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A Reader in Slovak Linguistics

Studies in Semantics

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A READER

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C O N T E N T S

INTRODUCTION

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Introduction

In this Reader we would like to present to the wide linguistic public a selection of articles on semantics which have been written in Slovakia recently.

The authors of the articles are Slovak linguists who work within various spheres of linguistics. Consequently, the articles in the selection deal with a semantic analysis of the phenomena of various linguistic levels from various points of view. Represented in the volume are authors who started their scientific activity in the pre-war period, directly or indirectly building on the work of the Prague Linguistic Circle, but soon differentiating themselves and contributing to linguistic theory with original works (cf. the lexical-syntactic monograph The Structure of the Slovak Verb by E. Pauliny from 1943), as well as a newer generation of linguists who entered linguistics within the last two decades.

The articles published in this Reader are mostly from the last decade, which, in our opinion, provides the volume with a current informative value. The Reader is divided into three parts according to its themes. In the first part, Semiotics and General Problems of Semantics, are published articles dealing with the problems of the semantics of statements and naming units, the axiomatics of semiology, the relationships of grammar and reality, and the arbitrary character of the linguistic sign.

In his article The Semantics of the Sentence and of the Naming Unit in Communication E. Pauliny (1912-1983) starts with the presupposition that by a linguistic utterance we do not make a

statement about reality directly, but the objective reality serves as a stimulus for the formation of the mental content which, after its processing in the brain and its shaping by the means of the linguistic system, we make into a statement by a linguistic utterance. The author does not consider the mental content to be part of the linguistic sign, or, more exactly, to be its semantic component. To enable the understanding of the basis of the meaning of the linguistic sign, of its function- ing in communication and of its variability, he presents a model of linguistic communication, a way in which the statements about the reality are formed, and a basic classification of the wordstock into word categories. In the final part he concentrates upon the naming aspect of the linguistic sign.

In the article The Axiomatics of the Semiology of Linear Structures Ľ. Novák (born 1908) uses as his starting point the thesis that the basic components of linear structures are the beginning, the middle and the end. Apart from this basic, empiric- al sequence he also distinguishes the hierarchic sequence the beginning - the end - the middle, and the semiotic sequence the end - the middle - the beginning. Finally, within the central sequence the progression is from the middle to the beginning and then to the end. In the article the author comes to the conclusion that all the three structural components as the points of inter- section of all the four relationships are mutually equivalent.

V. Krupa (born 1936) in his article Grammar and Reality - a Problem of Metaphor deals with the relationship of grammatical categories to the reality. From the semantic point of view each grammatical category, according to the author, has its core and its periphery. The core is directly motivated by the experience,

while on the periphery the motivation is only metaphorical.
In addition to considering the European languages the author
documents his statements also by numerous examples from other
languages.

The article The Expressive "Echo" in the Meaning of the Le-
xical and Syntactic Unit by J. Sabol (born 1939) presents an ana-
lysis of some cases of the violation of the arbitrary character
of the linguistic sign on the basis of the dialectical relation-
ship of the form and the content of lexical and syntactic units.
The expressive "echo" of the segmental and suprasegmental phonetic
elements is manifested within the euphonic and expressive structures
of the word and the text and in the intonation structure of
the sentence.

The second part of the Reader <u>Semantics in Syntax and Text</u>
includes articles by five authors who deal with general as well
as special questions connected with the syntactic level and the
text.

In the article by J. Ružička (1916 - 1989) What is Expressed
by Syntactic Units there is presented a characterization of the
basic syntactic units (sentence, syntagm, utterance.) and a speci-
fication of their counterparts in the sphere of thinking or cognit-
ion. In the conclusion are formulated some questions for other
linguistic disciplines which stem from the outlined linguistic
solution of the problems.

J. Kačala (born 1937) in his article Semantic Derivation and
the Rise of Converse Verbs analyses pairs of constructions built
on verbs comprising a converse semantic relationship. By derivat-
ion the meaning of the predicative verb does not change (in the
referential sense), but the verbal action in the parallel sentence
structures is now oriented in one direction, now in the opposite

one. On the level of content such sentence structures are connected by a synonymical relationship, while their semantic structure is different.

The article of A. Ferenčíková (born 1940) Temporal Relation of Two actions and Its Expressing by the Complex Sentence presents the semantic-syntactic structure of the temporal complex sentence in Slovak. There are identified the particular shades of meaning of the intersentential temporal relationship of two actions and the means of its formal realization are presented.

J. Findra (born 1934) in the article The Styleme and the Text defines the notion of styleme as a structural element of the text. The dynamism of the styleme, the shifts as well as the regrouping within its semantics and stylistics is born of the tension between its relative stability in the system and its contextual modifications in the utterance. Stylemes are classified into linguistic and supra-sentential (compositional); both groups are further subdivided into informemes and pragmemes.

J. Mistrík (born 1921) in his article The Semantics of the Glutination of the Text shows that the density and the rhythm of the text are conditioned by the initial words of the sentence. The new sentence is more closely linked with the previous one if it begins with a coordinative conjunction or a verb; larger ruptures in the text occur in cases where the sentence begins with a noun. The process of joining sentences into larger units is called glutination.

The third part of the Reader <u>Semantics in Lexis and Word-Formation</u> presents some results of the lexical research of Slovak linguists. It encompasses articles from synchronical as well as diachrónical research, from standard literary language as well as substandard forms, from the sphere of terminology and linguistic

comparison.

In the article of V. Blanár (born 1920) The Principles of Contrastive Semasiology are presented some procedures enabling a more detailed analysis and a contrasting of polysemic structures. The types of equivalence are not determined within the particular meanings, but within the semantic types and within the types of semantic structures, hence the typology of lexical meanings is outlined here.

The starting point of the article of J.Dolník (born 1942) Logical Principles of the Organization of Wordstock is the thesis that the logical basis of the organization of the wordstock is represented by three relationships, namely classification, implication and presupposition. From the point of view of the mutual links of the formal and semantic classificational relationships words are organized into symmetrizing and asymmetrizing sequences which form polysemizational, homonymizational, synonymizational and paronymizational sequences. Later there is studied the presuppositional relationship connected with the hyperonym and its hyponyms. Implication is not studied.

The article of M. Pisárčiková (born 1937) Word-Internal Antonymy pays attention to the specific type of antonymy where two polar, opposite meanings are comprised inside the word, within its semantic structure. This phenomenon is connected with the two extreme points of polysemy and often it borders on homonymy. Word-internal antonymy is conditioned, on the one hand, by the historical development of words, and on the other hand by the incessant motion within the wordstock, in particular by the rise of new meanings standing in opposition to the existing meanings.

J. Horecký (born 1920) in his article Semantic Features in the Word-Formative Nest analyses the word-formative structures.

These structures - represented graphically - require also a semantic interpretation, while it is necessary to find the relationships between the base and the formant. This means to de - fine the semantic features typical of the characterization of the word-formative fields and to construct a hierarchic ordering of these features.

The aim of the article of K. Buzássyová (born 1938) Motivation and Its Impact Upon the Semantic and Stylistic Value of the Word is, on the example of derivatives with the formant -stvo (formed on higher levels of derivation), to show that the capacity of these derivatives to enter into the relationships of semantic and stylistic differentiation with other members of the derivative system is mostly conditioned by the polymotivational or ambiguous character of the word-formative structure. In the conclusion is presented a classification of the linguistic functions of these derivatives, as well as their semantic and stylistic differentiation.

In the article Definitions of Term I. Masár (born 1930) analyses several definitions of the term. On the basis of the analysis he puts them into two basic groups (their definitions are based on the textual and on the lexical levels) and he presents his own definition of the term.

The article of R. Krajčovič (born 1927) Semantic Reconstruction of the Oldest Slovak Wordstock is devoted to the methodological procedures of this reconstruction on examples of the old wordstock fixed in old toponymy. This concerns the identification of that semantic content relevant to the naming of the object (community, river, mountain, etc.) or within the other elements of its structure. The methodological procedures applied by the author belong to the basis of the methodology of genetic toponomastics.

The article of I. Ripka (born 1937) Carpathianisms in the Lexicon of Slovak Dialects presents a semantic analysis of some Carpathianisms (words from the region of the Carpathian mountains). The author bases his analysis on the interpretation of the lexical meaning as a structurally and hierarchically ordered complex of semantic components and he proves that there exists an all-Carpathian connectedness of the structures of the analysed lexemes.

In the article of E. Sekaninová (born 1926) Principles and Objectives of Lexicon Investigation Using Confrontational and Equivalence Methods as tertium comparationis is defined the logical-content category of the content layer of the language which, within metalanguage, expresses the basis of the confrontation in the given languages on the expression level. As tertium comparationis is characterized the distributiveness of the verbal action expressed by prefixed verbs with the prefix po- in Slovak, and the prefixes po- and pere- in Russian, which undergo confrontation and equivalentization.

The articles reflect not only the research level of Slovak linguistic semantics itself, but they are also linked with various foreign works, and in this way, on the one hand, numerous stimuli arise which are further creatively developed within Slovak linguistic works, and on the other hand, this leads to the incorporation of Slovak linguistic semantics into a wider international context.

Bratislava, March 1989.   Editorial Board

SEMIOTICS AND GENERAL PROBLEMS

OF SEMANTICS

THE SEMANTICS OF THE SENTENCE AND OF THE NAMING UNIT IN COMMUNICATION[+]

EUGEN PAULINY

0.0 It is often claimed that by language means we make statements about reality or about a certain section of reality. However true this is, nevertheless, by no linguistic statement do we refer to reality directly. Reality, whether objective or represented by our impressions, feelings or anything in our consciousness, serves as a stimulus for the formation of the mental contents (MC) which, after processing by sections of the brain specializing in this activity, are formalized by means of the linguistic system and uttered by means of a linguistic utterance.

0.1 Let us imagine the following situation: Two acquaintances are standing on the embankment of the Danube and looking at the rising level of the river. The rising level of the river represents the objective reality seen and perceived by both of them. This objective reality can serve as a stimulus for the formation of a number of particular reflections of it which, we shall later refer to as mental contents. These can be manifested by linguistic announcements. E.g.

"Voda stúpa."(The water is rising.)

"Je kalná."(It is turbid.)

[+]The Slovak original of this article was published in: Znak, systém, proces (Sign, System, Process). Litteraria XXIV. Ed. N. Krausová. Bratislava, Veda 1987, pp. 55-72. This translation represents slightly shortened version of the original.

"Počul som v rozhlase, že ešte bude stúpať." (I heard on the radio that it will be rising even more.)

"Len aby nepretrhlo hrádze na Žitnom ostrove." (Let's hope the dikes on Žitný ostrov /Wheat Island/ won't give way.)

"A berú ryby pri takej vode?" (And do the fish bite in such water?)

"Aký stromisko tam pláva!" (What a huge tree is floating over there!)

Etc.

Of course, sometimes the whole given section of objective reality seemingly becomes a mental content which is expressed by a linguistic utterance. E.g. "Bolí ma hlava." (I have a headache.) - "Chystá sa na dážď." (It is going to rain.) "Včerajší program televízie bol dobrý." (Yesterday's TV programme was good.) Etc. But even in this case objective reality is not directly bound with the linguistic utterance. It is always necessary to have the will of the possible speaker upon whom the objective reality exerts its influence in such a way that he forms a mental content with which he wants, in the form of a linguistic utterance, to inform the listener. The mental content can be in concordance with the phenomena of objective reality (it can be true), it can intentionally differ from the phenomena of objective reality (it can be false), or it can differ from the phenomena of the objective reality due to ignorance (it can be erroneous).

0.2 Schematically the formation of the concrete mental contents could be represented in the following way:

objective reality	→	personal choice of the speaker modal attitude of the speaker	→	mental contents
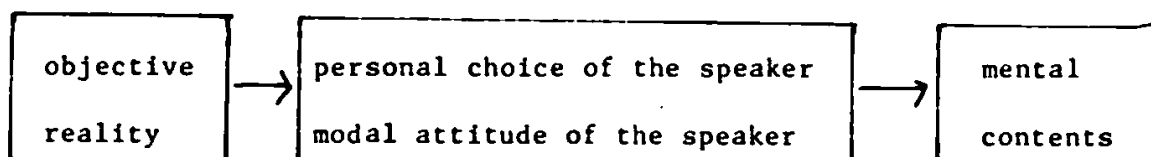
The above chart means: From objective reality (OR) the author speaker makes his or her personal choice (PCS). The personal choice is accompanied by a modal attitude. The modal attitude is formed simultaneously with the personal choice, and both phenomena are mutually related. The result of this activity is a definite mental content. Thus, before objective reality is reflected by a concrete mental content, the latter must get through two filters. Firstly there is the PCS. What this is has been illustrated by the above example of mental contents (already shaped into linguistic utterances) formed on the basis of objective reality "the rising level of the Danube on the day D at the hour H." The next, actually simultaneous, filter is the modal attitude of the speaker to the choice from objective reality. We are not going to deal here with the modality of the utterance. It is only necessary to state that according to this conception modality is not only a matter of the linguistic utterance, but is already comprised in the mental contents on the basis of which the particular utterance is formulated. The modal attitude forms part of the stimulus on the basis of which particular mental content is formed.

0.3 The content of what should be stated, i.e. the mental content, is very often identified with an idea, an image, or a logical inference or a notion. The identification of the mental content which forms the basis of the linguistic utterance, with notions from the sphere of logic is not correct. E.g. everybody knows what bread is, thus the word <u>chlieb</u> (bread) is correctly used within the linguistic communication, but if we asked somebody to explain to us precisely what bread is, i.e. to explain the notion BREAD, the person would not know how to do it. Only specialists who are professionally involved in making bread

would be able to explain it. For similar reasons the mental
contents cannot be identified with the logical inference. The
logical inference or sentence has certain forms which could
not house all the mental contents from which utterances can be
formed. In communicating by means of linguistic utterances we
often do not even rely on our imagination. And, anyway, what we
want to say on the basis of a stimulus stemming from reality or
from our attitude to it, or from our inside, and what, by means
of the above mentioned procedure, is formed in us as a certain
mental content, is, at its birth, very complex and must arise
from various sources. These can include subjective points of
view, feelings, evaluations and - of course - also objective
findings. They can be distinct or less distinct images, feelings,
impressions, or distinct and clear findings. Because of this
non-homogeneous character this phenomenon can be most properly
referred to as a mental content. The mental content stands at
the very beginning of communication, of the communicative act.
It represents the primary form of the content that is to be com-
municated.

0.4 This mental content - this is the way we term it for
the time being - is not yet influenced in any way by the means
of the particular language. The fact that the mental content
has to be differentiated from its linguistic formulation, is
quite clearly manifested by the phenomenon that the same mental
content can be expressed differently in different languages
not only as to the words, but also as to the grammatical form.
E.g. the linguistic expression of the mental content that to-
day the weather is nice is in Slovak expressed by <u>Dnes je pek-
ne</u> (= Today /it/ is nice), in French by <u>Il fait beau aujourd'hui</u>
(= It makes nice today), in Hungarian by <u>Szép az idö máma</u> (= Nice

time today), in Russian by <u>Segodňa chorošaja pogoda</u> (= Today
nice weather). However, in the same language the same mental
content can also be expressed in a different way, although by
the same modality. E.g. <u>Dunaj stúpa</u> (The Danube is rising),
<u>Dunaj ide hore</u> (The Danube is going up), <u>Dunaj sa vzdúva</u> (The
Danube is swelling), etc.

0.5 The autonomousness of the mental content with regard
to the linguistic utterance has to be stressed because of the
fact that sometimes the mental content is considered to be part
of the linguistic sign - the semantic aspect of the linguistic
sign. However, it represents an independent ability of human in-
tellect and it differs from the semantic aspect of linguistic
communication. Of course, the result of the work of the brain
manifested by a certain mental content is most often, in fact
nearly always, manifested by a linguistic utterance, and, more-
over, even within thinking itself we often use the form of so-
-called internal speech, i.e. we formulate our thoughts, imagi-
nations, feelings, etc., i.e. a certain mental content, into
a continuous but unspoken linguistic utterance. Thus the mental
content becomes more firmly fixed, or even becomes more precise
and acquires a certain form. This form of the internal (unspoken)
linguistic utterance will be later referred to as the explicit
form of the conceived statement (EFCS). In addition to this there
exists the mutual link "OR ↔ PCS ↔ MC", and another bilateral
link of these forms with their linguistic expression. We have to
add to the above the relatively high speed in transmitting the
stimuli in brain centres, and thus the gradual processes of "the
observation of objective reality → the formation of the mental
content → linguistic expression" often seem to the speaker
to be a simultaneous activity. It is also necessary to take into

consideration feedback. The above factors (as well as others to be mentioned later) mean that the mental content, or even the perception of objective reality, is already not devoid of the influence of linguistic formulation. In this sense it is necessary to rectify the existing statement that the mental content is not influenced by the linguistic formulation.

0.6 For the sake of completeness it is necessary to add that only those mental contents are considered here which can be expressed in a particular language by an appropriate linguistic utterance. We all know situations when the speaker cannot describe (linguistically express) his or her state or impressions. Such mental contents are not taken into consideration here.

1.0 The scheme of the procedure according to which a mental content is reshaped into a linguistic utterance, is basically identical with the procedure within which we create the voluntary preconditions for any activity. E.g. we are sitting in a room which is overheated and where there are many people. We can feel the unpleasant heat and the lack of oxygen. It is a stimulus for us to do something to change this state. One of the possibilities is that we decide to open the window. The appropriate apparatus in our brain works out a programme for this activity (actually, the programme has already been worked out, as we have already carried out the particular components of this activity many times), and it issues a set of coordinated instructions for the relevant muscles. On the basis of the instruction from the brain these muscles start to function and the result of their coordinated activity is the act I AM OPENING THE WINDOW.

1.1 Another possibility is that we decide to draw the attention of those present to the unpleasant air in the room by

a linguistic utterance. Then the appropriate apparatuses in our brain set to work and with the help of the appropriate linguistic system we reshape the mental content which arose on the basis of our feelings into a relevant explicit form of the conceived idea, e.g. into the statement: "Je tu teplo a zlý vzduch. Otvorme oblok!" (It is warm here and it's stuffy. Let's open the window!) If we want to carry out this statement the apparatuses of our brain process a motoric programme of the linguistic signal and they issue an order to the articulatory organs to accomplish it. They start their activity, then they create a linguistic signal which is transmitted by air to the recipient. By the work of the appropriate brain centres the recipient reshapes the received linguistic signal into a mental content. Hence, the procedure by which linguistic communication is achieved can be represented in general in the following way:

1.11 First the particular mental content (e.g. the mental content IT IS HOT HERE), with respect to the lexical means of the given language and according to the rules which apply within it (according to its grammar and its formal structure), i.e. according to the particular linguistic system (LS), is transformed into the explicit form of the conceived statement (EFCS). Thus in this phase from the means of the given linguistic system there are chosen those elements which are necessary, they are arranged according to the grammatical and phonemic systems of the given language in such a way that the explicit form of the conceived statements with regard to the intention of the author should correspond to the required mental content. This means that in the EFCS are included not only the content and the formal aspects of communication, but also the modal attitude of the author. In addition, in this phase there is also determined the whole pers-

pective of the statement and its modal status.

1.12 The next phase is represented by coding the EFCS into the programme for the motoric realization of the linguistic signal. Although this phase is very closely connected with the first phase, and the first stage very fluently passes into it, these two stages cannot, however, be identified as one.

1.13 The third phase is represented by issuing the instruction to carry out the linguistic signal.

Then for the author there follows the resulting activity, i.e. the emission of the linguistic signal.

1.2 It is clear that the division into the above phases is schematic and has the character of a functional model. What we segment here into phases is in fact a fluent process. Moreover, the mental content (i.e. a more complicated one) is being formed gradually and at the same time the linguistic signal is also being emitted. It is also necessary to consider the fact that the transmission of signals in the human nervous system is so fast that within self-observation the formation of the mental content and the relevant linguistic signal merge into one time span. However, it is necessary to segment the presentation of linguistic announcements into the three given phases.

1.3 Perception represents nearly a mirror image of the emission of the linguistic announcement. We suppose that within it, too, there exist three phases:

1.31 Firstly, of importance is the disposition for the reception of the linguistic signal. This means not only properly hearing the linguistic signal. This possibility is within the normal linguistic contacts of healthy people - and we base our analysis on such cases - á priori supposed. The disposition for receiving the linguistic signal means turning one's attention

to the linguistic signal and its perception by the senses.
This activity is not akin to the emission of the instruction
by the author.   As the emission of the instruction is cha-
racteristic only of the author, so the disposition for the
reception of the linguistic signal is characteristic only of
the recipient.

1.32 The second phase of perception is very closely rela-
ted to the first one. The former represents the deciphering
of the received linguistic signal, its segmentation into pho-
netic characteristics and the identification of these charac-
teristic features with phonological features and phonemes.
Further on in this phase there occurs a segmentation of the se-
quence of phonemes according to lexical means and the gramma-
tical system into the explicit form of the conceived statement.
This phase of perception mirrors the second phase of the emission
of the linguistic announcement of the author.

1.33 The third phase of perception mirrors the first phase
of the presentation of communication. It represents the trans-
formation of the explicit form of the conceived statement into
a particular mental content.

1.4 When emitting the linguistic message the author also
fulfills the function of the recipient. Of course, the person
does not fulfill this function as a recipient of an unknown
message, but as an output control of the correctness of the
emitted message within the so-called feedback. ·. Within
this activity the author controls the flawless result of the
performed processes, namely the fact of whether the linguistic
signal he or she intended to perform is deciphered and transpo-
sed into the mental content.

2.0 At the beginning of this paper it was ascertained that

by means of language statements about the reality are made. However there have been added specifications which will not be further developed in this analysis, although they will be constantly taken into consideration. The explanation that follows will deal with the way that linguistic statements about reality are made. This is necessary mainly because of the fact that by lexical means, which have a general meaning not bound with any concrete object, action or quality, i.e. by a certain linguistic statement, we make statements about a concrete mental content which is bound with a concrete section from reality. E.g. if one of the persons mentioned at the beginning of this paper says: "Voda stúpa" (The water is rising), he is not making a statement about water in general, but in particular about the water of the Danube which they are watching at the time of this statement.

2.1 There arises the question of what causes the word voda (water) which in Slovak has the meaning "a natural stream of water (river, brook, etc.) or a reservoir (pond, lake, sea); the content of the stream of water or reservoir; water surface" (cf. Slovník slovenského jazyka V, p. 131) to have not so general a meaning - and we have stated only the closest part of the meaning - but to refer unambiguously to the Danube, although only when somebody - as in our example - is watching it.

The answer suggests itself automatically. This happens because it stems unambiguously from the situation that the word voda (water) with its general meaning refers exclusively to the water of the Danube at the time when the above mentioned men were watching it. Hence, what is at issue here is the identification of the general meaning of the word voda (water) with the meaning which was created within the mental content of the speaker. This identification is carried out during the restructuring of the mental content into an explicit form of the concei-

ved statement. Thus it can be claimed that within restructuring the elements of the mental content into the semantic elements of the explicit form of the conceived statement there occurs the identification of the elements of the mental content with the parallel elements of the explicit form of the conceived statement.

2.2 Of course, a linguistic statement does not involve only identification. If this were the case, the statement could have only a static, naming character. It would not be "voda stúpa"(the water is rising), but something like "Voda. Vzostup." (Water. Rise.). However, within the statement there is also expressed the existence of what is being stated. "Voda stúpa" (The water is rising), i.e. the particular phenomenon exists when the speaker is making a statement about it. Although the speaker might say "Voda (včera) stúpala"(The water was rising /yesterday/) or "Voda bude (zajtra)stúpať"(The water will be ris- ing /tomorrow/), but there is always expressed there the exis- tence of the phenomenon with its relationship to the time of the statement. Thus by a linguistic statement is expressed the existence of the stated phenomenon within a certain time span.

2.3 Parallelly with the statement about the existence of the MC a statement is also made about the relationships among the elements of the mental content. In this case it is stated that there exists a relationship between "voda"(water) (in the river Danube) and "vzostup"(rise). It stems from what has just been said that the word "vzostup"(rise) is not fully semantically incorporated if it is not bound with some object, in this case with the object "water". If we would like to express the content of the statement "Voda stúpa"(The water is rising) in a different way, we could do it by the statement "Stúpanie vody je (jestvuje,

existuje)"(There is /exists/ the rising of the water). The same relationships among the expressions of the statement also exist in "(Voda) je kalná" (It /water/ is turbid). This statement, too, has to be understood in the context explained with regard to the two above mentioned people on the embankment of the Danube. Here too it is stated that there exists a relationship between the "water" in the river Danube and its "turbidness". Nor in this case does "turbidness" have its semantic support without being bound with a certain object, in this case again with the object "water". Thus also the content of the statement "Voda je kalná" (The water is turbid) could be expressed by the statement "Kalnosť vody jestvuje" (The turbidity of the water exists).

2.4 We can conclude that among the members of the statements "Voda stúpa" /The water is rising) and "Voda je kalná" (The water is turbid) there exist several relationships. Above all it can be stated that there is something happening with the object "voda" (water) -(i.e. "stúpa" - it is rising), or that it is in a certain state (i.e. "je kalná" - it is turbid). Hence, there is ascribed or attributed something to the object "voda" (water). That is a predicative relationship. What is ascribed to the object "voda" (water) is the predicate.

If it is true that the statements "Voda stúpa" (The water is rising) and "Voda je kalná" (The water is turbid) can, on the basis of their meaning (with regard to the situation which was mentioned above) be transposed into the statements "Stúpanie vody jestvuje" (The rising of the water exists) and "Kalnosť vody jestvuje" (The turbidness of the water exists), then it can be claimed that between the meanings of the predicates "stúpa" (is rising) and "je kalná" (is turbid) there is inserted the meaning of the word "voda" (water). This inclusion (throwing

under) had been expressed already by the classical Greek grammar-
ians by the word "hypo-keimenon" (from which there is the Rus-
sian term "pod-ležaščeje"). The Latin term "sub-iectum" is it-
self rather freely translated from the Greek term . Our term
"pod-met" (subject) is also based on the Latin term.

2.5 We can summarize: Between the subject and the predica-
te there exist the following relationships:

a) the predicative relationship by which, by means of the
predicate, a certain action, state or quality is ascribed to
the subject;

b) the subject relationship by which the determination of
the meaning of the predicate is provided by the meaning of the
subject.

Of course, above these two relationships there are the
relationships of identification and existence which have alrea-
dy been mentioned. By means of them the possibility of communi-
cation about the phenomena of material reality is realized.

In addition to such two-element, grammatically formed
statements which are connected with the mental contents direc-
tly linked with material reality, there also exist statements
of the type "Pes je stavovec" (The dog is a vertebrate) within
which the mental contents are bound with abstract notions. Then
there exist statements of the type "Prší" (It is raining), then
one-element statements of the type "Oheň" (Fire), etc. However,
the analysis of these and other statements belongs the sphere of
syntax.

3.0 Where, then, is the substance of linguistic communica-
tion?

The answer can be formulated within the following axioms:

3.1 With regard to each person using in a certain society

certain language for communication

a) there exists a system of linguistic signs of the given linguistic system;

b) there exist rules, i.e. grammar, according to which these signs are ordered in such a way and in such a form that they can express the required mental content in the explicit form of the conceived statement;

c) in the human brain there exists the ability according to which the ordered linguistic signs of the explicit form of the conceived statement are restructured into a motoric programme for the particular speech signal.

Further on, with each person using language for communication

d) there exists a procedure according to which the particular speech signal is restructured into ordered linguistic signs; here concord with c) occurs;

e) there exist rules, i.e. grammar, according to which the sense of the ordered linguistic signs in the explicit form of the statement is understood; here concord with b) occurs;

3.2 The units of the linguistic system have a sign character. Hence, they have both a formal and a semantic aspect. With regard to the sign character of the units of the linguistic system the formal aspect is in an unseparable correlation with the semantic aspect of the linguistic signs. The functioning of the formal aspect of linguistic signs can be clarified on the basis of their semantic aspect and the semantic aspect can be understood on the basis of their form. The methodological consequence of the above is that with regard to the explanation of the linguistic structure there is no question of whether we should proceed from the form to the content or from the content to the

form. Both procedures have to be used parallelly.

3.3 The denotative aspect of the linguistic system (phono-
logical structure) is correlated with the phonetic elements of
the linguistic signal and with its qualities. That is why during
the concrete linguistic statement the speaker transposes the
sequence of phonemes of the explicit form of the conceived
statement into a continual speech signal, and the listener
transposes the continual speech signal into a sequence of pho-
nemes of the explicit form of the conceived statement.

3.4 The most stable component of the linguistic system is
its denotative aspect, i.e. its phonological structure. Very
stable too is the formal aspect of the grammar (the morphology,
i.e. the rules according to which the selected linguistic signs
are arranged in such a way and in such a form which enables them
to express the needed mental content in the explicit form of
the conceived statement).

Less stable (and less unambiguous) is the semantic (lexi-
cal) aspect of linguistic signs. This is connected with the
fact that a limited, although very rich, inventory of linguis-
tic signs is necessary to reflect, by means of the mental contents,
immensely complicated and constantly changing objective reali-
ty. Thus objective reality itself, as well as the perception abi-
lity variation with each person, conditions the choice of lexi-
cal means. These and other factors results in the lower stabili-
ty of the semantic aspect of linguistic signs.

3.5 The way of linking the linguistic signs within the
explicit form of the conceived statement is carried out - as
we have already mentioned - such that the needed sense of the
mental content is adequately expressed by a procedure that has
already been discussed. The linking itself is determined by:

a) the possibilities existing in the grammar of the parti-
cular language, i.e. by a subsequent exploitation of the possi-
bilities of the linguistic system,

b) set collocations and phrases, and established procedures
of linking,

c) set of grammatically unformed ways of expression.

3.6 It is necessary to realize that in the memory of a heal-
thy adult there is stored a large number of ready-made phrases
which the person has either already used, or has heard used.
Similarly in the mind of each person there is also a large num-
ber of grammatically unformed expressions which are used in the
given language. That is why within linguistic communication
these ready-made phrases and clichés are highly used. Only to
a small degree are new current phrases formed.

4.0 We have already stated that language in its very essence
(sometimes to increase the unambiguity of its meaning it is
called natural language), i.e. language as a linguistic system,
forms a system of signs. We are not going to deal here with the
question of signs, but will only indicate in axioms what concep-
tion our analysis is based on. It is, above all, the bilateral
conception of the sign. Within our approach the sign can be cha-
racterized by two features: 1. the sign is an object replacing
another object; 2. by a sign something is announced. If we speak
about the sign as an object which replaces another object, we do
not mean by the word "object" a material object, but any phenome-
non observable by the senses and perceived by the work of the
human brain cells. It stems from the bilateral character of the
sign that each sign has two components: 1. what is denoted (i.e.
the meaning), 2. the means by which the above is denoted (i.e.
the form). I.e. it comprises the denoted component (signifié,

meaning) and the denoting component (signifiant, form). Only within the unseparable coupling of these two components can we speak about a sign. These two components of the sign are characterized by their mutual non-motivatedness and by their social obligatoriness. This means that there is no causative link between the denoted and the denoting components, and that this link is determined by social convention, but the link between the denoted and the denoting components is relatively stable and unchanging.

4.1 What is valid for the sign in general, is also valid for the linguistic sign. The lack of motivation between the formal (phonetic) and the semantic aspects of the word means that, e.g., the phonetic sequence s-t-r-o-m- (tree /t-r-i:/) and the sounds themselves are in no way directly connected with the notion and image of a "perennial woody plant with a trunk". The truthfulness of this statement is best proved by the fact that in different languages the same mental content, in our case the meaning of the word strom (tree) is denoted by different sounds or by a different configuration of sounds. For the linguistic sign, as well, a social validation of the link between the designant and the designé is indispensable.

In the explicit form of the conceived statement the mental content is already linguistically formed on the basis of the means of the particular linguistic system. It is a linguistic sign or, most often, a sequence of linguistic signs. A linguistic sign or a sequence of linguistic signs thus represents a unit of mental content shaped by linguistic means and procedures. In it are reflected all the elements of objective reality as they are interpreted by the mental content.

4.2 Of course, the above also has its opposite side, which

has to be particularly clearly stressed: We observe and get to
know objective reality and on the basis of it we form mental
contents through the filter of the particular linguistic sys-
tem too. In other words: To a certain degree we realize and
perceive objective reality also by the forms and the means of
the particular linguistic system. Why is it so?

We must bear in mind that within the formation of the ex-
plicit form of the conceived statement there does not exist
only a one-directional process:

| objective reality | → | personal choice | modal attitude of the author → | mental content | → | EFCS |
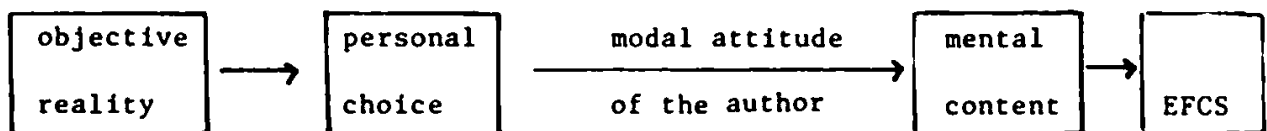
4.3 It is necessary to stress that there exists feed-
back here, as well. And by feedback the author of the utter-
ance controls all the phases from the formation of the expli-
cit form of the conceived statement up to the objective reali-
ty which is the basic starting point of the concrete shape of
the explicit form of the conceived statement. Hence, while it
is necessary to stress and respect the autonomous character of
the mental content with regard to its linguistic formulation,
it is also necessary to admit the possibility of influencing the
interpretation of the objective reality by the means of the par-
ticular linguistic system. We especially stress this fact as it
will help us considerably in explaining the character of lexical
meaning in language.

5.0 And now we shall deal with the segmentation of the lexi-
cal meaning of linguistic units.

The elements of objective reality, as we form them into
linguistic signs or into sequences of linguistic signs, are not

homogeneous. Consequently, the linguistic means neither are nor could be homogeneous. They are homogeneous neither in their content nor in their form. As we have already said, a linguistic sign represents a dialectical unity of meaning and form. Hence, the formal and semantic aspects of the linguistic sign are mutually linked within the given linguistic system. We cannot conceive of them as of "levels of language" or "levels of the linguistic system" which would be in some sense autonomous layers placed on top of each other, and where we would proceed from the lower level to the higher one within a certain hierarchy.

5.1 The heterogeneousness of linguistic signs is most markedly manifested by the fact that the whole vocabulary is divided into the so-called word categories, i.e. into certain classes of words characterized by certain semantic, and thus also formal, features. This can also be formulated the other way round: They are characterized by certain formal, and thus also semantic, features. As the linguistic signs (words) divided into word categories, are not homogeneous, the criteria according to which the wordstock is divided into word categories cannot be homogeneous either. On the whole, the criteria are semantic and formal. They are joined by functional criteria, i.e. the criteria of the functioning of the particular classes of word categories within linguistic communication. But these functional criteria actually stem from the first two, while an opposite statement can be made, too: The particular word categories have certain formal and semantic criteria so that they can fulfill certain functions in linguistic communication. Hence, it stems from the above that word categories and their qualities are not freely placed next to each other within the given lin-

guistic system, but are - by their form, features and func-
tions - mutually linked. Thus in each linguistic system there is
formed not only a set of word categories, but also their form-
al and semantic signs, their internal division, their utiliza-
tion within the formation of linguistic statements, as well as
certain forms of linguistic statements (types of sentences). In
this way each linguistic system forms a certain linguistic type.
Slovak belongs, as is known, to the flective type.

5.2 The single word categories are not internally identi-
cally structured in the Slovak linguistic system. The reasons
have been indicated in the above explanations. The most structu-
red ones are four word categories: nouns, adjectives, adverbs
and verbs. The scheme of the linguistic sign of these four word
categories is as follows:

phonematic form	lexical meaning
morphematic form	grammatical meaning

Phonematic and morphematic structures represent the for-
mal aspect of the linguistic sign. As is known, the lexical and
the grammatical meanings represent the semantic aspect.

5.3 We can say of the above listed word categories that
by them the phenomena of objective reality (by means of the men-
tal content) are expressed:

a) as independently existing without expressing duration
(nouns),

b) as not independently existing without expressing duration
(adjectives, adverbs),

c) as non-independently existing and expressing duration

(verbs).

Three of the above mentioned word categories, i.e. nouns, adjectives and adverbs are joined by:

a) pronouns which replace them in various ways, or refer to them,

b) numerals which from various aspects refer to their numeric features.

5.4 The given word categories (the six given word categories) are inflective word categories because their grammatical meanings are formally expressed by their morphological structuring, i.e. by their morphematic shaping, by their being inflected. The morphological changing of the adverb is very restricted; in fact it is expressed negatively. That is why often (and to a considerable degree correctly) it is considered to be a morphologically unchanging word category. The above word categories are also called notional, autosemantic word categories, as they have their own lexical meaning (according to their common interpretation). To formulate it more precisely, from the formal point of view, too, their lexical meaning is differentiated from their grammatical meaning. From the point of view of the autonomousness of the lexical meaning there are differentiated within them non-congruent word categories, or types of word categories, and congruent word categories, or types of word categories. Non--congruent word categories are those whose lexical meaning is independent (i.e. nouns and some pronouns, e.g. ja /I/, ty /you/, my /we/, vy /you/, kto /who/, čo /what/), the congruent ones are those whose lexical meaning is attached to another word, i.e. they name phenomena of reality which do not exist independently. These are the remaining notional word categories and groups of words.

5.5 The grammatical meaning of autosemantic words is manifested by the morphematic segmentation of the particular linguistic sign by means of the so-called grammatical categories. Grammatical categories are generalized semantic categories which are characteristic of the particular flective word category. Hence, from the semantic point of view a notional (flective) word category is characterized by grammatical categories which are formally manifested by the morphematic segmentation of the particular linguistic sign. Nevertheless, often the semantic and the formal aspects do not overlap. E.g. by expressions like kameň (stone), človek (man) are expressed objects which are conceived of as independently existing without the expression of duration, but the word bledosť (paleness) has the meaning of quality, which exists "on" something, and the word pohyb (motion) has the meaning of action, which also exists "on" something. However, with regard to the particular grammatical categories, words like bledosť (paleness) and pohyb (motion) are also understood as nouns. Within word categories like nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs it is thus their formal aspect, i.e. their morphological segmentation, which decides their inclusion in the word category. With pronouns and numerals the situation differs to the effect that these word categories are in a certain way superimposed upon nouns, adjectives and adverbs, and they more closely determine or refer to some of their features. Here of most importance is the criterion of meaning. Here we come across what is called asymmetrical dualism of linguistic units. Moreover, the differing criteria of classification of numerals and pronouns stem from the heterogeneous character of what has to be named by the linguistic sign, as has been already mentioned.

5.6 By the following three word categories various types
of relationships among the phenomena of the objective reality
(this concerns prepositions and conjunctions), or the relation-
ships of the author to the statement or its parts (this con-
cerns particles) are expressed. With them the lexical and the
grammatical meanings are not differentiated, that is why they
are also not morphologically structured. Thus their linguistic
sings have only two internally non-structured components:
the formal one and the semantic one, i.e.:

phonematic structure	meaning
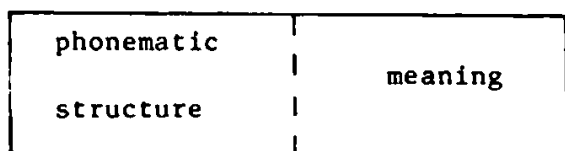
In contrast to autosemantic, notional word categories the-
se word categories are called synsemantic. Sometimes they are
not even considered to be real word categories. Such an attitu-
de is frequent. Nevertheless, it is also completely erroneous.
These word categories have a meaning, too, and it enables them to
fulfill their functions within the formation of statements. How-
ever, in contrast to the autosemantic word categories they are syn-
semantic, and by means of them the relationships among autoseman-
tic words are expressed.

5.7 Interjections have a specific place within the system
of word categories. By their function (and sometimes also by
their form) they represent the most archaic part of the word-
stock of human speech. They are a relict, usually articulatori-
ly processed, but sometimes even not processed, of the phonetic
means of the first signal system. Strictly formulated, their
phonetic aspect is not differentiated in them from the semantic
aspect. Schematically:

> a reaction formed upon stimulus
>
> by the phonetic means
>
> of the articulatory organs

5.8 Although the functions of the particular word categories are, on the whole, stabilized in each language, one word category can often fulfill (and also fulfills) functions which are usually carried out by a different word category. In addition to that, grammatical categories, even within the word category itself, are not evenly proportioned, because often the lexical meaning of some words restricts the validity of the given word category, or else, in other cases, grammatical categories determine the understanding of the lexical meaning. E.g.: bledosť (paleness - noun) - bledý (pale - adjective) - blednúť (get pale - verb) - bledo (in a pale way - adverb). These as well as other issues, and, moreover, the above mentioned asymmetrical dualism of linguistic elements, result in the fact that the description of the grammatical system of the language from the formal and the semantic points of view is neither an easy nor an uneguivocal matter. Various interpretations are possible of what is systemic, i.e. given within the grammatical structure, and what is not systemic, but stabilized, and, finally, what is accessorical.

6.0 In order to understand the basis of the meaning of the linguistic sign, of its functioning in communication, and of its variability, it was necessary to illustrate the model of linguistic communication (1.0 - 1.4), the way of forming statements about reality (2.0 - 2.5) and the basic division of the wordstock into word categories. In the following explanations

we shall concentrate upon the naming aspect of the linguistic sign, although we shall constantly bear in mind the whole process of linguistic communication and the procedures within the formation of statements about reality.

6.1 The explanation of the phenomena of the contemporary language on the basis of the phylogenesis of language cannot be considered correct, because the functioning of a linguistic phenomenon on the basis of guesses about its origin is not at all reliable. Nor is the explanation of linguistic phenomena on the basis of the ontogenesis of child language necessarily reliable. A.N. Leontiev and A.B. Lurija (Vygotski, 1970. pp. 17-19) very convincingly show in how many various ways a child's learning to create linguistic utterances is conditioned by the fact that the child from the time of its birth lives in human society which teaches and shapes it. Nevertheless, even here we can arrive at some facts. We all are familiar with the cases (most often very humorous ones) when a child after getting acquainted with the phenomena of the reality and pronouncing its first statements about it immediately goes into generalizations. The child generalizes phenomena on the basis of a quality which it considers as the basic one, and it places into one class all the phenomena in which it sees this quality. This procedure is characteristic of the cognitive activity of man, as well as of perception. On the case of children this is striking because of the fact that the choice of the basic quality according to which the generalization is made, is sometimes grotesquely improper. B. Hála - M. Sovák (1962, p. 162) give an example of a child who by the word káka first denoted a duck, then also a hen, a sparrow, even a deplumed goose, and finally even the meat

in the pan. What obviously happened here was the shifting of the main feature. I myself have watched a 14-month old boy for whom the most basic feature of a car was the fact that it moved by itself. Thus by the word "oto" (= auto /car/) he referred not only to cars, but also to bicycles, dogs, hens or flies.

6.2 Hence, when including the phenomena of reality in a class and using a certain linguistic sign to denote them, the basic feature they share is decisive. Together with a constantly improving knowledge og the phenomena of reality there also occurs a differentiation of objects, actions, of the inventory of linguistic signs. Consequently, it can be said that the semantic aspect of the linguistic sign is based on the generalized mental content formed according to the accepted basic and common feature (features) observed in a group of the particular phenomena of the reality which are included in the given mental content. If we summarize the above observations and restrict our considerations only to the naming unit, then the whole naming process can be schematically represented as follows:

| individual phenomena of the objective reality | → | summarization of a group of phenomena according to their common basic feature | → | generalized mental content according to the common basic feature |
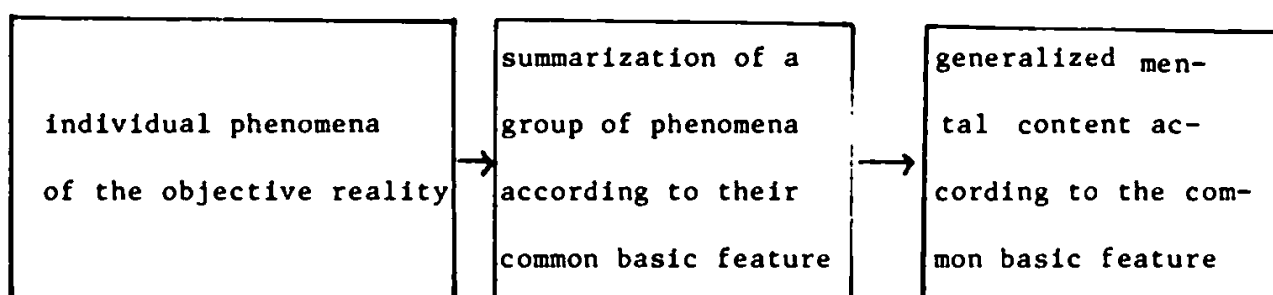
6.3 Such generalized mental content then forms the basis of the linguistic sign. As can be seen, this scheme representing the origin of the mental content which forms the basis of the meaning of the linguistic scheme, is analogous with

the scheme in 0.2 in which we outlined the formation of the
mental content from the observed objective reality. The diffe-
rence between these two schemes is in the fact that the develop-
ment of the new linguistic sign is very rare with a normal adult,
while the formation of a complex mental content on the basis
of reality is a routine part of life. Moreover, the new linguis-
tic sign is socially (interindividually) obligatory, while the
concrete complex mental content serves above all as an individual
basis for a linguistic statement or at least for the individual
explicit form of the conceived statement. Of course, the expli-
cit form of the conceived statement, or the performed statement
can also result in a new static mental content or a linguistic
sign. Nevertheless, we shall not here develop this idea further

7.0 The set of linguistic signs, i.e. the wordstock of a
certain language, is subdivided according to various criteria.
We have already presented the division according to word cate-
gories which, in a way, is the most important one as it unifies
the division with regard to the phenomena of the reality, with
regard to the mental work of the speakers of a certain language,
and with regard to the given linguistic system. Moreover, the
wordstock can also be divided according to other criteria. Let
us cursorily mention some of them. There is, e.g., the division
of the wordstock according to the relatedness of the words.
According to this criterion the wordstock is divided in such
a way that other words are formed from the basic word by deri-
vation and composition. E.g. zem (earth), zemský (earthly),
zemeguľa (globe), prízemný (ground-level), zemiak (potato),
vnútrozemie (inland), uzemniť (to earth), etc. There exists a
division according to groups of objects, e.g. pieces of furnitu-

re (table, chair, wardrobe, etc.), colours, types of motion,
etc. Groups of objects also include the terminologies of par-
ticular professional or scientific fields. Another division
is based on the range and the richness of the contents of mea-
nings.

