but would use instead the productive *s*-ending pattern. **Semi-productive** forms are those where there is a limited or occasional creativity, as when a prefix such as *un-* is sometimes, but not universally, applied to words to form their opposites, e.g. *happy* ⇒ *unhappy*, but not *sad* ⇒ **unsad*.

Reduplication is a term in lexicology for a process of word-formation whereby the form of a word is **reduplicated** with some changes as in *helter-skelter*, *shilly-shally*. The phonological processes involved in reduplication have been a particular focus of prosodic morphology, which distinguishes the base form of the reduplication from the repeating element (the **reduplicant**).

Root is a term often used in linguistics as part of a classification of the kinds of element operating within the structure of a word. A root is the basic form of a word which cannot be further analysed without total loss of identity. Putting this another way, it is that part of the word left when all the affixes are removed. In the word *meaningfulness*, for example, removing *-ing*, *-ful* and *-ness* leaves the root *mean*. Roots may be classified in several different ways. They may be ‘free’ morphemes, such as *mean* (i.e. they can stand alone as a word), or they may be ‘bound’ morphemes, such as *-ceive* (e.g. *receive*, *conceive*, *deceive*). From another point of view, roots are sometimes classified as ‘simple’ (i.e. compositionally unanalysable in terms of morphemes) or ‘complex’/‘compound’ (i.e. certain combinations of simple root forms, as in *blackbird*, *careful*, etc.), though for the latter the term stem is commonly used. From a semantic point of view, the root generally carries the main component of meaning in a word. From a historical viewpoint, the root is the earliest form of a word, though this information is not relevant to a synchronic analysis (and may not always coincide with the results of it).

Semantic feature is a minimal contrastive element of a word’s meaning; in some approaches, called a **semantic component**. *Girl*, for example, might be analysed into such features as ‘young’, ‘female’ and ‘human’.

Semantic field theory is an approach which developed in the 1930s; it took the view that the vocabulary of a language is not simply a listing of independent items (as the headwords in a dictionary would suggest), but is organized into areas, or fields, within which words interrelate and define each other in various ways. The words denoting colour are often cited as an example of a semantic field: the precise meaning of a colour word can be understood only by placing it in relation to the other terms which occur with it in demarcating the colour spectrum.

Semantic triangle is a particular model of meaning which claimed that meaning is essentially a threefold relationship between linguistic forms, concepts and referents. It was proposed by C. K. Ogden (1889–1957) and I. A. Richards (1893–1979) in the 1920s, in their book *The Meaning of Meaning*.

Seme is a term used by some European linguists (e.g. Eugen Coseriu (1921–2002)), to refer to minimal distinctive semantic features operating within a specific semantic field, e.g. the various defining properties of *cups v. glasses*, such as ‘having a handle’, ‘made of glass’.

Sememe is the meaning of a morpheme. Linguists assume that each sememe is a constant and definite unit of meaning, different from all other meanings in the language. In some semantic theories it is used to refer to a feature of meaning equivalent to the notion of ‘semantic component’ or ‘semantic feature’ of meaning.

Semiosis is the term used in semiotics to denote the action of a triadic sign. The triad consists of: *the representamen* as the signifying stimulus, *the object* represented by the sign, *the interpretant* as the outcome of the sign in the mind of its interpreter.

Semiotics is the scientific study of signs and sign systems whether natural or artificial. It is the theory of signification, that is, of the generation or production of meaning. In contrast to semiology, which studies sign systems and their organization (e.g. traffic codes, sign language), semiotics concerns itself with how meaning is produced. In other words, what interests the semiotician is what makes a sign meaningful, how it signifies and what precedes it on a deeper level to result in the manifestation of meaning.

Sense as a linguistic term is usually contrasted with reference, as part of an explication of the notion of meaning. Reference, or denotation, is seen as extralinguistic – the entities, states of affairs, etc. in the external world which a linguistic expression stands for. Sense, on the other hand, refers to the system of linguistic relationships (**sense relations** or **semantic relations**) which a lexical item displays when used in speech.