7.1 The division of meanings according to how the mental
contents oppose against each other is very interesting. Within
linguistic signs this is manifested by antonyms (opposites).
Antonyms (opposites) represent pairs of words whose meanings
oppose each other (often they exclude each other), e.g. láska -
nenávisť (love - hatred), deň - noc (day - night), starý - nový
(old - new), začať - skončiť (begin - end), hore - dolu (up -
down). Many antonyms actually are not precisely logically oppo-
site as to their meaning, although in linguistic consciousness
they function in this way.

The particular phenomena of reality and their generalized
mental contents are not always grouped according to the same fea-
tures. This can be well seen within the comparison of antonyms.
E.g. in Latin the mental contents within the opposition "having
many years - having few years" are ordered in the following way:

	having many years	having few years
about persons	senex	iuvenis
about animals and plants	vetulus	novellus
about things	vetus	novus

On the contrary, the mental content "having many years"
is in Slovak expressed by one linguistic sign only, by starý
(old), while for its opposite two linguistic signs are used: the

linguistic sign <u>mladý</u> (young) is used for objects of organic nature: <u>mladý človek</u> (young man), <u>mladý orol</u> (young eagle), <u>mladý strom</u> (young tree), <u>mladé víno</u> (young wine), and the linguistic sign <u>nový</u> (new) is used for non-living objects of reality: <u>nový dom</u> (new house), <u>nový poriadok</u> (new order) (but also <u>nové víno</u> /new wine/, if we disregard the fermentation process). Hence the scheme is different:

	having many years	having few years
about persons about animals and plants	<u>starý</u> (old)	<u>mladý</u> (young)
about things		<u>nový</u> (new)

Cf. also: <u>starý richtár</u> - <u>nový richtár</u> (old mayor - new mayor) (as to his tenure of office), <u>starý richtár</u> - <u>mladý richtár</u> (old mayor - young mayor) (as to his age; cf. also Blanár, 1976, pp. 102-103).

7.2 Within the linguistic sign itself the meaning is specifically modified according to with which other linguistic signs the given linguistic sign is connected and with which it can be connected. Genetically we have to start here from the phenomenon of reality (in this case from linked phenomena of reality) and from the choice of the basic features, and proceed through the generalized mental contents to the linguistic signs connected within the particular syntagm.

7.3 We have already pointed out (0.5) that with the author there does not exist only this direction within the formation of the linguistic statement, i.e. in short: from the phenomenon of reality to the linguistic sign, but parallelly also an oppo-

site direction: from the linguistic sign to the phenomenon of reality. This is one of the reasons why the same linguistic sign can be connected with several (according to the word categories) homogeneous linguistic signs (e.g. <u>obrátiť sa k stene</u> /turn to the wall/, <u>obrátiť sa k severu</u> /turn to the north/, <u>obrátiť sa k slnku</u> /turn to the sun/), but also with linguistic signs which are not homogeneous (<u>obracať sa s vozom</u> /turn with a cart/, <u>vedieť sa obracať</u> /be able to manage well/). On the one hand, this is caused by the fact that the rich but, nevertheless restricted, inventory of linguistic signs must serve for the communication of practically inexhaustible and ever new phenomena of reality, on the other hand by the fact that the choice from the point of view of the author is intentional, as we have already pointed out in this paper. This is one of the ways in which the so-called polysemanticity of words arises, i.e. the fact that several meanings (several signifiés) correspond to the signifiant.

8.0 If we also take into consideration other factors and not only the relationship directed from the phenomenom of reality via the mental content to the linguistic sign, or the linking of linguistic signs, then the linguistic signs can also be classified according to their social usage (according to the degree of their being standard) and according to their actualization.

According to the relationship to the standard literary language and according to the degree of standardness there can be differentiated:

a) the wordstock of the styles of public communication,

b) the wordstock of the styles of private communication,

i.e. the wordstock of individual conversation and the wordstock of social groups in private communication,

c) the standard literary wordstock and the dialectal word-stock,

d) the contemporary wordstock and the old wordstock,

e) the wordstock according to the range and the degree of usage.

When classifying and characterizing the wordstock according to the actualization or automation of meaning, it is necessary to name above all, the following procedures: metaphorization, use of metonyms, use of synonyms, weakening and intensification of meaning, phraseology, similes and proverbs.

However, we shall not deal here with meaning from these points of view. This would involve a very extensive analysis, and, although it could serve to point out many interesting features of linguistic meaning and its functioning within the linguistic sign, as a whole this explanation belongs to a chapter in a lexicology textbook. For this reason we will conclude our whole analysis at this point.

9.0 The question arises of how, within such a multiformity of various phenomena, there can be provided any interindividual validity of particular linguistic signs. A.N. Leontiev and A.R. Lurija in their introduction to the work of L.S. Vygotski (1970, p. 18) approach the question in the following way:

"Word as a generalization and word as a means of communication in no way form a unity by chance, but by indispensability. The point is that human beings establish relationships with the objective world by means of other people, i.e. mutual contact. It was above all the mutual contact of people which gave birth to language, it was within the conditions of mutual

contact that the system of meanings generalizing objective reality was formed. Generalization and mutual contact are internally bound processes. Communication by speech is impossible without generalization. "Each word (speech) is a generalization" (V.I. Lenin). Thus it is in fact within mutual contact that we should be looking for the concrete conditions of the development of meanings."

9.1 On the one hand a more differentiated formulation (and thus closer to the objective situation), but on the other hand a more static formulation (and thus more distant from actual reality) is presented by A. Ufimceva (1974, p. 3):

"The basic ontological quality of a natural language is the two-level mode of its existence: language as a system of virtual signs as well as of general models of their linking, and speech as the real functioning of this system. Due to its dual functioning language, on the one hand, classifies, gives names to the objects, the phenomena of the real world, helps to generalize and differentiate their features, on the other hand, preserving and forwarding in an abstract form the total social-historical experience of the bearers of language, it provides speech activity, thus fulfilling the communicative needs of people."

9.2 In this context we should also mention the approach of J. Piaget - B. Inhelder (1970, p. 31) who, although in connection with the development of perception within children - but the same is true also of adults, as well as of the functioning of the linguistic system over its whole extent - in contrast to the statement "Nihil est in intellectu, quod non prius fuerit in sensu" (There is nothing in consciousness which would not previously be in sensual perception) preferred the statement with Leibnitz's addition "nisi ipse intellectus" (nothing

except consciousness itself). But with regard to Leibnitz they
critically remark: "As if in mental life there existed only
perceptions and intellect ... and he forgot about activity!"

Activity should be understood as social interaction, i.e.
the mutual influence of the members of the same linguistic com-
munity by means of linguistic communication. In the given lin-
guistic system and with each individual the wordstock (the sys-
tem of linguistic signs) is formed and reinforced in acts of
communication with the other members of the society, while each
individual, according to the intensity of his or her social
functioning, cooperates in its reinforcement, the widening of
its structuredness, its richness and use, and in its changes.
Hence, for preserving the unity of the meaning of the linguis-
tic sign an intensive social usage of language is indispensable.
Thus it is a result of what was referred to by V. Mathesius as
"pružná stabilita spisovného jazyka"(flexible stability of the
standard literary language) (1932, pp. 17 et seq.).

9.3 And finally, we would like to stress again that the
meaning of a linguistic sign becomes more specified (becomes uni-
que) within various relationships with other linguistic signs
or in connection with other linguistic signs.

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etc.

(Translated by A. Böhmerová)

AXIOMATICS OF SEMIOLOGY OF LINEAR STRUCTURES[+]

ĽUDOVÍT NOVÁK

As is generally known, one of the main theses of Ferdinand de Saussure, the founder of modern structural linguistics, states that the development of linguistic structure (corps phonique de la langue) is from the acoustic point of view in a straight line of one direction and develops in time. This is natural, as we are dealing with the development of an acoustic structure composed of articulated sounds, which may be implemented only gradually, one after another in time. De Saussure rightly stresses the un- directionality, which cannot be reversed and so certainly coin- cides with the direction of the physical (as well as the physio- logical and biological) flow of time.

But it must be stressed that, viewed from the aspect of dialec- tical analysis, this is incomplete because perspectively it is a one-sided view of the development of linguistic structure. At the same time it is necessary to formulate clearly a backwards direction, too, dialectically inseparable from it, i.e., a semio- logical, signal-like directionality. This statement should be understood in this way: primarily not only individual words are signs mostly of an extralingual reality (or of interlingual context- ual relations) but also the words in utterances, and thus in the sentence, unless one is dealing with a single-element sentence,

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[+] This article is an English translation of the shortened and partially modified Slovak paper published in Slavica Slovaca,4, 1969, pp. 18-34. The English trans- lation also appeared in: Recueil linguistique de Bratislava. Vol.6. Ed. J. Ru- žička. Bratislava, Veda 1982, pp.185-196.

expressed by one word (of the type <u>Fire!</u> <u>Enough!</u> <u>Yes!</u>)are of
mutually signal-like character. This mutual signalling character
happens in the following way.: the second word is the sign of the
first; the third of the second, but also at the same time of the
first through the second; the fourth of the third, but also at
the same time of the second through the third and also of the
first through the second and so on, of course, in different degrees
and in mutual tension.This is due to their being framed into syntag-
matical relations and expressed by the word-order, whether objective
or subjective. Finally it follows logically that the whole sen-
tence structure closed in its completeness is the integral sign
of the external, relatively minimal complete event or reality
(in its further dynamic completeness the signalling is done by
the order of sentences and that from the speaker´s point of view
by means of an uninterrupted sequence of sentences, in the case
of at least two speakers by means of a dialogically alternating
order of sentences.

Thus, one can rightly establish the existence of a dialectic-
ally antithetic direction which is opposed to the direction of
the linear development of the linguistic structure: it is hierar-
chically a higher s e m i o l o g i c a l , s i g n a l - l i k e
direction. Graphically:

Direction of the development of linguistic structure (acoustic)

>───►

◄───<
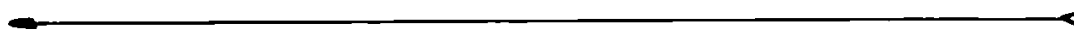
Direction of the intralinguistical signalling (the semantic function)

This simple scheme accounts for the well-known psycholinguistic-al fact that the meaning of the word, which is anticipated in the speaker´s consciousness before it has been pronounced (or at least partially – in the case of a reader who proceeds in a global manner), is only normally understood after one has taken in (in sound or in graphical shape) the sign of the word as a whole. Mutatis mutandis, this applies, in principle, also to syntagmas, clauses, sentences, and even to the sequence of sentences in ccherent contexts.

Thus, a distinct dialectical tension arises between the acoustic (and/or the graphical) and the semantic components of the linguistic sign regarded as an indivisible whole. This happens, primarily, in each of its individual segments and then, secondarily, by further complicated gradations in different structurally-significant language levels.

Another drawback of today´s semiology (as a discipline super-ordinated to linguistics and subordinated to sociology, a discipline still not completely built up after more than half a century since its foundation) and, as a consequence of this, also of today´s linguistics (which is concerned with linguistic signs and so, in its relation to semiology, is a subordinate partner) is its unsatisfactory, inadequate analysis of signal-like structures, especially of those which – like language – are of linear character (primarily in its fundamental acoustic form, secondarily in its graphical written form).

This structure might be schematized with the usual graphical representation, taking an abscissa as a conceptual whole:

A ⊢――――――――――――――――――――――――――――――⊣ B

If this graphic symbol is to denote neither the illustration of the movement from point A to point B nor any purely Euclidean loci of some points, but an indivisible structural whole as understood by modern Gestaltpsychologie, then it must be mentally analysed not only in a perspective pointing from A to B (this would be only a graphical symbol of movement in space and time), but also dialectically backwards in a perspective pointing from B to A at the same time. Only in this way can one conceive of the indivisible whole of the abscissa as a structural unitary completness. A similar remark concerning the signal-like aspect of a sign was made above when we insisted on the completion of the Saussurean unilinear direction of the language structure, identical with the flow of time by its dialectically antithetical semiological direction in the same language structure. Here, however, we are concerned with the acoustic structure as such as complete structure, its complete understanding and an attempt at its further structural analysis.

And in our view, we have to stress that an adequate analysis, the most abstract but still quite real, can state the thesis that this structure has inevitably three essential elements, i.e. the b e g i n n i n g, the m i d d l e and the e n d. This is a generally, almost trivially known fact, frequently used even in very scientific analyses and also almost at every step in linguistics itself. But, as far as I know, nobody has attempted a satisfactorily clear semiological analysis of the relation existing among these essentially structural components of any organic structure and especially of linear structures of a lingual character.

In our view, the signal-like linear structure must undergo further semiological analysis, and these axiomatical fundamental theses are to be adequately formulated:

1. Every linear structure has a beginning, a middle, and
   an end.

2. The end is the sign of the beginning.

3. The signal-like relation of the end to the beginning is
   performed through the middle, which is the function of
   this signalling.

However, it must be realized that we are dealing with an
abstract scheme, comparable to the scheme length - broadness -
height in the tridimensional space. This scheme is of course also
only abstractly conceivable, but it has a similar structure (broad-
ness is the sign of length and height-depth on the intersection
of length and broadness is the function of this relationship).
Besides, the abstract system beginning - middle - end is able
to produce a statement about the structure of reality, although
the said ability is, from the analytical point of view, extremely
abstruse and further indivisible; but it is still real, even with
regard to the scientific understanding of the analysis of the
structure of external reality which exists independently of our
consciousness.

To avoid misunderstanding,let us adduce another real, existing
structure which is, in a way, parallel to the linguistic structure:
let us conceive of a most regularly constructed iron staff of
accurate cylindrical dimensions with the smallest possible base,
a relatively bigger height with circular layers of molecules of
iron atom (Fe), composed only of atoms of pure iron, that is to
say without its isotopes and with the layers in odd number. Imme-
diately afterwards,let us imagine another such staff with circular
layers of iron molecules in an even number. If we then start to
make the analysis of the forms of these staffs in which one commonly
sees two ends, we must, when analysing the iron staff, e.g. when

we take it mentally into our hands for some practical use, de-
termine for our evaluation and for our use where one has its be-
ginning and end. Then on the basis of this determination, we must
further find also where one has its middle. With the staff, whose
layers constitute an odd number, there is no problem.For instance,
when we choose deliberately a staff with a small number of layers
for further schemes, let us say 9, the middle will be naturally
at the 5th layer, whether we count them from the beginning to
the end or from the end to the beginning (in our schemes we use
the initial letters of Latin words: I = Initium, C = Centrum,
/instead of generally used Medium/, F = Finis:

I	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	F
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

$$C$$
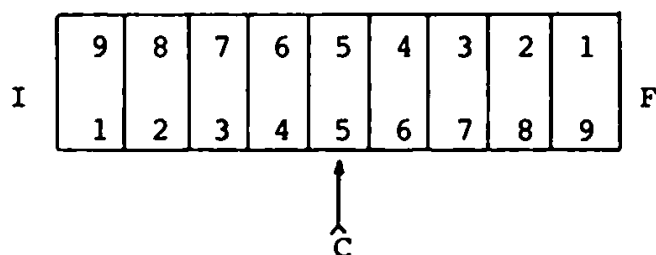
But on the other staff with an even number of circular layers,
say ten, the middle would be conceptionally and empirically un-
breakably in two layers at the same time, at 5 (6), and 6(5) to-
gether:

I	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	F
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

$$C$$
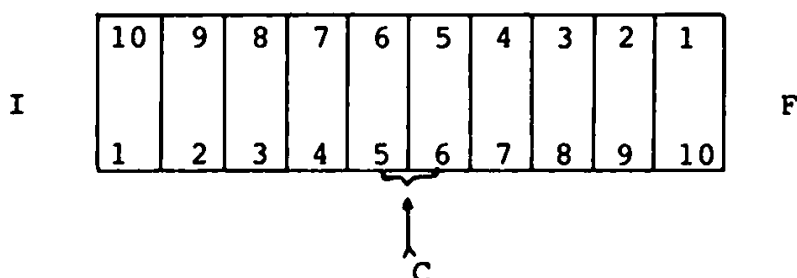
The objection against this, that the middle is only between
the two layers, 5(6) and 6(5), would be possible from the struct-
ural and abstract viewpoint, but with regard to the empirical
reality, it is quite impossible. It is so because we are dealing
here with a continuous whole where the individual layers form

parts, and there are not any conceivable breaches or empty gaps
between them (as soon as such a conceivable breach becomes real,
e.g. when suddenly broken or cut, that very moment we would have
two staffs from the original one. These two, with their dimensions,
would be half as great as the original one, but each would be
again equally individually complete.).

But one could more justly object in the following manner:
to the centre two more layers might be added from the left and
from the right 4(7) and 7(4); and in cases of longer staffs with
greater numbers of circular layers, still others could be added,
always from the left towards the beginning and from the right towards
the end. And so the single layer with the odd number of layers
(= our first case) and two layers taken together with the even
number of layers (= our second case) could be denoted as centres
in the narrowest and still empirically real meaning, whereas the
other ones, gradually more and more broadened in both directions
could be denoted as centres in the broader sense. Now one should
not be afraid of a consequence of such a way of reasoning: by
adding layers in such a manner, one would reach the very beginning
from one side and the very end from the other. In such a case
one could say then that the whole staff, as an empirically indivi-
sible entity, is the centre in the broadest and empirically realiz-
ed sense of the word.

If,however, we proceeded contrary to this, i.e. from the
centre to the beginning as well as to the end and conceivably
at the same time, and if we left only two layers, the initial
one at the beginning and the final one at the end,then we would
be able to say plastically, in accordance with the given semiolo-
gical analysis, the following: the first layer distinguishes itself
by the fact that the layers following it proceed gradually towards

the centre and afterwards, in another partial aspect, they grow
in number at the end, whereas at the last layer they end; in other
words - evaluated backwards - they proceed similarly in a parallel
manner from the end to the centre and then only again, partially
in the other aspect, to the beginning. Concretely in the simplest
projection (the case of the even layers is marked by parentheses):

I(►----► I (I) ◄----◄) F at the staff
$$\underset{C}{}$$

The concreteness would become still greater if the staff
on the outside ended spherically and on the inside with a cavity
in a very regular manner. Thus, e.g.,

I) ►----► I (I) ◄----◄ (F at the staff
$$\underset{C}{}$$
or

I| ►----►I (I) ◄----◄ | F at the staff
$$\underset{C}{}$$

In all these concrete cases, we should see that the final
layer is a back (retrospective) sign for the starting layer, espe-
cially plastic and concrete at the second and the third scheme
as if this final layer were a mirror picture, an opposite copy
and a negative of the starting layer. Now, just as we have spoken
about the centre in the narrowest sense and then in an ever broader
sense up to the empirically broadest sense where it is already
identical with the staff viewed empirically as a complete entity,
so we can also mentally continue, in a parallel manner, from the
beginning up to one or two layers of the middle and again, in
the contrary direction, from the end up to one or two of the
same middle. We can then say that the two, three, and further
layers are in an ever broader sense beginnings or, respectively,
ends. In the broadest sense we would thus reach one or two layers
of the centre, and both the beginning and the end would reach

the same layers, even if from different perspectives, by degrees. Thus, we would then understand correctly the structural character of the trinity beginning - middle - end and its empirical realization both in the narrower and in the broader sense.

After this indispensable concrete approach to our problems, taken in order to lessen the danger of misunderstanding our explanations, which are rather abstruse owing to the nature of the matter, we can now proceed to consider some further consequences of our approach, keeping in mind their interrelated logical sequence.

From the e m p i r i c a l point of view it is evident that one is concerned with the sequence: 1. beginning, 2. middle, and 3. end.

From the h i e r a c h i c a l point of view certainly the most important is the beginning because from it the whole structure receives its "origin", its foundation; and on this foundation, its point of departure, all the structure is further "developed". Hierarchically parallel, in the second place, is the end, which is in a dependence relationship because in it again the whole empirical structure closes down. Finally, the third place is occupied by the middle, which represents the transition zone from the beginning to the end, the developing process being almost unnoticed and mostly quite hidden. So, the hierarchic relative sequence is 1. beginning, 2. end, and 3. middle.

From the s e m i o l o g i c a l point of view there is again another relative sequence: the first place is on the contrary occupied by the end here because it is the sign of the beginning. But as the function of marking the beginning by the end is done through the middle, the second place is occupied by the middle. And so the very last, third place is allotted to the beginning. So, the semiological relative sequence is 1. end, 2. middle,

and 3. beginning.

From the central point of view, a well-balanced and the last possible, structurally adequate view, there is another relative sequence. To be able to understand its correctness, let us have a look at the first three relative sequences. While the empirical sequence is still relatively concrete, the hierarchic sequence as well as the semiological one, serving the evaluating purposes, are rather abstruse. Besides, the hierarchic sequence - just as in fact the empirical one - starts from the beginning, while the semiological one starts from the end. So we can justly assert that there exists another, the fourth and at the same time the last structural analytic abstruse sequence. This is also derived from a correct point of view, that is to say from a middle, well-ballanced approach, analysing at the same time the whole empirical structure from the perspective of the middle, therefore from the perspective which is inseparably balanced on both sides.

Then we can proceed reasoning analytico-synthetically in the following way:

a) from the middle at first to the beginning because it is the first in the hierarchical sequence and only then to the end.

This would not be, however, a well-balanced approach in view of the central position of the middle in the empirical sequence on the one hand and in the semiotic sequence on the other because in the latter sequence the middle always has the second place. It is therefore necessary to admit, in accord with the facts, that the middle is the function of the end as the symbol of the beginning and that there is also a contrary analytic approach at the same time:

b) mentally from the middle at first to the end, in accord with the semiological sequence, and only then to the beginning.

This central sequence cannot be simply outlined in such a linear sequence as were the first three, and the numerical symbol itself can at most be used in a particular sense about the centre, which must be marked as 1. (As a matter of fact, for that special sense some "1" would be more adequate or a graphically more plastic two-sided Roman I.) For the further two structural elements, we need to use a more complex marking: for the beginning $\frac{2}{3}$ and for the end $\frac{3}{2}$ in the first conceptual analysis and soon afterwards for the beginning $\frac{3}{2}$ and for the end $\frac{2}{3}$ in the second conceptual analysis. Afterwards, for the beginning $\frac{23}{32}$ and for the end 23^{32} synthetically indivisibly, preferably these should be represented each in a special circle, but we do not insist on this for typographical reasons. Thus, one would mark graphically most simply and most adequately the very specific character of the central and at the same time the balanced sequence, reminiscent of the markings used about fields in physics, e.g., the electromagnetic field. Thus, the central sequence is "1" (I) middle; $\frac{23}{32}$ beginning; and $\frac{32}{23}$ end.

Thus, to summarize one can add to the division of sequences into c o n c r e t e (empirical) - a b s t r a c t (hierarchical, semiological, and central) also a further division of sequences into l i n e a r (empirical, hierarchical, and semiological) - a r e a l (central). The simplified scheme of all the sequences looks like this:

Sequence			I (beginning)	C (middle)	F (end)
Concrete		1. Empirical	1	2	3
	Linear	2. Hierarchical	1	3	2
Abstract		3. Semiological	3	2	1
	Areal	4. Central	2 3	"1"	3 2
			3 2		2 3

From the above table one can see the special feature of the beginning, which is twice in both first sequences, marked as 1, and only once as 3, but never as 2. Admittedly the symbol $\frac{23}{32}$ contains 2 in two cases, but as has already been stressed, it is used in the total numeric symbol dependently because of the inseparable mental connection with the equally dependent number 3, just as on the contrary $\frac{3}{2}$ is found at the end to which mutatis mutandis the same applies.

Similarly, the characteristic of the middle is clear at first sight: it contains 2 twice, from which one occurrence is in the very first empirical sequence, only one "1" (in a special sense), and also only one 3. Besides, it is the centre alone that contains only independent numbers ("1", 2,2,3), while the symbols $\frac{23}{32}$ and $\frac{32}{23}$ are missing. But one must always bear in mind - we stress this again - a somewhat different aspect of the number 1 for the centre (i.e. "1" or I) in the fourth, balanced sequence because we are not concerned with a simple linear sequence but rather with the "point of departure" of the areal "sequence".

Finally, also the end is characterized, though not so clearly at first sight, by an original number mark found neither in the beginning nor in the middle and rising in the first three sequences in the evaluating progression from the last one, i.e. 3, through 2 to 1. No number is repeated: if the number 1 were repeated twice, this would contradict the characteristic of the beginning; if the number 2 were repeated twice, this would contradict the cha-racteristic of the middle; and, finally, if one repeated the num-ber 3, belonging to the end of the empirical sequence, this would onesidedly reduce the importance of the end in relation to the beginning and the middle. If we do not take into account the fourth sequence, where even for the end only a dependent 3 is inseparably

connected with the dependent 2, thus $\frac{32}{23}$ (which is parallel to $\frac{23}{32}$ for the beginning) and where then the end has, in a sense, the same value as the beginning, but at the same time shares with it some disadvantage of dependency from its relation to the centre position of the middle; then we find that the occurrence of all the three numbers (3,2,1) characterizes the end, finally, if we begin with the empirical sequence, the counting is 3,2,1, but the sequence must be at once conceptually reversed because of the par excellence signal-like character of the end. It must be so turned into the sequence 1,2,3, thus starting from the semiological sequence through the hierarchical up to the empirical one.

For the greater clarity of what we have just explained in detail, we add a summary table of the number sequences:

Number of sequence	I (beginning)		C (middle)		F (end)	
	Occurrence	Sequence	Occurrence	Sequence	Occurrence	Sequence
1	2	Empirical Hierarchical	1	Central	1	Semiological
2	–	–	2	Empirical Semiological	1	Hierarchical
3	1	Semiological	1	Hierarchical	1	Empirical
2 3 / 3 2	1	Central	–	–	–	–
3 2 / 2 3	–	–	–		1	Central

Finally, we add a table summarizing the binary oppositions:

    a) beginning - not beginning (I - I˙),

    b) middle - not middle (C - C˙),

    c) end - not end (F - F˙):

	I (beginning)	C (middle)	F (end)
Beginning	I		I˙
Middle	C˙	C	C˙
End	F˙		F

To preclude an objection, which may seem not quite unjustified, we must add to all we have said so far, as well as to the concrete data in the tables, that in the semiological sequence, which is 1. the end, 2. the middle, and 3. the beginning one might require a different sequence: 1. the end, 2. the beginning, and 3. the middle, using the following argument: Just as in the hierarchical sequence 1. the beginning, 2. the end, and 3. the middle, it was exactly the middle that was in the third place, then it should occupy this place also when this order is simply reversed in the semiological sequence. Thus the order should be 1. end, 2. beginning, and 3. middle. It ought to be so, it is said, because the end as a sign (signifiant) marks first of all the beginning (signifié) and it is from this relation that the marking originates as if by a reflexion of both, attributed, by way of intersection, to the middle.

However, such an objection would not be correct. In the hierarchical sequence we ask: What corresponds structurally to the beginning, which is the point of departure, the basis of all the structure? There is only one answer to this question: to the

beginning, conceived in such a way to correspond to its opposite
number, its negative, its mirror-picture, i.e. the end as a comple-
tion of the conclusion of the empirical structure, for this
reason it is designated by the number 2 in the given sequence.
And so number 3 belongs to the remainder, in other words to the
middle, because it makes possible the relation between the positive
- beginning and negative - end.

In the semiological sequence, to which a certain reverse analogy
with the hierarchical sequence cannot be denied, there is an essen-
tial difference: from the point of view of the already existing
mirror-picture, the reflexion is no more evaluated as passive,
but as a sign capable of active marking.Since the conception of
the sign includes the feature that, while being a structure in
itself, at the same time it implies the marking of something else.
This quality of marking something else, so to speak "something
from outside", irradiates on this "something else" as marked
from this structure. We can deduce from this that the natural
semiological sequence is 1. the end, 2. the middle, and only 3.
the beginning. Besides, also the semiological borderline is of
great importance, and it is evidently placed between the middle,
which as a marker constitutes the function of the sign, and the
beginning. It can thus be graphically represented most simply
as follows: 1. the end, 2. the middle or 3. the beginning or,
perspectively, in a more plastic way:

The linear direction (empirical) ————————————————————————>

		The sign in the narrower sense
3. the beginning	2. the middle	1. the end
Signifié	The marking signal	Signifiant
	The sign in the broader sense	

The signal-like (semiological) direction <————————————————————————
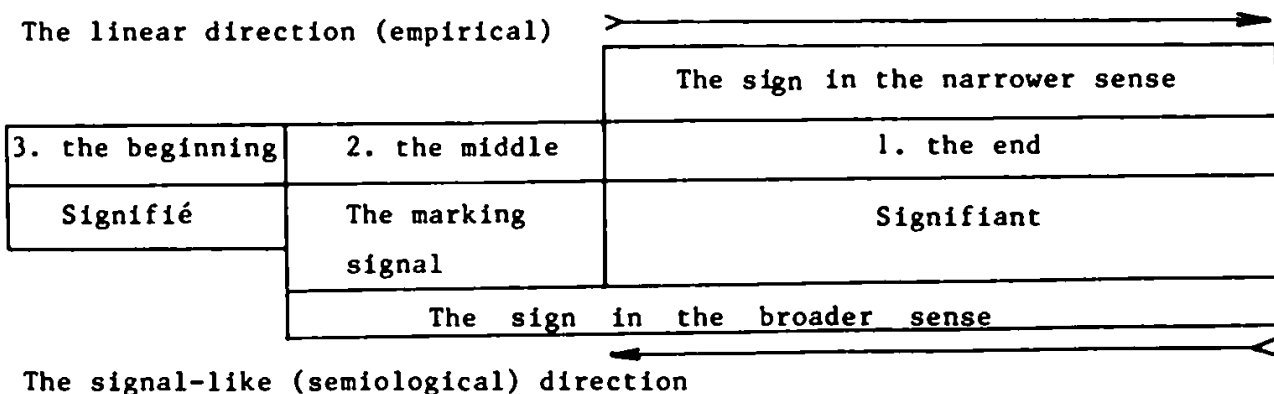
By way of concluding our discussion, we may summarize its results as follows:

As in every closed linear structure - the same may be said of the other structures, too, but in them the situation is not so clear at first sight - the beginning conceptually anticipates the end; and the end is conceptually, so to speak, the mirror-picture of the beginning. On the other hand, the middle is conceivably indivisibly dependent in a well-balanced way on the beginning and at the same time on the end. But from the empirical point of view precisely the middle is most advantageously placed because, as we have already stressed above, the centre in the broadest sense of the word equals practically the whole concerned reality of the linear structure. Finally, all the relations, including the mentioned concluding analysis, just clearly result in the following thesis: summa summarum all the three structural components as the cross-sections of all the four relations as such are mutually equivalent. This is so irrespective of the hierarchical sequence taken in abstracto in isolation because this is only a single out of the four principally possible aspects of sequence and, as a consequence of this, of four methodical analytical procedures.

One might ask: what can linguistics gain from these reflections We can answer without any exaggeration: linguistics can draw from these reflections very good profit, both in theory (methodology, verification, and explication) and in many-sided practical applications.

(Translated by A. Filo)

GRAMMAR AND REALITY. A PROBLEM OF METAPHOR[+]

VIKTOR KRUPA

The relationship of the content of grammatical categories to reality is frequently discussed in linguistics. On the one hand, it is obvious that grammatical categories do reflect reality but, on the other hand, this reflexion is partial and distorted, even if to a varying degree.

This contradiction is usually resolved in such a way that grammatical categories are characterized as part of the structural framework of language, while their content is admittedly due to some external motivation; it is suggested that in the very process of grammaticalization they cease to reflect experience directly. Becoming autonomous, they may acquire semantic features that are unacceptable in purely cognitive terms. In other words, they cease to conform to the requirement of reflexive adequacy (Krupa, 1977, p. 20).

Language as the most important means of human communication has to meet two requirements. First, it has to be able to communicate about anything (requirement of adequacy) and second, it has to be intelligible to the participants of the communication act (requirement of consistency). These two requirements are to some extent contradictory because only such a language is one hundred per cent reflexively adequate that responds to the constantly changing environment (objective reality) as readily as possible,

while one hundred per cent consistency seems to be linked to absolute stability of language. From this point of view, however, any natural language is to be qualified as a sort of a compromise; vocabulary is treated as obeying the requirement of reflexive adequacy, while grammar is governed by the principle of consistency. An analogous idea has been expressed by J. H. Greenberg who suggests that grammatical markers are not susceptible to semantic interpretation in terms of nonlinguistic environment (Greenberg, 1954, p. 15).

Although this point of view contains a grain of truth, it remains unacceptable as an exhaustive explanation because it sheds no light on the process leading to the loss of reflexive adequacy by grammatical categories and also because it does not account for the fact that the semantic basis of any grammatical category may be remotivated and revitalized. In other words, the semantic background of grammatical categories is not entirely petrified and the awareness of their links to reality is no mere fiction.

Grammar represents the structural framework of language. This does not imply that grammar is identical with structure. In fact, all language elements are carriers of its structure, although they differ as to the specific weight of relationality in their total meaning. Relationality prevails with grammatical elements, while lexical elements are notable for a lower structural load. Put in other words, no language elements are entirely free of the structural load (i.e. relationality) but on the other hand, there may occur in language such elements that fulfil only structural functions. This agrees with V. Skalička´s opinion according to which the meaning of morphological markers is a transposition of lexical and - I shall add - syntactic units

(cf. Krupa 1981, p. 160). This means that a language may,but need not have morpohological structure markers because its structure is marked by syntactic and lexical means as well. Skalička´s view is in agreement with the author´s interpretation of relation as generalized meanings and with K. Lorenz´s treatment of structure as stabilized cognition, i.e. as knowledge. E.R. Atajan (1976, p.63) qualifies linguistic energeia as a unity of knowledge and cognition. The former is identified with structure and the latter with language elements (lexemes). But the process of cognition is open and constantly modifies knowledge; that is why structure has to undergo gradual change in the course of time. And K. Lorenz goes on to say: "...each accommodated structure comprises knowledge. The latter may be accumulated only in accommodated structure... structure is accommodation in a ready-made state. If further accommodation is taking place, if new knowledge is being acquired, structure has to be at least partly removed and rebuilt" (Lorenz, 1973, p.261).

The clue to the nature of semantics of grammatical categories lies in the high structural load of grammar, in its basically relational nature. Grammar is ex definitione the most stable language level and as such it may be expected to contain relics of older cognitive attitudes, buried below more recent strata. Meaning or content of the grammatical categories, especially of those that have been termed selective by B.L. Whorf (1945, pp.5-6), often seems to be illogical and yet in a way, motivated by experience, by reality. A solution to this dilemma may be looked for in metaphor. For the purposes of the present paper, metaphor is defined as a transfer which is heterogeneous from the point of view of the semantic domains

involved (i.e. as a transfer from one domain into another);
as a consequence of this transfer, what is similar is treated
as identical. One of the cognitive advantages of metaphor is its
ability to communicate in hints, because it is hints that
make one feel the inexhaustibility of objective reality. In
this respect metaphor is an adequate means of expression.
One certainly should not forget that metaphor is a multilayer
phenomenon in the complex: perception - language - cognition,
i.e. that it operates upon several hierarchical levels. One
of these levels is that of grammar. A grammatical category
is defined as generalized meaning that is consistently and
obligatorily marked for a set of formally defined items in-
cluded in this set. It is precisely the obligatory nature
of grammatical categories that renders the application of
metaphor desirable and even inevitable.

Experience persuades us that reality is continuous and
inexhaustible and yet our cognition must process it with the
aid of a finite and limited set of devices (including language
as its main instrument). Cognitively applied language discreti-
zes experience. This discrete linguistic pattern ranges from
being fairly subtle, as in the case of vocabulary, to being
rather crude, as in the case of grammatical categories. The
grammatical patterning is applied to a more or less numerous
set of items, but it is reflexively adequate only with a restricted
number of these items which may be said to represent the semantic
basis or core of the category, being more or less Procrustean
in all other instances. The mechanism that is used to span
the gap between the fitting and the Procrustean extremes is
essentially metaphorical.

A typical example of such a grammatical category is gender

in Slovak (and in other Slavic languages). Each Slovak noun has
to be assigned to one of the three genders, masculine, feminine
or neuter, combining with the appropriate set of suffixes. The
Slovak gender is a highly formalized category. Its semantic back-
ground is obviously to be looked for in sex. Each of the three gen-
ders comprises a core of nouns that are classed as masculine, femi-
nine or neuter because of the sex of their referents. Names of
males (chlap/man/,učiteľ/teacher/,brat/brother/,etc.) and of some
male animals (býk/bull/,kohút/cock/,pes/dog/,etc.) are classed as
masculine, while those of females (žena/woman/,sestra/sister/,mat-
ka/mother/etc.) and of some female animals (sliepka/hen/,krava/cow/,
suka/bitch/)are members of the feminine category. The core of the
neuter gender consists of nouns referring to things (vrece/bag/,
mesto/town/,sedlo/saddle/,etc.)including also nouns referring to
youngsters (dieťa/child/,psíča/puppy/,mača/kitten/,etc.). Excepting
the sets of motivated nouns forming the core of each gender, the
affiliation of a noun with the particular gender is a purely
formal matter. All nouns ending in a consonant are masculine except
a small and enumerable class of feminine nouns (e.g. kosť/bone/,
noc/night/,zmes/mixture/).Likewise, all nouns ending in -a are
classified as feminine except those referring to male persons
(such as sluha/servant/,hrdina/hero/,kolega/colleague)and those
referring to youngsters (dieťa/child/psíča/puppy/ etc.) while all
nouns ending in either -o or -e are classified as neuter nouns.
It follows that the sex motivation is pretty well alive with nouns
referring to persons; to such an extent that feminine forms are
easily derivable from their masculine pendants by means of pro-
ductive derivative affixes (cf. the pairs učiteľ/teacher/- učiteľ-
ka/teacher, fem./ maliar/painter/- maliarka/painter, fem./ sluha/
servant/- slúžka/servant, fem./ hrdina/hero/ - hrdinka/heroine,fem./

kolega /colleague/ - kolegyňa /colleague, fem./) and the gender
of nouns referring to persons might even be regarded as a modul-
us category in the Whorfian sense (Whorf, 1945, pp. 6-7). In such
a case the pairs muž (man) - žena (woman), otec (father) - matka
(mother), etc., could be regarded as suppletive.

In addition to the core of motivated nouns, there are nouns
which are hard to be classified as either masculine or feminine
or neuter upon purely semantic grounds and their gender affiliation
is metaphorical. It is essentially a sound metaphor: All semantic-
ally unmotivated nouns ending in -a are classed as feminine, those
ending in a consonant (with the exceptions mentioned above) are
classed as masculine, while those ending in -o or -e are classed
as neuter. I have already touched upon the semantic core of the
neuter gender. The latter, in my opinion, includes also names of
body parts, since a remarkably high proportion of Slovak names of
body parts are neuters ending in either -o or -e e.g. ucho (ear),
oko (eye), čelo (forehead), líce (cheek), srdce (heart), koleno
(knee), brucho (belly), hrdlo (throat), temeno (sinciput), tylo
(occiput). Their inclusion in the neuter was probably once motivat-
ed by their inability to fulfil agentive functions in the sentence.

The sound metaphor may be semanticized, revived in folklore
and poetry. Thus death is always personified as a woman in Slovak
(smrť /death/ is a feminine) while the personified months in the
folktale are characterized as men (mesiac /moon/ is a masculine in
Slovak).

The category of gender overlaps with that of animateness in
Slovak and in other Slavonic languages. Its semantic basis is of
a more recent date and perhaps this is why considerable differences
exist among various Slavonic languages or even dialects. In Slovak,
animate nouns refer to living creatures that are classified as

masculine. In truth, two close, and yet different generalizations clash here. 1. In the singular all nouns referring to living creatures of the masculine gender behave as animate. 2. In the plural the category of animate nouns includes only those referring to intelligent creatures (of the masculine gender). The clash is between the tendency to treat as animate all nouns referring to living creatures, both persons and animals. In both instances the opposition animate - inanimate covers only the masculine gender. In West-Slovak dialects, however, the latter tendency has prevailed and as a consequence of this, masculine animal nouns are classed as animate in both singular and plural. Russian has gone further in this direction, as the category of animate nouns includes not only masculine but also feminine nouns referring to all living creatures.

The grammatical gender in Slovak (and in other Slavonic languages) betrays its metaphorical nature. A property that is made the semantic basis of the category holds (in terms of reflexive adequacy) for a core set of nouns and is metaphorically extended upon the basis of homofunctionality to the whole class (although it cannot hold in terms of reflexive adequacy for the periphery of the class). In the case of the grammatical gender, the metaphorical extension may be labelled as anthropomorphous. It is known from psychological investigations that human beings categorize things in terms of prototypes and in the case of the gender, the prototype is taken over from the human world.

The aim of categorization is to make experience ordered, more transparent to understanding and easier to handle, which means that our categorization is primarily instrumental and as such, may undergo a remotivation whenever necessary. Anthropomorphism is omnipresent in language (and not only in language) and is obviously part of

what W. Wildgen terms archetypal basis of semantics (Wildgen, 1983, p. 38) that is notable for its considerable structural stability.

Another example of the metaphorical extension in the domain of grammar is supplied by the category of alienable versus inalienable possession in accordance with which any noun is classed either as alienable or as inalienable in Polynesian (but also in other) languages.

In Polynesian linguistics, the terms dominant and subordinate possession are sometimes used instead of alienable and inalienable. Attempts to interpret this category as a kind of gender are reflected by some linguists because a sizeable group of nouns would have to be assigned to two classes. It is rather the relation between the possessor and the possessed that decides whether the alienable or the inalienable marker is employed in a particular instance. The category of possession is marked within the nominal phrase in most Polynesian languages. Its markers are possessive pronouns that occur in two parallel series, as well as possessive nominal particles, both the former and the latter containing -o- for inalienable and -a- for alienable possession. The semantic core of this category comprises nouns referring to organically possessed items, such as body parts in the case of inalienable (e.g. Tongan ´ulu/head´, Samoan lima/hand /, Maori waewae/foot/) and of conventionally possessed items in the case of alienable, such as various small objects and products which can change possessors (e.g. Tongan hele/knife /, Samoan ´ato/basket /, Maori ika/fish/). The semantic basis of the category of possession is anthropocentric; it is built up upon the metaphorical model of the human body, the parts of which are organically, inalienably possessed by their possessors. This model has been extended not only to the animals and plants (cf. Maori aka/root /, inalienable) but also, what is more interesting,

to the social domain, as well.Thus, social organization is metaphor-
ically regarded as analogous to the human body. Objects such as
villages (Tongan kolo), land (Tongan fonua), kings (Tongan tu´i),
masters (Samoan matai), country (Samoan atunu´u), chiefs (Maori
rangatira), grandparents (Maori tupuna) could not be alienated
because they were "given" a priori to the members of a community.
None of these objects could be owned by their possessors in the
narrow sense of the word, they could not be exchanged and the re-
lation of their possessors to them was inevitably passive. Interest-
ingly enough, feelings are also interpreted as inalienable, which
seems to be motivated by their involuntary spontaneity, by their
independence of one´s own free will, e.g. Maori aroha/love/,Tongan
fatongia/duty ,.being obliged/.Names and clothes are likewise classi-
fied as inalienable, cf. Tongan hingoa/name/,kofu/clothes/ which
perfectly agrees with their interpretation in Polynesian culture.
In general, there is more agreement among the Polynesian languages
as far as the semantic core of the category is concerned, the diver-
gencies being confined to the periphery of the category. Thus, Ton-
gan fa´ee/mother/is alienable, while Maori whaeaa/mother/is inalie-
nable.

The metaphorical extension makes it easy to understand why marital
partners and children are possessed in the alienable way. Polynesian
society tolerated changing husbands or wives to a much greater degree
than we do and the adoption of children was a common phenomenon.
It is therefore not at all surprising that Maori nouns such as
taane/husband/,wahine/wife/,tama/son/tamaiti/child/and pononga/slave/
are all alienable. As mentioned above, the opposition alienable -
inalienable extends to the domain of processes, actions and states
alike. While feelings and states are interpreted as inalienable -
the possessor or rather experiencer is in a way helpless to love

(Maori <u>aroha</u>), desire (Maori <u>hiahia</u>), sleep (Maori <u>moe</u>) and even intransitive actions are viewed as inalienable (Maori <u>haere</u>/go /, <u>tae</u>/come/). On the other hand, the status of actions is more complicated. The category of possession makes it possible to see that an action consists both of an activity and a state. When viewed from the viewpoint of the actor, it is an activity, but when viewed from the viewpoint of the patient, it is a state. Thus Maori <u>taana patunga</u> presents the process of killing from the standpoint of its actor (<u>taana patunga i te hoariri</u> - He is killing the enemy), i.e. as alienable while, on the other hand, <u>toona patunga</u> presents the same process from the viewpoint of the target, of its patient who is unable to control it (<u>Toona patunga e te hoariri</u> - His being killed by the enemy). It follows that the category of possession is partly a modulus and partly a selective category.

The categories of gender (or class in general), animateness and alienation are linked to the organization of sentence and correlate to some extent with the category of voice. Their semantics includes the opposition of activity - passivity, although this is far from obvious, especially with the highly formalized category of gender. In Slovak (and in other Slavonic languages) the coincidence of nominative with accusative in the class of neuter nouns is a residue of the phase when they represented passive entities that could not cause an action to occur and as a consequence of this fact, they did not need an inflexion of the actor case. This condition was subsequently hidden by a reorganization and reinterpretation of the basic sentence structure. This took place under the pressure of the metaphorical extension and canonization of the syntactic model actor - action - patient typical for so many European (and other) languages. The extension operates via

an anthropomorphic metaphor which views all processes as analo-
gous to those carried out by human beings. That is why we can utter
both sentences like Slovak <u>Nosič odniesol kufor k vlaku</u> (The
porter has carried the suitcase to the train) and sentences like
Slovak <u>Voda odniesla čln k druhému brehu</u> (Water has carried the
boat to the other bank) or even Slovak <u>Blesk zabil poľovníka</u>
(Lightning has killed the hunter). The particular languages differ
as to the degree of generalization of the model actor - action -
patient. E.g. in Russian we can say <u>Ego ubilo molniej</u> (literally
Him killed with/by lightning), which is different from both Slovak
and English.

The reinterpretation of the basic syntactic structure does not
concern only nominal constituents, but also verbal predicates.
In the course of evolution that encompasses both form and content
of grammar, nominal constituents have become emancipated from the
predicate verbs and both may be presented as either active or passive.
Could there be perhaps a parallel to the transition from syntagmatic
associations to paradigmatic associations that is typical of the
mental development of children? The above-mentioned emancipation
leads to the rise of the category of voice. Its existence gives
the speakers a possibility to represent a process as either active
or passive. In the active construction the nominative is the case
of the actor, but in the passive sentence it is the patient that
comes to the foreground, taking the nominative marker "as if" it
were the actor. Simultaneously, the actor is relegated to the back-
ground, taking the inflexion of an oblique case (usually instrumen-
tal), "as if" it were the patient. Inevitably, the passive construc-
tion with the patient as its head tends to be static because patients
do not carry actions and here it is interpreted as a metaphorical
intrusion of states into the domain of actions. The relation

between the active and the passive constructions is asymmetrical
in terms of frequency as well; passive constructions tend to occur
much less frequently than their active pendants. The interpretation
of passive as an "as if" stative is confirmed by the inclination
of these constructions to display perfective or stative aspectual
meaning in Slavic and in other languages as well.

There are classes of verbs or rather predicative constructions
that typically resist the extension of the syntactic pattern actor
- action - patient. One of them is the class of affective verbs.
In Slovak, these verbs take one of their obligatory nominal arguments
in the dative case. This argument is intuitively felt to be diffe-
rent from both the actor and the patient, referring usually to a
person (páčiť sa /like/, chcieť sa /feel like/, protiviť sa /dislike/,
vyhovovať /suit/, zunovať sa /get tired/, etc.). The attitude of
this person to the state expressed by an affective verb is inherently
passive, i.e. the person experiencing the state is represented
grammatically "as if" he/she had no influence upon that state,
"as if" it were the actor, e.g. Páči sa mi leto (I like summer),
Tá kniha sa mu zunovala (He got tired of that book).

In the Polynesian languages there is no special class of affect-
ive verbs; they are qualified as inalienable, very much like the
intransitive verbs, but unlike the transitive verbs that are classi-
fied as alienable, provided the possessor is identical with the
actor, and as inalienable provided the possessor is the patient.
This creates a pattern reminiscent of ergative constructions because
the possessor of an intransitive verb (e.g. Maori toona aroha
/his loving/, toona haere /his going/) receives the same marking
as the patient of a transitive verb (e.g. toona patunga /his being
hit/, toona whakaoranga /his being saved/), and different from that
of the actor of a transitive verb (e.g. taana patunga /his hitting/,

<u>taana whakaoranga</u> /his saving/).

In English the affective pattern has disappeared and this language has generalized the pattern actor - action - patient to a greater extent than Slovak or German for that matter.

Metaphor is also at work in the category of number. The opposition of singular and plural presumes the articulation of objective reality into objects that have a shape and are delimited as against their background. The nouns referring to such objects may be labelled as the semantic core of the category of number because they can be easily counted. This semantic core is surrounded by a peripheral zone comprising, on the one hand, nouns referring to abstractions and substances that cannot be so easily delineated from their background and are shapeless and, on the other hand, nouns having unique referents. The distinction of number may easily be applied to the former class of nouns for which both singular and plural forms are available. However, mass nouns, abstractions and personal nouns cannot avoid the number inflexion either, although the distinction of singular and plural is of no relevance to them. In such instances, it is common for the noun to opt for the formal marker of singular which is the unmarked member of the opposition.The irrelevance of this opposition for mass nouns, abstractions and personal nouns has several reasons. Mass nouns do not take a plural inflexion because their referents are shapeless and can be measured (i.e.quantified) by means of various external devices (receptacles). Abstract nouns like <u>zlo</u> (evil), <u>láska</u> (love), <u>smútok</u> (sorrow), cannot be quantified at all. And, finally, the personal or proper nouns are not subject to any quantification because their referents are unique. If any of them are used in plural, this use is metaphorical, indicating multiplicity of sorts (<u>voda</u> /water/ - <u>vody</u> /various sorts of water/), personification (<u>láska</u> /love/ - <u>lásky</u> /loves, i.e. lovers/)

or metonymical transfer (<u>pivo</u> /beer/ - <u>pivá</u> /glasses of beer/).

Another interesting class of nouns is that of pluralia tantum. In Slovak, a plurale tantum refers to an object that is in its own way complex, consisting of two or more components, or it may refer to an event that takes place repeatedly and is cyclical. The former type is illustrated by such nouns as <u>sane</u> /sledge/, <u>hodiny</u> /watch, clock/, <u>okuliare</u> /glasses/, <u>nohavice</u> /trousers/ and the latter by, e.g. <u>prázdniny</u> /vacation/, <u>narodeniny</u> /birthday/, <u>meniny</u> /nameday/, <u>oslavy</u> /celebration/, etc. The pluralia tantum do not have their singular pendants but when counted they are compatible with the numeral for 1. Because of the obligatory formal agreement in number this numeral is, strangely enough, used in the plural, e.g. <u>jedny sane</u> /one sledge/,<u>jedny narodeniny</u> /one birthday/.

Some syntactic devices are also metaphorical in the original sense of metaphor as transfer. Earlier, I have turned attention to the metaphorical generalization of the construction pattern actor - action - patient in many European languages. Although this pattern is familiar in other languages as well, it need not be the dominant pattern of the sentence organization. Thus, in Japanese it is the social aspect, the factor of politeness, that plays the foremost part as far as the sentence organization is concerned. The awareness of the need to pay attention to status parameters of the communication participants forces the speakers not to be too definite in some respects. Courtesy is known to coincide with implicit, imprecise, hint-like way of communication; the Japanese hearer obviously has a higher degree of freedom in his interpretation of the speaker´s message. Perhaps this is why the actor need not be mentioned so frequently in Japanese as it is in European languages. It is more common for a Japanese sentence

to be introduced by the topic that does not automatically coincide with the actor. Thus, it happens that in Japanese it is the action itself that comes to the foreground (including the patient as its integral part). In other words, the situation is politely deagentized, if possible, cf. the common use of such expressions as <u>tsugó ga yoi</u> or <u>tsugó ga warui</u> (literally the circumstances being good or the circumstances being bad) instead of the more straightforward expressions <u>If I am able</u> or <u>If I am unable</u>. Likewise, the Japanese say <u>Watashi wa niku ga kirai desu</u> (As for me, meat is disgusting), instead of the more direct English expression <u>I dislike meat</u>. These and similar instances indicate that the Japanese prefer objectivist formulation, while we are more frequently inclined to use subjectivist frameworks. There are, no doubt, situations in which the Japanese pattern would seem more suitable, while the English formulation would be congenial in other situations. It is interesting, however, that there is a trend towards generalization (canonization) and that this generalization need not be the same in two different languages.

Such a generalization may be viewed as metaphorical in the sense of metaphor as a transfer in terms of which two similar things are treated as if they were identical.

Transfer of patterns also takes place from the level of simple sentence to that of complex sentence, or from coordination to subordination. Thus, in Japanese a complex sentence is structured as if it were a simple sentence, its subordinate clauses being grammatically treated as nominal arguments of a simple sentence and taking the same markers as substantives in analogous positions, e.g. <u>Kono hon wa atsui kara kyójú yomikirenai</u> (Today I shall not be able to finish reading this book <u>because</u> - <u>kara</u> is a postpositive particle meaning "from" - it is thick); <u>Boku wa kimi ga nani o yonde</u>

<u>iru ka o shirimasen</u> (I do not know what you are reading; <u>o</u> is
a postpositive particle marking the direct object); <u>Kóbe e iku</u>
<u>no ni mada hayai</u> (It is still early to go to Kobe; - particle
<u>no</u> substantivizes the clause <u>Kóbe e iku</u> going to Kobe and <u>ni</u>
is a case particle referring to direction, beneficiary, aim, etc.).

The transfer of grammatical devices is possible because of
their inherent vagueness or porosity (cf. Pinkal, 1980, p.14);
vagueness is presupposed by metaphor as an instrument of reproductive
assimilation in Piagetian sense. This mechanism suits the requirement
of an efficient functioning of the language system because it
is through this mechanism that language can cope with reflecting
reality and with its communicative functions merely using and
adjusting already available means in new situations.

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(Translated by the author)

THE EXPRESSIVE "ECHO"

IN THE MEANING OF THE LEXICAL AND SYNTACTIC UNIT[+]

(On the Problem of the Arbitrariness of the Linguistic Sign)

JÁN SABOL

1. Linguistic phenomena are of a bilateral nature: they are constituted both by formal and content elements. It is therefore natural that in our consideration of linguistic phenomena on a philosophical methodological basis a prominent place is occupied by the categories of content and form. This is relevant to one of the decisive aspects of the dialectics of the substance and the phenomenon (compare e.g. Černík, 1984, pp. 352-359).

The unity (or interplay) of the formal (expressive) and content (meaningful) aspects is an inherent feature of the language system as a whole. The interrelation between the form and the content of linguistic elements, however, has a specific "tenor" (as one of the results of the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign which will be considered in detail): apart from the symmetry in the relation meaning – expression asymmetry is evidently applied (compare e.g. some "transitive" syntactic phenomena: what are called complex sentence improper, compound sentence improper etc.). From the point of view of the social functions of the language the decisive role is played by the meaningful (content) aspect of the linguistic units, but this aspect is constantly firmly connected with the expressive (formal) aspect. The primary character of the meaningful aspect with regard to the expressive component

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of linguistic elements results in the methodological procedure from the meaning to the expression, from the content to the form. Thus the meaning is the "decisive factor" with regard to the form; with regard to "the incessant development and the decisive character of the content the form never fully corresponds to the meaning, but lags behind it" (Krupa, 1979, p. 267).

2. In his study Crise de vers the French poet Stéphane Mallarmé, the representative of symbolist lyrics, expresses his disappointement with the fact that in French the word "day" is expressed by a dark vocalic timbre (jour), the word "night", on the other hand, is expressed by a clear vowel (nuit). To some extent, the poet is aiming at the "damnation" of the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign; but so far so good: the arbitrary relation between the material side of the sign (the designator) and the ideal content of the sign (see arguments in the work Ondruš - Sabol, 1987, p. 61).

The arbitrariness of the linguistic sign, however, is not always one hundred percent valid. In language there is a whole layer of what are called onomatopoeic words in which the relation between the sound manifestation of the linguistic sign (the form) and its content, or the phenomenon of the objective reality is changed into a causal one. It is a case of a "direct" link to a certain acoustic signal from the reality and its appropriate linguistic recording. Apart from that, in every language there is what is called an inherent motivation of the linguistic sign; in its essence it reflects a certain fixed synchronic, diachronically conditioned relation between the designator and the designatum without any direct reflex to the objective reality.

A detailed study of the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign and its distortion, however, extends the sphere of such cases in which the arbitrariness is abolished or at least impaired. At

the same time all these cases have their "reality", their reality reflex. This reflex is bilateral: either the reality through its designatum pushes the linguistic form and enforces its own, at least partly "appropriate" expression, or, on the other hand, the form of the linguistic sign through its physiological (acoustic - optical, organogenetic as well as perceptional) background imposes - predominantly for the sphere which is the domain of the belles-lettres style - a certain touch of reality scope: through the designatum a certain "appropriate" image of a certain reality. This relation is, naturally, a dialectic one (for further details see Sabol, 1973).

Thus e.g. the category of the plural seems to require that "it should have a more monumental formal expression even in the very forms of the plural" (Novák, 1968, p.23); the same can also be stated for the relation of the positive, comparative and the superlative degrees. As Jespersen had earlier expressed it (1916), arbitrariness in the language was exaggerated (Jakobson, 1970, p. 33). Another example: "Palatalization which in Basque dialects increases the tonality of consonants evokes the image of reduction (ibid.,p.41). Here we can return to S. Mallarmé and to his dis-appointement over the arbitrariness of the language; R. Jakobson, having introduced the quoted poet's idea, writes further: "The verse, however, satiates the poet's demands and compensates for the lack of the above-mentioned linguistic means. A close reading of French poetry with its pictures of night and day shows how the night darkens and the day clears up if the first member of the pair appears in the context abounding in low vowels and having a resonance in B-minor and the other in the constellation of high phonemes" (ibid., p.42).

I. Fónagy (1970) introduces the fact that "the impression of

tense articulation in the poems of anger is evoked by the pre-
dominance of hard or fortis consonants, the impression of laxness
originates in poems with tender themes with the predominance of
liquid consonants" (p.85; research has been carried out in French,
German and Hungarian poetry). On the basis of many of his experi -
ments he states that it seems as if sounds through their acoustic
qualities as well as physiological qualities have a certain uni-
versal symbolicalness. On the irregularity of respiration as a
sign of strong emotion and the utilization of this physiological
fact in the composition of a work of art he says the following:
"The irregularity of respiration which is characteristic of speech
stricken with strong emotion is replaced in poetry by the shift
of the caesura or the metrical pause towards the beginning of the
verse. In Phèdre's monologue Racine's heroine violates the rules
of metre at the moment when she violates the laws of morality"
(ibid., p. 89).

To the qualities of speech - strictly speaking to its prosodic
structure - to prosodemes, suprasegments in which one can follow
the "direct" connection with the reality, the direct reality
reflex, belongs rhythm. In the very act of composition of a
belles-lettres text, especially in verse, rhythm plays its important
organizing role. Even here, however, our remarks concerning the
arbitrariness of the linguistic sign are applicable (rhythm as a
suprasegment can be numbered among other phonic units and qualities
forming the designator). The distortion, or impairment of the
arbitrariness can be assumed here too only under certain conditions
given by the specificity of the depicted reality, its "appropriate"
recording, but also its message, determination, the functional
value of the product of aesthetic communication. With regard to
rhythm the direct reality reflex can thus be assumed in the

type of poetry expressing agitation, propaganda. As an example
it is possible to cite V.V.Majakovski's poem The Left March
(for its rhythmical and semantic analyses see Sabol, ibid.).

In the considering Majakovski's poetry (which can be utili-
zed also in the investigation into the arbitrariness of the
linguistic sign) the author's own notes concerning the rhythm of
the poems with regard to their internal contents and message are
of great importance. He states e.g.: "It is hopeless to insert the
lacerating clatter of the revolution into the four-feet amphibrach
which was devised for whisper...", "...we must give civil rights
to the new language: the outcry - instead of melody, the beat of
a drum - instead of a lullaby" (1951, pp.13-14). He says about
Kirill's Sailors that "they march in the four-feet worn out amphi-
brach with bursting seams" (ibid., p.41). He speaks of his composi-
tion of rhythm in the following way:"I am walking, throwing about
my arms, muttering still without words and immediately slowing my
steps so as not to prevent the muttering, I start muttering more
quickly in time with my steps. In this way rhythm is refined and
formed - the basis of every poetic thing which is rushing over it
with clatter. From what clatter the man gradually starts to press
the individual words... Where the basic clatter - rhythm comes from
is unknown.For me it is every single reiteration of the sound in
me , of the clatter, wobbling, or simply every repetition of every
phenomenon into which I am inserting sound." (ibid., pp.43-45)
Let us recall that according to A. Moles (1966, pp. 121-124) it
is sufficient for the perception of periodicity and of rhythm for
one phenomenon to be repeated three or four times isochronically.

2.1. The expressive "echo", the message of phonemes and supra-
segmental phenomena (the sphere of the designator) is reflected
in the meaning of the lexical and syntactic unit in two cases

(these questions are the subject of research of what is called
ectosemantic phonetics, cf. Hála, 1975, pp. 356-422): in the
euphonic and expressive structure of the word and the text. In
both situations the phonic units become "liberated" from the yoke
of the phonological load at the level of the word and the sentence,
and they offer something more from their structure; this something
extra is a phonic gesture, the phonic stimulator collaborating
with the semantics of the expression and utterance. Of course, the
leading role of semantics is irrevocable even in these cases (com-
pare in 1).

2.1.1. The most inherent and most important roles of the
phonic units are their differentiation of the meaningful linguis-
tic elements (that is, the distinctive function of phonemes) and
their participation on the intonational moulding of the sentence
(suprasegmental phenomena with the grammaticalizing function).
Not even in other spaces of the linguistic text, however, do pho-
nic means behave quite "neutrally" (compare also Horálek, 1982);
for the substantiation of this statement several peculiarities of
poetic language can be mentioned, e.g. in verse, to a certain extent,
even a special organized repetition of sounds (phonemes) and
their clusters, namely the sound instrumentation of the verse,
can be utilized for the rhythm-producing function. The most common
case of sound instrumentation is euphony. This phenomenon as an
artistically impressive arrangement of sounds (phonemes) on the
basis of repetition is an expressive assistant of the verse
rhythm and it cooperates in the general meaningful tenor of the
poem.

Let us notice how captivating the utilization is in the sound
arrangement p, s, t/t, st/st, sp in M. Válek´s poem The Evening:

Letí havran ponad pusté lesy	A raven is flying over wild forests
v pustom poli posteľ ustelie si	In a barren field
opustený spáč.	A solitary sleeper makes his bed.

The above-mentioned sound instrumentation participates in the moulding of the picture of an evening, almost quite apocalyptical, frosty calmness in which a lonely raven can be "heard" flying thanks to the suggestive structuring of sounds of a certain quality (the aesthetic and semantic connections in the text are neglected here). Of course, this sense can be touched only through the meaningful radiation of the lexical units from these verses.

The role of sound instrumentation or euphony in relation to meaning is two-directional: either it underlines, intensifies the meaning (if it is not striking), or it overshadows it, dims it (if it is imposing, "intrusive"; compare also Kibédi Varga, 1963, p. 14). In this connection it is necessary to recall the fact that in the relation between the phonic and meaningful elements the meaningful component of the sign is decisive (see 1 and 2.1). Although it seems that sound on the basis of some of their articulatory and acoustic qualities have their universal symbolicity (compare the statement of I. Fónagy in 2), the "awareness of it" is possible only against the background of the contextual meaning, only ex post, a posteriori, "in addition" (compare also Hrabák, 1970, p.56), when the lexical meaning of words has been decoded (therefore euphony becomes a component of the metrical impulse only very rarely). Otherwise in the interpretation "a short circuit" occurs (because no sound brings directly any meaning at all) which was made e.g. by the poet J. Kollár in his work Myšlénky o libozvučnosti řečj wůbec, obzwláště česko-slowanské (Ideas concerning the Euphony in Speech in General, Particularly Czechoslovak Speech /1823/), when

he writes that every vowel has its own character which later,
according to its occurrence, "flows over the whole speech".
And thus consequently for him the vowel o in Slovak is transferred
to objects which are "dignified, noble, great, horrible, glorious,
sacred, beautiful", the vowel a has in his aesthetic feeling a
character of something "nice, merry, lively, charming, kind", the
vowel e means something "quiet, tame, feeble, dead", the vowel i
is "quick, terminal, sharp, thin, bright, stormy, domineering", the
vowel u has a character of something "naked, sad, heavy, old,
ghastly, full of secrets". It is clear at first sight that the
above-mentioned radiation of meanings is not attached to vowels,
but to words in which these vowels occur and from which the poet
has identified the above-mentioned meanings.

In our notes on the relation between euphony (sound instrumen-
tation) and semantics stressing the priority of the meaningful band
of the text, the "activity" of phonic elements of the artistic
utterance in the completion, intensification and tinging of the
content component of the sign is by no means neglected. In this case
it is important to differentiate the symbolic, expressive and
suggestive values of sounds in verse. The safest investigation is
(above all) that of the sign meaning of the form resulting from
the symbolic value of phonic units, predominantly due to the fact
that the sign meaning is accessible to semantic analysis (compare
Levý, 1971, p.289).

We conclude: All the "implications" of semantics in the pho-
nic components of the verse become fully open thanks to the mean-
ing of the lexical units at the same time connecting with the
aesthetic "dimension" of the poem; the effect of phonic elements
is, as a rule, limited to the formation of the meaning which en-
codes and carries the text (compare also Levý, ibid. p.322).

2.1.2. Another area in which the expressive "echo" is announced in the meaning of the lexical and syntactic unit is the expressive structure of the word and the text.

Leaving aside contextual expressivity we can, together with J. Zima (1961), delimit two types of expressiveness in lexical units: adherent and inherent expresiveness. In the first and in the second case the lexical expressive means is given by the set of the following distinctive features:

LexExpr /1/ = {NOT + EXPR /...n/ - /SON/}

LexExpr /2/ = {NOT + EXPR /...n/ - /SON/}

In the case of a lexical expressive means with adherent expressiveness the set of distinctive features of notionalness, expressiveness as well as the facultative presence of distinctive features resulting from sound, phonic expressiveness is concerned SON; the feature SON is understood more broadly than sound instrumentation: it concerns the shift to markedness, conspicuousness of the "gesture", the specificity in the field of the form, the expression of the linguistic means dialectically reflected in the content, the meaning of the lexical unit).In the lexical means with inherent expressiveness are concerned a set of distinctive features of notionalness, expressiveness and the obligatory presence of distinctive features resulting from the sound, phonic expressiveness. In the first case the notional core is conspicuous, the expressive meaning being superimposed on it, in the second case the notional core is impaired, the expressiveness being manifested as a dominant semantic feature of the lexical unit. The last resort is represented by onomatopoeic words and interjections, expressive "explosions" with a very weak (or null) notional background. The transition between both groups of lexical means, however, is dynamic and fluent. This is also valid with regard to the internal relation

of distinctive features of NOT and EXPR. It is, however, necessary to mention that even in the case of both inherent and adherent expressives also distinctive features of SON from the sphere of suprasegmental features are utilized as signals of expressiveness; in the inherent expressiveness, however, they are redundant, in the type of adherent expressiveness they are relevant - here they are often the only signal of expressiveness (compare also Javorská, 1983; a detailed analysis of corresponding sources ibid.).

Expressiveness covers not only the word, but also higher construction units (for grammatical means of expressiveness and for the expressiveness of syntactic constructions in the context compare Mistrík, 1962; 1965). Therefore even a word without any lexical expressiveness can participate in constructional and contextual expressiveness (for contextual expressiveness see Zima, op. cit., pp. 84-108).

The dialectics of expression and meaning is manifested in all the expressive means. The lexical expressiveness is given not only by the distinctive feature EXPR superimposed on the notional core, the grammatical or constructional expressiveness does not result (only) from the grammatical or constructional conspicuousness, from the grammatical or constructional "gesture". The omnipresence of phonic units (as a form of the sign or suprasign) also comes into play: in the lexical expressive means (especially of the type of inherent expressiveness) the "assistance" of segments and their combinations; in the grammatical and constructional expressive units the "assistance" of suprasegmental features are prevalent. Of course, phonic units can support expressiveness, but they cannot replace it (apart from peripheral cases of the sound "explosion" - namely both at the level of the word as well as at the level of the utterance; for details concerning

the relation of the distinctive features NOT and EXPR in the structure of lexical expressive means compare Sabol, 1980 - the analysis of corresponding sources ibid.).

The expressiveness grows from the effort of the speaker to give the meaning of the lexical unit or a syntactic construction its own impress, to add to the designatum the result of the emotional and evaluative (often connotative) attitude towards reality; in such a way tension - a contradiction between the objective reflexion of the object, phenomenon, activity or quality in our mind and its subjective interpretation - comes into being. This attitude is either recorded in a special form (inherent expressiveness), or in such a way that a form already available in language is utilized (adherent expressiveness). The contradiction between the object and the subject becomes a criterion for the delimitation of the expressive unit, or the expressive meaning. Therefore e.g. diminutives - unless the emotional and evaluative attitude to the designated phenomenon is also expressed in them - do not count as expressives.

3. Our remarks on the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign (or suprasign) in connection with the sketches concerning the expressive "echo" in the meaning of the lexical and syntactic unit can be concluded as follows:

The release of arbitrariness opens the door to the euphonic and expressive load of phonic units. The arbitrariness decreases with the extension of space for para- and extralingual elements in which the individual languages are "identical". The more communication relies on the para- and extralingual context, the more universal it is from the human point of view. On the other hand, however, the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign - as has already been mentioned (Ondruš - Sabol, op. cit.) - as a matter of fact

guarantees a masterful reflexion of reality in language as well as its successful communication. The only - although beautiful - "disadvantage" of the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign is the number of languages in the world.

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SEMANTICS IN SYNTAX AND TEXT

WHAT IS EXPRESSED BY SYNTACTIC UNITS?[+]

JOZEF RUŽIČKA

1. It is possible to solve the question of the relationship between units of language and thinking in the domain of sentence structure only by a close correlation between linguistics and psychology and then with a thorough application of logic. It is a complex task. Every concrete contribution to this field must stem from one of these disciplines. For us linguists it is advantageous to start with the analysis of language materials and try to form individual conclusions in a specific set of questions to be answered by other disciplines. It is clear that a proper analysis of language materials may help other disciplines to see things in a proper light. Up to now a justified reproach has been that linguistics does not often propose an unambiguous analysis of its material. Other disciplines concerned cannot use linguistic conclusions as facts.

In this paper I would like do dwell especially on one narrower question. This narrower question from our complex field - that is the question of the relationship of language and thought in the sphere of sentence structure - may be formulated in the following way: What in the domain of thinking is related to the sentence and its parts?

2. When thinking about the above-mentioned problems we

[+]

usually talk about the sentence as a unit of the system of language. Only one unit of language is taken into consideration. At the same time it is said that the sentence corresponds with the thought; or, in other words, the sentence is the expression of the thought.

On the other hand,however, it is generally accepted that in language it is necessary to distinguish two basic syntactic units - the syntagm and the sentence. These two units of language cannot be introduced as one. One cannot assert, let us say, that the syntagm is subordinate to the sentence even though the syntagm is contained in the sentence. To be more exact: the term syntagm is not subordinate to the term sentence.

We should underline the fact that both the mentioned syntactic units have one common feature, namely, they both have the nature of a construction. The sentence and the syntagm, though, are two distinct types of construction because they are each based on different relationships.

The sentence is a construction built upon a relationship called a c t u a l i z a t i o n. The syntagm, on the other hand, is a construction which is built upon a positive or m e a n i n g f u l   r e l a t i o n s h i p. It must be added that the existence of the relationship in our case is also bound to the existence of the object which is in a given relationship. Therefore the object of the relationship and the relationship itself belong to the syntactic construction as its necessary part: the essence of the syntactic construction is in both of them. Thus we can pinpoint the vital difference between the construction and the form because the form (we mean the grammatical form) is a bearer of a certain grammatical meaning. In both types of construction, however, the overall

language characteristics of particular items must be taken
into consideration: therefore it is also the overall character-
istic of parts of construction which belongs to the very frame
of the construction. Perhaps this has at least partially explain-
ed the idea of the syntactic construction.

Now here is the first partial conclusion of my reflections.
It is in fact rather a question to be discussed. The question
is whether it is necessary to distinguish the sentence and the
syntagm as two distinct constructions or whether it would be
sufficient to deal with the sentence only in the framework of
syntax.

As is known, it is stated in both linguistics and psycholo-
gy that it is necessary to take into consideration only one syn-
tactic construction - the sentence. This is mainly to be seen
in common statements like: the word is the linguistic correlate
of the concept and the sentence is the linguistic correlate of
the thought. It is more frequent, naturally, to start with elements
of language as they are units which are more stable and easier
to define. Thus it is stated that the concept is expressed by
the word and that the thought is expressed by the sentence.The
first part of this statement is considered to be more certain,
namely, the correspondence between the word and the concept is
usually accepted but the correspondence between the sentence and
the thought must be proved in different ways. Therefore critical
attitudes towards this basic understanding of the relation of
units of language and psychology are concerned with the second
part of the quoted statement. On the whole it must be admitted
that the concept relates to the word but it cannot be stated
with the same kind of assurance that the thought relates to the
sentence and this is because the psychological concept of thought

is not quite so definite although even the basis of the concept

itself cannot be understood without the relation to some dynamic

unit. The critique followed in these lines starts with units of

language. It is related to the attitude of linguistics. It does

not mean, however, that it is the only correct one. E.g. even

the critique from the units of thinking towards the units of

language is acceptable, too, even in the case where it is uttered

by a linguist. The result of such a critique aimed at linguists

is e.g. the statement that the language correlate of thought is

not the sentence but the utterance. The naming unit as well as

the minimal utterance are understood as units of the u t t e r -

a n c e   and not as units of the s y s t e m   o f   l a n

g u a g e. It is stated that each language correlate of the

concept must have a naming function (but the word does not

always have it). But this reality, namely that the word does not

always have the function of naming unit and the sentence does

not always have the function of utterance, could be better stated

in the following way: the word has the basic function of naming

and it can also have a secondary function of utterance, and the

sentence has the basic function of utterance and it can also

have the secondary function of naming. At the same time it should

be underlined that the word and the sentence are considered to

be units of language, units of the system of language and that

they have a bilateral nature. Therefore it is not suitable to

consider either the word or the sentence as a form of language

on the basis of the form only. It would be more suitable to sepa -

rate both named units of language on the basis of the cooperation

of both the form and the meaning, even if it is difficult to

state the meaning of both the word and the sentence. At the same

time it should not be forgotten that the sentence is not the

only syntactic unit. There is also the syntagm. As we have seen, the difference between the sentence and the syntagm is also seen as the difference in the meaning of these constructions. The syntagm is not placed between the sentence and the word. Nor, in the same way, does it serve as the naming unit or the utterance - as is sometimes stated - but it is the construction that only secondarily - like any other syntactic construction - serves as the naming unit.

Here I may offer to the discussion another result of my thinking. It is inappropriate to push the question of the syntagm aside if we want to clarify the relationship between language and thinking. Therefore it must be asked: Which mental unit does the syntagm correspond to? And, further, is it necessary for the syntagm to distinguish the level of the system of language from the level of its usage?

3. Today the theory is considered to be outdated which says that thinking and language form a unity in the sense that thinking and language are the same. From its beginning a language has been and still is a formed system that is characetrized by its fixed structure, whereas thinking and the whole consciousness as the reflection of being is changeable and flowing: consciousness in its every moment consists of a variety of processes that are interrelated. In principle only thinking has special forms. For this reason thinking has such a special place among other parts of consciousness: it forms and fixes them to a certain extent. This reality often leads linguists and psychologists to the well-known one-sided conclusion that it is necessary to talk only about the relation between language and thinking: but the basic attitude is more appropriate, namely, that it is always necessary to have in our minds the relation of language

to the whole consciousness, not only to one of its parts. Then
the thesis that consciousness and languege are not identical
would be a lot clearer.

Language and consciousness are two spheres even though
language is within consciousness, in memory. In these two phenomena
consciousness is the primary member: thus the priority of think-
ing above language is given. The means of communication could
be created only if there is something. to communicate. Even in
the so-called preparatory levels of human language consciousness
was in the first place: thus the expression could be fixed.
The same type of relationship between consciousness and language
exists today as well. The existence of so-called unformulated
thinking could be understood: here as well as in other similar
cases, thinking should be presupposed even without its language
form.

The whole consciousness - and its individual parts - is not
only richer and more complicated than language, but it overtakes
language in evolution. Consciousness is a certain form of the
reflection of reality and therefore e.g. all the changes in this
reality - therefore in being - are shown first in consciousness
and only then can they be reflected in language. But this depend-
ency of language on consciousness is not the only relation between
language and consciousness. There is also another and no less
important relationship: it is the relationship which is formed
by the reversed effect of language on consciousness and particular-
ly on its most important part - on thinking. By means of language
thinking is organized, fixed, formed.

Let us repeat that the relationship between language and
consciousness (or the relationship between language and thinking)

is not answered by any of the two stated relationships: both above mentioned relationships are equally important in general as well as for each particular question of our topic.

In such a double - and in fact contrary - relation there could be only relatively independent systems, those that have their own unique structure, their own inner regulations. There can never be two systems which are directly related, isomorphic, because no noticeable influence of the dependent system on the dominating system would be possible. This in no way rules out the mutual interdependence of such double related systems.

The above stated basic understanding of the relationships between language and thinking (or consciousness as a whole) leads us to the requirement which states that the characteristics of all units of language should always be sought predominantly within language itself. Only thus can linguistics effectively add to the solution of the problems common to some fields of science.

4. Discernment of the sentence and the utterance is as follows: the sentence is considered to be the unit of the system of language; the utterance, on the other hand, is the unit in concrete usage of language (in communication). It is beyond question that in this sense there is a huge difference between the sentence and the utterance. In each system of language there are in fact only a couple of sentence types: some linguists even consider that there is only one and that this sentence type is related to the form of the logical statement. But in the realization of language we have the possibility of realizing directly an unlimited number of utterances showing a multiple variation of sentence types. And here is a basic question:

How should we define the sentence types of a particular language?

Thus, we always want to bear in mind what has already been said, namely, that we have to be true to the language material and we have to analyse it as it is known empirically; so, the correct way of analysis will definitely lead from the individual to the general. The characteristics of sentence types will form generalized features of utterances; thus we get to sentence types which have the nature of basic procedures of realizing utterances.

On the basis of observing material from literary Slovak the realization may be formulated as follows: the sentence as a construction is on the one hand limited by the total meaning, on the other hand by both the grammatical nucleus and syntagmatic formation. The total meaning refers to the formal totality. Therefore it may be said that the sentence is relatively an integrated and independent unit from the point of view of both form and meaning.

Of the above mentioned basic features of the sentence the concept g r a m m a t i c a l   n u c l e u s   o f   t h e s e n t e n c e should be perhaps more clearly explained.

The grammatical nucleus of the sentence is that part of the sentence in which by some formal means it is possible to express the capability of forming the sentence - actualization - and in which there is a starting point for the syntactic formation. Expression by means of the grammatical form is not considered to be the formal expression of the constituting element of the sentence: form in syntax must be understood in a broader sense than in morphology. However, the grammatical nucleus of the sentence need not be in every case marked by

both stated features: e.g. the presence of the starting point
is necessary for the formation of the syntagm.

A c t u a l i z a t i o n   is a relationship between the
used naming unit and the communicated content of the conscious-
ness. This means, that actualization as a sentence forming
relationship is not identical with the predicative relationship
which is usually understood as a relationship of the predicate
to the subject. Formal expression of actualization is centered
on a certain part of the sentence - the grammatical nucleus
of the sentence - but it can be applied to other parts of the
sentence. In each part of the sentence we are concerned with
the relationship of the virtual linguistic value and the reflec-
tion of reality, and that is the relationship which is realized
from the point of view of the speaker. The difference in the
expression of this relationship can be shown with the examples
below.

So e.g. the grammatical person definitely belongs to the
sphere of actualization. For the whole sentence the grammatical
person is valid on the level of the pronoun, but on the level
of the verb it is valid only in the frame of the grammatical
nucleus of the sentence. It is similar with the category of
tense, this category is applied as a primary tense in the frame
of the grammatical nucleus but, beyond that, as a secondary
tense in the sentence as a whole. The nominative also belongs
to the means of actualization. (In other languages there are
also other means of actualization; there are means which have
either totally or partly the function of actualization.) The
above mentioned means are grammatical because they are grouped
to partial systems. There are certain grammatical means anchored

in grammatical categories of individual word classes.

In the grammatical nucleus of the sentence there is also the s t a r t i n g p o i n t for the syntagmatic forming of the sentence. Syntagms as constructions based on the object relations approach the sentence nucleus as an accomplished form; but even then they are subordinated to the sentence nucleus. This relationship of the stated two constructions is the basic principle of the grammatical forming of the whole sentence. The sentence as well as the syntagm have the nature of a construction but they are constructions belonging to two different levels. The characteristics of the sentence are crossed with the characteristics of the syntagm in the grammatical nucleus of the sentence.

If we want to clarify further the relationship between the sentence and the utterance, we must reduce the sentence to the grammatical nucleus of the sentence. The sentence is then a construction which is marked by means of actualization and which is a starting point for the syntagmatic formation. Individual sentence types are given in general by language features of the members of the so-called sentence nucleus. Therefore we cannot reduce all the sentences to one type only - namely to the basic type of the two-member sentence with nominal subject and verbal predicate. It does not even suffice if, apart from the mentioned basic type, we admit its reduced variant - namely the one-member sentence with the verbal basic element i.e. with the verbal sentence basis. Here it is not adequate to talk about a full and a reduced form of one and the same construction; they are the basic sentence types. Even that is not enough. Sentence types must surely comprise

all complete and full utterances of the given language. Only
unfinished and incomplete utterances (i.e. elipses and aposio-
peses) may be discarded, because they represent the realization
of only one part of the used sentence model.Naturally, we
consider as complete utterances those that comprise the word-
sentence i.e. interjections in the broader sense of the word.
Even in such sentences one should talk about syntagmatic forma-
tion because in the nucleus of the sentence is the starting
point; the following examples are proof of this: <u>Nate korunu</u>
(Here is a crown for you), <u>Čľup do rieky</u> (Splash into the
water), <u>Švac chlapca poza uši</u> (Bang the boy behind the ear)...

Sometimes it is stated that it is possible to proceed by
reduction from the full two-member type of sentence to the one-
member type, and far-reaching conclusions are drawn from this.
In my opinion this is a mistake because by means of reduction
one may arrive only at the reduced variant of the sentence type,
but not at the new type. By reduction one does not, namely,
change the essence of the type.

In the same way it is usually stated that the predicate
is the central member of the sentence.This is proved both by
a higher stability of the predicate when the sentence is being
reduced and by harmonizing predicates within clauses (e.g. rela-
tive tense in certain types of subordinate clauses). But this
does not show the whole reality because - as we have already
shown - after the reduction of the two-member sentence one can
form either an incomplete nominal sentence or an incomplete verbal
sentence. Moreover, it must be pointed out that in clauses the
grammatical nucleus of sentences are harmonized (compare e.g.

the choice and usage of the pronominal subject, the choice of
active and passive sentence perspective, etc.) For each sentence
type then, it is the grammatical nucleus which is decisive and
not the predicate.

Therefore I think it is difficult to agree with the pre-
supposition that the verbal predicate is the constitutive
element of each sentence. As we recognize not only the two-
member sentence, but also the one-member sentence as an in-
dependent sentence type, it is necessary to recognize not only
the sentence with verbal predicate but also the sentence type
or sentence types without the verb in the grammatical nucleus
of the sentence. It seems that the term "the sentence equivalent"
is not productive for syntactic analysis. And those utterances
which are usually considered to be sentence equivalents are
based on the generally accepted model, bound of course to
certain groups of lexical items (e.g. sentences such as Áno (Yes)
- Dobre (Well) - Čerta starého! (Hell´s bells)).

If, then, in the system of language some sentence types
are ascertained we cannot agree with the classifying of utter-
ances into sentence utterances, non-sentence utterances and
sentence equivalents. Each utterance is a realization of one
of the sentence types, namely a realization of either the whole
model of this type or of only one part of this model. Therefore
we consider the distinction between the fully realized and
finished utterance on the one hand and the not fully realized
and unfinished utterance on the other hand as the basic distinc-
tion in the structure of the utterance. We state, however, that
each fully realized and finished utterance is the realization
of a certain sentence type.

In this interpretation the basic distinction between the

sentence and the utterance is not annulled, because the difference in breadth remains. Because the sentence as a unit of the grammatical system is identified with the grammatical sentence nucleus, the broader lines marking the sentence and the utterance may be - but need not be - identical. In the traditional terminology used in grammar schools it is the difference between the simple sentence and the expanded sentence. Apart from the stated distinction in scope there is a distinction in the application of intonation. The delimiting function of sentence intonation is applied in the same manner both in the sentence and the utterance. But the distinctive function of intonation is applied to the utterance only: it is only the utterance which is divided into declarative, interrogative, desiderative, imperative, and exclamatory because by these we communicate declaration, question, wish, order, etc. The above-stated interpretation is not changed even by the fact that the distinctive function of sentence intonation is very often in concord with the usage of grammatical categories, e.g. the category of the verb. It is then accepted that the utterance is the language correlate of the thought.

5. It is obvious that with a certain understanding of the relationship between the units of language and thinking there is a certain evaluation of individual sentence types. So e.g. the one-member verbal sentence of the type Prší (It is raining) is explained in a variety of ways, most often very inadequately. Let us mention one of them which states that the above mentioned sentence is binary. And it has been proved in this way that each verbal form in itself is binary even without the expression of the bearer of the feature by any independent naming unit. Then in the sentence type Prší (It is raining) the predicative

syntagm is sought: its determined member is the personal suffix and its determining member is then the root of the verb. This means that the form of the impersonal verb in a one-member sentence Prší (It is raining) is understood as a form of the personal verb in a two-member sentence Píše (He is writing). This is done on the supposition that each verbal sentence must have a binary form of a logical statement S - P. In the sentence Prší (It is raining) the verbal suffix is evaluated as the grammatical subject S and the verbal root as the grammatical predicate P. By this interpretation an individual characteristic of the one-member sentence type Prší (It is raining) is totally lost, namely, that in this type of verbal one-member sentence not even under the stress will the grammatical subject ever be expressed by a separate word. Naturally, cases like To prší (How it's raining!) are not binary either because the word to (it) is not a pronoun and it does not have the function of the subject, but is an emotive particle. It is therefore quite different from sentence types Píše - On píše (He is writing) - in Czech Já psal (I was writing). In the sentence type Prší (It is raining) one cannot talk of grammatical predication in the sense of the relation of the feature and the substance on both temporal and modal levels. But this relation does exist in the sentence type Píše (He is writing).

Sometimes the distinction between the two-member verbal sentence and the one-member verbal sentence is explained by the distinction between the two-member and the one-member logical statement. The final judgement on the correctness of such a statement should be left to logicians. For linguists it is important to state that the sentence type Prší (It is raining), that is the one-member sentence, evolved in the language a long time

ago and it still has its place in many languages today. The
semantic value of this sentence type, though, has shown many
different changes in the evolution of individual languages.
This is a very important consideration for our basic question.

This sentence type emerged in connection with the old
impersonalia which were the reflection of a certain level of
understanding of nature and its features. Due to a deeper and
a more scientific understanding of reality the frequency of
these sentences with impersonal verbs has been constantly dimi-
nishing; therefore there is a low frequency of this type to
be found in the notional type of expression. But the frequency
of this sentence type has been simultaneously increasing in
another form: a frequent usage has been of these one-member
sentences with personal verbs. The old sentence type is thus
often used for the expression of a new meaning. Thus we have
coexisting sentences, i.e. the sentence typ Prší (It is rain-
ing) and the type Zabilo ho (It killed him) as well as the
type Pracuje sa (/People/ are working). This shift in the overall
meaning of the construction has not disrupted the essence of
the one-member verbal sentence, although the introducing of
personal verbs into the one-member constructions caused gram-
matical modifications of constructions as well. I have in mind
here the creation of the subjectless reflexive form of personal
verbs such as e.g. pracuje sa, chodilo sa, bude sa žiť(/people/
work , /people/ went, /people/ will live).

It seems, then, that in language an ancient sentence type
is kept although the overall semantics has been changed.

6. At the end of our contribution to this topical discussion
about the relation of language and thinking I would like to
formulate a couple of questions for other interested scientific

disciplines and they are questions which spring from the above-proposed solution of linguistic questions.

a) Because the distinction between the utterance and the sentence seems to be fixed and because the utterance is consi dered to be the language correlate of the thought, it is necessary to ask what is equivalent in the mental sphere to the sentence as a unit of the system of language. (Is it perhaps the logical statement?)

b) Because in every language there are several sentence types, it is necessary to ask what is equivalent to those sentence types. (Are they perhaps different forms of judgement?)

c) Because it seems that in language it is necessary to distinguish two different syntactic constructions - the sentence and the syntagm then it is necessary to pose the question: in what way is this distinction reflected in the units of thinking. What is equivalent to the syntagm? (Is it perhaps the so-called non-predicative joining of images,concepts?).

d) Because it seems that syntactic units are also bila-teral, it is necessary to ask what it is that distinguishes the meaning of the syntactic unit from the communicated meaning. A similar relationship is noted between the meaning of the word and the thought content or the concept.