Sign is a term in semiotics that refers to something which stands to somebody for something else in some respect or capacity. A sign stands *for* something *to* the idea which it produces, or modifies. Or, it is a vehicle

conveying into the mind something from without. That for which it stands is called its *Object* and the idea to which it gives rise, its *Interpretant*.

Suffix is a term used in lexicology referring to an affix which is added following a root or base (stem). The process of suffixation or suffixing is common in English, both for the derivational formation of new lexical items (e.g. -ize, -tion) and for expressing grammatical relationships (inflectional affixes such as -s, -ed, -ing).

Stem is a term often used in linguistics as part of a classification of the kinds of elements operating within the structure of a word. The stem may consist solely of a single root morpheme (i.e. a ‘simple’ stem, as in *man*), or of two root morphemes (e.g. a ‘compound’ stem, as in *blackbird*), or of a root morpheme plus a derivational affix (i.e. a ‘complex’ stem, as in *manly*, *unmanly*, *manliness*). All have in common the notion that it is to the stem that inflectional affixes are attached.

Suffix is a term used in morphology referring to an affix which is added following a root or stem. The process of **suffixation** or **suffixing** is common in English, both for the derivational formation of new lexical items (e.g. -ize, -tion) and for expressing grammatical relationships (inflectional endings such as -s, -ed, -ing).

Synecdoche is the result of the semantic process when a form of a linguistic unit denoting a part of something is transferred to the whole of it, for example, *a pair of hands* for ‘a worker’, *ABC* (alphabet), *man* (humanity), or the whole of something is used to refer to a part, for example, *the law* for ‘a police officer’. In a metonymy, the word we use to describe another thing is closely linked to that particular thing, but is not a part of it. For example, the word *crown* is used to refer to power or authority is a metonymy. It is not a part of the thing it represents.

Synesthesia is a metaphorical process by which one sense modality is described or characterized in terms of another, such as “a bright sound” or “a quiet color”.

Synonymy is a term used in lexicology to refer to a major type of sense relation between lexical items: lexical items which have the same meanings are **synonyms**. For two items to be synonyms, it does not mean that they should be identical in meaning, i.e. interchangeable in all contexts, and with identical connotations – this unlikely possibility is sometimes referred to as **total synonymy**. Synonymy can be said to occur if items are close enough in their meaning to allow a choice to be made between them in *some* contexts, without there being any difference for the meaning of the sentence as a whole. Linguistic studies of synonymy have emphasized the importance of context in deciding whether a set of lexical items is **synonymous**. For example, in the context *What a nice – of flowers*, the items *range*, *selection*, *choice*, etc., are synonymous; but in the context *Her – of knowledge is enormous*, only *range* can be used, along with a different set of synonyms, e.g. *breadth*. Synonymy is distinguished from such other sense relations as antonymy, hyponymy and incompatibility.

Syntagmatic is a fundamental term in linguistics, originally introduced by Ferdinand de Saussure to refer to the sequential characteristics of speech, seen as a string of constituents (sometimes, but not always) in linear order. The relationships between constituents (**syntagms** or **syntagmas**) in a construction are generally called **syntagmatic relations**. Sets of syntagmatically related constituents are often referred to as structures. Syntagmatic relations, together with paradigmatic relations, constitute the statement of a linguistic unit’s identity within the language system

Tertium comparationis is a background of sameness, and the sine qua non for any justifiable, systematic study of contrasts. All comparisons involve the basic assumption that the objects to be compared share something in common, against which differences can be stated. This common platform of reference is called tertium comparationis. Depending on the platform of reference (or tertium comparationis), which we adopt, the same objects turn out to be either similar or different. Tertium comparationis in contrastive lexicological studies depend on the approach selected

Theory is a system of hypotheses for describing and/or explaining a certain area of objects. Each theory must satisfy certain requirements, such as consistency, completeness, adequacy, simplicity.