I have concluded my paper with these questions because it is not the task of linguists to analyse basic units and forms of thinking even though related scientific disciplines have not yet arrived at a satisfactory solution of questions which have been proposed to them from the field of linguistics for a long time and in a very determined manner. With our central theme, too, the relationship of language and thinking linguistics fulfills its task to the greatest extent if it

serves other interested scientific disciplines by presenting
an exact analysis of the language structure.This is in fact
the aim of my own remarks: I have striven to interpret problems
concerning the utterance, the sentence, sentence types and the
syntagm, that is, those concepts which have a key position
in dealing with this complex task - the relation of language
and thinking.

(Translated by E. Ružičková)

SEMANTIC DERIVATION AND THE RISE OF CONVERSE VERBS [+]

JÁN KAČALA

1. The study of semantic relationships in syntax also leads us toward a deepened analysis of synonymy on the level of syntax. The synonymic relationships in syntax, unambiguously indicate --as does the whole sphere of syntactic semantics - that the starting point of this analysis must be seen in lexical semantics and its analysis. A special case of synonymic relationships between sentences is represented by the pairs of constructions built upon verbs (i.e., one-word, but also multi--word - analytical - expressions) involving a converse (reverse) semantic relationship. For example in the sentences

(1) <u>Kombajn naplnil zásobník vymláteným obilím.</u> (The combine harvester filled the container with the threshed grain.)

(1a) <u>Vymlátené obilie naplnilo zásobník kombajna.</u> (The threshed grain filled the container of the combine harvester.) The predicate verb is <u>naplniť</u>, whose semantics - if we have the referential (denotative) type of meaning in mind (on types of meaning cf. Blanár, 1984, p. 43) - is not changed, only the verbal action is, between the substances which link with it, oriented once in one, once in the opposite direction: in one instance (in sentence /1/) the semantic subject of the action is the substance <u>kombajn</u> (combine-harvester) and the semantic objects (goals) are the substances <u>zásobník</u> (container) and <u>vymlátené obilie</u> (the threshed grain) whereas in the second instance (in

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sentence /1a/) the semantic subject is the substance <u>vymlátené</u>
<u>obilie</u> (the threshed grain) and the substance <u>zásobník</u> (contai-
ner) remains as the semantic object. In agreement with J.D. Apre-
sian (Apresian, 1967, p. 63f.) and other linguists, we call the
semantic relationship such as that between the verb <u>naplniť</u> (fill)
in sentence (1) and the verb <u>naplniť</u> in sentence (1a) a converse
relationship. Since this is a converse relationship within the
framework of one polysemous word, or of a multi-word naming unit
with the validity of one word, it is called word-internal converseness
(Dolník, 1985) as opposed to, e.g.,word-internal antonymy, i.e.
enantiosemy. J. Filipec (1985, p. 131) discusses converseness
(his term is "<u>konverzívnosť</u>") and enantiosemy as a subtype of anto-
nymy. Since we are dealing with one (polysemous) word and the re-
lationship of its two converse meanings, we do not take into con-
sideration the passivizing or reflexivizing derivations, which
are also means of changing the arrangement of the substances around
the verbal action against the original situation:

(1b) <u>Zásobník kombajna bol naplnený vymláteným obilím.</u> (The con-
tainer of the combine harvester was filled with the threshed
grain.)

(1c) <u>Zásobník kombajna sa naplnil vymláteným obilím.</u> (The contai-
ner of the combine harvester filled with the threshed grain.)

    2. With verbs of the type <u>naplniť</u>, whose meanings are in
a converse relationship and thus form a basis on which semanti-
cally different types of sentences with a synonymic relationship
are formed, we observe a specific type of semantic derivation.
Specific mainly in the sense that in contrast to other semantic
formations what results here is the converse relationship bet-
ween the meanings of one naming unit. This is the sense in which
we discuss the semantic derivation of converse verbs in Slovak

in this paper. It must be emphasized that this process of semantic derivation in verbs is intrinsically bound with the existence of parallel sentences with different semantic structures and simultaneously connected by a synonymic relationship. This is also how the close bond between syntactic semantics and lexical semantics is shown. However, this type of semantic derivation in verbs has, first of all, an import on the theory of lexical meaning, of the structure of lexical meaning of the given naming unit, and the formation of a new meaning of the lexical unit by the process of derivation.

Preliminary research of the linguistic material indicates that the verbs, or analytical expressions with the validity of the verb, which fulfil the conditions for the semantic derivation of converse verbs are numerous and have multifarious semantics and valence. Some are given in J. Dolník (1985, pp.259-264). They are, e.g., the verbs požičať (lend), hmýriť sa (swarm), hemžiť sa (swarm), vybuchnúť (explode), zatiecť (be flooded), nasiaknuť (soak), vyprsknúť (sputter out), prejesť sa (overeat), prenajať (lease out to) - prenajať si (hire), oziabať (feel cold), páčiť sa (appeal), štípať (burn), smrdieť (stink), páchnuť (smell), stratiť úctu (lose esteem), stratit dôveru (lose trust), mať úctu (enjoy esteem), mať rešpekt (enjoy respect), nadobudnúť rešpekt (gain respect), etc. The following are examples of semantically and formally related sentences built on the semantic derivation inside these verbs and verbal phrases which leads to a reverse orientation of the verbal action between the substances bound with the verbal action:

(2) Súčiastku mi požičal sused. (The spare-part /object/ lent to me my neighbour /subject/.)(Translator's note: Where necessary, the examples are translated literally.)

(2a) S̲ú̲č̲i̲a̲s̲t̲k̲u̲ ̲s̲o̲m̲ ̲s̲i̲ ̲(̲s̲o̲m̲ ̲j̲e̲j̲)̲ ̲p̲o̲ž̲i̲č̲a̲l̲ ̲o̲d̲ ̲s̲u̲s̲e̲d̲a̲.̲ (The spare-part /object/ I borrowed /for her/ from my neighbour.)

(3) N̲a̲ ̲š̲k̲o̲l̲s̲k̲o̲m̲ ̲d̲v̲o̲r̲e̲ ̲s̲a̲ ̲h̲m̲ý̲r̲i̲l̲i̲ ̲d̲e̲t̲i̲.̲ (In the school-yard swarmed the children.)

(3a) Š̲k̲o̲l̲s̲k̲ý̲ ̲d̲v̲o̲r̲ ̲s̲a̲ ̲h̲m̲ý̲r̲i̲l̲ ̲d̲e̲ť̲m̲i̲.̲ (The school-yard swarmed with children.)

(4) N̲a̲ ̲r̲a̲s̲t̲l̲i̲n̲e̲ ̲s̲a̲ ̲h̲e̲m̲ž̲í̲l̲i̲ ̲k̲o̲b̲y̲l̲k̲y̲.̲ (On the plant swarmed locusts.)

(4a) R̲a̲s̲t̲l̲i̲n̲a̲ ̲s̲a̲ ̲h̲e̲m̲ž̲i̲l̲a̲ ̲k̲o̲b̲y̲l̲k̲a̲m̲i̲.̲ (The plant swarmed with locusts.)

(5) V̲o̲d̲a̲ ̲z̲a̲t̲i̲e̲k̲l̲a̲ ̲d̲o̲ ̲p̲r̲í̲z̲e̲m̲i̲a̲.̲ (Water flowed into the ground floor.)

(5a) P̲r̲í̲z̲e̲m̲i̲e̲ ̲z̲a̲t̲i̲e̲k̲l̲o̲ ̲v̲o̲d̲o̲u̲.̲ (The ground floor was flooded with water.)

(6) V̲l̲h̲k̲o̲ ̲n̲a̲s̲i̲a̲k̲l̲o̲ ̲d̲o̲ ̲m̲ú̲r̲o̲v̲.̲ (Moisture got soaked in the walls.)

(6a) M̲ú̲r̲y̲ ̲n̲a̲s̲i̲a̲k̲l̲i̲ ̲v̲l̲h̲k̲o̲m̲.̲ (The walls soaked with moisture.)

(7) D̲i̲e̲ť̲a̲ ̲v̲y̲p̲r̲s̲k̲l̲o̲ ̲p̲o̲l̲i̲e̲v̲k̲u̲ ̲n̲a̲ ̲s̲t̲ô̲l̲.̲ (The child spluttered out the soup onto the table.)

(7a) P̲o̲l̲i̲e̲v̲k̲a̲ ̲v̲y̲p̲r̲s̲k̲l̲a̲ ̲d̲i̲e̲ť̲a̲ť̲u̲ ̲n̲a̲ ̲s̲t̲ô̲l̲.̲ (The soup got spluttered out from the child's mouth on to the table.)

(8) H̲o̲s̲t̲i̲a̲ ̲s̲a̲ ̲p̲r̲e̲j̲e̲d̲l̲i̲ ̲z̲á̲k̲u̲s̲k̲o̲v̲.̲ (The guests overate on cakes.)

(8a) H̲o̲s̲ť̲o̲m̲ ̲s̲a̲ ̲p̲r̲e̲j̲e̲d̲l̲i̲ ̲z̲á̲k̲u̲s̲k̲y̲.̲ (To the guests overate the cakes /subject/.)

(9) Z̲n̲á̲m̲i̲ ̲p̲r̲e̲n̲a̲j̲a̲l̲i̲ ̲š̲t̲u̲d̲e̲n̲t̲o̲v̲i̲ ̲i̲z̲b̲u̲.̲ (Acquaintances leased a room to a student.)

(9a) Š̲t̲u̲d̲e̲n̲t̲ ̲s̲i̲ ̲p̲r̲e̲n̲a̲j̲a̲l̲ ̲o̲d̲ ̲z̲n̲á̲m̲y̲c̲h̲ ̲i̲z̲b̲u̲.̲ (A student leased a room from acquaintances.)

(10) O̲z̲i̲a̲b̲a̲ ̲h̲o̲ ̲n̲a̲ ̲r̲u̲k̲y̲.̲ (He feels his hands cold.)

(10a) R̲u̲k̲y̲ ̲h̲o̲ ̲o̲z̲i̲a̲b̲a̲j̲ú̲.̲ (His hands feel cold.)

(11) O̲d̲ ̲o̲p̲á̲l̲e̲n̲i̲a̲ ̲m̲a̲ ̲š̲t̲í̲p̲u̲ ̲p̲l̲e̲c̲i̲a̲.̲ (From sunbathing my shoulders burn.)

(11a) <u>Od opálenia ma štípe na pleciach.</u> (From sunbathing it burns me on the shoulders.)

(12) <u>V pivnici páchne plesnivina.</u> (In the cellar smells mustiness.)

(12a) <u>V pivnici páchne plesnivinou.</u> (In the cellar it smells with mustiness.)

(12b) <u>Pivnica páchne plesnivinou.</u> (The cellar smells with mustiness.)

(13) <u>Deti stratili k otcovi všetku úctu.</u> (The children lost all esteem for their father.)

(13a) <u>Otec stratil u detí všetku úctu.</u> (The father lost all the esteem of his children.)

(14) <u>Stratil som k spolupracovníkom dôveru.</u> (I lost trust in my fellow-workers.)

(14a) <u>Spolupracovníci stratili u mňa dôveru.</u> (My fellow-workers lost my trust.)

(15) <u>Učiteľ má u žiakov rešpekt.</u> (The teacher enjoys respect of his pupils.)

(15a) <u>Žiaci majú pred učiteľom rešpekt.</u> (The pupils feel respect for their teacher.)

(16) <u>Vedúci tým nadobudol u pracovníkov rešpekt.</u> (The manager, by that, gained respect with the workers.)

(16a) <u>Pracovníci tým nadobudli pred vedúcim rešpekt.</u> (The workers, by that, gained respect for the manager.)

3. Semantic analysis of the verbs with converse semantic derivation on the background of related sentences in which these verbs are realized as predicators shows that the extralinguistic situation reflected by these verbs or by the sentences built upon them is identical. That means that the denotative (referential) meaning in these converse pairs is the same: for example

the pair of sentences (13) and (13a) have the common denotati-
ve (referential) meaning (the children no more esteem their
father.) The differences in meaning by which the parallel clau-
se constructions are conditioned are to be sought in the higher
abstract levels of the meaning of the lexical unit, i.e. in the
categorial or subcategorial components in the meaning of the
lexical unit. If the categorial component in the semantics of
the verb represents the element "that which is understood as pro-
gressing in time", or, in other words, the dynamic marking, and
if the natural component of this dynamic marking (especially
in the sense of the Slovak theory of "intencia slovesného deja",
i.e. a theory concerned with verbal valence - here we refer to,
at least Pauliny, 1943 and Morfológia slovenského jazyka, 1966)
is its orientatedness in space (i.e. between substances - cf.
Pauliny, 1958, p. 40), we could deduce that we are faced with the
converse meanings of a given verb on the level of the categorial
semantic component. Since, however, on the basis of the catego-
rial component, in semantics verbs differ from all other notional
word classes, it seems to us materially more adequate to class
the component (orientatedness of dynamic marking) not with the
categorial, but with the subcategorial components in the meaning
of the verb, for the degree of its abstraction is lower than the
degree of abstraction of the dynamic marking.

    4.1. Reverse orientatedness of the verbal action in two re-
lated meanings of the verb is clearly shown by the different
distribution of the substances bound with the verbal action.
The most outstanding is the restructuring of the names of the
substances in subject and object positions of the verbal action.
As most of the above examples illustrate, the semantic theme
of the sentence in one case belongs to the substance which is

original in this position, whereas in the other case to the substance whose original position is objective. These relations between substances can be schematically shown in the example

(9) Známi prenajali študentovi izbu.

(9a) Študent si prenajal od známych izbu.

As the accusative object izbu (a room) indicates, some semantic entities preserve the same position in both parallel sentences. From the pair of sentences (7) and (7a) it can be seen that some circumstancial adverbials (in the given instance the local adverbial) can also be the same in both sentences.

In some instances there is a movement in the subject position in the sense that, with respect to the related clause construction, this position is not filled. In sentence (10) this position is not filled because the verb oziabať (feel cold) is primarily viewed as impersonal. On the other hand, in the related sentence (10a) the subject position is filled, the verb oziabať is used as a personal verb. In sentences (11) and (11a), (12) and (12a) the situation is reverse: the verb štípať (burn), páchnuť (smell) are primarily viewed as personal, in the derived structures these verbs are used as impersonal, that is why the subject position is not filled in them. As sentence (12b) indicates, the verb páchnuť functions as personal also in the derived structure with the reverse positions of the subject and the object. Verbs of this type, which occur alongside each other in the personal and impersonal variant, differ in their valence; they can be thus termed as multivalent ("viacintenčné" - this term is consistent with our older term "intenčné homonymá" valence homonyms - cf. Kačala, 1980 - which we used following Morfológia slovenského jazyka, 1966, p. 397).

4.2. If we have discussed the mutual rearrangement of the names of substances between the subject and object position of the action, it is necessary further to relate these observations to the fact that it is the subject position and its filling that is of paramount importance for the character of the sentence. The subject position - this is particularly evident when the same verb is retained in the predicator position - represents the starting point for both the grammatical and semantic arrangement of the sentence, the way of filling this position determines the grammatical and semantic perspective of the sentence. The change in the position of the grammatical and the semantic subject of the clause is usually connected with a change in the grammatical and semantic perspective of the sentence. While we have no record of the change of grammatical and semantic perspective in our pairs of related constructions - (in all the above examples except the sentences built upon the mentioned impersonal verbs, the grammatical perspective is realized by the active voice), the change of the active into non-active (passive) semantic perspective is exemplified, e.g., in the pair (8) and (8a): the original, underived structure (8) has an active semantic perspective characterized by the fact that the position of the semantic subject is filled by the name of the actor having an active semantic relationship to the verbal action named by an action-verb, whereas the position of the semantic subject in the derived structure (8a) is filled with the name of the substance which is unable to perform the verbal action: the action is presented not as performed by somebody or something, but as existing on something or somebody. A sentence with such an arrangement of the relationships between the semantic subject and the verbal action has a non-active (passive)

semantic perspective. In other instances the rearrangement
of the semantic structure of the sentence does not change the
semantic perspective; in the sentences (1) and (1a), (2) and
(2a), (9) and (9a), the related pairs have an active semantic
perspective, in other sentences, e.g.(13) and (13a), (15) and
(15a), the related pairs are characterized by a non-active
(passive) semantic perspective.

5. We have already said that parallel pairs of sentences
have the same denotative (referential) meaning. This is condi-
tioned by the same lexical material filling the related senten-
ces and, in a decisive measure, is determined by the identity
of the verbal lexeme in these sentences, its semantic, and
possibly also grammatical, properties. The same denotative
meaning of the parallel sentences is in contrast with their
different semantic structures. The same denotative meaning and
different semantic structures relate to each other as content
and form. The same, or similar, content and different form,
formal structure, fulfil, in these parallel sentences, the con-
ditions on which synonymy of linguistic units at various levels
of linguistic structure is based: we value parallel sentences
built upon converse meanings of the respective verbs as syno-
nymous.

6.1. This is the place to ask where we should seek the
cause of the different semantic structures of the parallel
synonymous clauses and of possible differences in the semantic
perspective of such sentences. We see this cause in different
linguistic-semantic presentations of the same context arising
from the identical extralinguistic situation (our concept of
linguistic-semantic presentation of the extralinguistic context
can be compared with Mathesius' concept of linguistic styliza-

tion of the content of thought - Mathesius, 1961, p. 11; cf. also the critical analysis of Mathesius' view in J. Popela, 1985). And the different linguistic-semantic presentation of the same content is a consequence of the different attitude of the speaker (presenter) to the content elements of the sentence (E. Pauliny, 1943, pp.14, 20 and elsewhere, speaks, in this context, about the speaker's will). This attitude is projected mainly in the choice of the type of the semantic structure of the sentence, and within its framework in the choice of the predicate verb and especially in the choice of the semantic subject of the sentence; this attitude is also connected with the choice of the semantic perspective of the sentence. (It is natural that the choice of these semantic means goes hand in hand with the choice of parallel grammatical means.) These are the causes of the differences because of which sentences with the same content have different semantic structures, simultaneously answering the question of why such sentences are synonymous.

6.2. The above examples unambiguously convince us of the fact that for two sentences to convey in communication the same content it is not inevitable for the parallel structural units of the sentence to correspond to each other, i.e., for example, for the subject position in one sentence to correspond semantically to the subject position in the related sentence, for the object position in one sentence to correspond semantically to the object position in the parallel sentence, etc. The only requirement is that the related sentences must have the same verbal lexeme and identical rules of semantic derivation according to which there can be semantic correlation between, e.g., the subject position in one sentence and the object position in the parallel sentence (cf., e.g., sentences /3/

and /3a/, /8/ and /8a/), or between the subject position in one sentence and the position in which the actor is determined in the parallel sentence (cf. sentences /2/ and /2a/, /9/ and /9a/), between the subject position in one sentence and the position of the place or viewpoint adverbial in the parallel sentence (as it can be seen, e.g., in sentences /13/ and /13a/ to /16/ and /16a/), etc.

The mentioned shift of the naming unit from the position of the semantic subject to another position is inevitably connected with the loss of the primary meaning of this naming unit for the semantic (and simultaneously also grammatical) structure of the sentence and its classification with semantically less important, or even secondary elements of the sentence. In the derived structure, simultaneously, the opened subject position is filled with the original name of the semantic object, or the place or viewpoint adverbial, which thus becomes the decisive element in the semantic structure of the derived sentence. For the semantics of this name it is important that on the basis of the semantics the name is capable of functioning in the position of the semantic subject of the sentence.

6.3. It is natural that the differences in the distribution of substances (especially the active substance) in relation to the verbal action in related pairs of sentences have as their consequence certain partial differences in the semantics of such sentences, and so, if we assert that between derivationally bound sentences there is a relationship of synonymy, we are not claiming that it is always absolute synonymy. E.g., in sentence (7a), in contrast to sentence (7), the degree of spontaneousness of the verbal action is higher. Similarly,

in sentence (8) it is the idea of too many cakes eaten that comes in the foreground whereas in the parallel sentence the foregrounded idea is the oversatiatedness with cakes and lack of appetite for more. However these differences in semantics do not cancel the relationship of synonymy between the parallel sentences.

7. Very characteristic for the semantic derivation of converse verbs is the fact that this derivation takes place within one lexical unit without being manifested in the form of the lexical unit. This feature distinguishes semantic derivation from other forms of derivation (grammatical derivation, word formation, etc.) and makes it, in a sense, an exclusive semantic phenomenon with no adequate formal realization in the verb itself, or in an analytical verb construction. Even if this semantic difference is occasionally reflected in the shift of grammatical cases combining with the verb, e.g., in the pair of sentences (8) and (8a), this feature is neither general nor regular and thus cannot be taken into account as relevant for the phenomenon of semantic derivation of converse verbs. No more than an exceptional case is that of the verb _prenajať_ (lease out to) - _prenajať si_ (hire)(cf. sentences /9/ and /9a/), in which the semantic change is signalized by a special formal element - the word _si_, which is on the border between the dative case form of the reflexive pronoun and an independent word-forming formant serving for the formal completion of the verbal lexeme. So in this case distinct semantics comes into agreement with a partially distinct verb form. The same formal element becomes established with the verb _požičať_ (lend - borrow; cf. sentences /2/ and /2a/), but, at the present time, the word _si_ still has to be considered a form of the reflexive pronoun in its own right; this is proved by the possibility of substi-

tuting it adequately by another pronoun (Súčiastku som mu
/som jej, som im/ požičal od suseda. - I borrowed the spare
part for him /for her, for them/ from my neighbour.) or by a
common noun naming a person (sestre, kamarátom - for my sister,
for my friends), or a personal proper noun (Súčiastku som
Petrovi požičal od suseda.- I borrowed the spare part for
Peter from my neighbour.). In an emphatic position, or when
bearing stress, the form si is replaced by the full form sebe:
Požičaj knihu aj sebe (nielen mne)! (Borrow the book for
yourself, too /not only for me/). - Sebe požičaj knihu tiež!
(For yourself borrow the book, too). Apart from the substitu-
tion test, the character of the word si can be shown by the
transformation test: the word si can, without a change in mean-
ing, be replaced by a construction with the appropriate pro-
noun or noun and the preposition pre, e.g., Súčiastku som pre
seba /pre ňu, pre nich, pre kamaráta, pre Petra) požičal od
suseda. (I borrowed the spare part for myself /for her, for
them, for my friend, for Peter/ from my neighbour). In his paper
on the semantics of the converse verbs požičať - požičať si,
S. Ondrejovič (1982) neglects these facts and in contrast to
their evaluation in Morfológia slovenského jazyka (1966, pp. 385-
386) says in the conclusion that "the expressions požičať and
požičať si do not behave as "variants", but rather as lexically
different verbs in a converse relationship"(ibid., p. 347).

8. As we have shown in our analysis, semantic derivation
of converse verbs is characterized by the same denotative
(referential) meaning connected with the reverse orientation
of the verbal action, and this semantic difference is not
realized by an adequate form. By these properties, the group
of verbs under analysis clearly differs from other similar

groups, especially from the cases of word-internal antonymy, or enantiosemy (an analysis on Slovak linguistic material is given by M. Pisárčiková, 1980 in this volume pp.213-226). The verbs are such as prísť k niečomu (získať) (come into possession of)and prísť o niečo /=stratiť/ (lose), dostať sa do rozpakov /=upadnúť/ (fall into embarassment) and dostať sa z rozpakov /=prekonať rozpaky/ (get out of embarassment), dostať niekoho do nešťastia /=spôsobiť ho/ (cause unhappiness to somebody) and dostať niekoho z nešťastia /=vyslobodiť ho z neho/ (free somebody from unhappiness), priviesť niekoho, niečo k rozkvetu /=spôsobiť rozkvet/ (bring somebody, something, to bloom) and priviesť niekoho o bohatstvo /= spôsobiť stratu bohatstva/ (cause somebody to lose his wealth), pripraviť nie-komu bývanie /=prispieť k jeho získaniu/ (prepare accomodation for somebody) and pripraviť niekoho o bývanie /= zbaviť bývania/ (deprive somebody of accomodation), etc.. What they have in com-mon with the verbs in which semantic derivation applies is that in both there is a semantic differentiation of one naming unit resulting in its polysemy, as well as the fact that the substan-ce of this differentiation is the contrast of the meanings, but simultaneously they differ from the verbs with converse meanings both semantically and formally. The semantic difference lies in the fact that the opposite meaning in the verbs of the type prísť k niečomu (come into possession of) - prísť o niečo (lose) is not a result of semantic derivation (in the sense in which we discuss it in the verbs under analysis). That means that in semantic polarization there is no need for a rearrangement of the substances in the subject and object positions of the verbal action. The opposite meanings concern mainly the substance in the object position of the action, the substance in the subject

position of the action does not change. The reverse directedness of the verbal action is obligatorily expressed by different government of the object or the second object. In this obligatory difference in government construction there is also a difference in the form of the verbs with word-internal antonymy.

9. In conclusion to our analysis of the verbs with word-internal semantic derivation it is necessary to allude to two more facts: 1. Examples of the verbs with word-internal semantic derivation, in which two correlated meanings are based on the common denotative (referential) meaning and are differentiated only by the subcategorial element in the meaning such as the element of organization, structure of language, are important for the theory of lexical meaning and of linguistic meaning in itself. The instances in which the same extralinguistic situation is elaborated in language and reflected in linguistic meaning in various ways are a convincing proof of the fact that linguistic meaning is not a mechanic or mirror reflection of the elements of the extralinguistic reality, but a specific creative elaboration of these elements, reflecting a centuries-old abstractional and specific linguistic activity of man. Accordingly, linguistic meanings of polysemous words are not primarily delimited on the basis of agreement, correspondence of the meaning with the extralinguistic reality, but as a result of intralinguistic laws valid in the constitution of linguistic meaning. These laws respect the correspondence of the linguistic meaning with the reflected extralinguistic reality, but not as a decisive, and especially not as the only, factor. 2. The intrinsic bond of the opposite meanings of a lexical unit with its related syntactic structures

in which these derivationally connected meanings find real manifestation confirms at the methodological level the inevitability of the integration of the lexical and syntactic research, but especially brings convincing theoretical evidence on the unity and, simultaneously, variability of the whole linguistic system.

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(Translated by M. Bázlik)

TEMPORAL RELATION OF TWO ACTIONS AND ITS EXPRESSING BY THE COMPLEX SENTENCE [+]

ADRIANA FERENČÍKOVÁ

Semantic-syntactic structure of the temporal complex sentence

The temporal complex sentence (TCS) is a syntactic construction in which two clauses are joined on the basis of the fact that one of them expresses the temporal circumstances of the action of the second clause, and is incorporated in its syntactic structure as its adverbial of time, or on the basis of the fact that there is a temporal relationship between their actions which are semantically equivalent.

In our classification of the temporal relationship of two actions we start from Czechoslovak views on these problems - mainly from papers by J. Ružička and J. Oravec - from the works of J. Bauer (1955; 1958; 1960; Bauer - Grepl, 1972); from some formulations by L. I. Rojzenzon (1959a; 1959b) and from the analysis of the TCS in Grammatika sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka (A Grammar of Contemporary Russian Literary Language 1970), in Russkaja grammatika (A Russian Grammar) by a Czech team of authors (V. Barnetová et al., 1979), as well as in Russkaja grammatika (A Russian Grammar) from the year 1980.

Primarily we take into consideration whether there is a temporal relationship between two actions which are semantically non-

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equivalent (1) or between two which are semantically equivalent (2).

1. In the case of a temporal relationship of semantically non-equivalent actions the subordinate action (SA) is a temporal adverbial of the main action (MA), and the gramatically dependent clause (DC) containing the SA is incorporated into the syntactic structure of its superordinate clause (SC) as its adverbial of time.

2. In the case of a temporal relationship of semantically equivalent actions one action is not a temporal adverbial of the other one. They are correlated on the basis of their following closely one after the other or on the fact that one action un-expectedly intervenes in the other action. This fact is expressed only by a compound or complex sentence form, i.e. paratactically and hypotactically, too. Even in the case of a hypotactic expression the grammatically dependent clause is not incorporated into the syntactic structure of the SC as an adverbial of time.[1]

Temporal determination of the main action by the subordinate one (1) is divided into temporal location (1.1.), if the SA determ-ines when the MA takes/will take place (that is, if the MA is located on the time axis in the relation to the SA), and into temporal limitation (1.2) , if the SA determines the duration of the MA, that is when the course of the MA is limited on the time axis.

1.1. If only the temporal relationship of the SA to the MA is taken into consideration in temporal location, i.e. its simult-aneity or non-simultaneity with the MA, we speak about a general temporal location (1.11.). When along with the time location there is also expressed the way of realization and the quality of the actions (parallelism, contrast, higher intensity, unexpect-

edness of the MA), if the time interval is indicated between them
(minimal distance, close sequence) or if the time of realization
of the MA is identical with some point of the time span limited
by the duration of the SA, we speak about a specified time locat-
ion (1.12).

The MA is on the time axis located by a simultaneous (1.111,
1.121) or non-simultaneous SA (1.112,1.122). Simultaneity of the
actions can be full, if two progressing activities/lasting situa-
tions are coordinated with each other, or partial, if one of the
actions is represented as progressing and the other as closed.
A variant of simultaneity is parallelism of actions when there is
the meaning of their equal progress accumulated on the meaning
of temporal identity of actions (1.12111,1.121122).[2]

In the case of non-simultaneity of actions the SA is either
anterior (1.1121, 1.1221) or posterior (1.1122,1.1222).

1.2. The predominant meaning of temporal limitation is broken
down into the limitation of the initial boundary (1.21), if it
is determined when the MA started to progress/ took place, and
into the limitation of the final boundary (1.22), if it is determin-
ed till when the MA is in progress/takes place.

1.21 The initial boundary of the duration of the MA is depend-
ent on the beginning of the duration of the simultaneous SA, i.e.
the MA is in progress during the space of time from the beginning
of the duration of the SA (1.2111), or it is given by the moment
of realization of the preceding SA (1.212). In the case of a
completed MA, by means of the beginning of duration of a simult-
aneous or by the moment of realization of the preceding SA is deli-
mited the time when it occured, or reached a certain stage (1.2111,
1.2122).[3]

1.22 The boundary to which the MA is progressing is connected

with the end of the duration of a simultaneous SA, i.e. the
MA is progressing in the period of duration of the SA and its
further validity is made impossible when the validity of the SA
is over (1.2211) or with the moment of realization of a subsequent
SA by which it is interrupted or finished (1.2221). The moment of
realization of the SA can also be used for stating the time bound-
ary by which the duration of the result of the MA is planned, i.e.
it is determined for how long its validity is presumed. In the
case of a completed MA, by means of the end of the duration or
by the moment of culmination of the SA is given the time boundary
by which the MA took place (1.2212,1.2222).

In the case of a temporal relationship of semantically equi-
valent actions (2) two closely related meanings can be distinguish-
ed.

2.1. The second action quickly replaces the first one before
it has been able to come to end or fully develop,or by its appear-
ance it prevents its realization. The second action introduces it-
self as arising in advance of, or overtaking, the first.

2.2. The second action unexpectedly interferes with the pro-
gressing first action and as a rule interrupts or destroys it.
With this relationship comes into the foreground the meaning of
the unexpectedness, unmotivatedness of the second action, its
surprising onset.[4]

Some shades of meaning of the temporal relationship are
closely connected, and some are close to other kinds of circum-
stantial adverbial. The semantic structure of the TCS is shown in
the enclosed scheme.

Formal structure of the temporal complex sentence

In expressing interclausal temporal relationship the basic role is played by conjunctions and connective expressions,[5] the auxiliary role is that of referential means[6] which, as correlates of conjunctions in the SC, indicate, render more accurate or lay stress upon their meaning. Verbal tense and verbal aspect participate with the temporal conjunction in the formation of the syntactic structure of the TCS.

Some temporal conjunctions are used with several kinds and shades of meaning of temporal relation. They have a broad range of temporal meaning or temporal function, e.g. keď (when, since), ako (as), čo (after), až (till), kým (while), others are specific - besides the information about the temporal correlation of actions they also give information about the identical or non-identical time of their realization, that is about their temporal relation or about their repetition, e.g. prv ako (before), hneď ako (as soon as), len čo (hardly), ledva (scarcely), medzitým čo (meanwhile), zatiaľ čo (while), kedykoľvek (whenever), čo raz (once).[7]

In complex sentences with conjunctions of a broad range of temporal meaning and with specific conjunctions kedykoľvek (whenever), čo raz (once) the temporal proportion of the actions - simultaneity or non-simultaneity (anteriority or posteriority of the SA) follows from the combination of the aspects of the predicate verbs.[8] Complete simultaneity is expressed by the imperfective aspect in both clauses; in the case of partial simultaneity the verb in the temporal clause is imperfective and that in the SC is perfective. Reversed usage of the perfective and imperfective aspects is rare and it is possible only in the case of general temporal location.

Examples[9] of a complete simultaneity of actions:

Keď jej pozeral do očí, uhýbala na všetky strany. (Jonáš) (When
he was looking in her eyes she was turning them in all direct-
ions.) _Až ja budem veľký, bude to inak._ (Rázus) (When I have grown
up it will be different.) _Ako Nemci vchádzali späť do miestnosti,_
pristavovali sa na nej pohľadom. (Baláž) (Entering the room again
the Germans were landing their looks on her.) _Čo toto čítate,_
som na ceste do Revúcej. (Kukučín) (While you are reading this I
am on my way to Revúca.) _Ako ma táto noha bolí, ani nikde necho-_
dím. (usage) (Since the time that this leg of mine started aching
I have not been going anywhere.) _Frkali, kým vodička stačila._
(Ondrejov) (They were spattering it till the water was sufficient.)
Examples of partial simultaneity of actions - the variant perfect-
ive aspect in the SC - imperfective aspect in the TC: _Spamätal_
sa len vtedy, keď ho sused Sopúšek vyťahoval z veľkého suda.
(Horák) (He came to his senses only then when his neighbour So-
púšek was drawing him out of a big barrel.) _To sa jej prvý raz_
prihodilo, čo je vydatá. (Kukučín) (It has happened to her for
the first time since she got married.) _Dosť sme sa mu nadodávali,_
kým si tu kráľoval. (Skalka) (Enough did we used to supply to him
while he was reigning here.); the variant imperfective aspect
in the SC - perfective aspect in the TC: _Práve napájal kravy,_
keď poňho prišli. (Baláž) (He was just giving the cows water
when they came for him.)

In the case of non-simultaneity of actions a perfective
verb is obligatory predicate of the TC with conjunctions of
a broad range of temporal meaning; in the SC perfective or im-
perfective aspect is used depending on the kind of temporal de-
termination (location, limitation), on the semantics of SC,
or on its lexical components.

Examples of a perfective verb in both clauses:

Keď mu uschli oči, narovnal si chrbát. (Tajovský) (When his eyes dried up he straightened his back.) Kým vyhráš groš, utratíš dva. (proverb) (Till you have won a penny, you will lose two.);with an imperfective verb in the SC: Podobné myšlienky znepokojovali mi hlavu, ako som opustil Magdalénu. (Figuli) (Similar thoughts were bothering my head since I abandoned Magdalene.) Dotiaľ vlk nosí, až jeho samého ponesú. (proverb) (Till then is the wolf carrying, until he himself is carried.) Jednal sa, kým neodjednal ešte šesták na miere. (Kukučín) (He had been bargaining until he cheapened another sixpence.) Kosil, kým rosa neobschla. (usage) (He had been scything until the dew dried up.)

In spoken literary utterances there is a noticeable tendency to create new specific temporal conjunctions by means of intonational joining of referential expressions such as vtom (at the very moment), predtým (before), potom (then), odvtedy (since then) to the general subordinator ako (as).[10]

Temporal conjunctions regularly introduce dependent clauses (DC). The placing of their correlatives in the SC is free only if the DC is postponed; if it is in anteposition they are also only at the beginning of the SC. Particles which are used for expressing limitation or emphasis of the action of the SC in connection with the content of the TC are put before the temporal conjunction only if its deictic correlative is not to be found in the SC - in which case they stand before it. (Their utilization will be discussed when dealing with separate types of TCS.)

When making use of verbal tense there are some restrictions for the TCS. Actions connected by temporal relation are realized either on one temporal level or on contiguous temporal levels, and therefore the predicate verbs are in the same tense in both

clauses(the using of the present tense for expressing a past action is stylisticly marked), or the form of the present tense with that of the future tense, e.g. Už som ho videla, čo tu slúžim. (Alexy)(I have already seen him while serving here.) Keď nádej klesá, vtedy príde pomoc.(Timrava)(When hope is sinking, then comes help.)The using of the future tense in the DC with the past tense in the SC is possible only in the complex sentence with the meaning of limitation of the final boundary of validity of the result of MA, e.g. Požičal si sto korún, kým (ne)dostane výplatu.(He borrowed a hundred crowns till he gets his pay.) and in complex sentences with voluntative modality, e.g. Chcel to urobiť, len čo príde domov.(He wanted to do it as soon as he comes home.) Mienil tam stáť, kým si ho nevšimnú. (He intended to stand there until they notice him.) The using of the past tense in the DC with the future tense in the SC is possible only in the semantic type Na jeseň bude desať rokov, ako sa to stalo. (By the autumn ten years will have passed since it happened.) In this sense therefore it is necessary for Slovak to supplement the formulation of Russkaja grammatika (Russian Grammar, 1980, p.542) which in Russian allows only the verbs of contiguous temporal levels.[12]

The sequence of clauses on the TCS is in principle free, with the exception of complex sentences in which two equivalent actions are temporally correlated - in them the DC is obligatorily postponed. In some kinds of time adverbial anteposition prevails, in others postpositions. This phenomenon is commented upon when dealing with the separate types of TCS.

Types of the TCS in literary Slovak

Adverbial clauses with the meaning of temporal location of the
SC action (1.1)

General temporal location (1.11)

In the case of temporal location of the MA by means of a
simultaneous (1.1111, 1.11121-2) or preceding SA (1.1121) the
interclausal syntagmatic relation is expressed by the conjunction
ked (when) irrespectively of whether the actions are past, future,
customary or atemporal. [13] The conjunction až (when) is used only
with future actions, but in comparison with the basic conjunction
ked (when) its frequency is very low. The bearer of the meaning
of simultaneity or sequence of actions is verbal aspect. With
temporal concord of progressing actions (full simultaneity) there
are imperfective verbs in the predicates of both clauses, with
concord of the moment of culmination of one action with the time
of the progressing action (partial simultaneity) one of the pre-
dicate verbs is perfective. As a culminated action is usually
given the action of the SC. When temporal circumstances are to
be emphasized there is a referential expression vtedy (then) in
the SC.

Examples of f u l l   simultaneity:Ked som si líhala, cítila
som sa strašne unavená. (Chudoba).(When I was lying down I felt
terribly tired.) Až ja budem velký, bude to inak.(Rázus)(When
I have grown up it will be different.)

Examples of p a r t i a l   simultaneity: Ked im bolo naj-
horšie, začal Saša rozprávať o zemi, kde žijú už v bezpečí.(Baláž)
(When it was the worst with them, Saša started talking about a
country where people already lived in safety.); with a perfective
verb in the SC: Až sa vráti, nebude po hneve ani stopy.(Rázus)

(When he comes back, there will be no trace of the anger.)

A special case of temporal simultaneity is temporal identity of the moment of realization of the MA with that of realization of the SA. This is expressed explicitly by means of the conjunction vtom ako (at the very moment when), e.g. Vtom ako sa dotkol kľučky, preskočil elektrický výboj. (On touching the handle an electric discharge jerked.) This meaning can sometimes result from the content of the SC and DC alone, e.g. Podali si ruky a ako sa Adam oňho obtrel, zacítil na lakti niečo tvrdé. (Baláž) (They shook hands and as Adam rubbed against him, he felt something hard on his elbow.). In principle, however, two culminated facts are perceived in time perspective as following one after the other and therefore in utterances of TCS with the meaning of simultaneous realization of the MA and SA they occur only very seldom.[14]

A special syntactic formation within the frame of TCS is a so-called complex sentence with an inverted temporal relation in which the actual event is the content of the DC and its temporal location is that of the SC (cf. Šmilauer, 1947, p.277, also Svoboda, 1972, p. 123), e.g. Bolo päť hodín, keď sme prišli domov. (It was five o´clock when we came home.) Mal som tri roky, keď mi otca zabilo. (I was three years old when I got my father killed.)

In the case of a n t e r i o r i t y of SA a perfective verb is obligatory in the DC. In the SC an imperfective verb is possible as well if the meaning of sequence of actions follows from its factual meaning. Syntactic validity of the DC is in the SC indicated or emphasized by the referential expression potom; the using of the referential expression vtedy (at that time) is marked. Examples: Keď sa doma trocha zotaví, vráti sa do mesta.

(Švantner)(When he recovers a bit at home, he will return to the town.) <u>Tvaroh to až potom zbadal, keď vozík zastal.</u>(Kukučín)(Tvaroh only then noticed it when the cart stopped.)

With the meaning of repetition of MA at/after every repetition of SA the temporal clause is introduced by specific conjunctions <u>kedykoľvek</u> (whenever) and <u>čo raz</u>(once); the conjunction <u>čo</u> is in this function already archaic. Adverbial expressions <u>vždy</u> (always), <u>zakaždým</u>(always when) in the SC have as correlators of these conjunctions an emphasizing function, but when the DC is introduced by the conjunction <u>keď</u> or <u>ako</u> (when) they themselves express repetition of the actions, e.g.:<u>Kedykoľvek tadiaľto cestoval, vždy sa mu v mysli budil odpor.</u>(Horák)(Whenever he was travelling this way, he felt disgust filling his mind.) <u>Čo raz prechádzal drevárňou, zakaždým ho pichlo pri srdci.</u>(Ondrejov)(Every time when going through the woodshed it pricked his heart.) <u>Krčmár nalieval a zakaždým, ako položil štamperlík na pult, zazrel na Machaja.</u>(Mináč)(The inn-keeper was pouring out drinks, and every time he put the tot on the counter he looked askance at Machaj.)

If the validity of the content of SC is modified with regard to a time circumstance, there is a demarcating particle before a conjunction or referential expression i.e. <u>až</u>(as late as), <u>iba</u> (not before), <u>len</u>(only) when emphasizing that the MA did not begin before the SA; the particle <u>práve</u> (just) when their simultaneity is emphasized; the particle <u>najmä</u> (especially) when it is expressed that during the SA, or after its realization, the MA is exceptionally intensive; the particle <u>aj</u> (also), <u>i</u>(even) when indicating that the MA did not cease to be topical at/after the realization of the SA, the particle <u>ani</u> (neither) when denying of its realization is emphasized, the particles <u>ešte</u> (still,yet)

už (already), if attention is directed towards overlapping of the validity of MA before the beginning or end of the SA[15]. In complex sentences with temporal relation of repeated actions particles are not used.

General temporal location of the MA by means of p o s t e r i o r SA (1.1122) is expressed by the TCS with the conjunctions prv ako (before), skôr ako (sooner than), prv než (earlier than). When emphasizing the temporal circumstance the first component of the conjunction is intonationally joined to the SC, there is sentence stress on it and the DC follows it immediately. A synonymous syntactic construction with the correlative connecting expression predtým - ako (before doing something) is used especially in cases when a notional lexical means in the SC is used for expressing an interval between the MA and the SA. In the predicates of both clauses there are perfective verbs, but the unambiguous lexical meaning of the conjunction admits also of (marked) use of imperfective aspect. The clause sequence is conditioned by the context. Realization of the MA before the SA is emphasized by the particle ešte (still), e.g.: Prv ako prejdeme k spresneniu, uvedieme niekoľko príkladov systému. (Filkorn)(Before being more precise we are going to give some examples of the system.) Utekal som hneď za Ondrejom, prv ako sa stihli spamätať.(Baláž)(I was already running after Andrew before they managed to pull themselves up.)

Adverbial clauses with the meaning of specified temporal location of the SC action (1.12).

In complex sentences with the meaning of parallel progress or proportional development of actions (1.12111) the TC is introduced by the conjunction ako or ako tak (as, doing something). There are imperfective verbs in both clauses. In the SC

there is the referential expression <u>tak</u> which is also used for

the indication of equal development of actions. The TC is usually

anteponed, emphasizing and restrictive particles are at this shade

of temporal relation not used, e.g.: <u>Ako Nemci vchádzali do miest-</u>

<u>nosti, pristavovali sa na nej pohľadom.</u> (Baláž)(Entering the room

the Germans were looking at her.) <u>Všetko si opäť uvedomoval, ako</u>

<u>tak ležal v úzkej posteli.</u>(Jonáš)(He was again realizing all that

as he was lying in the narrow bed.)

   In complex sentences with the meaning of unexpected reali-

zation of MA in the duration of SA (1.12121) the TC, regularly

anteponed, is introduced by the conjunction <u>ako tak</u> (doing some-

thing)[17] more rarely also by <u>ako</u> (as). Its predicate verb is im-

perfective and in the SC there is a perfective verb. When empha-

sizing the unexpectedness of the MA there are used in the SC the

adverbs <u>naraz</u> (at once),<u>odrazu</u> (suddenly, immediately), <u>vtom</u>

(just then). In this kind of TCS the historical present is wide-

ly used, e.g.: <u>Ako tak postávali neďaleko studničky, krivým chod-</u>

<u>níkom vyšiel na kraj lúky jeleň.</u> (Móric)(As they were standing

about near the spring, along the crooked path to the edge of the

meadow came a stag.)

   When expressing the meaning that the MA begins at the some

point of time section limited by the duration of the SA (1.121122)

the TC is introduced by the conjunction <u>kým</u> (while), there is

an imperfective verb in its predicate, in the predicate of the

SC there is a perfective verb. The clause sequence is free, ante-

position of the TC prevails, e.g.: <u>Kým sme sa vozili, bolo sprchlo</u>

<u>niekoľko ráz.</u> (Kukučín)(While we were driving it rained several

times.) <u>Kým boli na dovolenke, vykradli im byt.</u> (usage)(While

on holiday, they had their flat burgled.)

   With temporal location of the MA by means of a parallely

progressing contrasting action (1.12121) the TC is introduced by the conjunctions medzitým čo (meanwhile), zatiaľ čo (in the meantime), kým (while). In the past the conjunction čo was also used in this function. The first two conjunctions are themselves antithetic, in complex sentence with the conjunctions kým (while) and čo (since) this meaning results from the relation of the real contents of the SC and the DC. In the predicates of both clauses there are imperfective verbs. The clause sequence is free, anteposition is in marked prevalence, e.g.: Medzitým čo takéto chýry mestom leteli, pán Čaranský svedomite čítal.(Vajanský)(As such rumours were going round the town, Mr Čaranský was conscientiously reading.) Malú Zuzku že dojčili poniektoré matky z dediny, kým sa otec chystal na novú ženbu. (Kukučín)(Little Susan was said to have been suckled by some mothers from the village while her father had been getting ready for a new marriage.)

The conjunctions medzitým (meanwhile) and zatiaľ čo (in the meantime) are used for introducing the TC also in a complex sentence with the meaning of realization of the MA within the duration of a contrasting SA. There is a perfective verb in the SC. Postposition of the DC is rare, e.g.: Zatiaľ čo otec napchával slamníky, priniesol jeden z chlapcov z maštale metlu.(Tomaščík) (As father was stuffing straw mattresses, one of the boys brought a broom from the stable.)

The meaning of temporal location of the MA by means of an immediately preceding SA (1.1221) is in literary Slovak expressed by the TC with several synonymic conjunctions. Stylistically unmarked are the conjunctions len čo (as soon as), hneď ako (immediately after),an indication of colloquialism, regionalism, obsolescence or rareness is given by the conjunctions ako (on), len toľko čo (hardly), toľko že (as soon as), hneď čo (instantly

after), <u>akonáhle</u> (presently after), <u>kadenáhle, náhle</u> (suddenly
after). Constructions with the conjunctions <u>ledva</u> (hardly), <u>led-</u>
<u>važe</u> (scarcely), <u>sotva, sotvaže</u> (no sooner than) are expressive
- the MA is in them presented as immediatelly following the SA,
as if still in its final stage - and they are used only with past
and customary actions. The use of other conjunctions is not de-
termined by the verbal tense.[18] The sudden or immediate sequence
of the MA follows in the SC the TC emphasized by the expressions
<u>hneď</u> (immediatelly after), <u>už</u> (already). Only the conjunction
<u>hneď ako</u> (just on) does not participate in the correlation with
them. If the TC is postponed, its content is indicated only by
the expression <u>hneď</u> (immediately). The case like the postposition
of the TC occurs rarely, e.g.: <u>Len čo prídu zo školy, hneď mi po-</u>
<u>máhajú.</u> (Alexy)(As soon as they come from school they immediately
help me.) <u>Hneď ako večerom prišiel otec domov, vyrozprával mu</u>
<u>všetko o neobyčajnom stretnutí.</u> (Moric)(Immediately after coming
home in the evening father told him everything about that unusual
meeting.) <u>Auto sa hneď začalo obracať, ledva sa stihli postaviť</u>
<u>na nohy.</u> (Baláž)(No sooner had they managed to stand up than the
car immediately started to come back.)

  With specified subsequence (1.1222), i.e. with the meaning
that the MA occured/was progressing/began to be in force even
before the culmination of the SA but already during the time of
its realization or during preparation for it the TC is introduced
by the conjunction <u>kým</u> (till).[19] In its predicate there is a posit-
ive perfective verb, in the SC the aspect of the verb is dependent
on its lexical content. If it tells of a measure of action, there
is usually an imperfective verb and the particle <u>ešte</u> (still),
e.g.: <u>Dlhú chvíľu ešte žmúria, kým sa rozhľadia.</u> (Tallo)(They
will be blinking for a long while yet before they can see better.)

In this type the TC is regularly postponed. If the content of
the SC tells of a certain phenomenon which began to be valid
before the completion of the SA there is an imperfective verb
in it as well - the most frequent is a construction with a link
verb; usually there is the particle už (already) in it[20] and the
TC is anteponed, e.g. Kým vypriahol, už bol so ženou známy. (Ku-
kučín)(By the time he had unharnessed he had already become
acquainted with the woman.)

   Adverbial clauses with the meaning of temporal limitation
of the course of SC action (1.2).

   Limiting of the   s t a r t i n g   b o u n d a r y   (1.21)

   When determining since when the MA has been going on or when
it started, the TC is introduced by the conjunctions ako (as),
čo (as) and the connective odkedy (since the time when). Inter-
clausal relation is in the SC indicated or made expressive by
referential expressions like odvtedy (since then), od toho času
(since that time), od tých čias (since those days).

   If the beginning of the duration of MA is bound to the beginn-
ing of the duration of SA (1.2111), in the predicates of both
clauses there are imperfective verbs in the present or past ten-
ses. If it is expressed that the MA began at the beginning of
the duration of the SA (1.2112), in the TC there is an unmarked
present tense, in the SC there is a perfective verb in the past
tense and a quantitative determination is part of it which can
be modified by the particles už (already) and ešte (yet). The
clause sentence is free, e.g.: Ako ma táto noha bolí, ani nikde
nechodím. (usage)(Since the time that this leg of mine started
aching I have not been going anywhere.) To sa jej prvý raz priho-
dilo, čo je vydatá. (Kukučín)(It has happened to her for the first
time since she got married.) Odkedy tu čakám, prešli už tri

<u>električky.</u> (usage)(Since the time I started waiting here three trams have already passed by.)

With a limiting anteriority (1.2121-2), that is when the starting boundary of the MA is bound to the moment of realization of the SA, only a perfective verb in the past tense is possible in the TC. If the SC contains a progressing action, there is an imperfective verb in the present or past tense in its predicate depending on whether it is valid also at the moment of utterance or it is already past, e.g.: <u>Ako mu Andrej nahovoril, že sa sta-ne doktorom, chodí s mojím šidlom a všade s ním pichá.</u> (Baláž) (Since the time when Andrew persuaded him that he would become a doctor he has been going about with my awl, pricking with it everywhere.) <u>Rozšírili sme sa odvtedy, čo si odišiel.</u> (Jonáš) (We have expanded since you went away.)

Limiting of the final boundary (1.22)

Temporal clauses by means of which is determined till when the action of the SC lasts or by when it will have happened are in literary Slovak introduced by the conjunctions <u>kým</u> (till; basic), <u>pokým, dokým</u> (until, by; rare), <u>kýmkoľvek, až, než</u> (whenever, when, before; with a regional variant <u>lež</u>); the connectives <u>po-kiaľ</u> (while), <u>dokiaľ</u> (till), <u>zakiaľ</u> (by the time) have in this function already only a marginal position in literary Slovak.[21] Referential expressions <u>dovtedy</u> (till then), <u>dotiaľ</u> (till that time), <u>potiaľ</u> (until then), <u>do tých čias</u> (till those days) in the SC stand as a formal sentence member.

If the final boundary of the duration of MA is given by the end of validity of the simultaneously progressing SA (1.2211), that is if both actions are progressing in one section, there are imperfective verbs in both the SC and DC. The present tense is used for expressing customary and atemporal actions. Of the

above conjunctions _až_ and _než_ (when, before) are not used with this kind of limitation. The meaning that the MA does not last longer than the SA is expressed by means of the limiting particles _len_ (only), _iba_ (just), the bearer of the meaning that the MA does not finish earlier than the SA is the conjunction _kýmkoľvek_ (whenever) or the particle _len_ (only) following the temporal conjunction. The clause sequence is free, e.g.: _Píla je len dotiaľ pílou, kým má čo rezať._ (Tajovský) (The saw is a saw only until it has something to saw.) _Pokiaľ bol veľkostatok v celku, poskytoval im aspoň možnosť zárobku._ (F. Kráľ) (While the great estate was together it at least granted some possibility of earnings...

When the MA validity in the section of the SA duration is denied there can be also a perfective verb in the SC. This depends on its semantics. E.g. _Kým boli tie fujaky, ani sme do školy nechodili._ (usage) (While there were those blizzards we did not even go to school.) _Nevstal od stola, kým bolo čo jesť._ (usage) (He would not stand up from the table until there was something to eat.)

Complex sentences with the same structure of the TC and with a perfective verb in the SC can mean that the MA was taking place till the end of the SA duration (1.2212), and then there is organic in them a referential expression _dovtedy_ (till then). Such utterances are exceptional. In complex sentences with identical construction the TC as a rule answers the question "when" and locates the MA within the time span (1.121122) of the limited duration of the SA.

When concluding the duration of the MA (or denying its validity) by realizing the SA (1.2221) there is a perfective verb in the TC. With the conjunctions _kým, pokým, kýmkoľvek, čím, počím_

dokiaľ, pokiaľ (till, until, while, by the time) it can be posit-
ive or negative without any difference in meaning. By means of
a negative particle the meaning of the end of the MA by the
onset of the SA is only emphasized. Such TC are unmarked; tempor-
al clauses with a positive predicate are rare.[22] If the TC is
introduced by the conjunctions až (when), než (until) a positive
predicate is compulsory in it. The meaning of the MA duration
is conditioned by using an imperfective verb in a positive SC.
Perfective verbs used in this way are those from the semantic
field of "zotrvať" (remain). In a negative SC verbal aspect de-
pends on the semantics of the verb. Beside the particles len (only),
iba (just) in this type of temporal limitation the particle až
(until) is used for emphasizing that validity of the MA will be
interrupted only by the SA realization.[23] With this type of tempor-
al relation a postponed TC notably prevails. Examples: Umieňoval
si, že vytrvá na stráži, kým sa Jerguš nezjaví. (Ondrejov)(He
was determined to stay on guard till Jerguš appeared.) Učili sa
ju dotiaľ, kým si ju každý osvojil. (Tomaščík)(They had been
learning it until everybody knew it.) Dotiaľ vlk nosí, až jeho
samého ponesú. (proverb)(Till then is the wolf carrying, until
he himself is carried.)[24]

In complex sentences with the meaning of for how long the
duration of the result of the MA is planned the predicate of the
SC is a verb from the semantic fields "dať" (give), "vziať" (take),
"umiestniť" (place), "zaujať polohu" (to take up some position),
etc. In the SC with a past action the TC with a future action
can be both positive and negative. E.g.: Požičal si sto korún,
kým (ne)dostane výplatu. (usage)(He borrowed a hundred crowns
till he got his pay.) Tam sa utajil, kým lekár prešiel. (Hečko)
(There did he conceal himself until the doctor passed.)

With the meaning of a non-concluding limiting posteriority (1.2222), where the TC gives the boundary by which the MA of certain time span will be completed, only positive perfective verbs are possible in both clauses. In the SC there are empha- sizing particles aj (also), i (even). The TC is most often ante- poned. With this relation the conjunction až (only) is not used, e.g.: Pokým mu líca oschli, i kolená prestali špieť. (Rázusová- Martáková)(By the time his cheeks dried up, even his knees stopp- ed itching.) Doneste to víno a lež ho vypijeme, príde aj vaša Perpetua. (Hečko)(Bring the wine, and before we have drunk it up your Perpetua will come.)

Temporal correlation of semantically equivalent actions (2).

A substitution of the first action by the second one (2.1) before it was able to fully develop or to complete is hypotacticly expressed by a complex sentence with an obligatory postponed DC with the conjunction keď (when). The predicate part of the SC is formed by the constructions a negative perfective verb + a quantitative expression, finite verb form (ne)stihnúť (not/ma- nage), (ne)stačiť (not/make) + ešte/ani ešte (not yet), ani (neith- er) + an infinitive of a perfective verb or ledva/sotva (hardly/ scarcely) + a perfective verb. E.g.: Neurobili ani desať krokov, keď sa z veže rozletel kvílivý hlas umieráčika. (Jonáš) (They had not even gone ten steps when the wailing sound of a tolling bell spread from the tower.) "Nepovedať nič závažné", stihol eš- te poznamenať inšpektor, keď sa ozvalo krátke, energické zaklopa- nie. (Jonáš)("Not to say anything important", the inspector manag- ed to remark, when a short energetic knocking at the door could be heard.)Ledva som sa zvrtol, keď sa mi niekto zavesil na rame- no. (Jesenský)(Scarcely had I turned round than somebody caught my arm.)

With the meaning that the second action unexpectedly inter-
venes in the developing first action and interrupts it (2.2)
there is an imperfective verb in the first, grammatically super-
ordinate clause, the second clause is linked to it by the con-
junction <u>keď</u> (when) or - more frequently - the connective express-
ions <u>keď tu</u> (when here), <u>keď vtom</u> (when suddenly). E.g..: <u>Obloky,</u>
<u>dvere otvára dokorán, keď znova a ešte väčšmi sa prekvapí.</u> (Alexy)
(The windows and door wide open,again she becomes surprised -
and even more so (than before).)<u>Robila som si svoju robotu, keď</u>
<u>tu zrazu vošla pani do kuchyne.</u> (Jančová)(I was doing my work,
when the mistress suddenly entered the kitchen.)

In both these shades of meaning of temporal correlation of
actions the DC is not the time adverbial of the SC.

Notes

Note of the translator: Since Slovak and English means of expressing temp-
oral relations are not identical it was impossible to preserve Slovak con-
structions in their English equivalents. It concerns especially the tenses,
conjunctions, and word order.

[1] According to J. Bauer "we are concerned here with two relatively independent
actions one of which had not had the time to develop or complete when the
next begins usually interrupting it." (1958, p. 238) Russkaja grammatika
(A Russian Grammar) by Czech authors (V. Barnetová et al., 1979) says that
with such a relation of actions the subordinate clause is not a realization
of an optional position of a time adverbial within the predicate, but de-
velops the whole main clause (p.970).

[2] J. Bauer (Bauer - Grepl, 1972, pp. 276-277) says that with parallelism of
actions it is "directly expressed that the MA begins within the progression
of the TC action."

[3] With the binding of the initial MA to the beginning of duration of a
simultaneous action it is also possible to speak about an initial limit-
ing simultaneity, with the binding of the final boundary of the MA to the
end of duration of a simultaneous action about a final limiting simultaneity.

[4] Russkaja grammatika (A Russian Grammar, 1980, p. 551) indicates that there
can be only past actions in this relation.

[5] Connective expressions are primarily relative pronouns and only secondarily
conjunctions. Relative pronouns - unlike conjunctions - have a function of
a sentence member in the DC. Adverbial pronouns such as dokiaľ (till when),
pokiaľ (until when), zakiaľ (by when), odkedy (since when) function in liter-
ary Slovak as temporal conjunctions. In technical syntactic literature they
are also classified as conjunctions (see e.g. J. Ružička, 1974, pp. 268,
276; J. Oravec, 1982, p. 196). On the transition of relative pronouns among
conjunctions see J. Bauer, 1960, p. 223; 1962 a; 1962 b.

[6] Auxiliary connective means have in the frame of the SC the role of a formal
sentence member (Morfológia slovenského jazyka /Morphology of the Slovak
Language/, pp. 676-678). J. Bauer (Bauer - Grepl, 1976, p. 238) is of a
different opinion. According to him referential expressions indicating
incorporation of the DC into the structure of the SC are not sentence
members but auxiliary words having a similar role to case forms and pre-
positions with sentence members.

[7] Semantics of conjunctions is the primary criterion of TCS classification
in the latest Moscow Russian grammar (1980). It had already been applied
in Grammatika sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka (A Grammar of
Contemporary Russian Literary Languate), 1970.

[8] On the functioning of verbal aspect on the syntactic level see V. Barnetová
(1968); see also A. V. Bondarko (1968).

[9] Some examples are taken from J. Oravec (1954a, 1954b), J. Ružička (1956,
1974), J. Orlovský (1965), Morfológia slovenského jazyka (Morphology of the
Slovak Language), Slovník slovenského jazyka (The Dictionary of the Slovak

Language, 1959-1968) and from Slovenská gramatika (A Slovak Grammar, Pauliny - Ružička - Štolc, 1968).

[10] Correlated couples as a source of origin of new specific conjunctions are indicated in Morfológia slovenského jazyka (Morphology of the Slovak Language, 1965, p.678). See also S. Žaža, 1958.

[11] On the shifting of subordinative conjunctions inside the sentence see J. Hrbáček, 1964b; see also J. Mistrík, 1966, p. 173.

[12] In the same way Grammatika sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka (A Grammar of Contemporary Russian Literary Language, 1970,p. 727).

[13] On the functioning of the conjunction keď (when) see J. Ružička (1956).

[14] See also V. T. Kolomyjec, 1966, p. 176.

[15] Problems of particles in Slovak are dealt with in detail by J. Mistrík (1959); see also M. Komárek (1958) on the particles ještě and již (už) in Czech (still, no sooner ... than /already/).

[16] In less cultivated utterances the conjunction než (by the time) is also used in such a TC (see J. Stanislav, 1970).

[17] The conjunction ako tak is broken up by enclitics.

[18] In literary Czech the conjunction co (as long as) is - according to J. Bauer - (Bauer - Grepl, 1972, p. 278) prevailingly, and according to K. Svoboda (1972, p.184) exclusively - used with future actions.

[19] In the past the conjunction čím (while) had also this function; at present the conjunction než (before) is penetrating in the same way into publicistic style (on this see J. Stanislav, 1970).

[20] Unlike the emphasizing particle už (already) in the TCS with the meaning of immediate anterior SA, the particle už has in the complex sentence an evaluating function.

[21] The connective expressions dokiaľ, pokiaľ (while), zakiaľ (by the time) have been giving way to the conjunction kým (till) since the end of the last century. It was already notably prevalent in the thirties (see B. Letz,

1934-1935, pp. 257-258.).

22

J. Oravec (1971, p.5) was of a different opinion.

23

In complex sentences with the TC introduced by the conjunction <u>až</u> (when) restrictive and emphasizing particles are not used. In the construction with the conjunction <u>než</u> (before) the particle can only stand before its correlative.

24

The conjunction <u>až</u> (when) is used with action between which there is a causal connection - the SA which ends the duration of the MA arises in consequence of it.

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(Translated by A. Kubišová)

THE STYLEME AND THE TEXT[+]

JÁN FINDRA

The starting point for our consideration of styleme can be
based on the brief characteristics of this unit found in Mistrík's
Štylistika slovenského jazyka (Stylistics of the Slovak Language).
In this book the styleme - concept and term - appears first of all
in connection with explanations of the vector concept: "Vectors of
style-making processes have, on the one hand, the nature of style-
making factors, and, on the other hand, they have the nature of
language means (stylemes)" (Mistrík, 1977, p. 69). In a different
place and in a different connection Mistrík mentions: "The style-
me is an element which "makes" style, by means of which the styli-
zation becomes manifested" (ibid p. 367).

As far as the substance of the styleme is concerned, and mainly
with regard to the fact of which element can be considered to be
a styleme, the above-mentioned two statements contradict each other.
In the first case stylemes are considered to be "style-making lan-
guage means". In the context of the considerations concerning the
vector concept this explanation must apparently be interpreted
in such a way that the styleme can be represented by any language
means, or, as it were, the styleme is represented by all the lan-
guage means which are at the disposal of the sender (senders).
It follows from the second formulation, especially from its second

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tické otázky textu. (Stylistic Questions of the Text.) Prešov, Pedago-
gická fakulta UPJŠ 1984, pp. 14-25.

part ("the styleme is an element by means of which stylization becomes manifested"), that only such language means which bear a stylistic marker number among stylemes, namely predominantly emotional and expressive means. From time to time we come across such a narrow understanding of the styleme in practice.

In this connection the understanding and interpretation of the sense of the stylization concept seems to be of great import- ance. As a rule, stylization is namely understood only as a "de- viation" above the neutral level of the expression by means of expressives or even by means of other elements through the media- tion of which the author enters the text, or, through the media- tion of which he wants to regulate the behaviour of the recipient. This is, however, only one possible way in which the stylistic context comes into existence. If we, however, start with the hypo- thesis that the stylistic context comes into existence at the point where the regular pattern becomes interrupted by an unpredictable element (see the chart), then it follows that stylization can be mani- fested equally by means of a marked and unmarked elements.

a contrastive element

the regular pattern
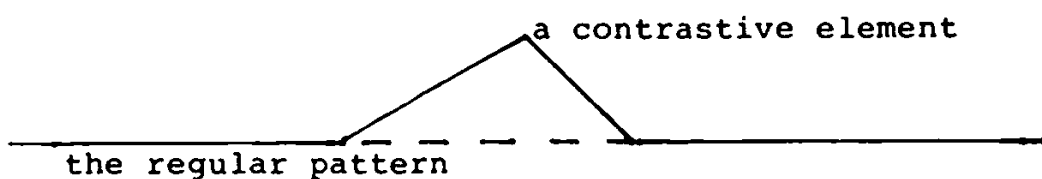
It follows from the above that stylization as a precondition for the formation of a stylistically identical text can be under- stood not only as a deviation in the upper direction, but, equally, a deviation in the lower direction, e.g. by the integration of the neutral means into the context of expressive elements. From this point of view it is sufficient to compare the statements:

Chlapi začali jesť. (The men started to eat) -(Lukan:) Ako ja k tomu prídem, aby som to žral. (Where would it lead to if I guzzled

it.) with the statements <u>Mohol by si už dať sviniam jesť.</u> (You could already give the pigs something to eat.) -<u>Mohol by si už dať sviniam žrať.</u> (You could already give the pigs something to guzzle.).
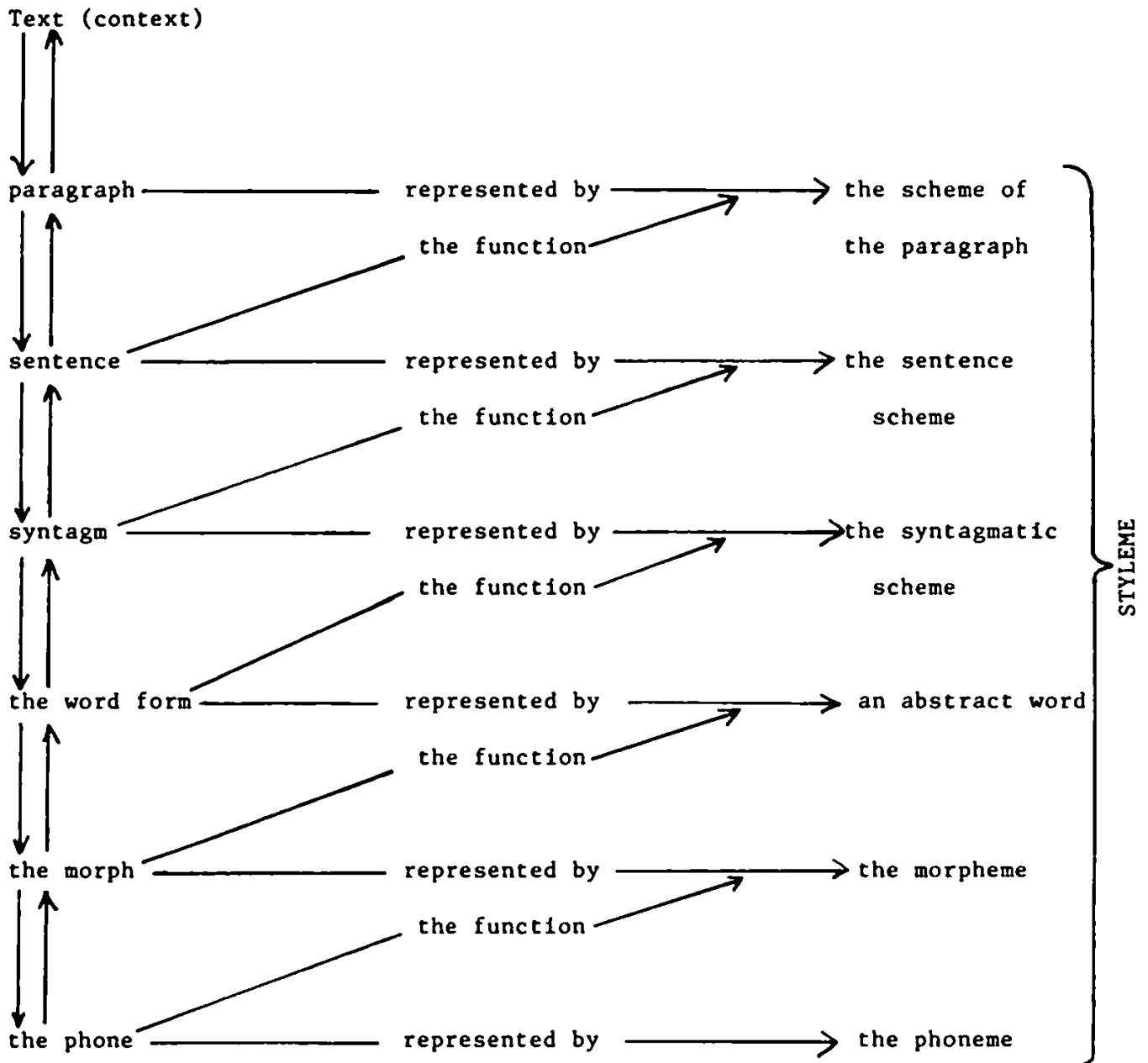
In connection with the stylization concept another aspect is no less important. The stylistics of the text or rather, its stylistic and genre shape is not only a matter of the means which evidently serves for stylization and which contrastively dominates the more or less homogeneous context of other expressive means (namely without any regard to the fact whether the "stylization" becomes manifested by a marked or an unmarked contrastive element). Nor are other means utilized in the text passive with regard to style and genre: the style-making force is not incorporated only in such elements which most markedly "actively" design the stylistic (or the genre) relief of the text (or even determine its pragmatic orientation). The stylistics of the text is a matter of all the utilized expressive means, their interrelation, and thus their multidirectional semantic and stylistic modification which presupposes the style-making partnership of "active" and "passive" style-making means. In this way too it is confirmed that the stylistic layer is not formed only by stylistically marked elements, but also by neutral means, even if they are polyfunctional means with regard to style.

Thus e.g. the word <u>dostaviť sa</u> (to be summoned) which is considered to belong to "officialese" does not appear as such in the administrative style (text) for stylization, because it is a word which is presupposed in this kind of text, having its domicile there. In fact it is a basic style-making device in the administrative utterance (e.g. an invitation) -(even if it is seemingly passive, it does not draw the attention of the recipient)- because

in an official invitation every synonym of this word would be felt as improper. Thus although a notional word is concerned, it is nevertheless a styleme. In some other linguistic and extra-linguistic context, e.g. in the conversation of women neighbours "over the fence" the stylization is inconspicuously formed by the word _zaskočiť_ (to pop in), e.g. _Veď zaskočte k nám na kus reči._ (Look, do pop in for a chat). The word _dostaviť sa_ (to be summoned) would be improper here only if the sender were not pursuing a special intention (a witty remark, irony, derision).

It follows from what has been said that language means of all levels of the language system which are at the disposal of the sender can be taken for stylemes.

In this connection I would like to introduce the idea that, especially from the stylistic point of view, but obviously also from the point of view of textual linguistics, it will be advantageous to consider not only linguistic, but also compositional (suprasentence) means for stylemes. In this way the paragraph especially must be evaluated as a suprasentence contextual unit indicated by its beginning and end in which one motive is expressed (Findra, 1973). The internal structure of stylemes could then be interpreted in the following way (I have used the modified structural scheme by J.S. Stepanov, 1975, extended by the paragraph):

Text (context)

paragraph ———————— represented by ——————→	the scheme of
the function	the paragraph
sentence ———————— represented by ——————→	the sentence
the function	scheme
syntagm ———————— represented by ——————→	the syntagmatic
the function	scheme
the word form ——————— represented by ——————→	an abstract word
the function	
the morph ———————— represented by ——————→	the morpheme
the function	
the phone ———————— represented by ——————→	the phoneme

STYLEME

It can be gathered from the above scheme that the styleme
is considered to be a unit of the paradigmatic plane of the lan-
guage. The styleme is incorporated into the paradigm at the
point when its function becomes constituted and relatively fixed
(the stylistic value; see Findra, 1981). As a styleme the language
means becomes constituted in the process of its reiterated use
in the individual contexts. The fixation of the stylistics of an
element is conditioned partly by the fact that in a certain sphe-
re of human contact language communication has essentially the
same aims and tasks, and partly by the fact that language commu-

nication is differentiated individually, but the decisive dif-
ferentiation is objective, social.

The stylistic qualities of the styleme (its stylistic value)
must thus be understood not as an individual extra-contextual
phenomenon, but as its systemic quality on the basis of which it
has its place in the paradigm.This stylistic value of the styleme
is, however, not petrified as its single and permanent (invariable)
marker. In this way it appears such only from the synchronic point
of view. On the time axis it may become modified or it may even
change; or, the styleme can acquire yet another, new stylistic
quality. The relation between stylistics, or even the semantics
of the styleme which is inherent in it at the paradigmatic level,
and the language utterance (the text, or the context) is dynamic.
There is a continuous tension between the given paradigmatic facts
of the styleme and new possibilities in its syntagmatic incorpora-
tion into the context of the concrete language utterances. The shift
of the styleme value or the acquisition of new markers is, however,
only possible because of the fact that it has previously acquired
a relatively fixed stylistic unity. In this individual application
of the styleme in a particular context a new syntagmatic topicali-
zation can occur which, as a rule, starts to "push" the system,
and through it, the norm. On the diachronic axis it can then be
observed as a continuos tension between the syntagmatic (individual)
incorporation of the styleme and its paradigmatic ordering the
individual incorporation of the styleme in its new function (if it
is then repeatedly used in this function) is inclined to find
its place on the paradigmatic axis as well. In other words: a con-
textually topicalized stylistic marker is inclined to become part
of the relatively fixed, systemic (paradigmatic) stylistic value

of the styleme. How complicated the relation is between the sty-
listic paradigmatics and its syntagmatic "break", innovation,
can be illustrated with some types of terminological naming units
which came into existence from the original topical (figurative)
naming units, namely in the metaphorical way, as e.g. "filtračné
koláče" (filtration cakes), "svetelný tok" (light flow), "aktívny
koeficient" (active co-efficient), "chrbát Bielych Karpát" (the
back of the White Carpathians) etc. Even in these types of terms
can be traced the way in which the unique is reevaluated into the
collective, the individual into the social.

The indicated paradigmatic nature of the styleme can be most
easily proved in connection with lexis where the lexeme is eval-
uated as a styleme. The stylistic classification of the wordstock
(which, as a matter of fact, must be regarded from the studied
aspect as the classification of stylemes /=lexemes/) has a para-
digmatic nature (Findra, 1981). The stylistic classes of words are
macroparadigms inside which the layers of the wordstock become
constituted as lexical and stylistic microparadigms. In the frame-
work of these microparadigms open sets of lexical means co-exist,
namely stylemes relatively fixed with regard to the stylistics
conditioning their selection. The syntagmatic application of the
individual lexical stylemes is thus, to a substantial extent, con-
ditioned by their systemic ranking in macro- and microparadigms.
Thus e.g. the word - styleme "dostaviť sa" (to be summoned) within
the framework of the macroparadigm belongs to the stylistic class
of notional words; it is, however, not regarded as an unmarked
(neutral), but as a stylistically coloured means; in this sense
it is a marked element, because due to its stylistic shading it
forms a marked component part of the administrative stylistic layer.
Within the framework of the macroparadigm the word "dostaviť sa"

(to be summoned) becomes integrated into the layer of what is called officialese. The set of the qualities on the basis of which the word "dostaviť sa" (to be summoned) becomes integrated into the macro- and micro- paradigms represents systemic stylistics (a relatively fixed stylistic value) of this word as a styleme. The stylistic value is closely connected with the textual possibilities of the styleme, only within their range can the sender move at the time of the creation of a concrete utterance. He can thus only count on such qualities of the styleme which are implied in its paradigmatic structure. At the same time in the paradigmatic field of the styleme its basic qualities are temporarily fixed which predetermine this styleme in the syntagmatic plane for application in usual contexts (e.g. the officialese in "dostaviť sa" /to be summoned/ in administrative utterances), as well as secondary qualities which are a result of the collective generalization (collective fixation) of the individual topicalizations (innovations; e.g. the officialese in "dostaviť sa" (to be summoned) in the colloquial text as a means of humour). The non-respecting of these paradigmatic connections is evaluated in the text as a mistake (the violation of the stylistic norm), or in this way - especially in the belles-lettres style - special stylistic contexts are built (individual topicalizations, metaphorizations etc.) which can be formed only against the background of a "norm".

Similarly we could also consider the elements of other language levels. E.g. the individual kinds of syntagms are mutually differentiated not only as to their structure, but as stylemes also by their stylistic qualities. Both qualities of the syntagms are synchronically fixed in paradigms. The syntagmatic application of the individual kinds of syntagms as stylemes is determined by their paradigmatic given facts; their possible individual functions (in-

novations) are also delimited in the context as a "superstructure" over these paradigmatic given facts in the context.

To put it more concretely, we are capable, e.g., of a systemic delimitation of the stylistics of the determinative syntagm in contrast with the predicative one and, similarly, we are capable, within the determinative syntagm, of the delimitation of the stylistics of the nominal and verbal syntagms (for details see Findra, 1978). Such stylistics of syntagms has been collectively fixed on the background of their reiteration in the text and in the synchronic cross-section it has become temporarily fixed. It shows thus that the language means does not appear as a stylistic element (a styleme) only at the time of its application in the text. In the text the paradigmatic space of the styleme is only verified (confirmed), or the possibilities of the extension of its paradigmatic field (structure) are indicated (are given birth). Of course, the individual topicalizations at the syntagmatic level have a chance of becoming a component part of the paradigmatic structure of the styleme, namely within the framework of one or more paradigms. As far as the classification of stylemes is concerned, it would be possible to trace several aspects, to apply several criteria. For the time being I will recall two possibilities, namely the linguistic and the paradigmatic ones.

The linguistic (or linguostylistic) classification is based on the structural scheme introduced above, in which the relation is indicated between the units of the concrete and the abstract levels. In harmony with the differentiation of these units we would distinguish between linguistic and compositional stylemes. The linguistic stylemes are further classified into syntactic (sentence and syntagmatic), lexical, morphological (morphonological) and phonic stylemes. On the basis of this systemic classification it would

be possible to consider an independent stylistic level the basic unit of which would be the styleme.

With regard to the text the linguistic and compositional stylemes should be regarded as the basic structural units. The text would then be understood as a primary whole which becomes gradually disintegrated not only into sentences, but also into other basic parts (Horecký, 1978). In other words: the text would be understood as a whole composed by structural units, the stylemes. As follows from the chart as well as from our account so far, the styleme - the structural unit - is considered to be not only the sentence, but also lower structural units.

Apart from these linguistic stylemes, compositional stylemes also belong to the structural units of the text, among which a special place is occupied by the paragraph. In the texts of the belles-lettres style even what are called the contextual units, such as direct speech, semi-direct speech etc., are considered.

From a narrower view of textual linguistics (the structure of the text) a decisive role is played by the sentence and suprasentence stylemes. As a rule, the stylemes of the lower levels participate in the structure of the text through some mediation, namely thanks to the relation of complexity between units. What we have in mind is, e.g., the fact that, let us say, a paragraph consists of sentences, but there are cases when a paragraph (especially in a text of the belles-lettres style) can be formed even by a word, or even a sound (a phoneme). From the stylistic point of view, from the point of view of the stylistics of the text ("the structure" of style) a decisive role is played even by lower units, by the sentence and especially by the word. As can thus be seen, the programme of stylistics and the programme of textual linguistics have many points in common.

From the pragmalinguistic aspect stylemes are classified into

informemes and pragmemes. In spite of the fact that in the text - even with regard to the stylistics of the text - pragmemes become more unambiguously presented, seemingly they also "make" the style, their pragmatic force and pragmatic orientation are graded only in contact, in the interrelation with informemes. Therefore it is impossible to evaluate pragmemes only as stylemes.

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(Translated by L. Urbanová)

THE SEMANTICS OF THE GLUTINATION OF THE TEXT[+]

JOZEF MISTRÍK

In recent years textual problems have drawn the attention of linguists. Mainly, the process of construction and interpretation has been studied and special attention has been given to coherence and cohesion. Twenty years ago a study on the glutination of the text was published where this term was used for the first time (Mistrík, 1968). The basic principles stated in this study are still accepted; only some terms have been modified in accordance to modern terminology (cf. Dudok, 1987).

The text is understood as a linguistic thematic structure with a designed arrangement of utterances which expresses a relatively closed complex of thoughts. From a linguistic and content viewpoint, it is a coherent set of utterances in a relatively designed order.

In the broad sense of the word, g l u t i n a t i o n means a gradual addition, a "patching" of utterances expressed in the syntactic and orthographic forms of sentences. This process and its results can be measured exactly.

When one measures the density of a text one discovers the empirical fact that the connecting force between individual utterances is not equal and its usage is one of the relevant stylistic means. The gradual addition of sentences represents the most

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[+] The original (Slovak) version of this article was published in: Studia Academica Slovaca. Vol. 17. Ed. J. Mistrík. Bratislava, Alfa 1988, pp. 321-331.

elementary contextual step. The strength of the glutination of

a new utterance toward a previous text indicates the semantic

distance between the utterances and also the density of a text.

The closer two utterances are related,the closer the text is and

the faster speed of speech is dictated at its perception. And,

vice versa, the longer the ruptures are between the utterances,

the less is its cohesion. The degree of the glutination is provided

by the character of the utterance boundaries or rather by the

character of the beginning of a new utterance. The degree of the

glutination also indicates the rhythm. It identifies the writer

of a text and sometimes its quality; it is also a part of the

semantics of a text as a whole. The results of measuring hold

for notional texts more than for literary texts. They can be used

to study poetry only to a minimum extent.

The form of the beginning of the utterance first depends

on the stylistic pattern whose constructive unit is the arrange-

ment of the utterances and their functional perspective.

The relation of the beginning of the utterance to the stylis-

tic pattern is given as follows: in information the existence

of a fact or facts is stated, every statement being relatively

autonomously limited in its content and form; in narration the

story is led by the time axis, where the utterance consisting

of individual utterances is relatively compact; in description

all properties of a phenomenon are followed individually by

which the utterance may be rather disparate in its content as

well as form; in explication the relations of phenomena are ex-

plained where the explaining process presupposes the utterance

which is closed and rounded off in its form. The most possibili-

ties to commute are given by a combination of information and

description. The commutation is practically impossible in narra-

tion and to some extent in explication. The cohesion of speech
is expressed by the degree of the glutination of its parts.

The relation of the beginning of a sentence to its functio-
nal perspective is given as follows. The theme of an utterance
may be omitted in a sentence or expressed "expressis verbis".
When not expressed, the affiliation of a new sentence is close;
however, when it has to be expressed, the new sentence gets the
character of a thematically independent utterance - a microutter-
ance. In general the theme is often omitted in narration, sometimes
in explication, and less often in information or description.

The degree of the glutination of an utterance is formally
indicated by the semantics of a language element standing at the
very beginning of the utterance.

Since the sentence enters the text as an utterance element,
it is necessary - when measuring the density of a text - to base
the semantics of sentences which are materialized in the function
of the utterance. If we start from the beginning of the utterance,
it is first necessary that we introduce the elements of an utter-
ance which can occur at the beginning of the utterance.

First, it is the expression which represents a new theme of
functional perspective. We shall name it a t h e m a t i v e
(in the original study it was a subject). Then it can be an ex-
pression which - as an object of a new utterance - will occur
at the beginning as a repetitive theme, thus becoming an object
of a sentence. We shall call it an o b j e c t i v e (in the ori-
ginal study it was an object). Furthermore, it can be an expression
which points out the situation in which a new utterance occurs
and it relates the new utterance to a space or time situation.
We shall call it a s i t u a t i v e (in the original study it
was an adverbial modifier). At the beginning of an utterance,

a transitive expression can stand. Usually it is a finite verb
by which a new utterance - with the theme absent - is very closely
added to the preceding text. We shall call it a t r a n s i t-
i v e. However, at the beginning of an utterance there are often
personal, introductory words - particles, conjunctions, interjec-
tions - by which a new utterance is joined to a preceding context.
We shall call these c o n n e c t i v e s. Note: From the point
of view of their function, the conjunctions - as a grammatically
homogeneous part of speech - have disparate properties in a text.
While coordinating conjunctions refer to only one direction, that
is to the former. expression to which they are "appended", the
power of subordinating conjunctions is divided to two sides. The
subordinating conjunctions "connect". If a coordinating conjunction
stands at the beginning of an utterance, its task is to append
a new sentence to the familiar text, but it provides the connection
inside the sentence. It "looks" into the new sentence; it is endo-
clitic. The subordinating conjunction standing at the beginning
of an utterance always has only a grammatical function. It is
inert towards the text; therefore, when we measure the glutination
of the text, it is considered like other grammatical words, for
instance prepositions. However, the coordinating conjunction stand-
ing at the beginning af an utterance serves the text. It becomes
a connector which increases the coherence of text, and the density
of the utterance. (This thesis may be verified by means of a trans-
formative method: the word order 1. coordinating, 2. subordinating
conjunction is possible; the other way round is eliminated).

  As we can see, in glutination the attributive words as adjectives
and dependent adverbs are not considered. They are the words which
are only emphasized in utterances of literary texts. The glutination
expressed exactly must be understood only as a multi-functional

signal.

The cohesive undulation of the semantics of a text can be
followed by using standard semantics of expressions in the function
of the adding of utterances. If the force of the glutination is
graded from 0 to 4,then we can indicate these values of the indi-
vidual additive elements: the themative = 0, the objective = 1,
the situative = 2, the transitive = 3, and the connective = 4.
This, however, holds only for non-analytical types of languages.
For example, it does not hold for English , where the word order
serves the grammar. The utterances with "there" or "it" at the
beginning (as "es" - sentences in German or sentences with "il
y a" in French) belong to the second grade (as the Slovak sentences
beginning with "ono" and "to").

The value of the utterances beginning in the themative
may be at least 2 degrees higher. There are almost no utterances
beginning in the objective. All this presupposes the existence
of a different scale in analytical languages.

The average degree is stated by finding individual values
of glutination and counting the arithmetical average in the text,
paragraph, or in the whole utterance.

We shall show the findings of the glutination of the text
in the following examples. The paragraph taken from Urban´s novel
"Zhasnuté svetlá" (Turned off Lights, 1957) contains a stream
of thoughts. The speed is allegro; the glutination is of a high
degree.

A jeho myšlienky sa voľky-nevoľky sústredili na ňu.

Zoznámili sa na univerzite. - 3 - Študovala na filozofickej
fakulte slovenčinu a francúzštinu, no po treťom semestri jej zá-
ujem o tieto jazyky ochabol. - 3 - Objavila v sebe výtvarné vlohy
a celkom vážne začala maľovať.- 3 - Nezdalo sa, že je to len pla-

ný dievčenský vrtoch. - 3 - <u>Driemalo v nej čosi...</u>

(And willy-nilly his thoughts turned to her.

They met at the college. She was majoring in Slovak and French at the Faculty of Arts, but her interest in the languages grew weak as she finished the third semester. She realized she had some talent in art and seriously started painting. It did not seem to be only an idle girl´s whim. There was something in her...)

The average degree of the glutination in this paragraph is 3; 12:4.

Let us give another example which is adapted from the work by P. Breier and R. Menkyna "Choroby srdca a ciev "(The Diseases of Heart and Veins, 1965).

<u>Obliekanie chorých na srdcové choroby sa spravuje podobnými zásadami ako u zdravých ľudí.</u> - 1 - <u>Zvýšenú pozornosť venujeme tým, ktorí trpia na vencovité choroby srdca.</u> - 2 - <u>V zimných mesiacoch im odporúčame teplé oblečenie.</u> - 1 - <u>Chorým s cievnym ochorením, najmä na končatinách, odporúčame teplú obuv.</u> - 3 - <u>Dávame pozor hlavne na to, aby obuv netlačila.</u> - 3 - <u>Zásadne sa nemajú nosiť rozličné gumové podväzky.</u> - 0 - <u>Starostlivé čistenie a ošetrovanie prstov dolných končatín je samozrejmou požiadavkou.</u> - 2 - <u>Pritom však treba dbať na to, aby sa chorí počas strihania nechtov zbytočne neporanili.</u> - 4 - <u>A mali by vedieť, že po strihaní nechtov je vhodný teplý harmančekový kúpeľ nôh.</u>

(The principles of the clothing of people with heart diseases are similar to those of healthy people. Greater attention is paid to those who suffer from coronal heart diseases. In winter warm clothing is recommended. Those suffering from vascular diseases, especially in the limbs, are recommended to wear warm shoes. Attention should be paid that the shoes are not too tight. These

people should not wear any rubber garters. They should clean and treat their toes carefully. They also have to pay attention not to hurt themselves when cutting their nails. They should know that a warm chamonile bath is good to take after the cutting of nails.)