Theoretical contrastive lexicological studies provide an adequate model for the comparison of lexical units/lexical systems and determine how and which elements are comparable. They are language independent, which means that they do not investigate how a particular lexical category or item present in language A is presented in language B, but they look for the realization of an universal category X in both A and B. The adequacy of the comparison as well as its exhaustiveness will be determined by the adequacy of the theoretical model underlying the analysis.

Triadic is a term used to characterize a theory of meaning which postulates that there is an indirect relationship between linguistic forms and the entities, states of affairs, etc., to which they refer (i.e. referents). Instead of a direct twoway relationship (a dualist theory), a third step is proposed, corresponding to the mental concept or sense of the linguistic form. The best-known triadic model is the ‘semantic triangle’ of C. K. Ogden (1889–1957) and I. A. Richards (1893–1979), presented in their book *The Meaning of Meaning* in 1923.

Word is a linguistic unit characterized by a) a dialectical unity of form and content; b) internal stability (in terms of the order of the component morphemes); c) capability of functioning alone and positional mobility (permutable with other words in the sentence). Words as a unit of expression has universal intuitive recognition by native-speakers, in both spoken and written language. However, there are several difficulties in arriving at a consistent use of the term in relation to other categories of linguistic description, and in the comparison of languages of different structural types. These problems relate mainly to word identification and definition. They include, for example, decisions over word boundaries (e.g. is a unit such as *washing machine* two words, or is it one, to be written *washing-machine?*), as well as decisions over status (e.g. is *the* a word in the same sense as is *chair?*). Three main senses of ‘word’ are usually distinguished (though terminology varies): (a) words are the physically definable units which one encounters in a stretch of writing (bounded by

spaces) or speech (where identification is more difficult, but where there may be phonological clues to identify boundaries, such as a pause, or juncture features); (b) there is a more abstract sense, referring to the common factor underlying the set of forms which are plainly variants of the same unit, such as *walk, walks, walking, walked*. The ‘underlying’ word unit is often referred to as a lexeme. Lexemes are the units of vocabulary, and as such would be listed in a dictionary; (c) a comparably abstract sense set up to show how words work in the grammar of a language. A word, then, is a grammatical unit, of the same theoretical kind as morpheme and sentence. In a hierarchical model of analysis, sentences (clauses, etc.) consist of words, and words consist of morphemes (minimally, one free morpheme). Several criteria have been suggested for the identification of words in speech. One is that words are the most stable of all linguistic units, in respect of their internal structure, i.e. the constituent parts of a complex word have little potential for rearrangement, compared with the relative positional mobility of the constituents of sentences and other grammatical structures. A second criterion refers to the relative ‘uninterruptibility’ or cohesiveness of words, i.e. new elements (including pauses) cannot usually be inserted within them in normal speech: pauses, by contrast, are always potentially present at word boundaries. A criterion which has influenced linguists’ views of the word since it was first suggested by Leonard Bloomfield (see Bloomfieldian) is the definition of word as a ‘minimal free form’, i.e. the smallest unit which can constitute, by itself, a complete utterance. On this basis, *possibility* is a word, as is *possible* (contexts could be constructed which would enable such units to occur as single-element sentences, e.g. *Is that a probable outcome? Possible.*), but *-ity* is not (nor would any affix be). Not all word-like units satisfy this criterion, however (e.g. *a* and *the* in English), and how to handle these has been the subject of considerable discussion.

Word-formation is the branch of the science of language which studies the patterns on which a language forms new lexical units, i.e. words. Thus word-formation is said to treat of composites which are analyzable both formally and semantically. **Word-formation rules** specify how to form one class of words out of another.

NOTES

Навчальний посібник призначено для студентів освітньо-кваліфікаційного рівня «Бакалавр» спеціальності «Філологія», зокрема, перекладацьких відділень вищих навчальних закладів. Вперше у вітчизняній лінгвістиці пропонується систематизований контрастивний аналіз англійської та української лексики з представленням його теоретичних та практичних аспектів. Підручник складається з 8 розділів, кожен з яких включає текст лекції, завдання для семінарського заняття, список основної літератури та додаткові тексти для поглибленого самостійного опрацювання теми.

Навчальне видання

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