From the sequence 1-2-2-3-3-0-4, we get the average glutination of the text 2:16:8.

In literary style the difference between the theoretical and real perspective is used as a stylistic means. The places of the discrepancies of this kind are the means evoking tension. Even more an unusual multiple repetition of rupture, of the same degree of glutination can be used similarly as the repetition of an expression.

The greatest rupture in the text "Choroby srdca a ciev" and therefore the lowest degree of glutination are between the 6th and 7th utterances. If this text were divided into paragraphs, it would have to be divided here above all. This is followed by the same ruptures and glutination between the 1st and 2nd utterances and between the 3rd and 4th utterances. Further possible division would be required in these places. A non-literary text is divided into paragraphs with respect to the hierarchy of the text ruptures and the degrees of glutination. With the glutination of the text 4-2-4-0-1-4-2-1-1-0-2-4, the division into paragraphs will occur at the fourth and tenth ruptures and only, if necessary, at fifth, eighth ruptures, etc. But it never happens in an opposite or any other sequence.

Writers,however, usually divide texts by certain intuition. But of the hierarchy of text ruptures, the given glutination of utterances is not followed. We can consider it as a disturbance of logical as well as of basic stylistic principles. Our research

has shown that the degree of glutination between paragraphs is
- on the average - by half-a-degree lower than the degree of
glutination between utterances. The discrepancies between content
and formal division on literary texts are also used as a stylistic
means.

The formula to arrive at the glutination of a text by means
of the glutination of a paragraph, which is quicker, is as follows:

$$x_g = \frac{x}{n} - 0{,}5$$

In the book "Choroby srdca a ciev "(Breier - Menkyna, 1965),
x_g of the paragraphs is 2.9 and x_g of the text is 2.4. The degree
of glutination is fairly low since it is a handbook written in
a very simple style. In the introduction to the book Morfológia
slovenského jazyka (The Morphology of the Slovak Language, 1966)
which is written in a scientific style and at the average has
longer and more distinctive paragraphs, the situation is as follows:
out of 910 paragraphs, 660 have the 4th degree of glutination;
the third degree can be found in 108 paragraphs; the second degree
is found in 140 paragraphs; and the first degree only in two
cases.The average degree of glutination in the paragraph of this
text is 3.6 which indicates that the degree of intersentence glu-
tination will be 3.1 In comparison to the popularizing handbook,
it is by about seven-tenth of a degree higher, which is quite
a considerable degree.

C o n c l u s i o n. The distinction of the beginning of
the utterance and eo ipso the paragraph is given by the content
as well as the form - by the function of an initial expression.
The beginnings of the utterances are the signals in the division
in the formation of texts as well as the signals in the opposite

sequence - in the interpretation or typology of texts.

The closer the relation between the neighbouring utterances and hence the higher degree of glutination, the smaller and less conspicuous are the meaningful and formal ruptures and the interruption between the utterances. And, vice versa, the strength of the glutination and the striking character of the rupture depend on the subjective and objective style-forming agents.

However, in the formalization of the text it is necessary to count on certain approximations which may sometimes be in contradiction with lexical semantics.

The texts of the author "analyst" are uneven, hesitating, discountinuous. The "coursoric" author writes fluently, continuously, strongly glutinated texts.

The compositions arranged according to the degree of their glutination - beginning with the most fluent - will have this order: narration, explication, description, and information.

As far as dialogue is concerned (possibly multitopical) as compared to monologue, the stronger glutination and less ruptures occur in monologue since it is a more concentrated, more fluent, and more closed text.

The outer parts of texts (introduction, conclusion, summary) which have relatively autonomous, substantial, and summarizing utterances are more disparate in their content and form and with the lower degree of glutination than the inner parts of the texts and utterances as a whole.

On the boundaries of paragraphs there are great interruptions in the content and form than there are between individual utterances. The larger the paragraphs are, the more conspicuous are their boundaries. In theoretical texts the degree of glutination approaches 4; in the popularizing texts it is the other way around,

The same occurs within the paragraphs.

In the literary style the discrepancy between formal division and content is used stylistically to shift the meaning, to direct the speed of the speech (acceleration and retardation of the action), and to even the epical and real time. It is also used as an emphasizing or emotional means, etc.

The degree of glutination and the cohesion of the text are at least approximately measurable by means of the formal linguistic elements of the utterance.

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(Translated by T. Mistríková)

SEMANTICS IN LEXIS

AND WORD-FORMATION

THE PRINCIPLES OF CONTRASTIVE SEMASIOLOGY[+]

VINCENT BLANÁR

1. If compared with the contrastive analysis of the grammatic-
al or phonological aspects of language, the contrastive analysis
of the wordstock has its specific features. The main feature
is connected with the relatively close relationship of the word-
stock with denoted reality.The linguistic processing of the reflec-
tion of objective reality stems from the principal features of
the given language, but the cognitive bases of the elements of
reflection have a considerable tendency to universals. This is
why, from the point of view of content, the similarities outnumber
the differences in the vocabularies of various languages. On
the basis of the above, some linguists have come to the con-
clusion that the wordstock cannot be typologically characterized
(e.g. V. Skalička, 1965, pp. 152 et seq.). However, within the
last two decades contrastive analysis of the vocabularies of
related as well as unrelated languages tends to indicate that
it is necessary to rethink more thoroughly - and then to apply
to an extensive body of material - the starting-points and
methodological procedures corresponding to the specific structur-
edness of the wordstock. The point is that within the wordstock
of importance are not only the types of typical coincidences
and differences, but also their extent and mutual ratio, i.e.
the frequency distribution within the compared languages.

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We shall try to point out the procedures which enable a more detailed analysis, as well as a contrastive typology in this sphere of linguistics. Semasiological research deserves attention also on the basis of the fact that it reveals the ways how the speakers of the language grasp objective reality and how they shape it linguistically. First of all, we shall give attention to some concepts and methodological starting-points important from the contrastive point of view.

1.1. Contrastive semasiology concerns, above all, the confrontation of sememes and semic structures. Hence, lexical meaning is at play.

The idea that the semantic structure of the word represents a certain continuum or spectrum with a more or less wide semantic diffusion has already been discussed (e.g. N.I. Tolstoj, D.N.Šmelev, B.J. Gorodeckij, V. Blanár, J. Filipec, J. Dolník, A. Gudavičius, etc.). In addition, however, it is necessary to point out that lexical meaning has the character of a wide spectrum, when we base our approach on the functioning of language in communication. The principles of a diffuse character and extension‑al vagueness are characteristic of contextual meanings in various free, typical, lexicalized, and phraseological collocations. The formal reflexes of semantic potentialities of the lexical unit are represented by valency and distributional relationships. However, the functioning of the lexical unit in linguistic communication presupposes the existence of lexical meaning in the linguistic system. Figuratively, it can ba said that within the semantic spectre there are certain "crucial points"; these "crucial points" are represented by sememes. The task of theoretical semasiology is to define these "crucial points" on the

level of language by means of the most varied contextual applica-
tions, while it is necessary to note also the transitory cases
between these "crucial points". When we direct our attention
also to the transitory phenomena among the particular sememes,
there arises a theoretically important - and not yet solved -
question of variants of lexical meaning. (Note: by "variant of
lexical meaning" we refer to a unit which differs from a sememe
by the potential functioning of some differentiating or specific-
ational feature /by its potentially functioning from the social,
functional, or geographic points of view./)Hence, the rather
simplified picture provided by the schemes of intensional relation-
ships of the sememe is supplemented by the picture of the less
typical phenomena. Within lexicographical description they are,
e.g., transposed and figurative usages of the meaning, as well
as samples of the word functioning in various types of context-
ual collocations.

The first methodological starting point can be summarized
in such a way that the conception of lexical meaning is based
on the internal unity of langue and parole. The intentional comple-
ment of the meaning is supplemented by its extensional and pragma-
tic components; in other words, the usage of the word in linguis-
tic communication is taken into consideration. Such an approach
reveals considerable differences also among related languages.

1.2. From the contrastive point of view of importance is
the way of defining the sememe. The sememe is defined a) as to
its relationship to the whole semantic structure of the given
lexical unit (this concerns polysemic words) and b) as to the
place of the lexical unit within the particular lexico-semantic
paradigm (within the partial lexical-semantic system). We speak
about the lexical validity of the word.

a) In a polysemic word the derived meanings are in various relationships to the base, founding meaning, as well as to the derived meanings with regard to each other. It seems that the reference to the common semantic overlap (as it has been done so far, namely in older works) does not exhaust these semantic relationships. The semantic structure of the word also includes the meanings with a more loose relationshisp, meanings bordering on homonymy as well as secondary meanings the motivation of which is not clear. We cannot do without the aim to analyze the inner structure of particular sememes and their mutual relationships. By identifying the synonymical and antonymical relationships of the particular meanings of the polysemic word and, e.g., within the lexicographical description, also the closest word-formative relationships, we take the first steps toward the reconstruction of the lexical-semantic paradigm. By comparing polysemic structures, we acquire the basic material for contrastive typology.

b) Three decades ago L. Hjelmslev (1957) already showed that in the wordstock there exist basic paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationships and that the structuredness of lexical meanings can be revealed by analyzing the semantic relationships within enclosed lexical-semantic systems. Since then, much has been accomplished in the research of polysemy, synonymy, antonymy, and homonymy within one language, as well as within a contrastive framework. It has proved fruitful to study semantic fields, thematic groups, word-formative nests, incompatibility, and syntagmatic relationships. The overall organization of the wordstock is characterized by a complex hierarchization of partial systems (e.g., in a hyponymical-hyperonymical microsystem, hyperonyms become hyponyms of the higher organization units, etc.) and by intersections of semantic fields, in the very sense of the word by a multi-aspectual charac-

ter of systemic organization. By the principles of their organiz-
ation, the partial lexical-semantic systems are open (Blanár, 1984).
Within such a concept of including the lexical unit into the word-
stock, even the comparison of closely related languages shows
that related languages can differ, to a larger or a smaller extent,
by their external linguistic relationships also in those cases
when the semantic structure of the words is basically identical.

1.3.   The asymmetry of the linguistic sign is manifested by
the possibility of expressing content by various linguistic forms
(in the wordstock this means polylexy) and of expressing various
contents by one linguistic form (in the wordstock this means poly -
semy and homonymy). When identifying the manifestations of this
asymmetry, it is necessary to join the onomasiological aspect (the
procedure from the content to the form) with the semasiological
aspect (the procedure from the form to the content). In the inves-
tigation of coincidences and differences in the lexical-semantic
structure of both related and unrelated languages, of basic import-
ance is the joining of the onomasiological and the semasiological
aspects. In the analysis of related languages we can proceed from
the content to the form, as well as from the form to the content,
while in the comparison of unrelated languages it is necessary
to proceed from the content to the form.

Of importance for contrastive semasiology is the fact that
the semantic content as an element of the deep structure repre-
sents tertium comparationis. To a great degree this accounts for
the universal character of cognitive elements. The point is that
there exists a connection between the reflection of objective reali-
ty within the process of its cognition and the linguistic process-
ing of its intellectual reflection. In the surface structure of
particular languages, the intellectual contents are linguistically

processed within the content and formal aspects of the word.
In the social sphere with regard to the goal of communication,
some symptoms of the phenomena of the reality have become semantic-
ally relevant, i.e. they have been re-evaluated into the semantic
components of the word, which, within the choice and hierarchic
ordering characteristic of the given language, constitute the
lexical meaning. The intellectual content is also processed in the
particular language as a morphological form.

1.4. The above listed principles will be briefly illustrated
with the example of list (leaf, letter;...) in Slovak, Czech
an Polish. Between Czech and Slovak there are certain marginal
differences. A marked semantic difference is in the fact that in
Czech the sememe "letter, a communication in writing" is consider-
ed bookish and obsolete. Polish has deviated from Slovak and Czech
more markedly. There exist different lexicalized collocations,
e.g. doporučený list: list polecony (registered letter); sobášny
list : akt ślubu (marriage certificate); dodací list : talon na
dostawę (bill of delivery); list gończy : zatykač (warrant of
arrest); list obiegowy : obežník (circular). The main difference
lies in the fact that the original, primary meaning "green, flat
part of a plant" is expressed by means of the formative lišć.
This is a new development since the sixteenth century. In the
sense of Kuryłowicz's rule (Kuryłowicz 1979, Ondruš – Sabol,1984),
polysemy is eliminated in Polish. For the primary meaning there is
the morphologically derived lexeme 2 (lišć). The secondary
meaning is bound with the basic lexeme L_1 (list) (Compare the
table on the following page.)

A comparison of the development in Polish with the develop-
ment in Slovak and in Czech shows that Kuryłowicz's rule about
the elimination of polysemy applies in the lexical-semantic de-

velopment as a tendency.

L_1	S_1
	S_2

$\longrightarrow$

L_2	S_1
L_1	S_2

Sl. <u>list</u>	leaf of a plant
	in a book, notebook

Pol. <u>liść</u>	leaf of a plant
<u>list</u>	in a book, notebook
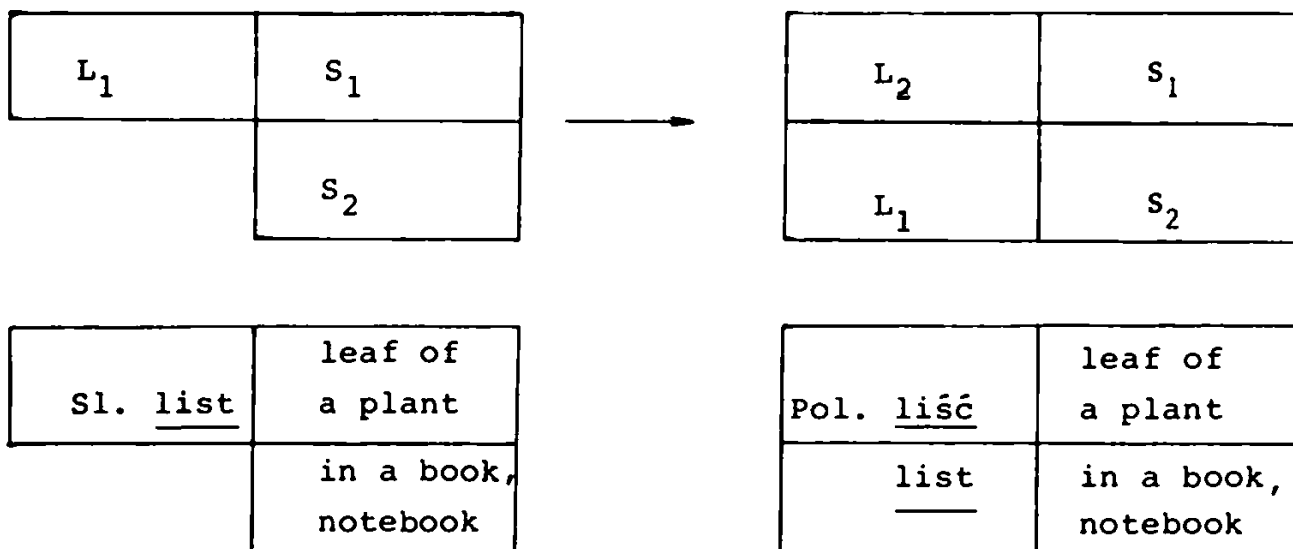
2. An important precondition of contrastive semasiology is
represented by the formation of a common metalanguage. The ful-
filment of this task will still require much effort. It is probab-
ly possible to adopt the opinion that the metalanguage for contrast-
ive semasiology is formed by semantic features, which are distinct-
ive at least in one of the contrasted languages (Gudavičius, 1985,
p. 50). Nevertheless, within contrastive semasiology we will not
study the proportional share of adequateness, i.e. structural
closeness of meanings, but their equivalencies, i.e. functional
closeness (similar structures of semantic features).

The poly-aspectual character of the wordstock is connected
with the fact that within contrastive and typological semasio-
logy it will also be adequate to apply a complex analysis on
the basis of various methodological approaches, as each of them
is directed at a certain aspect of the problems. The programme
of complex typological contrastive analysis of the wordstock
of Slavonic languages is outlined by A. Suprun in his contribu-
tion written for the Slavistic Congress in Kiev (Leksičeskaja ti-
pologija slavianskich jazykov /Lexical Typology of Slavic Langua-
ges/, 1983). He differentiates among confrontational research

(on the basis of equivalent tests), contrastive research (compa-
rison of the wordstocks of two languages aimed at finding their
identical and different features), and typological research (a
comparison aimed at revealing the general or frequent principles).

2.1. For the sake of illustration we will present several
elaborated procedures, and finally, we will add our own suggestion
for a working model.

Within contrastive research in the sphere of word-formation,
it was advised to study structural meanings and those elements
in them which could become the constituents of the semantic
structure of whole groups of words. As a general model of con-
frontation, there could serve the generally valid generative mo-
del of naming. From among the general rules there can be extract-
ed the rules for concrete word-formative types (Horecký, 1974).

The differential semantic features, often characteristic of
the whole wordstock of a given language, are determined with the
help of a newly-created system based on the found equivalence of
the confronted languages. In this way the semasiological and onoma-
siological characteristic features of the particular linguistic
systems are determined (Kollár, 1974).

However, there also exist works aimed at finding the typical
features in the semantic structure of the compared languages,
taking into consideration the quantitative characteristic featu-
res. Within the identification of the extent of differences, the
polysemic structures are compared, and the basic types of polysemic
lexemes are defined. The identical and differing structuredness is
investigated on the level of both language and speech (Filipec,
1971, 1985).

The possibility of comparing the semantic aspect of words with
the help of the metalinguistic description of the semantic struct-

ures in unrelated languages was successfully tested within the contrastive semasiology of Lithuanian and Russian (Gudavičius, 1985).

It revealed that some typical features in the development of the semantic structure of semantic fields, or the ways of expressing certain word-formative models, can also be analyzed within geographical areas. Also, material from both related and unrelated languages (belonging into one linguistic union) was analyzed (Blanár, 1984).

2.2. Of basic importance is the comparison of polysemic structures. In a polysemic structure one formative is bound with several, usually mutually connected meanings (sememes). The types of polysemantic words are usually determined according to the types of logical relationships between two sets. Hence, within the equivalent meanings of words in the compared languages there are differentiated relationships of identity (the semantic structure of the word is identical in both languages, $A = B$); of inclusion (two cases are possible here: 1) as to the number of sememes, the semantic structure of the language A is richer, $A \supset B$; 2) with regard to the number of sememes, the semantic structure of the word in the language B is richer, $B \supset A$; and of intersection (the word of the language A has some meanings which do not exist with its equivalent in the language B and vice versa, $A \cap B$). (Cf. Gudavičius, 1985, p.79; partially differing types of polysemantic equivalents are identified by J. Filipec, 1971, pp.221 et seq.).

Within the classification of polysemic structures, we also take into consideration the various features characteristic of the particular kinds (types) of meanings. B.J. Gorodeckij (1969, p.183) refers to the semantic types having a similar internal structure as models of sememes. As we pointed out at the beginning, within the particular meanings their intensional and extensional

aspects are taken into consideration as well as their utilizat-
ion in the text and communication. E.g. from both the synchronic-
al and the diachronical points of view, of a different linguistic
validity is the denotational meaning, when the denotate is once
represented by a thing typical of only a certain period (poriad-
ka /work obligation of the subjects with regard to the landlord/,
cech /guild/),or a thing with unchanging qualities (potok /brook/,
dub /oak/); of a different validity is word-formative meaning
(various cases from the structural to the lexical meanings);
a derived meaning which arose by onomasiological-semasiological
derivation (cf. the wide usage of metaphorical and metonymical
derivations); of a different validity is the structurally condi-
tioned meaning (treba sa ponáhľať - modal adverbial + infinitive
/it is necessary to hurry up/); or a semantic calque (modrý pon-
delok ← der blaue Montag /blue Monday/, ťažkopádny ← schwerfällig
/heavy-going/). That is why we consider it necessary to study
first the types of meanings, then the types of semantic structures,
and to indicate the place of the intensionally outlined type with-
in the functioning of language. This is the first task. Only then
do the very confrontation and analysis of the equivalent semantic
structures according to the basic logical relationships of equi-
valence follow. Hence, this second analytical procedure succeeds
the above listed three parts of the first procedure.

2.3. Types of Meanings

Basing our approach on the manuscripts of the first and
the second volumes of Historický slovník slovenského jazyka
(Historical Dictionary of the Slovak Language), on the data file
for this dictionary, and on our so-far produced lexical-semantic
studies, we have attempted to identify the typology of basic and
derived meanings. We have also taken into consideration mainly the

investigations and experiments of A.A. Ufimceva (1980), M.I.Fo-
mina (1978), N.M.Šanskij (1972), J. Filipec (1985), A. Gudavičius
(1985), and others. On the whole, our classification of semantic
types considers two basic nominational types (the lexical unit
as a sign of primary and secondary denotation), as well as the
application of the meaning within the text. Lexical meanings are
further classified with regard to the semantic motivation within
polysemy according to the word-formative motivation and with regard
to the genetic layers of words, as well as the contextual and
lexical compatibility.

Each semantic type is accompanied by characteristic features
concerning the following:

1. the prevailing semantic component (notionality - pragmatic
character);

2. the degree of stability in the linguistic development and
the position in the semantic structure (stylistically unmarked -
marked); and

3. the frequency of the semantic type.

The given parameters show the position of the intensionally
outlined semantic type in linguistic communication.

The preliminary typology is shown on the following page.

2.4. Nevertheless, it is necessary to remark that the above
scheme can be used as a matrix for the classification of nominal
lexical meanings (we have not dealt here with the typology of
relational, deictic, and interjectional meanings) only within
derived meanings (the second scheme and the following schemes)
of polysemantic structures. The meanings of monosemic words and
the base meanings of polysemic words are not further specified from
this point of view. It seems that within the classification of
lexical meanings it is necessary to base the analysis on the ge-
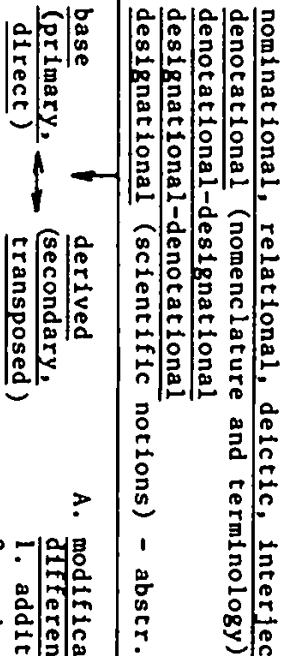
application of meaning in the text

of secondary denotation
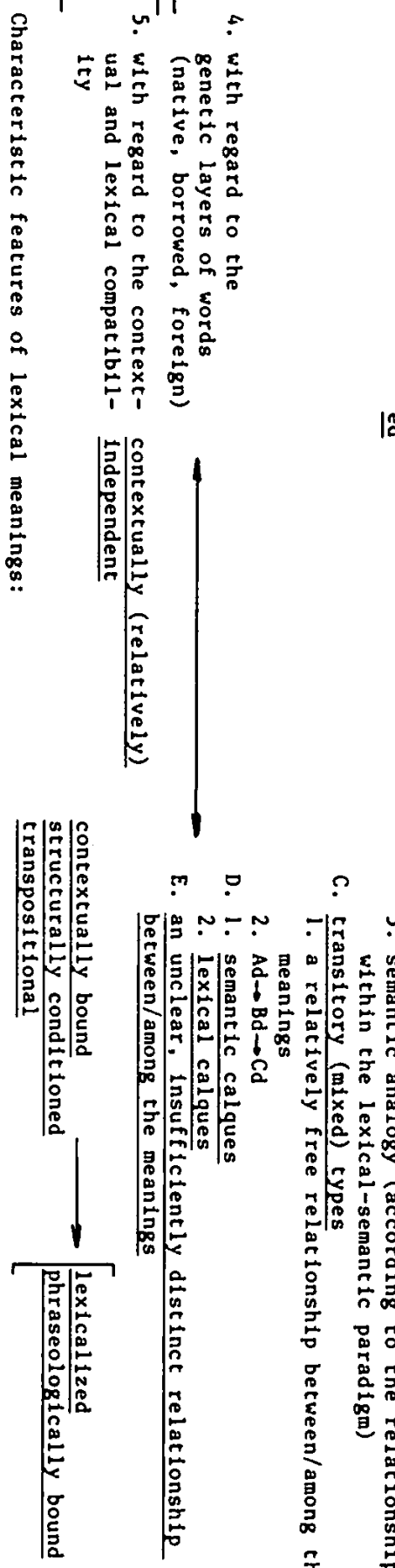
lexical unit as a sign of primary denotation

TYPES OF LEXICAL MEANINGS

Lexical meanings are classified:

1. according to the ways of nomination (grammatic-al-lexicological categor-ies)

   nominational, relational, deictic, interjectional
   denotational (nomenclature and terminology) - concr.
   denotational-designational
   designational-denotational
   designational (scientific notions) - abstr.

2. with regard to the semant-ic motivation within poly-semy

   base (primary, direct) ←→ derived (secondary, transposed)

3. according to the word-formative motivation

   word-formativ-ely unmotivat-ed ←→ word-formativ-ely motivated

A. modification of meaning by the change of the differentiating feature
   1. addition A→Ab, change Ab→Ac
   2. reduction Ab→A

B. change of meaning due to internal restructuring of genetic and differentiating features
   1. metaphorical transposition
   2. metonymical transposition
   3. converseness and enantiosemy
   4. separate (parallel) meaning (transition to homonymy)
   5. semantic analogy (according to the relationships within the lexical-semantic paradigm)

C. transitory (mixed) types
   1. a relatively free relationship between/among the meanings
   2. Ad→Bd→Cd

D. 1. semantic calques
   2. lexical calques

E. an unclear, insufficiently distinct relationship between/among the meanings

4. with regard to the genetic layers of words (native, borrowed, foreign)

   contextually (relatively) independent

5. with regard to the context-ual and lexical compatibil-ity

   contextually bound structurally conditioned transpositional

   lexicalized phraseologically bound

Characteristic features of lexical meanings:

1. the semantic component prevails

   notional

2. with regard to the development of language and the position in the semantic structure

   constant;central (stylistically unmarked)

   pragmatic

   unstable; marginal (stylistically marked)

3. frequency of the semantic type

neral semantic classes (we will refer to them as semantic arche-
types, cf. 2.5), which we delimit with regard to the following
aspects: a) whether the lexical units are one-sememe or more-seme-
me ones; b) whether their meaning is denotational or designational,
denotational-designational or designational-denotational, respect-
ively in the conception of A.A. Ufimceva, 1986[1]; and c) whether
the lexical unit is underived or derived. On the basis of these
criteria we distinguish lexical units which are non-segmentable
or segmentable into semantic features (i.e. the gnoseological-logic-
al elements of the intellectual reflection of the lowest abstract-
ion level have or have not been integrated into the lexical
meaning) and underived or derived lexical units, this applying
with monosemic lexical units (Ia, b, c, d), with the first sememe
of polysemic lexical units (IIa, b, c, d), with the second seme-
me and the other sememes of polysemic lexical units (IIIa, b, c,
d). We do not further subdivide the archetypes Ia, b, c, d and
IIa, b, c, d (on the archetypes of nominational meanings see
further). We are giving a more detailed specification of the deriv-
ed meanings of polysemic words (IIIa, b, c,d) according to the
above presented matrix (types of lexical meanings). However, within
the classification each of the particular meanings in groups I, II,
III is supplemented by the following indicators: 4 (a reference to
the genetic layer of the native, borrowed, and foreign words), 5
(a reference to the fact whether the meanings are contextually inde-
pendent or contextually bound and conditioned by construction) and
characteristics: 1 (according to the prevailing notional or pragma-
tic component), 2 (characteristics with regard to the development
of language; stable - unstable; and the position in the semantic
structure: central, i.e. stylistically unmarked, and marginal,
i.e. stylistically marked); the characteristics of the frequency

distribution **3** is given implicitly by presenting the lexeme.

The semantic types D/1, D/2 can be both base as well as derived;

they are the results of interference linguistic relationships.

On the whole, this is actually a typological and stylistic-frequ-

ential classification.

2.5. Archetypes of Nominational Meanings

I.   Monosemic lexical units

    a) monosemic, non-segmentable into semantic features (the

       content notion is not integrated into the lexical mean-

       ing), underived lexical units:

dn	
1 3	
ds	

<u>magnet</u>

(magnet)

denotational or designational,
word-formatively unmotivated
meanings

    b) monosemic with non-segmentable base, derived lexical

       units:

dn	
1 3	
ds	

<u>magnetický</u>

(magnetic)

denotational or designational,
word-formatively motived
meanings

    c) monosemic, segmentable into semantic features, underived

       lexical units:

dn-ds	
1 3	
ds-dn	

<u>víchor</u>

(gale)

denotational-designational or
designational-denotational,
word-formatively unmotivated
meanings

d) monosemic, with a segmentable basis, derived lexical
   units:

dn-ds	bytový	denotational-designational
1 3		or designational-denotational,
ds-dn	(apartmental)	word-formatively motivated
		meanings

II. Polysemic lexical units

a) the first sememe, non-segmentable into semantic features,
   underived lexical units:

dn	gotika	denotational or designational,
1 2 3		basic, word-formatively un-
ds	(Gothic)	motivated meanings

b) the first sememe, with a non-segmentable basis, derived
   lexical units:

dn	automatický	denotational or designational,
1 2 3		basic, word-formatively
ds	(automatic)	motivated meanings

c) the first sememe, segmentable into semantic features,
   underived lexical units:

dn-ds	stáť	denotational-designational
1 2 3		or designational-denotational,
ds-dn	(stand)	basic, word-formatively un-
		motivated meanings

d) the first sememe, with a segmentable basis, derived lexic-
al units:

dn-ds			bratstvo	denotational-designational or
1	2	3		designational-denotational,
ds-dn			(brotherhood)	basic, word-formatively
				motivated meanings

III. Within the archetypes IIIa, b, c, d the classification proceeds
according to the matrix "types of lexical meanings":

a) the second (and the following) sememe, non-segmentable
into semantic features, underived lexical units:

dn			gotika	denotational or designational,
1	2	3		derived, word-formatively un-
ds			(Gothic)	motivated meanings

b) the second (and the following) sememe, with non-segmentable
base, derived lexical units:

dn			automatický	denotational or designational,
1	2	3		derived, word-formatively
ds			(automatic)	motivated

c) the second (and the following) sememe, segmentable into
semantic features, underived lexical units:

dn-ds			stáť	denotational-designational
1	2	3		or designational-denotation-
ds-dn			(stand)	al, derived, word-formatively
				unmotivated meanings

d) the second (and the following) sememe, with a segmentable base, derived lexical units:

dn-ds		bratstvo	denotational-designational
1	2 3		or designational-denotation-
ds-dn		(brotherhood)	al, derived, word-formatively
			motivated meanings

3.1. The suggested procedure allows for working out a typology and on its basis a comparable frequency distribution of the semantic structure of the word, within the developmental stages of one language, as well as of various languages. On the basis of this procedure we have analyzed the semantic structure of the words conceived for the Historical Dictionary of the Slovak Language, and we have analyzed the words beginning in "A" in Bernolák´s Slowár (I, 1825). Some of the so-far existing observations can be generalized. Polysemic "non-nominational" lexical units have, on the average, a richer semantic structure than the polysemic nominational types non-segmentable into semantic components, it is important to know the named real phenomenon, more exactly its content notion, because the gnoseological-logical elements of the intellectual image have not been integrated into the lexical meanings. Within the polysemic lexical units (III) which we have so far analyzed, with the second (and the following) sememe in Bernolák and in the manuscript, or in the archival material of the Historical Dictionary of the Slovak Language, there exists a marked coincidence between/among the most frequent semantic types. When we evaluate the semantic types of derived polysemic words (IIIa, IIIb, IIIc, IIId) as a whole, most frequently there occurs metonymic transposition (B/2), then the modification of

meaning by the addition or by the change of specifying features (A/1), then the relatively independent meaning - a transition to homonymy (B/4), and a contextually bound, structurally condition- ed transpositional meaning (5). Stylistic-connotational and developmental characteristics help in the internal differentiat- ion of the particular semantic types. The analysis of the struct- ures having three, four or more meanings will reveal, in addition to the types of derived meanings, in what sequence these types develop the base meaning, or the subsequent semantic nuclei. E.g. when two identical derivational procedures are joined (meta- phor, metonymy), the metaphor or the metonymy is based on differ- ent motivations. Usually, the most markedly differentiated mean- ings are the last, the marginal ones. As to foreign and borrowed words, there is usually a lower semantic coherence. For more comp- lex semantic structures of relevance are mainly the number of semantic nuclei and the ways of developing them. It seems that in this way various so-far unrevealed relationships and tendencies can be identified.

3.2. The Contrasting of Polysemic Structures. The types of equivalences (identity - partial identity - difference) are, hence, identified not with the particular meanings, but with the types of meanings and types of semantic structures. The frequency para- meters and the characteristic features concerning the (contextual, stylistic) application of the semantic type are always taken into consideration. On the basis of the experience with processing the frequency distribution of the content models of the informal traditional personal names (Blanár - Matejčík, 1983), it can be claimed that for contrasting the various developmental stages of one language or of two or three different languages, it will be useful to work out, on the basis of the contemporary standard

literary language as the starting-point contrastive model, the
average parameters concerning the frequency, application in texts,
and historical stability of the types of meanings and semantic
structures. The markedly higher or lower parameters of the frequen-
cy-stylistic distribution will be indicators of a different valid-
ity of the semantic type in linguistic communication (in a certain
linguistic situation), on a certain developmental stage of the
given language, in the compared languages, etc. The contrastive
semasiological investigations in the indicated conception can
also be carried out within the framework of smaller lexical units,
e.g. within the framework of the particular word categories or
certain lexical-semantic categories (concrete nouns, abstract
nouns, names of persons, names of tools, qualitative adjectives,
verbs of motion, verbs of motionless position, etc.).

Note

[1] A.A. Ufimceva (1986) considers as decisive for the type of the sign meaning
the combinations of three components in the logical-object content of the word:
1. the notional feature (the significate); 2. the result of the sensual concept-
ion of the denoted (the denotate); and 3. the concrete real object (the refer-
ent). In the semiological classes of nouns she places at the very beginning
of concrete nouns with a clearly denotative meaning the nomenclatures and
terminological names (their content stems from the relationships in the de-
noted reality); the second pole with a clearly significative meaning is re-
presented by scientific notions (there exists no denotate). The lexical mean-
ing is segmented into the structures of semantic features within the semio-
logical classes which are marked by the presence of denotational-signification-
al and significational-denotational features. We consider such procedure
a reasonable one, as, e.g., it provides the possibility of explaining the

derivation of secondary lexical meanings by the semantization of extra-linguistic, content elements from the cognitive potential of the word (Blanár, 1988, p. 74). Nevertheless, the solution to this question cannot be considered completed yet.

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(Translated by A. Böhmerová)

LOGICAL PRINCIPLES OF THE ORGANIZATION OF WORDSTOCK[+]

JURAJ DOLNÍK

Our starting point is the thesis that classification, implication and presupposition are logical principles on which the organization of the wordstock is based. Classification relationships group words into certain classes, while within these classes the words fall into a relationship of contradictoriness, contrariness because in addition to the common (classifying) quality, they also have different features. The relationships of oppositions of words demonstrate the internal aspect of their classification relationships. Words from different classes are in a disjunctive relationship. Disjunctive relationships among words show the external aspects of their classification relationships. Hence, the classification relationship, as one of the logical principles of the organization of wordstock, has two aspects, i.e. the internal one (opposition) and the external one (disjunction).

Implication as the second logical principle of the organization of wordstock is based on the reflection of the relationship of dependence between the objects, between the object and its features, between the features of the object or between the whole and the part. Implication forms the logical basis of the semantic relationships between certain word-bases and their derivatives

[+]This article represents an elaborated version of the Slovak original published in Jazykovedný časopis, 36, 1985, pp. 120-130.

(the reason why we speak of certain word-bases and the derivati-
ves is that - as will be pointed out later - the semantic aspect
of derivation is, in many cases, based on the classification re-
lationship). However, the formal aspect of the relationship be-
tween the founding (base) and the derived words is based only on
the classification relationship. Thus, from the point of view of
form and meaning the relationship of foundation, in certain ca-
ses, has a classificative-implicative logical basis.

A more detailed analysis of implication showed that it is
necessary to differentiate the relationship which is denoted as
presupposition. On the basis of the investigation of this phenome-
non in relationship to the organization of the wordstock, we have
observed that certain words in the system are bound by means of
a presupposition relationship. In this article we shall analyze in
more detail the classification relationship and its impact upon
the organization of the wordstock. The influence of implication
will be only touched upon, and the presupposition relationship will
be illustrated in two types of examples.

As a word has both formal and the semantic aspects, it enters into
formal (F) and semantic (S) opposition relationships. On the for-
mal and the semantic levels it enters into privative (P) or equipo-
lent (E) oppositions, as well as into the opposition of identity
(I). Words which are not in opposition are in a disjunctive rela-
tionship (D) as they do not have any comparative basis, i.e. a com-
mon component. Thus through its formal component a word enters
into a formal privative opposition (FP) or a formal equipolent op-
position (FE), as well as into the opposition of formal identity
(FI). In addition to these relationships words are in the relation-
ship of formal disjunction (FD). Similarly, on the semantic level

we arrive at the semantic privative opposition (SP) or the seman-
tic equipolent opposition (SE), and also at the opposition of se-
mantic identity (SI). In addition to these oppositions words are
in a relationship of semantic disjunction (SD).

On both the formal and the semantic levels we find a set of
possible relationships with four elements: on the formal level the
set with the elements {FI, FP, FE, FD} and on the semantic level
the set with the elements {SI, SP, SE, SD}. With the help of the
Cartesian product we can establish the possible classificational
relationships between and among words in the wordstock. From the
product of {FI, FP, FE, FD} X {SI, SP, SE, SD} we can get the fol-
lowing 16 possible relationships (to provide a better survey we
shall represent the relationships in the form of fractions; the
numerator represents the formal aspect of the word and the denomina-
tor its semantic component):

$$\frac{FI}{SI} \quad \frac{FI}{SP} \quad \frac{FI}{SE} \quad \frac{FI}{SD} \quad \frac{FP}{SI} \quad \frac{FP}{SP} \quad \frac{FP}{SE} \quad \frac{FP}{SD} \quad \frac{FE}{SI} \quad \frac{FE}{SP} \quad \frac{FE}{SE} \quad \frac{FE}{SD} \quad \frac{FD}{SI} \quad \frac{FD}{SP} \quad \frac{FD}{SE} \quad \frac{FD}{SD}$$

Now we shall demonstrate which concrete cases from the clas-
sification relationships among words in the wordstock of Slovak
represent these elements from the Cartesian product.

$\frac{FI}{SI}$ = idionymy which means the identity of the word with itself.
This relationship determines the word as a unique element of the
wordstock, which represents a unique unity of a certain form and
a certain meaning.

$\frac{FI}{SP}$ = polysemy with a genus-species (specificational) or
species-genus (generalizational) relationship between the meanings,
e.g. človek (man): 1. an individual of the human race, a living
being able to think and work, 2. a human being with good qualities

(specification); lem (border): 1. trimming around the edge of a fabric, 2. edge in general (generalization).

$\frac{FI}{SE}$ = polysemy with a metaphorical type of relationship between the meanings and word-internal antonymy, i.e. enantiosemy (as to the types of relationships among meanings within polysemic words cf. Dolník, 1984), bežať (run): 1. move quickly, 2. be working, be in operation; slabosť (weakness): 1. somebody's weak aspect, 2. somebody's strong aspect (on enantiosemy in Slovak cf. Pisárčiková, 1980; in this book pp. 213-226).

$\frac{FI}{SD}$ = homonymy, e.g. hrada[1]: rough-hewn beam - hrada[2]: smaller garden bed for vegetables or flowers.

$\frac{FP}{SI}$ = phonetic and word-formative variants of words, e.g. kľukatý/kľukastý (winding), mokraď/ mokradina (moor). We can also include into this type of relationship certain cases of wordformative relationships within the framework of the transpositional type of the onomasiological category. The reason for this inclusion is the fact that transposition changes only the syntactic function of the source word while its lexical meaning remains intact (cf. Dokulil, 1982, p. 258). As we deal with the lexical-semantic relationships among words, while also paying attention to their formal relationships, we also include here relationships such as behať : beh (run : running), odletieť : odlet (fly away : departure). The discrepancy between the lexical-semantic identity and grammatical opposition (the source and the derived words differ in their word class, i.e. in their grammatical characteristics) is clearly manifested in those cases where the members of the relationship are formally in an equipolent situation (cf. the relationship of the type $\frac{FE}{SI}$).

$\frac{FP}{SP}$ = derivational relationship within which derivatives

represent a modificational type of the onomasiological category,

i.e. the category of diminutiveness (this category is inherent not

only in nouns but also in adjectives and adverbs derived from them,

as well as in verbs; the specific semantic category of diminutive-

ness in Slovak has been indicated by M. Pisárčiková, 1981), of

augmentativeness, of feminization, of names of the young, and of

collectiveness; in addition to the above phenomena, this group also

incorporates the relationship of certain prefixed words to the words

founding them, and the relationships adjective - prefixed adjective,

or noun - noun with a prefix. This concerns relationships such as,

e.g. strom : stromček (tree : little tree), vlk : vĺča (wolf : wolf

cub), obyvateľ : obyvateľstvo (inhabitant : inhabitants), liezť :

podliezť (crawl : crawl under), dávny : pradávny (old : ancient),

les : prales (forest : primeval forest). All the above cases can be

included, as it had been done by Dokulil (1962), into the modi-

ficational type of the onomasiological category in a wider sense.

$\frac{FP}{SE}$ = derivational relationship within which some derivatives

are of the mutational type of the onomasiological category, e.g.

plukovník : podplukovník (colonel : lieutenant-colonel) (common

component "officer's degree", differentiating components "first in

hierarchy", "second in hierarchy"); these cases also include cer-

tain antonyms, e.g. významný : bezvýznamný (important : unimportant).

$\frac{FP}{SD}$ = coincidental formal similarity of words; this phenomenon

is sometimes denoted as paronymy, and it includes relationships such

as sad : úsad (orchard : pains in the back), hrana : rana (edge :

wound), etc. (Mistrík, 1985, pp. 131-132). However, the lexicologi-

cal analysis of this phenomenon has shown that paronyms proper are

those words which are in a formal-semantic equipolent opposition (cf. later); they also include certain cases of homonymous morphemes, or demotivated derivatives, e.g. boj : príboj (fight : surf), stroj : výstroj (machine : equipment).

$\frac{FE}{SI}$ = phonetic and word-formative variants of words trocha/ trochu (a little), bunečný/bunkový (cellular); if we disregard the minute differences of meaning, we can also include here paronymical synonyms, e.g. nastrašený : vystrašený (frightened) (cf. Benkovičová - Dolník, 1986); this type also includes synonyms which have a non-identical root morpheme, e.g. popud : pohnútka (impulse : motive); finally, this group includes cases from the transpositional type of onomasiological category, e.g. rýchly : rýchlosť (speedy : speed), myslieť : myslenie (think : thinking), hore : horný (up /wards/ : upper).

$\frac{FE}{SP}$ = the relationship between the members of the word-formative type within which one of the members has a generic relationship to the other members, e.g. robotník : zámočník (worker : locksmith), robotník : sústružník (worker : turner).

$\frac{FE}{SE}$ = paronymy including morphematic and phonemic paronyms, e.g. rozumový : rozumný (mental : clever), chrapčať : chrochtať (sound hoarse : grunt); this type is also represented by paronymic antonyms, e.g. odkvitnúť : rozkvitnúť (end of blossoming : come into bloom), zlomyseľný : dobromyseľný (malicius : goodnatured); also included here are relationships between the members of a certain word-formative type, e.g. chodec : bežec (pedestrian : runner).

$\frac{FE}{SD}$ = coincidental formal relatedness of words (cf. with the relationship $\frac{FP}{SD}$/, e.g. mrak : drak (cloud : drake), dať : mať (give : have); this type also includes derivatives with a homonymous word-

formative base and differing word-formants, e.g. <u>krajný</u> : <u>krajový</u> (extreme : regional).

$\dfrac{SD}{SI}$ = absolute synonymy, without any formal relatedness, e.g. <u>vábiť</u> : <u>lákať</u> (lure : entice).

$\dfrac{FD}{SP}$ = genus-species relationship (hyperonymy, or hyponymy) without any formal relatedness, e.g. <u>pohyb</u> : <u>beh</u> (motion : running), <u>pohyb</u> : <u>chôdza</u> (motion : walking); this type also includes privative synonymy without any formal relatedness (including stylistic synonymy), e.g. <u>pekný</u> : <u>nádherný</u> (nice : beautiful).

$\dfrac{FD}{SE}$ = relationship between words denoting species (cohyponymy) without any formal relatedness, e.g. <u>beh</u> : <u>chôdza</u> (running : walking); this type of relationship also includes antonymy and equipolent synonymy without any formal relatedness, e.g. <u>vysoký</u> : <u>nízky</u> (high : low), <u>tulák</u> : <u>dobrodruh</u> (wanderer : adventurer).

$\dfrac{FD}{SD}$ = multiple idionymy (cf. relationship $\dfrac{FI}{SI}$).

The presented survey of the relationships of formal oppositions of words to their semantic oppositions (with regard to disjunction on both levels) shows that in the wordstock of Slovak we find all the theoretically possible relationships. From the survey it can easily be seen in which parts of the wordstock there is symmetry and in which there is asymmetry between the formal and semantic oppositions. We speak of a symmetrical relationship when the same kind of semantic opposition corresponds to a certain kind of formal opposition, or when formal disjunction corresponds to semantic disjunction, i.e. when there is an isomorphic relationship between the formal and the semantic levels. Total symmetry is represented by the relationships $\dfrac{FI}{SI}$, $\dfrac{FD}{SD}$, $\dfrac{FP}{SP}$, $\dfrac{FE}{SE}$, total asymmetry by the relationships $\dfrac{FI}{SD}$ and $\dfrac{FD}{SI}$, as the relationship of total identity on the one level corresponds to total difference on the other level. Between total

symmetry and total asymmetry we find the other relationships which represent the cases of incomplete symmetry and partial symmetry. Incomplete symmetry is represented by the relationships $\frac{FI}{SP}$, $\frac{FP}{SI}$, $\frac{FP}{SE}$, $\frac{FE}{SP}$, as the members of these relationships are related oppositions: the opposition of identity corresponds to privative opposition, or privative opposition corresponds to equipolent opposition. The relatedness of these oppositions lies in the fact that the mutually related oppositions differ only in the fact that in one opposition there is one additional differentiating feature in contrast to the related opposition. Partial asymmetry is represented by the relationships $\frac{FI}{SE}$, $\frac{FE}{SI}$, $\frac{FP}{SD}$, $\frac{FD}{SP}$, $\frac{FD}{SE}$, $\frac{FE}{SD}$, and the members of these relationships are unrelated oppositions, or else opposition and disjunction. The lower degree of asymmetry is formed by the relationship between the opposition of identity and equipolent opposition ($\frac{FI}{SE}$, $\frac{FE}{SI}$); equipolency differs from identity more markedly than privativity, hence we speak here of unrelatedness of oppositions. While in this case, on the formal and the semantic levels, relationships of the same type correspond to each other (only the kinds of relationships within this type do not correspond to each other), in the other four cases $-\frac{FP}{SD}$, $\frac{FD}{SP}$, $\frac{FD}{SE}$, $\frac{FE}{SD}$ $-$ the opposition on one level corresponds to disjunction on the other level, i.e. relationships of a different type correspond to each other, and thus these relationships represent a higher degree of asymmetry. It is evident that the closest to total asymmetry are the relationships $\frac{FP}{SD}$, $\frac{FD}{SP}$, as privative opposition is the closest one to the opposition of identity which, with regard to disjunction, forms total asymmetry. The above presented analysis of the given relationships allows us to see clearly the relationships of total and incomplete isomorphism, or the relationships of total and partial heteromorphy between the formal and the semantic levels of the wordstock.

Let us now ask the question what the organization of words in the wordstock is from the point of view of the mutual relatedness of their formal and semantic classification relationships (we shall label this mutual relatedness as correlation and we shall state that, e.g. the relationship $\frac{FI}{SI}$ is a correlation which differs, e.g., from the correlation $\frac{FI}{SE}$. Obviously, the points of support of the supposed ordered character of words are represented by the relationships of total symmetry and total asymmetry. The set of correlations is sub-divided into five sequences on the basis of two criteria:

1. on one level there occurs only one kind of relationship (either a certain type of opposition, or disjunction), 2. correlations in the progress from total symmetry to total asymmetry, while the sequence of correlations depends on the degree of their relatedness. On the basis of these criteria the correlations form the following sequences:

1. $\frac{FI}{SI}$, $\frac{FI}{SP}$, $\frac{FI}{SE}$, $\frac{FI}{SD}$ = asymmetrizing sequence

2. $\frac{FD}{SD}$, $\frac{FE}{SD}$, $\frac{FP}{SD}$, $\frac{FI}{SD}$ = asymmetrizing sequence

3. $\frac{FD}{SD}$, $\frac{FD}{SE}$, $\frac{FD}{SP}$, $\frac{FD}{SI}$ = asymmetrizing sequence

4. $\frac{FP}{SI}$, $\frac{FP}{SE}$, $\frac{FP}{SP}$ = symmetrizing sequence

5. $\frac{FE}{SI}$, $\frac{FE}{SP}$, $\frac{FE}{SE}$ = symmetrizing sequence

The particular sequences represent either asymmetrization (heteromorphization) or symmetrization (homomorphization). It is necessary to stress that these terms denote neither diachronical nor synchronical processes in the wordstock, but they are related to certain principles of the organization of the wordstock. This remark also involves the terms polysemization, homonymization, synonymization and paronymization, which we are going to apply when analyzing in detail the particular sequences of correlations.

In the first sequence the correlations are arranged in such a way that they proceed from idionymy to polysemy, and then to homonymy, and this sequence is labelled as polysemization, the border of which is homonymy.

In the second sequence the words are arranged so that they proceed from idionymy to formally related words, and then to homonyms. The sequence from multiple idionymy to formally related words within semantic disjunction is labelled as homonymization, the border of which is homonymy. The correlations $\frac{FP}{SD}$, $\frac{FE}{SD}$ include homonymized words, i.e. words which share with homonyms the relationship of semantic disjunction, and between their formal and semantic aspects there exists the relationship of heteromorphy.

The third sequence is represented by the progression from multiple idionymy to semantically related words, and from them to cases of identity of meaning within formal disjunction; this sequence is labelled as synonymization. The bordering cases of synonymization are absolute synonyms.

In the fourth and the fifth sequences the progression of correlations is based on the principle of symmetrization of the relationship between the formal and the semantic levels. Part of this sequence is labelled as paronymization, and the words mutually related in this sequence are called paronymized words. Paronymized words include a considerably wide range of words whose common feature is a certain formal and semantic relatedness. With regard to the varied degree of relatedness we differentiate paronymic synonyms and paronymic antonyms, paronyms (proper) and paronymized words in a narrower sense (a thorough analysis of this issue is presented in the article Benkovičová - Dolník, 1986). The initial correlations in these sequences - $\frac{FP}{SI}$, $\frac{FE}{SI}$ - represent the variants of words which

are outside of paronymization, and form its pre-stage (they are in a relationship of semantic identity, and not relatedness, as is the case with paronymical words).

We can see that on the basis of the classification principle the wordstock is organized into polysemizing, homonymizing, synonymizing and paronymizing sequences. It stems from our analysis that the classifying principle forms not only basis for non-derivational relationships (homonymy, synonymy, antonymy, paronymy, hypero-hyponymy, cohyponymy), but also the basis of some derivational relationships, explicitly those which include the transpositional and modification types of the onomasiological category. The fact that within transposition we do not come across the onomasiological category in the strict sense of the word has already been stressed by M. Dokulil (1962) who pointed out that it is not a question of naming a new phenomenon with regard to an already named phenomenon but rather an already named phenomenon is included into a certain word category. From the point of view of the logical principles of the organization of the wordstock, our argumentation for the above is that the basis of transposition is formed by the classificational relationship, while word-formation, which results in a new lexical-semantic unit, is based on the implication principle. The derivational relationships within the framework of the modification type of the onomasiological category also do not represent the formation of completely new lexical-semantic units, as derivatives only modify the word-bases, hence they are only modifications of the basic lexical-semantic units.

With regard to the word-bases, completely new lexical-semantic units are represented by derivatives belonging to the mutational type of the onomasiological category. The formation of these derivatives is based on the logical principle of implication.

The ontological basis of derivation within this type of onomasio-
logical category is represented by a certain dependence, i.e. a
certain mutual influence of the denotates. In addition to derivation
within this delimitation, implication also forms the logical basis
of the converse relationship (cf. predávať - kupovať (sell - buy):
if X sells then Y buys; if Y buys then X sells; on the question of
converseness in Slovak cf. Ondrejovič, 1982). Hence, from the point of
view of the logical principles of the organization of the wordstock,
converseness is classified within derivation in the framework of the
mutational type of the onomasiological category.

So far the presupposition principle of the organization of the
wordstock has scarcely been studied at all. We dealt with this is-
sue in a separate study (Dolník, 1986). Here we shall restrict
ourselves to the illustration of two types of this relationship.
In the presuppositional relationship there are words within which
the lexical meaning of one word is presupposed by the sense proper
of another word, or within which the lexical meaning of one word
functions as a presupposition component for the meaning of another
word, while both words belong to the same word category. On the basis
of this semantic relatedness the word of a certain class presupposes
another word of the same class, or a certain word is presupposed by
another word. We say, e.g., that the word zobudiť /niekoho/ (wake
somebody up) presupposes the word spať (sleep), and thus the words
zobudiť and spať are in a relationship of presupposition.

The first type of presuppositional relationship is connected
with a hyperonym and its hyponyms. It is known that within the ap-
plication of words in speech in certain contexts one of their se-
mantic components is stressed and the other goes into the background.
If we start from the fact that lexical meaning includes the identi-
fication component and the specification seme or semes (this is an

analogy with the logical structure genus proximum - differentia specifica), we can observe that with the application of the given word in certain contexts, sometimes the identification component, and sometimes the specification seme gains communicative relevance. When the communicative relevance is gained by a specific seme, the identification component acts as a presuppositional component of the lexical meaning in the utterance. If the identification component is communicatively relevant, it forms the constituent of the very (ascertained) meaning of the given word. Let us compare the sentences: 1. Zastrelili ho. (They shot him dead.) 1.1. Nezastrelili ho, len ho poranili na hlave. (They did not shoot him dead, they only wounded his head.) 2. Nezaškrtili ho, ako sme sa najprv domnievali, ale ho zastrelili. (They did not strangle him, as we had supposed earlier, but they shot him dead.) 2.1. Nezastrelili ho, ako sme sa najprv domnievali, ale ho zaškrtili. (They did not shoot him dead, as we had supposed earlier, but they strangled him.) In sentences 1. and 1.1. the identifying component is communicatively relevant, it represents the constituent of the asserted meaning, which is proved by the negative sentence 1.1.- the component "usmrtiť" (kill) is negated. In sentences 2. and 2.1. the specifying component linked with the identifying component is shifted into the background and it has acquired the status of presupposition - negation does not affect this component, and in both cases it is true that somebody was killed. It is obvious that the identifying component acquires a presuppositive character in the contexts in which the semantic opposition is represented by words delimited by this component, i.e. hyponyms. Of course, in these contexts the hyponym cannot be replaced by the corresponding hyperonym (in sentences 2. and 2.1. the word zastreliť /shoot dead/ cannot be replaced by the word usmrtiť /kill/), while in contexts without such a semantic opposition this replacement is possible (with the relevant generalization of meaning). Hence, the

hyperonym is the paradigmatic marker of the basic differentiation of the application of hyponyms in speech - of the application in contexts (a) in which they are in a semantic opposition, and in contexts (b) without this opposition. While in contexts (b) the identifying and specifying components of the lexical meaning of hyponyms do not acquire a specific status, in contexts (a) the lexical meaning of hyponyms splits into the presuppositional (identification component) and the proper (ascertained) components of meaning (specifying component). This means that only with regard to the contexts of type (a) it is true that the hyperonym, which is repre-sented by the lexicalized identification component, is in a rela-tionship of presupposition with regard to hyponyms. A hyperonym is in a presupposition relationship to the hyponyms, which are in a relationship of opposition, but not to the particular hyponyms taken separately. The hyperonym explicitly expresses the presupposed component of the lexical meaning of the hyponyms used in a context in which hyponyms are in a semantic opposition. E.g. the word usmr-tiť (kill) is in a relationship of presupposition to the words zastreliť : zaškrtiť (shoot dead : strangle). The relationship of presupposition is a manifestation of the fact that in a semantic opposition hyponyms represent a potential context of a certain type, i.e. such a set of possible contexts in which the identification component of hyponyms represents the presupposition component of their meaning.

The second type is represented by lexical presuppositions which are linked with the logical-semantic compatibility of certain verbs with nouns in the position of their valency complements. The verbs odpovedať - pýtať sa (answer - ask) illustrate the presupposition relationship from the sphere of the meaning of verbs delimited by the logical-semantic relationship "give a stimulus for a potential

reaction" - "react upon a stimulus in a certain way". Into this sphere there belong, e.g., the pairs of verbs <u>reagovať</u> - <u>podnecovať</u> (react - instigate), <u>odmietnuť</u> - <u>ponúknuť</u> (refuse - offer), <u>vrátiť</u> - <u>dať</u> (return - give), <u>odpísať</u> - <u>napísať</u> (copy - write), <u>obhajovať</u> <u>sa</u> - <u>obviňovať</u> (defend oneself - accuse), etc. Another semantic group of verbs which presuppositionally bind to themselves other verbs, is represented by liquidatives, i.e. words with the common meaning "exert such an impact that stops a certain state or action". E.g. the pairs of verbs <u>zobudiť</u> - <u>spať</u> (wake up - sleep), <u>zhasnúť</u> - <u>svietiť</u> (switch off the light - have the light on), <u>zobrať</u> - <u>mať</u> (take - have), <u>usmrtiť</u> - <u>žiť</u> (kill - live), <u>pokaziť</u> - <u>fungovať</u> (spoil - function) are in a relationship of presupposition. We have presented examples in which the lexicalized presupposed meanings were related to the contextual semantic feature of nouns occupying the position of the affected valency complement of verbs (the variable Y). However, there also exist presupposition relationships between the hyperordinate verbs of nouns and the verbs expressing the feature belonging to nouns in the position of a source complement of the superordinate verb (variable X). This case is represented, e.g., by the pairs of verbs <u>splácať</u> - <u>dlhovať</u> (pay installments - owe), <u>ospravedlňovať sa</u> - <u>previniť sa</u> (excuse oneself - commit some offence), <u>opakovať</u> - <u>povedať</u> (repeat - say), <u>vrátiť</u> - <u>dostať</u> (return - get), <u>zaplatiť</u> - <u>kúpiť</u> (pay - buy), etc.

By an explicit verbalization of the presupposed component we construct presuppositionally bound propositions, e.g. X slept and Y woke him up; X slept but Y woke him up; X slept but Y did not wake him up; although X slept, Y did not wake him up. The utterances, the logical bases of which are represented by propositions bound in this way, show that the presupposition verbs denote actions which, with regard to the states or actions denoted by the presup-

posed verbs, are understood as reactions upon a certain stimulus. Actions understood as reactions obligatorily bind to themselves states or actions which evoke them. The actions understood as reactions are or are not carried out only in relationship to the actions or states understood as their stimuli. On this logical basis the presupposition relationships among the verbs which denote actions or states understood as stimuli, represent the presupposed component of the lexical meaning of the verbs denoting actions which are understood as reactions.

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(Translated by A. Böhmerová)

WORD-INTERNAL ANTONYMY[+]

MÁRIA PISÁRČIKOVÁ

O. In spite of the fact that antonymy is one of the basic semantic categories, Slovak linguistic literature has not paid systematic attention to it so far. It is briefly mentioned in lexicological works in connection with the search for a system in the wordstock: in practical lexicography antonymy is used, as a rule - together with synonymy, homonymy and polysemy - for clarifying or specifying the meanings of words, and in stylistics attention is paid to it with regard to the description of the various stylistic means such as hyperbole, irony, etc. (Mistrík, 1969, p. 225). However, so far there does not exist any detailed theoretical and material analysis of this phenomenon in Slovak, nor does there exist any relevant classification - whether from the point of view of structure, semantics, or the character of the oppositeness itself. Although antonymy (as in fact many other linguistic categories) is manifested in each language in a unique, unrepeatable way and thus helps to form the specific character of the given language, we can, on the general level of classification, note also phenomena identical with the situation in other languages. Our research being based on the results of the considerably wide investigation of Russian antonymy (above all Novikov, 1973; Komissarov, 1957), we shall use its elaborate classification, and we shall pay considerable attention to the specific type of opposition based on opposite meanings

of a word, i.e. on word-internal antonymy.

O.1. L.A. Novikov (1973, p. 159) in his detailed semantic analysis of oppositeness in the wordstock from the point of view of structural analysis identifies three types of antonyms: 1. antonyms with a different root (lexical antonyms), e.g. veselý (cheerful - smutný (sad), vysoký (high) - nízky (low), dobre (well) - zle (badly), deň (day) - noc (night), dať (give) - brať (take); lexical antonyms are represented, above all, by adjectives, adverbs, nouns and verbs; 2. antonyms with a common root (grammatical antonyms) within which the meaning of oppositeness is expressed by various affixal morphemes, mainly verbal prefixes, e.g. pribehnúť (run up to) - odbehnúť (run away from), nedoceniť (underrate) - preceniť (overrate), vsunúť (slip in) - vysunúť (slip out), spokojný (satisfied) - nespokojný (dissatisfied), zásadový (principled) - bezzásadový (unprincipled) (Pisárčiková, 1974), and finally, 3. enantiosemy (i.e. the oppositeness of meanings within one word) expressed by syntactic and lexical means in context, e.g. požičať peniaze niekomu (lend money to somebody) - požičať si peniaze od niekoho (borrow money from somebody).

1. We are going to pay attention here to the third structural type of antonymically expressing semantic relationships. Its basis is represented by enantiosemy (in German "Enantiosemie" or "Gegensinn", in Russian "enantiosimija"), i.e. the capacity of the word to express both of the polar, opposite meanings. V. Blanár (1961, p. 202; 1978, p.92) labels the words that have an opposite negative structure, i.e. those which denote "both a positive and a negative notion, both the beginning and the end, etc." with the term vox media. From history he gives the example plat which meant "poplatok" (fee) and at the same time also "príjem, dôchodok" (income, pension). The semantic oppositeness of words of type paskudník (rascal) has been

pointed out by F. Kočiš (1972, p. 390). Within enantiosemy the oppositeness is not expressed by different words (lexical antonyms) or by different affixes placing words with the same basis into a relationship of polarity (word-formative antonyms), but is comprised inside the word, within its semantic structure. The formal, external aspect of expressing oppositeness is represented (replaced) here by the context, i.e. the lexical environment into which the given word enters, as well as by the syntactic links with other words. As an example L.A. Novikov gives the word (p. 182) odolžiť which in Russian with komu-nibuď means - give as a loan, i.e. lend, and with u kogo-nibuď means - take as a loan, i.e. borrow. In this case the relationship of opposition is expressed by syntactic constructions (komu, u kogo). This example from Russian documents, at the same time the fact that antonymical relationships are carried out in different ways in different languages. Namely, in Slovak the words požičať (lend) - požičať si (borrow) form a pair of word-formative antonyms, as the independent derivative morpheme (the reflexive pronoun si) changes the meaning so much that it is placed into a direct opposition with the basic word: požičať niekomu peniaze means: to give or offer money for a certain time while požičať si peniaze (e.g. from a bank) means the opposite: to take money from, ask for money for a certain time.

1.1. Enantiosemy providing conditions for the existence of a specific structural type of antonymy - the so-called word-internal antonymy - is far from being such a frequent linguistic phenomenon as lexical, grammatical or word-formative antonymies. Nevertheless, the former is neither a marginal nor a completely non-productive phenomenon. Novikov (1973, p. 192) considers it non-productive in the contemporary language), as it is connected namely

with polysemy as a very vivid and changeable lexical category.
Two polar meanings of the same word are actually the extreme
points of polysemy and they often stand at the border of the dis-
integration of a word into homonyms. The causes of the rise of op-
posite meanings of polysemantic words must be seen in the per-
petual development of human thought and in the need to differen-
tiate the shades of meaning that can even lead to oppositeness.
Before our eyes there is now taking place, e.g., the semantic po-
larization of the word slabosť (weakness) (and of the phrase sla-
bá stránka - weak point). The statement telocvik je mojou slabosťou
(slabou stránkou) (physical education is my weak point) can be
interpreted in two ways, depending on what meaning will be ascri-
bed to the word slabosť (or the phrase slabá stránka): a) I have
problems with physical education (as a school subject), I don't
like to do physical exercises, I don't like physical education,
etc.; b) my favourite school subject is p.e., I like to do physi-
cal exercises, I like physical education. The situation is similar
in the sentence Hudba je jeho slabá stránka (slabosť) (Music is his
weak point): a) music represents a vulnerable place in his know-
ledge, he is not very well versed in music; b) music is his hobby,
he likes it and, hence, he is well versed in it. At first it would
seem that such semantic oppositeness of a word (or of a phrase)
could hamper communication. Nevertheless, this is not the case,
as the wider context - the communicative situation - functions as
an identifying factor of the meaning. The reason for the rise of
antonymic meanings with the word slabosť can be found within its
belonging among synonymical and antonymical relationships. The
basic meaning of the word slabosť is "lack of something, lack of
physical or mental abilities". The synonyms for denoting this ne-
gative quality are "vulnerability, weakness, weak spot". However,

if somebody has developed abilities in something, as well as an extreme interest in it, the field represents his strong point. This "strong point" can, from a different aspect, be judged as a "weakness for something", as a "vulnerable place", a "weak spot" in the sense of emotional or hobby attachment to something. The phrase "vulnerable place" functions sometimes as a synonym of weakness, weak point, sometimes as a synonym of a strong point (an interest in something). The fact of being bound with a common synonym (although motivated in a different way) causes a further shift, namely that a hobby (i.e. a strong point) becomes a weakness. And consequently in the word slabosť (weakness) there exist two opposite meanings.

In the given case antonymy was externally expressed by the context situation. The syntactic means (different phrases) formally represent word-internal antonymy, e.g. with the word trpieť (suffer) which in contemporary spoken Slovak acquires a meaning opposite to the originally established meaning "be afflicted with" or "have some negative quality" with the construction čím, na čo: trpieť nespavosťou, bolesťami, velikášstvom (suffer from insomnia, from pain, from megalomania), trpieť na srdce, na komplex menejcennosti (suffer from heart problems, from inferiority complex). The some word has an opposite meaning with the phrase na koho, na čo in the sense "give priority to somebody or something, prefer somebody or something, have a soft spot for somebody or something": trpieť na pekné ženy (have a soft spot for pretty women), trpieť na dobré jedlo (have a soft spot for good food, to like good food). It is true that the construction difference within the antonymy of the verb trpieť (suffer) is only partial (trpieť čím, na čo - trpieť na koho, na čo) while there can be noted a certain differentiation: the construction čím is typical of the original meaning,

while the construction <u>na čo</u> is rather delimited to the meaning
"give priority to". The partial difference of these constructions
is supplemented by semantic compatibility: the verb <u>trpieť</u> in the
sense "be afflicted by" is connected with nouns expressing nega-
tive states (illness, pain, megalomania), while in the opposite
sense, i.e. "give priority to, be fond of" the verb <u>trpieť</u> is com-
patible with nouns expressing positive values. Hence, the opposite
meaning of the verb is also a consequence of the opposite evalua-
tion of the object of verbal action.

2. The character of word-internal antonymy is very varied,
but in spite of that it is possible to identify two basic groups:
word-internal lexical and word-formative antonyms. Finally, we can
also speak about speech (contextual) word-internal antonymy.

2.1. The rise of lexical word-internal antonymy is closely
connected with the history of the words. This can be observed,
e.g., with the meaning of the root of the word <u>zápach</u> (smell). In
contemporary standard literary language the word <u>pach</u> also has
two opposite meanings. In Slovník slovenského jazyka (Dictionary
of the Slovak Language) III, p. 10 this word is explained as
"<u>zápach alebo prenikavá vôňa</u>" (smell or strong odour), while
only the collocability of the words indicates which meaning is
intended: in the phrases <u>pach spoteného tela</u>, <u>pach krvi</u> the mean-
ing "smell, stench (of a sweating body, of blood)" is the relevant
one, while, on the other hand, <u>príjemný pach z kuchyne</u> (a pleasant
smell from the kitchen) means "aroma". The situation is different
with the derived word <u>zápach</u> where the meanings have already be-
come more differentiated. Here the basic meaning is, firstly (we
list the meanings according to Slovník slovenského jazyka V, p. 491),
"<u>nepríjemný, odpudzujúci pach, smrad</u>" (unpleasant, repulsive smell,

stench): "hnilobný zápach" (putrid smell or stench), "zápach
zdochliny" (the smell of a carcass), "zápach spálených vlasov"
(the smell of burnt hair);as an archaic meaning there is, secondly,
listed the meaning "príjemný pach, vôňa" (pleasant smell, odour,
fragrance): príjemný zápach lipového kvetu (pleasant fragrance
of linden blossoms /Laskomerský/). It seems that originally many
words did not have meanings which were so differentiated and they
expressed certain phenomena generally (pach, zápach "smell" indi-
cated in general the phenomenon distinctly affecting the organs
of smell, and only later was its impact differentiated into the
pleasant one - vôňa "aroma, fragrance" - and the unpleasant one -
zápach, smrad "smell, stench"), although the history of languages
seems to provide as more common a phenomenon which is actually con-
trary to the above mentioned one.

2.1.1. The oppositeness of the meanings of a word as a result
of the originally non-differentiated activity can also be noted
with the verbs postlať and ustlať. The dictionary Slovník sloven-
ského jazyka (III, p. 326, and IV, p. 713) explains both verbs by
the periphrasis "upraviť lôžko na spanie alebo po spaní" (make
the bed before or after sleeping). When denoting this activity
neither the goal nor the result of the activity or its closer spe-
cification are taken into account, although the activity concerned
is about as contrary as to open a door or to close it. The proof
of such oppositeness of the meanings of the verbs postlať and
ustlať is represented by the existence of antonyms with an opposite
prefix: odostlať (i.e. prepare the bed for sleeping) and zastlať
(i.e. make the bed after it had been slept in). In monolingual
dictionaries this semantic oppositeness should also be manifested
in the semantic analysis of the verbs postlať and ustlať, e.g.
also because of the fact that such current phraseological construc-

tions as <u>ako si kto postelie, tak bude ležať</u> or <u>ako si ustelieš,</u> <u>tak budeš ležať</u> (as you make your bed, so must you lie on it) refer only to one of the meanings of these verbs (the meaning "prepare the bed for sleeping in").

2.1.2. A marked semantic oppositeness is also comprised within the defective verb that is used only in the imperative: <u>hybaj/</u> <u>hybajte!</u> This verb, on the one hand, expresses the instruction for leaving <u>choď, choďte</u> (go /away/; motion in the direction away from the given place), on the other hand, the instruction <u>poď, poďte</u> (come /here/; in the direction closer to the speaker). Only its usage in context (usually in constructions with adverbs or adverbial phrases) shows what meaning is relevant here: <u>hybaj ta</u> = <u>choď</u> (go there), <u>hybaj sem</u> = <u>poď</u> (come here). The word <u>hybaj</u> is also used as an interjection (the dictionary Slovník slovenského jazyka, I, p. 546 qualifies it in this function as a homonym), but it is noteworthy that as an interjection it only expresses the motion away from something or somebody.

2.1.3. A further instance of the rise of word-internal antonymy is represented by a metonymical shift of meaning. The word <u>obeť</u> (sacrifice) in its original meaning represents something that is given willingly, as a present, and is a token of respect, gratitude, plea, etc. Due to a shift of meaning this word has acquired an opposite meaning which can be expressed by the synonym <u>korisť</u> (prey, victim, spoils, booty). Thus it is no more a sacrifice given voluntarily as a gift, but it is something that was acquired by somebody by violence, that was usurped (i.e. prey, victim, spoils, booty), e.g. <u>padnúť za obeť nepriateľovi</u> (fall prey to the enemy), <u>obeť vojny</u> (victim of war), <u>vrhnúť sa na svoju obeť</u> (attack one's prey or victim), etc.

2.1.4. Semantic oppositeness within the framework of one word

can sometimes also be a result of various coincidental factors such as misunderstanding, false etymologization, the influence of other languages, etc. This is also documented by the meanings of the word sporý. In Slovak (as well as in Czech) this word originally meant the same as the words výdatný (abundant), hojný (plentiful, ample), obsažný (comprehensive) or zdatný (sturdy), e.g. drobný, no sporý dážď (rain falling in small but plentiful drops), malé, ale sporé kroky (short but numerous steps), sporý chlap (a sturdy man), sporá reč (comprehensive speech). However, within literary style, in addition to this generally used meaning, there started to appear the directly opposite meaning of this word: "slabý, nevýdatný, chabý, nepočetný" (weak, not ample, poor, scarce, scanty), e.g. sporé svetlo (weak light), sporé správy (scarce news), sporý prejav (scanty speech or demonstration). The rise of this opposite meaning is considered to be related to the influence of the German word sparen (save), but there also exists the explanation that the situation can be a result of a misunderstanding stemming from the fact that the adjective sporý often occurred with names of opposite qualities (minute, small, but sturdy), and finally its meaning started to be identified with these qualities.

Word-internal antonymy concerns not only the particular lexemes but also the units which have the function of words, namely collocations and phraseological units. The ambiguous association concerning the phraseological unit držať (sa) niekoho, niečoho ako pes ježa (hold on to somebody or something as a dog to a hedgehog) has, as a consequence, a twofold explanation: a) "pevne" (firmly), "silno" (strongly), "vytrvalo" (persistently), b) "slabo" (weakly), "opatrne" (cautiously). Slovník slovenského jazyka (I, p. 651) gives only the meaning "pevne, silne, vytrvalo" (firmly, strongly

persistently) (this meaning is also proved by the literary docu-
ments in the card-index of the Linguistic Institute of Ľudovít
Štúr of the Slovak Academy of Sciences), but many users of language
(as our own investigations show) ascribe to this phraseologism
an opposite meaning. They derive it from the association that a
dog holds on to a hedgehog weakly, cautiously, so not to get stung.
Nevertheless, from zoological literature it is well known that
the dog is a great enemy of the hedgehog, and as soon as he manages
to get hold of a hedgehog in a way which avoids his being stung
then he will not easily let him go.

2.2. The preconditions of word-internal word-formative anto-
nymy are given above all by the opposite meanings of prefixes,
less often by other derivative elements (cf. the above mentioned
pair požičať /lend/ - požičať si /borrow/). A varied or even oppo-
site meaning of prefixes is typical of verbal prefixes, that is
why the phenomenon of enantiosemy is most extended within verbs.
In lexicographical works the above phenomenon is reflected by the
fact that some prefixed verbs are already qualified as homonyms,
while some others are still qualified within the framework of one
word with the description of opposite meanings. The solution usual-
ly depends on the degree and distinctness of oppositeness, or on
the interpretation of homonymy.

2.2.1. Opposite meaning can, e.g., result from the presence
of the prefix o- in the verbs obiť, obieliť. The verb obiť means
1. cover with something, decorate or plate with something (i.e.
to add something somewhere): obiť vežu medou (plate the cupola
with copper); 2. damage by hitting or beating, knock off, batter
(i.e. to take away something): obiť hrniec (batter a pot), obiť
múr (knock off the wall). Also with the verb obieliť the prefix
o- sometimes signals the adding of something (obieliť dom "whiten

the house", i.e. to paint it white), at other times the removal of something (obieliť jablko, vajce - peel an apple, shell an egg , i.e. to remove the peel or the shell).

2.2.2. The prefix ob- has opposite meanings e.g. with the verbs obchádzať (obísť), obohrať. The polysemantic verb obchádzať (obísť) in one of its meanings equals "avoid or shun somebody", e.g. obchádzať (obísť) predstaveného pre nesplnenú povinnosť (avoid one's superior because of an unfulfilled duty); in its other meaning it stands for the opposite: "call on or visit somebody": obchádzať (obísť) známych, rodinu, priateľov (call on acquaintances, family, friends). With the verb obháňať oppositeness is given by expressing an activity directed towards the centre (obháňať ovce, čriedu - drive sheep or the flock together) and by an activity directed outside, away from something (obháňať statku hmyz - repel insects from the cattle, i.e. put them to flight).

2.2.3. The prefix pre- also has an antonymic meaning with the verbs prehliadnuť, prezrieť: 1. it expresses an activity carried out to its whole extent, i.e. thoroughly investigate (prehliadnuť, prezrieť batožinu - investigate or check the luggage thoroughly), 2. it expresses an intentional or unintentional absence of carrying out some activity, i.e. it means not to notice (prehliadnuť, prezrieť chyby niekoho - not to notice or ignore somebody's mistakes).

2.2.4. Many prefixes, as well, have opposite meanings. With the verb odmrznúť the prefix od- has both the meanings of the prefix za- and of the prefix roz-: 1. nohy mu odmrzli (his feet got frost-bitten, i.e. they were injured by frost), 2. zem odmrzla (the earth has thawed, i.e. the frost has melted).

2.3. In addition to the analyzed lexical and word-formative word-internal antonymy belonging to the linguistic system, there

also exists contextual (i.e. speech) word-internal antonymy.
Within concrete utterances the phenomenon of enantiosemy is used
as a stylistic means of irony. Within it intonation - which adds
to the words in a specific linguistic situation a completely op-
posite meaning - is of importance. In the sentences <u>Ale nám to
krásne vyšlo!</u> (How nicely it came out!), <u>Ty si mi dobrý kamarát!</u>
(What a good friend you are!), <u>Ten sa ukázal!</u> (What a way to pre-
sent himself!), <u>Vy ste teda mudráci!</u> (How clever you are!) the
words and the phrases <u>krásne vyjsť</u> (come out nicely), <u>dobrý kama-
rát</u> (good friend), <u>ukázať sa</u> (present oneself), <u>mudráci</u> (clever
/guys/) with a particular intonation have the meaning of their op-
posites "<u>nevyjsť</u>" (not to come out nicely), "<u>zlý kamarát</u>" (bad
friend), "<u>znemožniť sa</u>" (discredit oneself), "<u>sprostáci</u>" (fools).
Strong negation with a marked intonation can also be expressed
by positive lexical means: <u>No iste</u>! (Well, certainly!)

3. Enantiosemy, i.e. oppositeness existing inside one (poly-
semantic) word, i.e. word-internal antonymy, is, on the one hand,
a heritage of the former meanings of words, a relict of the his-
torical development of words, on the other hand it is a result of
the incessant movement in the wordstock within which there con-
stantly arise new meanings, often contrary to the existing meanings,
while old meanings become extinct. However, the character of word-
internal antonymy is not determined only by the absolute polarity
of meanings, but by the whole range of oppositeness. This means
that similarly to the existence of partial synonyms and partial
antonyms (Filipec, 1960, p. 216) we can also speak about total
and partial word-internal antonymy. The investigation of the cha-
racter of this oppositeness, however, constitutes a different
question not included in the goal of this article. Here we have
concentrated our attention upon the clarification of a specific

kind of oppositeness in the system of the wordstock, i.e. upon
the so-called enantiosemy. For this semantic oppositeness within
the framework of one word we have adopted the term word-internal
antonymy, and we have included it as a specific type in lexical
and word-formative antonymy.

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(Translated by A. Böhmerová)

SEMANTIC FEATURES IN THE WORD-FORMATIVE NEST[+]

JÁN HORECKÝ

A simple word-formative structure can be formally represented by the tree R⌒^{W}⌒D. Of course, the above scheme applies to those derived words in which a single derivative morpheme is added to the root morpheme. However, in addition to this situation there also exist more complicated structures. Within them is also manifested the mutual relationship of the binary word-formative and the linear morphematic structures. Schematically they can be represented in the following way:
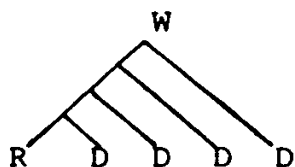
All formal structures - both the simple ones and the complicated ones - require a semantic interpretation. The semantic interpretation of the simple word-formative structures (with one derivational morpheme) must, above all, solve the question of whether the meaning of the derived words is given predominantly by the formant. The answer is not unanimous. The facts that (Slovak) words with the formant -teľ are traditionally labelled as names of doers, words with the formant -ár as names of places, etc., shows that the basic semantic component here is really represented by the formant. However, a deeper analysis reveals

a mutual semantic relationship between the bases and the formants at least in the sense that certain bases take on only certain formants or, vice versa, that certain formants can be added only to certain bases. Of course, there evidently exist some restrictions.

Special attention to the possibilities of the compatibility of bases and formants is devoted by E.A. Zemskaja (1973). She distinguishes semantic, formal, stylistic, lexical and word-formative restrictions. Although it is not evident whether the given sequence also refers to the importance of the restrictions, it seems to be justified that the semantic restrictions are placed first. Noteworthy, as well, is the conclusion of E.A. Zemskaja that within the investigation of the principles of joining morphemes it is above all the word-formative system of the given language that must be taken into consideration, and it is necessary to investigate not only what actually exists, but also what is possible even though lexically it is not expressed. From the difference between the potential and the word-formative system and its realization in the norm of the language there also stems the need to investigate the facts of "non-formation", non-realization.

These statements are illustrated in the above mentioned work only by a few examples. Instead of argumentation are stated the requirements of what else should be investigated. Thus, it is rather a programme for further investigation. Nevertheless, it is necessary to agree with the conclusion that the main factor concerning the restrictions or the investigation of the principles is represented by semantic factors. However, their investigation also fully requires the application of a global view. It

is necessary to find those semantic features by which it is possible to characterize not the particular cases or groups of words, but larger sets of derived words delimited by word-formative procedures. Such sets can be tentatively labelled as word-formative fields.

The word-formative field can formally be specified as an imaginary object given by the word-formative character of the word-base and the word-formative character of the product of derivation. If we take as the basis the three main word categories used within derivation, i.e. the verb, noun and the adjective, the following word-formative fields can be delimited: deverbative adjectives, deverbative nouns and deverbative verbs; deadjectival nouns, deadjectival verbs and deadjectival adjectives; denominal verbs, denominal adjectives and denominal nouns.

However, such word-formative fields have to be defined semantically as well. One of the important means for this definition is represented by the system of semantic features typical of each of the investigated word-formative fields. These semantic features are in fact system-forming elements by which the object called word-formative field is characterized. In order to make this semantic definition complete it is not sufficient merely to find the semantic features - it is also necessary to reveal the relationships and the hierarchy among these features. Research so far has shown that the hierarchic relationships can be revealed by starting from the most general semantic feature which is gradually specified into subsidiary semantic features. This gradual character can be represented with the help of a tree, i.e. an oriented graph. The particular word-formative types can be delimited by the routes or the bundles of semantic features arranged within the given route (Horecký, 1972a, 1972b, 1973, 1974).

E.g. the word-formative field of the deverbative nouns can
be defined by the following hierarchy of semantic features:

```
                    ERG
          ┌──────────┴──────────────┐
        STAT                       HUM
     ┌────┴────┐            ┌───────┴───────┐
    LIM        │          AGN            AGN ──────────── LIM
  ┌──┴──┐      │        ┌──┴──┐          │            ┌────┴────┐
 ACT   RES    LOC      MAT   INS        OFF         OPER      QUAL
```
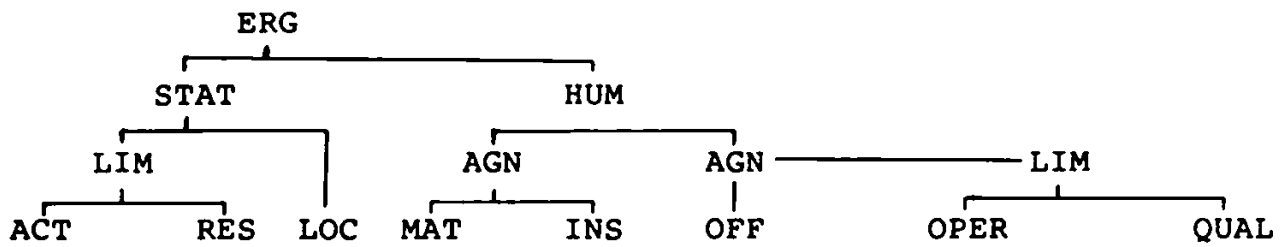
The names of the action are then defined by the sequence of
semantic features -ERG -STAT -LIM +ACT. For the names of pro-
fessions the relevant sequence is: +ERG +HUM +AGN -LIM +OPER.

The above mentioned system could apply for all words de-
rived within the given word-formative field regardless of the
fact whether their base is formed by underived or by derived
words. But as the features of the word-formative base are con-
sidered for the most general semantic features, it is also ne-
cessary to take into consideration the word-formative structure
of this base if we are dealing with a derived word.

In each Slavonic language there exist derived words with
a more complicated word-formative structure (cf. the scheme at
the beginning of this article). The fact that within this struc-
ture there occurs a number of derivative morphemes is, in the
theory of word-formation up to now, denoted as a chain (Neščimenko,
1973) or a multiple-stage derivation (Tichonov, 1971). Actually,
this multiple-stage derivation leads to the rise of word-formative
fields of the second stage (or the third and the following states, but they
are, in general, rather poor). There arises the question of whether it
is possible to interpret such semantic fields semantically by means
of the system of semantic features.

It is necessary to distinguish here, above all, several types
of multiple-stage derivation. Within the second stage from

nearly all the derived words adjectives can be derived (e.g. letec - letecký /pilot/, lekáreň /pharmacy/ - lekárenský /pharmaceutical/), the restrictions concerning above all the character of the word-formative base. E.g. from names of persons there are not formed adjectives by the formant -ový, -ný, but only by the formant -ský (učiteľský -teacher/'s/, záhradnícky - gardener/'s/), on the other hand by the formant -ový, -ný there are derived adjectives from the majority of second-stage bases. Similarly, by the formant -osť there are derived nouns from the bases which are simple (mladý - young, mladosť - youth), as well as from the second-stage bases (klamať - lie, klamlivý - deceitful, klamlivosť - deception).

If the second-stage derivative remains in the same word category as the first-stage base, two types are possible: the root morpheme is in the same word category, or the root morpheme is in a different word-category. In both cases it is necessary to investigate the relationship between the series of semantic features of the first-stage or the second-stage derivatives.

Let us take several examples. Within the particular word-formative field the word stolár (joiner) can be defined by the series of semantic features +HUM +EFF +CONCR, while the word stolárstvo (joinery) has the semantic features -HUM -CONCR -QUAL. The formally identical pair kartár (card-player) - kartárstvo (card-playing) can be represented by the semantic features +HUM -EFF +AFF +CONCR, -HUM -CONCR -QUAL.

Similar definitions also exist within the word-pairs klobúčnik (hatter) - klobúčnictvo (millinery), záhradník (gardener) - záhradníctvo (gardening). From the comparison of the semantic features it is evident that the common features are

HUM and CONCR, with, however, an opposite polarity. Animate con-
crete names are changed into inanimate abstract ones. This re-
flects the commonly known fact that the formant -stvo is used
for the formation of abstract nouns of certain kinds of profess-
ions..

Within three-stage derivatives are the semantic features
HUM and CONCR of the same importance. This is evident from the
following examples listed schematically:

slovo (word) - slovník (dictionary)   -HUM+CONCR-RES-POZ+CONT

                   slovnikár (dictionary compiler) +HUM+EFF+CONCR

                   slovnikárstvo (dictionary compilation)

                                -HUM-CONCR-QUAL

liek (medicine) - lekáreň (pharmacy)   -HUM+CONCR-RES-POZ+CONT

                   lekárnik (pharmacist)   +HUM-EFF+AFF+CONCR

                   lekárnictvo (pharmacology)   -HUM-CONCR-QUAL

If the second-stage derivative changes into a different
word category, the relationship among the series of semantic fea-
tures is not so evident, as it can be seen from the following
examples (again listed schematically):

siat (sow) - osivo (seed for sowing)   +ERG-HUM-AGN+MAT

                   osivár (seedsman)   +HUM-EFF+AFF+CONCR

súdiť (judge) - sudca (judge)   +ERG-HUM-AGN-OFF

                   sudcovstvo (judicature) -HUM-CONCR-QUAL

riadiť (direct) - riaditeľ (director) +ERG+HUM-AGN+OFF

                   riaditeľňa (director's office)

                                -HUM+CONCR-RES-POZ+CONT

stavať (build) - stavba (building)   -ERG-STAT-LIM+ACT

                   stavbár (builder)   +HUM+EFF+CONCR

The only common feature here is the feature of animateness.
Within the chain stavať - stavba - stavbár there is no common

feature and it might be necessary to investigate the relation-
ship between the semantic features +ACT and +EFF.

With regard to second-stage derivatives it is necessary
to point out that the central member does not always have to
exist in reality. In other words, second-stage derivation does
not have to proceed via the first-stage derivative morpheme, but
can stem directly from the root morpheme. In these cases there
actually arises a new, complex (second-stage) formant.

While in the chain <u>riadiť</u> - <u>riaditeľ</u> - <u>riaditeľňa</u> second-sta-
ge derivation does in reality occur, as the director's office
is a place where the director works, in the chain <u>krstiť</u> (bapti-
ze) - <u>krstiteľ</u> (baptist) - <u>krstiteľnica</u> (baptismal font) it would
be improbable to claim that <u>krstiteľnica</u> (baptismal font) is a
place where the baptist works (the word in fact does not exist
as nomen officii or agentis). More probable would be the expla-
nation that <u>krstiteľnica</u> (baptismal font) is a place where bap-
tism is carried out. Hence, the extended formant <u>-teľnica</u> arises
here.

This phenomenon is even more marked in the chain <u>lampa</u>
(lamp) - <u>lampár</u> (lamp-man) - <u>lampáreň</u> (lamp-room). We would deal
with a two-stage derivative only if we were admit to the inter-
pretation that <u>lampáreň</u> (lamp-room) is a place where lamp-men
work. However, reality is much better represented by the explana-
tion that <u>lampáreň</u> (lamp-room) is a place for depositing lamps.
Only this explanation is correct for the word <u>kočikáreň</u> (pram sto-
ring room) - the place for storing prams; the word <u>kočikár</u> (pram-
maker) does not play any rôle within the motivation. Similarly
<u>kraviareň</u> (cowshed), <u>ovčiareň</u> (sheep pen) are not places for cow-
herds or shepherds, but for cows and sheep.

Finally it is necessary to investigate the semantic features

of the word-formative nest. Within the terms of semantic featu-
res we can use the notion word-formative nest for a bunch of tho-
se words in which the series of semantic features have a common
general feature in one word-formative field. E.g. the words stavba
(building, -ERG -STAT -LIM -ACT), stavenisko (building-site, -ERG
+STAT -LOC), stavivo (building material, +ERG -HUM -AGN +MAT),
staviteľ (builder, +ERG +HUM +AGN -LIM +OPER) belong to the same
word-formative nest as they have the common general semantic fea-
ture ERG. According to the quality (of the polarity sign) of this
semantic feature the given word-formative nest can be segmented
into two sub-nests marked by the semantic feature -ERG and +ERG.
One word-formative field can be joined by another word-formative
field of a different word category. E.g. the verb stavať (build)
in addition to the above mentioned substantive field can be extend-
ed by the adjectival field: stavať - stavací (/concerning/ build-
ing).

However, such linking presupposes that the general seman-
tic feature should be the same in both or in all of the fields.
In our system this is not yet the case, as while in the nominal
field it is ERG, in the adjectival field it is STAT. Neverthe-
less, the semantic feature STAT occurs among the features of the
nominal field, i.e. there is an evident semantic relationship.

Of course, in this way the basic first-stage word-formative
nest is identified. To such a nest the second-stage or the multi-
stage derivatives should be added, and to such a complex the prin-
ciples used within the analysis of multi-stage derivatives should
be applied.

The analysis of word-formative nests by means of semantic
features shows that the systems of semantic features can serve
as good tools. Nevertheless, they have to be unified in such a way

that for all word-formative fields the members of which enter into word-formative nests there should apply the semantic features of the same kind.

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MOTIVATION AND ITS IMPACT UPON THE SEMANTIC AND STYLISTIC VALUE OF THE WORD[+]

KLÁRA BUZÁSSYOVÁ

The rôle of word-formative motivation within the systematization of the wordstock as a whole, as well as within the formation of the lexical meaning of a concrete word, has been adequately characterized in Slovak linguistics by J. Furdík (1976, 1978). In spite of the distrust of many linguists with regard to the possibility of using the relationship of motivation for the description of the lexical meaning of the word, expressed by Bally's dissociation from "etymologization" and by Giraud's qualifying motivation as being "arbitrary, insubstantial and irrelevant for semantics", J. Furdík has shown that synchronically, in the consciousness of the users of language, the vivid relationships of word-formative motivatedness represent not only a systematizing factor, but also play an active rôle in the process of communication. By a combined quantitative-qualitative analysis of the distribution of motivated words according to their frequency (by comparing the occurrence of motivated words within the first 500 words in the frequency dictionary by J. Mistrík /1969/ and the occurrence of motivated words with the lowest frequency) J. Furdík has found that there exist regularities between the frequency of the word and the awareness of its being motivated. As to the most frequent words it is not necessary to hint at

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their meaning by their formal structure as well, as they represent a common component of the individual wordstock of practically all speakers. Their meaning is realized as a direct reference to the denotative reality. On the contrary, with words having a lower frequency the mediating rôle of the word-formative form comes to the fore: by referring to the motivating word their lexical meaning is indicated, and their comprehension as well as the process of communication are facilitated.

The fact that there exist sufficient and adequate explanations of the rôle of motivation in general does not mean that enough has also been done within the investigation of motivational relationships, types of motivation, etc., by means of concrete (material) analysis. On the contrary, there is still much work to be done. It is noteworthy that since the seventies this sphere of questions has been evoking a growing interest abroad, mostly in Soviet and Polish derivatology.

The varied types of motivation: immediate and mediated, single and multiple, i.e. polymotivationality (Russian "množest-vennosť motivacij"), basic motivation and the accompanying motivation (on the above types of motivation cf. Uluchanov, 1977) can be well observed in word-formatively motivated words from the sphere of the abstract wordstock and within it above all on the derivatives formed in Slovak by the formant - stvo. Among them are several highly frequented words which we do not even recognize as being motivated, e.g. hospodárstvo (economy), spoločenstvo (community), spojenectvo (alliance), víťazstvo (victory), nebezpečenstvo (danger). Nevertheless, the prevailing majority of abstract names with the formant -stvo belongs to the less frequent words, to those in the meaning of which the mediating rôle of

the word-formative form, i.e. the reference to the motivating
word, comes to the fore. E.g. the meaning of the word <u>odevníctvo</u>
(clothing industry) is explained and understood in connection
with the word <u>odev</u> (clothes) - it is the production of clothes.

In order to get a plastic image of these abstract nouns
and their usage in Slovak, we shall first devote our attention
to their position within the system of abstract lexemes in
Slovak.

In the system of abstract lexemes abstract nouns with the
formant <u>-stvo</u> have a specific, in a certain way central position.
When conceiving of this system statically, its basic coordinates
(extreme poles) stand for the typical representatives of the
word-formative categories of objectivization of activity: the
first pole is represented by deverbative nomina actionis with
the formants <u>-nie/-tie</u> (together with the action names with <u>-ba</u>,
<u>-ka, -čka,-o</u>); the second pole is represented by abstract de-ad-
jectival names of qualities with the formant <u>-osť</u> and with the
less productive formants <u>-ota</u>, <u>-ava</u>. Derivatives with the formant
<u>-stvo</u> differ from those above and they occupy a central positi-
on by their being prevailingly nominally motivated and by being
semantically ambivalent. This is caused by the fact that they ha-
ve, or are able to acquire (in context) also the meaning of ob-
jectivized action (i.e. action with certain specifications,
such as the field of action, the inclination to action, etc.),
as well as the meaning of objectivized quality, while the meaning
of action or quality depends on whether the basic (motivating)
word is represented by a name of agent and the accompanying mo-
tivation of the verb, e.g. <u>zlepšovateľstvo</u> (activities in the
field of innovation), or the name of the bearer of a quality and
a nominal-adjectival motivation, e.g. <u>dobráctvo</u> (good-natured-

ness). It is also possible to project upon this system the
subsystem of international formants for the formation of ab-
stract names: nomina actionis are represented by names with the
formant -ácia (-ation), names of qualities are represented
mainly by names with the formant -ita (-ity). The international
counterpart of the formant -stvo is above all the formant -izmus
(-ism) which itself has an ambivalent character as it is able
to form names with the meaning of objectivized action as well
as objectivized quality, and is often used for semantically quite
more specific names, mainly the names of movements and trends.

Abstract nouns with the formant -stvo represent suitable
material for the analysis of motivational relationships and their
rôle in the meaning of words because of their form, too.
They are usually formed on higher levels of derivation. Within
such second or third-stage derivatives there often obtains a mo-
tivational relationship not only to the immediate bases of deri-
vation, but also to the basic words of the preceeding derivatio-
nal steps.

The various types of motivation will be illustrated step by
step with the semantic subgroups of the following abstract na-
mes: action (specified as well as non-specified), quality, names
with the neutralized opposition action/quality, and names of sta-
tes.To make the picture more concrete, we shall also point out
the secondary concretized meanings of these names, although they
do not form the object of our research.

By analyzing names with the word-formative formant -stvo
we can establish the following motivational relationships rele-
vant for the semantics of the word and for its stylistic value:

In Slovak the formant -stvo has the highest productivity
within the formation of names of professions and names referring

to spheres of human activity. The most characteristic type of motivating words is formed by names of persons, above all the names of doers with the suffix -ár, -iar, -ník; less frequent are names of agents with the suffixes -č, -teľ. The names of professions are formed at the second stage of derivation from the particular names of persons pursuing the given profession, e.g. zlievať (cast) - zlievač (/iron/ founder) -zlievačstvo (profession of an /iron/ founder). Quite frequent, too, is a dual motivation by both a noun and an adjective, e.g. ošetrovateľstvo (povolanie ošetrovateľa /profession of an attendant/, ošetrovateľské povolanie /attendant's profession/). In this case there occur two motivations within one word-formative and lexical meaning. Another case is represented by derivatives of the type betonárstvo (concreting), where the word-formative structure provides the possibility of an ambivalent meaning, while two motivations condition two word-formative as well as lexical meanings which, on the formal level, correspond to a dual word-formative segmentation of the word: betonár-stvo (the profession of a concreter), beton-árstvo (the making of concrete). I.e. within these words there is preserved a motivational relationship not only to the name of the person, which forms part of the word-formative base, but also to the primary noun as the basis of the previous derivation. Similar dual motivation also occurs in the names návrhárstvo - zamestnanie návrhára (profession of a designer), podávanie návrhov (producing designs or suggestions); farbiarstvo - zamestnanie farbiara (profession of a dyar), výroba farieb (dying industry/profession). The motivation by the word betonár (concreter) is immediate (it is a motivational relationship of two words, one of which differs from the other only by one formant /Uluchanov, 1977/). Within mediated motivation one word

differs from the other by several formants. This is the case
of the word beton-árstvo (the making of concrete).

It seems that we cannot always proceed in the same way
with all abstract nouns such as names of professions and names
of spheres of activity and ascribe to them the direction of
their derivation (and of their motivation) quite mechanically
according to one key, e.g. in such a way that the name of the
person will be considered as being the primary one and the name
of the action as being the derived one. This was clearly reali-
zed by the authors of Krátky slovník slovenského jazyka (Short
Dictionary of the Slovak Language, 1987) who distinguish two
cases here. In the case of names of persons pursuing traditional
human activities (traditional trades) the names of persons are
considered as being the basic ones, and from them, by the suffix
-stvo/-ctvo, nouns with the meaning of a professional field
are derived, e.g.: zlatník (goldsmith) - zlatníctvo (goldsmith's
trade), stolár (joiner) - stolárstvo (joiner's trade); a secon-
dary concretization of the meaning of these words is represented
by the meanings: shop, workshop, or repair shop. The second case
is represented by the semantically close group of new professio-
nal fields, new branches of economy which include further speci-
fied activities where the name of the professional field is
considered to be the primary one, while the name of the person
working in this field is usually secondary. E.g. poľnohospodár-
stvo (agriculture) = a branch of economy including the tilling
of land, growing of crops and breeding domestic animals; poľ-
nohospodár (agricultural worker) = a worker in agriculture (Pi-
sárčiková, 1984). The possible problematic cases of determining
the direction of motivation between the names of activities and
the names of persons carrying out a certain activity, have been

pointed out by other research workers too (Uluchanov, 1977; Lopatin, 1979; Grzegorczykowa - Puzynina, 1979). The latter Polish authors, above all, stress that there exists an indistinct border between the names of professions carried out by the persons denoted in the word-formative bases, and the more widely understood fields of activity, branches of economy or culture, e.g. the Polish górnictvo (mining), szkolnictwo (education) where we can hardly speak any longer of motivation by the name of the person. According to the above authors, for derivatives of this type a fusion of the meaning of the activity with the meaning of the people carrying out the activity and the objects connected in various ways with this activity is characteristic.

Hence we can conclude that there exists a number of names of spheres of activity in the lexical (and, at the same time, the word-formative) meaning of which there applies not motivation by the name of the person, although such names may exist, but motivation by the source word of the particular word-formative row. As in the word-formative system there is a tendency towards harmony of the semantic and the formal structure, the consequence is that there occurs a secondary disintegration of the word - perintegration, i.e. there are formed the complex suffixes -árstvo, -ovstvo, -níctvo. The suffix -stvo is extended by the segments -ár, -ov, -ník which become desemantized, not having any real semantic validity in derivation. E.g. nábytk-árstvo (furniture making/industry), pasienk-árstvo (pasture cultivation = branch of economy dealing with cultivating and using grazing land).

Another interesting case from the point of view of the investigation of motivational relationships is represented by the names of spheres of activity of the type poradenstvo

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(counselling), <u>skúšobníctvo</u> (testing), <u>vodárenstvo</u> (waterworks
building and management), <u>teplárenstvo</u> (heating-plant building
and management) which are structurally motivated by adjectives
derived from names of places like enterprises, institutions, i.e.
<u>poradňa</u> (counselling office), <u>skúšobňa</u> (testing office), <u>teplár-
ne</u> (heating plants), <u>vodárne</u> (waterworks), and in their lexi-
cal meaning is reflected motivation by a basic, or at least
non-final, member of the derivational chain: <u>poradenstvo</u>
(=the providing of special advice, counselling), <u>skúšobníctvo</u>
(=obligatory testing of products by the state testing centres),
<u>vodárenstvo</u> (= a branch of economy geared to supplying inhabi-
tants with water), <u>teplárenstvo</u> (a branch of thermal technology
dealing with the production of heat). The existence of these lon-
ger names admitted by linguistic codification results in the fact
that in Slovak usage there exists an oscillation with regard to
the formation of names of some fields of activity where codifi-
cation admits only the shorter form: <u>gumárstvo - gumárenstvo</u>
(rubber industry), <u>konzervárstvo - konzervárenstvo</u> (canning in-
dustry), <u>mliekárstvo - mliekárenstvo</u> (dairying). We suppose that
the existence and the preservation of longer forms can be ex-
plained namely on the basis of the vividly perceived relation-
ships in word-formative nests. Names of enterprises and institu-
tions, i.e. names of places which in a wider sense include also
employees and professional utensils, can form part of word-for-
mative nests, i.e. indirectly they can function as motivating
names in a sphere of derivation in which the domain is derivation
based on the names of the doers of activity.

With regard to the names of professions or spheres of ac-
tivity it is necessary to mention the tendency towards the dec-
line of the word-formatively expressed meaning of collectivity

occurring with some of these names as a specific (second) meaning. In such case the two word-formative and at the same time lexical meanings are reflected in a dual word-formative structure and in a dual motivation. In the word učiteľstvo in the collective meaning (= the sum of teachers as a whole) motivation by the noun učiteľ (teacher) occurs as the only possible motivation. In the word učiteľstvo in the sense of a sphere of activity, profession, in addition to the nominal motivation there also exists an accompanying motivation by the adjective povolanie učiteľa (the profession of a teacher), učiteľské povolanie (teacher's profession). The decrease of the productivity of word-formative means for expressing collectivity is compensated in contemporary Slovak on the one hand by the simple plural, by inflection, i.e. instead of the expressions učiteľstvo (teachers collectively), baníctvo (miners collectively) there are used the forms učitelia (teachers), baníci (miners), on the other hand by multiverbal collocations, e.g. pedagogický zbor (pedagogical staff), spotrebiteľská verejnosť (consumer public) (instead of spotrebiteľstvo). Special attention has been paid in a separate work (Buzássyová, 1981) to the expression of collectivity in contemporary Slovak. At present collectivity as a categorial word-formative meaning is not considered to be productive in Czech either (Tvoření slov v češtině /Word Formation in Czech/, 2.,1967), nor is it productive in contemporary Polish (cf. Buttler - Kurkowska - Satkiewicz, 1982, p. 271).

Expressing current activity. Abstract nouns with the formant -stvo and with extended variants naming a sphere of human activity in principle express, in contrast to verbal nouns, the action non-currently, regardless of the course of the action

within time. Their meaning is paradigmatic, and does not de-
pend on the course on the syntagmatic axis, i.e. the context.
Thus, as a rule, names of spheres of activity are not synony-
mically interchangeable with verbal nouns. However, there exist
cases where this general rule does not apply. Some derivatives
with the formant -stvo are polyfunctional, and in addition to
the meaning of field of activity they are able, depending on
the context, to express also the meaning of topical activity
partially synonymous with the meaning of nomen actionis. The
dual word-formative meaning - both the sphere of activity and
the activity itself - occurs, e.g., with the derivatives deko-
ratérstvo (decorating), ilustrátorstvo (illustrating), spravo-
dajstvo (news reporting). The meaning of current action is shown
by contextual usage: zaoberá sa dekoratérstvom, ilustrátor-
stvom (he/she deals with decorating, illustrating), venuje sa
dekoratérstvu, ilustrátorstvu (he/she devotes himself/herself
to decorating/illustrating); spravodajstvo z domova i zo zahra-
ničia (home and foreign news reporting). Within polyfunctiona-
lity the concrete meaning is decided by a substitution test. A
synonymic exchange is not possible in a context where nomen ac-
tionis occurs with an object genitive, as nomen actionis denotes
an action with the intention towards the object, but names of
spheres of activity express the action without this specifica-
tion. E.g. zaoberá sa ilustrovaním (=[+]ilustrátorstvom) kníh
(he/she deals with illustrating books). With many derivatives
the ability to express a current action with the formant -stvo
stems from the fact that they are dually motivational: in addi-
tion to motivation by the name of the agent their lexical meaning
is also influenced by mediated motivation by the verb which is
at the base of the name of the agent, e.g. Sliedičstvom (= sliede-

ním) a prísnosťou terorizoval celé gymnázium a mestečko
(By his spying and strictness he terrorized the whole high
school and the little town).

The meaning of current action (partially synonymous with
the verbal noun) is also expressed by abstract nouns derived
from international bases, e.g. agitátorstvo (propaganda-making),
špekulantstvo (speculating), moralizátorstvo (moralizing). The
abstract noun with the formant -stvo functions as the only name
of action in the case when there does not exist any denominal
verb on which the nomen actionis could be formed. E.g. Nemajú
záujem na dôslednom boji s leteckým pirátstvom (They are not
interested in dealing thoroughly with highjacking), as there does
not exist any verb of the type +pirátovať, +pirátničiť (highjack).

In contemporary Polish the attitude to derivatives with
the formant -stvo, when they function in a current action
meaning which is synonymous with the meaning of verbal nouns,
is, from the point of view of cultivation of language, in gene-
ral critical. According to H. Satkiewicz forms with -stvo belong
in Polish to a fashionable word-formative type. Mainly when
expressing the meaning of a single current action they are said
to duplicate unnecessarily the regular nomina actionis, e.g.
odtwórstvo (creation) is used instead of odtworzenie, odtwarza-
nie (Buttler - Kurkowska - Satkiewicz, 1982, p. 266 et seq.).
In Slovak the use of these names in the sense of current action
is not markedly frequent. Due to the subtle difference in the
way in which the action is stylized in them, in contrast to
verbal nouns, we evaluate them as a kind of variation means.
Cf. the expression mysliteľstvo (the state of being a thinker)
and the potential misuse of the word myslenie (thinking) in
Matuška's context: "Slovom to, čo možno nazvať "mysliteľstvom"

v literatúre, tomu sa skôr darilo v poézii ako próze." (Simply
what can be called "thinking" in literature was thriving better
in poetry than in prose). The subtle semantic difference here
is caused by the fact that in the word <u>mysliteľstvo</u> (the state
of being a thinker) the action is expressed by means of indica-
ting the motivational relationship to the persons of whom the
given activity is characteristic, while in verbal nouns it is
expressed directly.

An interesting phenomenon from the point of view of word-
formative semantics, as well as from the point of view of in-
vestigating motivational relationships, is the step-like and
cyclical character of the derivational process, a certain "word-
formative reduplication" in the semantic (content) plan. This
occurs in the cases where the results of the second-stage (within
the motivation by adjectives of the third-stage) derivation se-
mantically repeat, multiply, (although on a different level),
the same categorial meaning of the action which exists in the
word-formative base of the personal name occurring as the previ-
ous derivational step. These are cases like <u>hazard - hazardér -</u>
<u>hazardérstvo</u> (risk - risk-taker - risk-taking), <u>póza - pozér -</u>
<u>pozérstvo</u> (pose - poseur - posing/attitudinarianism), <u>rutina -</u>
<u>rutinér - rutinérstvo</u> (routine - routinist - routinism) where
there exists a semantic closeness and synonymical replaceabili-
ty of the source root word and the second-stage derivative, i.e.
pairs like <u>hazard - hazardérstvo</u> (risk -risk-taking), <u>rutina -</u>
<u>rutinérstvo</u> (routine - routinism), etc. This is also proved
by the lexicographical descriptions of these words which e.g.
in Slovník slovenského jazyka (Dictionary of the Slovak Language)
are explained in the same way. These derivatives document the
fact that the formation of a derivative on a higher level of

derivation, i.e. by a larger number of derivational steps reflected in a higher degree of formal complexity of the expression, does not always have to mean a considerable semantic change, a considerably higher semantic complexity. The derivatives hazardérstvo (risktaking), rutinérstvo (routinism), pozérstvo (posing/attitudinarianism) have a current action meaning. Their semantic closeness to the source words can be proved by substitution, by synonymical replaceability in a wider context: "...všetky tieto pokusy o hľadanie dobrodružných ciest riadenia osudov sveta znamenajú hazardérstvo (hazard, hazardovanie), ktoré je neospravedlniteľné." (From the press) (...all these attempts at searching for adventurous ways of controlling the fate of the world mean risk-taking /risk, risking/ which is unexcusable.) "No rutinérstvo (rutina) v herectve, alebo jasnejšie povedané, keď je herec v každej úlohe rovnaký, obmedzuje tvorivé možnosti." (From the press) (But routinism /routine/ in acting, - or more clearly: if an actor acts in the same way in each rôle - restricts the possibilities of creativity).In spite of the possibility of a synonymical interchangeability with the primary word we cannot speak about a complete semantic and functional identity of the expressions rutina (routine), rutinérstvo (routinism), etc., as the second-stage derivative provides richer semantic information. What applies here - and it is stressed in another context by V.V. Lopatin (1979, p. 60) - is that regardless of their synonymical character they differ by the internal organization of their semantics influenced by the morphemic structure of the word-formative base. E.g. the word-formative structure of the word hazardérstvo (risk-taking) implies a static meaning (being a risk-taker), and thus indicates a certain type of action or behaviour through the person as the doer. A so-called word-formative reduplication

is also mentioned by M. Brodowska-Honowska (1967, p. 61), but in different cases. E.g. the Polish derivative <u>poradnictwo</u> (counselling)could be replaced in a wider context by the word <u>porada</u> (advice), but the former provides a more complex item of information - it denotes all the activities connected with giving advice to sick children. Sometimes a derivative formed on a higher stage of derivation represents both a semantically and a stylistically different quality than the source word. E.g. the meaning of the derivative <u>obranárstvo</u> (defenciveness) has become specified, lexicalized in comparison with the meaning of the action noun <u>obrana</u> (defence). It is used both as a political term (= the policy of the opportunist parties of the 2nd International which under the slogan of the defence of the homeland defended the interests of the bourgeoisie), and non-terminologically as a word from the common wordstock but having a pejorative feature.

A great number of derivatives with the formant <u>-stvo</u> is characterized by pejorativeness. This can be documented by the following examples which arise by inter-stage derivation.

The cases of so-called inter-stage derivation show that the step-like character within the word-formative system is not always quite thorough and regular. Within the word-formative chain a direct semantic relationship can be formed, and then also a derivational one between the two non-adjacent elements of the derivational row, while one element or several elements are dropped. The dropped element is not represented in the language, or is formed only later. Cf.:

<u>prospech - prospechár - prospechársky - prospechárstvo</u>

(profit - utilitarian - utilitarian - utilitarianism)

zárobok - ⁺zárobkár - ⁺zárobkársky - zárobkárstvo

    (profit - profiteer - profiteering - profiteering)

rodina - rodinkár - rodinkársky - rodinkárstvo

    (family - nepotist - nepotistic - nepotism)

známy - ⁺známostkár - ⁺známostkársky - známostkárstvo

    (acquaintance - the using of acquaintances for the advance-
ment of one's interests).

    Inter-stage derivation is akin to the phenomenon called analogical word-formation (Furdík, 1970). In our opinion we can speak about inter-stage word-formation more appropriately from the perspective of the step-like character of the derivational process, while we can speak about analogical word-formation preferably from the aspect of word-formative types and from the point of view of the binary relationship of: deriving word - derived word.

    The analyzed abstract nouns with the formant <u>-stvo</u> derived by inter-stage as well as by regular derivation, i.e. <u>prospechárstvo</u> (utilitarianism), <u>zárobkárstvo</u> (profiteering), <u>kritikárstvo</u> (criticasterism), <u>dôležitkárstvo</u> ("importantism", = making oneself important), <u>pohodlníctvo</u> (the practice of excessively seeking comfort) express a feature abstracted from the bearer of the feature (i.e. the significative meaning of abstract names) as more action-like, more dynamic (and, at the same time, stylistically more marked, i.e. pejorative), which is in opposition to the names with the formant <u>-osť</u> which express the feature as static (and stylistically neutral). This is well noticeable when comparing the chains: <u>kritický - kritickosť</u> (critical - critical character); <u>kritika -⁺kritikár -⁺kritikársky - kritikárstvo</u> (criticism - criticaster - criticaster - criticasterism); <u>dôležitý - dôležitosť</u> (important - importance); <u>dôležitý -⁺dôle-</u>

žitkár - ďôležitkársky - dôležitkárstvo (important - importan-
tist - importantist - importantism); pohodlný - pohodlnosť (com-
fortable - comfortableness); pohodlný - pohodlník - pohodlnícky -
pohodlníctvo (comfortable - comfort-seeker - comfort-seeking -
comfort-seeking). The opposition of the stylistic neutrality
of abstract nouns in -osť and the stylistic markedness (pejorati-
veness) of abstract nouns on -stvo is also manifested when both
of the derivatives have the meaning of quality. Cf. e.g. the
chains: pedantný - pedantnosť (meticulous - meticulousness);
pedantný - pedant - pedantstvo (meticulous - pedant - pedantry).
Of relevance here is the difference according to whether the
objectivized quality is expressed directly by referring to the
- from the point of view of primary and secondary functions -
basic primary name for expressing the quality, i.e. the adjective;
or whether it is expressed indirectly by referring to the noun
as a bearer of quality.

Names of qualities. A very productive word-formative as
well as lexical meaning of derivatives formed by the formant
-stvo is the meaning of quality. It is so characteristic of the-
se derivatives that sometimes it is considered their primary
meaning and the other meanings, e.g. the meaning of activity, are
considered a specification of this basic meaning (Ondrus - Ho-
recký - Furdík, 1980, p. 113). A most distinct meaning of quali-
ty occurs with the derivatives of the type čudáctvo (strangeness),
dobráctvo (good-naturedness), podliactvo (evil-mindedness) which
have in their word-formative base the nouns čudák (strarge per-
son), dobrák (good-natured person), podliak (evil-minded person),
i.e. names of the bearers of quality motivated by adjectives.
Derivational chains of the type dobrý - dobrák - (dobrácky) -
dobráctvo (good - good-natured person - (good-natured) - good-na-

turedness) are characterized by a semantic closeness of the primary and the second-stage adjectives which results in the fact that semantically it does not matter whether the name of the abstract quality is considered as being motivated and derived directly from the noun <u>dobrák</u> (good-natured person), and thus considered a second-stage derivative, or whether we consider it to be motivated and derived from the adjective <u>dobrácky</u> (good-natured), and thus consider it a third-stage derivative. Both interpretations are possible, as well as the presupposition of a dual nominal-adjectival motivation, though within only one word-formative and lexical meaning of the derivative, i.e. meaning of quality.

Of dual nominal-adjectival motivation are also the names of ranks and offices and the names of various movements. They are derivatives of the type <u>poslanectvo</u> (status of an M. P.), <u>dekanstvo</u> (deanery), <u>šéfovstvo</u> (status of being a boss), etc. (= status of an M. P., and M.P. status, status of a dean, dean's function, etc.), names of movements and trends of the type <u>hegeliánstvo</u> (Hegelianism), <u>štúrovstvo</u> (Štúrism), more recent ones, <u>zlobinovstvo</u> (Zlobinism) (= the movement of the adherents of Hegel, the movement of Štúr's followers, Štúr movement, the movement of the adherents of Zlobin, Zlobin's method of work). Names of movements and trends belong to names with regard to whose direction of motivation there are often arguments in linguistic literature (Lopatin, 1979, Grzegorczykowa, 1979). From purely linguistic points of view it is not always fully possible to establish the direction of derivation: the name of the movement can be considered as being derived from the name of the representative of the movement on the basis of a higher formal complexity of the expression <u>hegelián - hegeliánstvo</u> (Hegelian -

Hegelianism), but semantically the other direction of motiva-
tion is not excluded either, as the meaning of a movement is
semantically more elementary than the meaning of an adherent
of a movement. The names of movements with the formant -stvo
compete with the names with the international formant -izmus,
e.g. hegeliánstvo - hegelianizmus.

Names within which the opposition activity/quality is neu-
tralized. In addition to the names of "pure" activities and
"pure" qualities there is a relatively considerable number of
derivatives with the formant -stvo in the meaning of which the
semantic opposition of quality/activity is neutralized and they
have a meaning which can be described as "quality based on some
activity" (Horecký, 1958, 1971) or "activity understood as a character-
istic quality". Such formulations are only apparently contradictory,
as they reflect the real linguistic situation, namely the fact
that the boundary between qualities and activities is not sharp.
This problem has probably been most explicitly outlined by J.
Sambor (1974), namely as a problem crucial to semantics, to syn-
tax, as well as to word-formation. She formulates it as the
problem of how to define more clearly the classes of nomina essen-
di and nomina actionis, i.e. the classes which on the basis of the
semantically undoubtedly most distant units - qualitative adjec-
tives and action verbs with the meaning of dynamic processes -
can be defined in such way that nomina essendi (= being in a
certain way, being somebody) have the meaning of qualities as
permanent features, nomina actionis have the meaning of activi-
ties as non-permanent features. The author also indicates the
transient character of some derivatives. We also consider it
necessary to presuppose a transient class (sphere) of derivati-
ves between actions and qualities, while we do not see it as

an inadequacy of analysis, but as a manifestation of the dialectical view of the given sphere of problems reflecting the dialectical character of linguistic reality itself. The dialectical character is manifested here by the fact that no unconditionally valid "either" - "or" is admitted, while at appropriate places there is also admitted "this" as well as "that" (cf. also Daneš - Hlavsa, 1981, p. 70). For a transient sphere of derivatives which simultaneously stand for both acti-vities and qualities, we consider those names of which the sour-ce word is a noun as a bearer of the quality of action. We in-clude here the following cases:

a) Derivatives of the type hĺadačstvo (searching), ohovárač-stvo (slanderousness), mysliteĺstvo (intellectual thinking), etc.; these derivatives are indirectly motivated also by the verbal bases and they can function in texts both as names of qualities and of activities; b) Derivatives of the type pijan-stvo (addiction to drinking), krikĺúnstvo (bluster) which have the meaning "inclination" to drinking, to shouting; the basic motivation is verbal, the accompanying motivation is nominal - by the nouns pijan (drunkard), krikĺúň (loudmouth); c) Deverba-tive derivatives with two meanings of the type klamstvo (lying/lie) which in one meaning express characteristic quality, e.g. in the sentence Mal prirodzený sklon ku klamstvu (He had a na-tural inclination to lying), and in the other meaning express the act of the action, the deed, e.g. in the sentence Nikdy ti nezabudnem tvoje včerajšie klamstvo (I will never forget your lie of yesterday) (cf. Puzynina, 1969); d) Stylistically marked derivatives of the type kritikárstvo (criticasterism) which by their naming (onomasiological) structure stand closer to nomina actionis, are dynamically understood qualities (activities), as against the neutral names of deadjectival names of qualities,

e.g. <u>kritickosť</u> (criticalness).

<u>Names of statuses/states.</u> On the basis of the semantics
of the basic (motivating) word we include among the names of
statuses denominal derivatives with the formant <u>-stvo</u> which ha-
ve in their word-formative base a noun with the meaning of kin-
ship relationship, social relationship, rank, e.g. <u>manželstvo</u>
(marriage), <u>vdovstvo</u> (widowhood), <u>otroctvo</u> (slavery), <u>priateľ-</u>
<u>stvo</u> (friendship), <u>spojenectvo</u> (alliance), etc. Some of these
derivatives are bimotivational, and word-formatively as well
as lexically they simultaneously have two meanings, expressing
both a quality and a status. E.g. the derivative <u>otcovstvo</u>
(fatherhood) in the meaning "status of the person who is the fa-
ther" is a derivative with a split of structural (formal) and
semantic motivation - structurally it is motivated by the rela-
tional adjective <u>otcovský</u> (fatherly), semantically by the phrases:
<u>zisťovanie otcovstva</u> (identification of fatherhood), <u>neželané</u>
<u>otcovstvo</u> (unintended fatherhood). On the other hand, the same
derivative (fatherhood) motivated by the qualitative adjective
<u>otcovský</u> (fatherly) (=having the qualities of a father, caring,
kind) has the meaning of quality. It is exemplified, e.g., by
the phrase <u>výchova k otcovstvu a rodičovstvu</u> (education directed
at fatherhood and parenthood), i.e. education towards such quali-
ties as a (good) father has.

There also exist cases of neutralization of the opposition
between quality and state, the syntagmatic, contextual, indica-
tor of which is the possibility of synonymical interchange of
derivatives with the formants <u>-stvo/-osť</u>, e.g. <u>zúfalstvo - zúfa-</u>
<u>losť</u> (despair). As a motivating word both the verb and the ad-
jectivized participle function: <u>zúfalstvo</u> (despair) = the fact
that somebody was/is despairing. There exist dynamized psycho-
-physical states, too, among which we include derivatives of

the type <u>porazenectvo</u> (the state of being defeated) (= the iden-
tification with the state of a defeated person; as a motivating
word there exists in Slovak the noun <u>porazenec</u> /loser/ = the
person who has been defeated, who identifies himself/herself
with the state of somebody defeated, as well as the relevant
adjective <u>porazenecký</u> /concerning somebody defeated/).

In the above quoted study devoted to abstract nouns with
the formant <u>-stvo</u> we have shown that all the meanings mentioned
here of abstract names with this formant can be expressed by
combinations of semantic distinctive features: stály - nestály
(stable - unstable), aktuálny - neaktuálny (topical - non-topi-
cal), (štylisticky) príznakový - nepríznakový (/stylistically/
marked - unmarked), which are used within the framework of more
general meanings - action, quality, state (Bosák - Buzássyová,
1985, pp. 114-117).

In conclusion we shall now return to the system of abstract
lexemes which were defined generally at the beginning of this
article, and we shall show with illustrative examples that deri-
vatives with the formant <u>-stvo</u> function in this system as the
motive elements in three linguistic function:

I. as competing variant (synonymical) means,

II. as means of functional and semantic differentiation,

III. as means of functional and stylistic differentiation.

I. The competing variant means: <u>hegelianizmus - hegeliánstvo</u>
(Hegelianism); <u>zádrapčivosť - zádrapkárstvo</u> (cantakerousness);
<u>šialenosť - šialenstvo</u> (madness).

II. functional and semantic differentiation: 1. activity being
carried out - a field of activity: <u>stavanie - stavebníctvo</u> (buil-
ding - building industry), <u>zlepšovanie - zlepšovateľstvo</u> (ame-
liorating - activities in the field of innovation);

2. non-institutionalized activity - institutionalized activity: oponovanie - oponentúra, oponentstvo (opposing - opposition, opponent's position) (E.g. Prieči sa mi tvoje ustavičné oponovanie. /I hate your constantly being opposed./ Prijal oponentstvo tej práce. /He agreed to being the opponent/reviewer of that work.); 3. an activity being carried out - an inclination to an activity: pitie - pijanstvo (drinking - addiction to drinking), kapitulácia - kapitulovanie - kapitulantstvo (capitulation - capitulating - defeatism); 4. an activity in the direct sense - an activity in a figurative sense: budenie - buditeľstvo (waking up - revivalist spirit); 5. the course of the action - the act of the action (deed): klamanie - klamstvo (lying - lie); 6. static action - state: vlastnenie - vlastníctvo (owning - ownership);

III. functional and stylistic differentiation: 1. quality - course of action - pejoratively conceived quality/action: kritickosť - kritizovanie - kritikárstvo (criticalness - criticizing - criticasterism); 2. course of action - pejorative action/quality: zarábanie - zárobkárstvo (earning/profiting - profiteering); 3. quality - pejorative quality / action: pohodlnosť - pohodlníctvo (comfortableness - excessively seeking comfort), odbornosť - odborníctvo (expertness - expertism); 4.quality (neutr.) - quality (pejor.): pedantnosť - pedantstvo (meticulousness - pedantry); 5. quality - concrete deed (act of action): gaunerstvo (roguery), hrdinstvo (heroism); 6. sphere of activity - activity being carried out - pejoratively understood quality/activity: réžia, režisérstvo - režírovanie - režisérizmus (production /of a programme/ - producing - hack-producing); 7. neutral expression - obsolete expression: blaženosť - blaženstvo (blessedness - eternal bliss); 8. sphere

of activity (neutr.) - sphere of activity (coll., expr.): <u>sta</u><u>vebníctvo - stavar/č/ina</u> (constructing - building).

We agree with Dokulil (1962) with regard to the derivatives having the formant <u>-stvo</u> we consider the abstract meanings of activity, quality and state and their specifications as being basic, primary. However, names with the formant <u>-stvo</u> can secondarily acquire concrete (concretized) objective meanings of which there can also be several kinds:

1. As a second meaning to names of professions there exists the meaning of place concretized as a workshop, shop, repair shop: <u>zlatníctvo</u> (goldsmith's /shop/), <u>nábytkárstvo</u> (furniture shop), <u>lahôdkárstvo</u> (delikatessen shop). 2. With more general names of spheres of activity the concrete meaning of the place is specified as an enterpise, an institution: <u>vydavateľstvo</u> (publishing house). 3. With names of ranks and offices the second meaning of place is specified as a) an institution or a building where the person with the particular function works: <u>veľvyslanectvo</u> (embassy), <u>dekanstvo</u> (deanery), <u>ministerstvo</u> (ministry); b) as a territory which is in the province of the person having the particular rank, office: <u>kráľovstvo</u> (kingdom), <u>cisárstvo</u> (empire), <u>gróf</u><u>stvo</u> (county /belonging to an earl/), <u>biskupstvo</u> (bishopric);

4. the name of state <u>susedstvo</u> (neighbourhood) has a second concrete meaning "neighbouring place". 5. The meaning of collectivity is a concrete meaning too: <u>učiteľstvo</u> (teachers), <u>baníctvo</u> (miners). The derivative <u>predsedníctvo</u> (headquarters) with the abstract meaning of function has a specific concretized meaning: "the head with the top members of the committee". 6. The name <u>posolstvo</u> has three word-formative meanings: a) the abstract meaning: the function of an envoy or messenger, the fact of being an envoy, b) the collective meaning (= <u>poslovia</u> /envoys/),

c) nowadays a very frequent concretized meaning: what is sent, i.e. a news item, message delivered by some messenger or the message of some work, e.g. the message of a work of art.

Conclusion

The aim of our analysis, the "epicentre" of which was intentionally formed by derivatives with the formant -stvo as an example of derivatives formed in Slovak on the higher stages of derivation, was to show that the ability of such derivatives to enter into relationships of semantic and stylistic differentiation with other members of the particular derivative system is to a great extent conditioned by their polymotivational character or by the ambiguous character of their word-formative structure.

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(Translated by A. Böhmerová)

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DEFINITIONS OF TERM[+]

IVAN MASÁR

1. Qualifying (defining) term as the main object of the discipline dealing with terminology is the most important task of any theory of terminology. The understanding of term in our theory of today has stabilized as follows: "Term (a name) is the naming unit of a concept qualified by a definition and a place in a system of concepts of a given branch of science" (Principles..., 1964, p. 134). There are many attempts to define term in literature and many of the definitions "agree that term (technical expression) is the name of a concept in a system of concepts of some branch of science or technology" (Poštolková - Roudný - Tejnor, 1983, p. 24). However, there are attempts qualifying term otherwise than as an element of an objective system. The knowledge that term is the name of a concept and an element of a certain system has not been acquired at once. This piece of knowledge is a result of a discussion with previous views on term on the one hand, and on the other hand the utilization of the experience of the activity of terminological comissions that reached its peak with us in the fifties and sixties.

Older views on term have been analyzed in the only systematic work so far on terminology (Horecký, 1956, pp.35-43), and later in an extensive study (Kocourek, 1965). Both the authors deal mainly with domestic conceptions and definitions of term and introduce their own definitions.

[+]The original (Slovak) version of this article was published in: Kultúra slova, 22, 1988, pp. 120-141.

2. Jedlička´s definition of term as a lexical-semantic unit of the special function of language, and characterized by an exact meaning given in a specific sphere by a definition, convention or codification (Horecký, 1956, p, 35) is seen by Horecký as a reflection of an investigation of terms from the point of view of their stylistic value, or as the reflection of the distinguishing of functional styles. Horecký objects that when trying to find a place for term within functional styles (or within functional languages) neither the semantic character of term nor its word-formation structure is taken normally into account. He does not accept even the division of terms into terms in a limited (narrow) sense and to automatized words and collocations having a certain stabilized meaning in one branch of science or technology but another one in a different branch, and concludes that the concept of the automatized collocation is no gain for the theory of term (Horecký, 1956, p. 37). What he considers to be a complication is that there are non-automatized words as single elements of a term in so-called automatized collocations, and there is no possibility to find any system in their usage. He particularly emphasizes that there are no ways of formation of collocations that would not be supported by the national language (Horecký, 1956, p. 38).

J. Horecký, analyzing Jedlička´s definition of term, carefully examines the formulation that the meaning of a term is given by a definition, a convention, or a codification of the one hand, and on the other the usage of the compound word "lexikálno-sémantický" (lexical-semantic) (or more exactly of the collocation "lexikálno-sémantická jednotka" / lexical-semantic unit/).There is a convincing argument that no codification, definition or convention can constitute a meaning for

any concrete word or a sequence of sounds that has not yet

occured in language if there are no linguistic suppositions

for it based on its social and communicative function (Horec-

ký, 1956, p. 39). The attribute "lexikálno-sémantický" (lexi-

cal-semantic) is, according to J. Horecký, to emphasize that a

term is always an element of a word-stock and, of course, not

only as one word but also as a collocation forming a meaningful

whole, while only single words are considered to be elements of

a word-stock. He therefore suggests replacing the collocation

"lexikálno-sémantická jednotka" (lexical-semantic unit with the

term "pomenovanie" (naming unit) in the definition of term.

It is necessary to see the positive results of the analysis

of the quoted definition and the views on term especially in

ascertaining that a word of a definite language cannot be used

as a term in an arbitrary meaning. It coheres with the fact that

"every term is a linguistic sign and therefore must have some

motivation" (Horecký, 1956, p. 39). Taking into account the

sign character of term, the necessity to replace the concept

lexical-semantic unit with the concept naming unit (i.e. taking

into account the denominative function of term), and taking

into account the opinion of scientific literature Horecký intro-

duces the definition of term as follows: "Term is a naming

unit for a concept in a system of a given branch of science

or trade" (Horecký, 1956, p. 43).

Comparing this older definition with the more recent one[1]

introduced at the beginning of this study a few of important

differences appear. There is a mark of equality between term

and name in the more recent definition. This solution has to

be understood as a principal attitude to older attempts to

divide sharply term from name in the sense that a term is the

name of a concept and a name is the name of a thing. No atti-
tude to this problem is reflected in the older definition
although Horecký deals with that problem in his work (Horecký,
1956, p. 42), anticipating the later explicitly formulated view
that words within nomenclature are also connected with concepts
(Reformatskij, 1961, pp. 47-49 1986, p. 165), although there
are certain differences between nomenclature and terminology
(described in detail in Reformatskij, 1961, pp. 47-49). There
is another difference in the postulation of the demand to define
term. There is a reference to it in the basic part of the definition
which represents term as the name of a concept qualified by a de-
finition and a place in a system of concepts. At first sight it
may seem that the demand to define term is not mentioned in the
older definition because J. Horecký hesitated to believe that
the meaning of a term is given by a definition, a convention
or a codification. It is necessary to emphasize that this
is not the refusal of a definition, a convention or a codifica-
tion as a means of stabilization of a term generally but it is
the refusal of the idea that these methods can determine any
meaning for a definite word that is to fulfill the function
of a term (e.g. determination of the meaning "detergent" for
the word obrazáreň (picture gallery) - Horecký´s instance, 1956,
p. 38). The need to define term results from the need to
identify a word, a concept and a thing, as well as from the
existence of polysemy, from the function of term, and also from
the reason that words from the general word-stock are often
used as names of scientific concepts, i.e. terms are often
formed in the semantic way (more details on this method are
to be found in Poštolková - Roudný - Tejnor, 1983, p. 53), and

that the semantically formed term has to have some specifications to be different from its counterpart in the general word-stock.

There is an important point in the more recent definition on the need to support the meaning of a term by its place in a system of concepts besides the verbal expression (definition). It is in fact the demand of a kind of "double" definition, taking into account that in some branches of science (botany, zoology) even the place of a term or a name within a system has a considerable defining power.

Finally, there is another difference between the older definition and the newer one. In the older definition a system of a branch of science or trade is considered while only a system of a branch of science is considered in the more recent one, whereby the validity of the definition becomes limited to the branch of science or scientific terms. It is worth reminding ourselves that when quoting or applying the newer definition in other work on terminology the omission from the older definition is in a certain way substituted: a system of concepts of some branch of science or t e c h n o l o g y is spoken about (emphasized by I.M.;Poštolková - Roudný - Tejnor, 1983, p. 24). The substitution shows that a system of concepts can exist not only within science but also in other spheres of human activity.

We have paid such a great deal of attention to Horecký´s definitions of term because the older one is considered "a successful effort of organic completion of the linguistic viewpoint with an opinion of expert-non-linguists" (Kocourek, 1965, p. 10). This evaluation also relates, of course, to the newer definition. The understanding of term in the newer

definition is deeply rooted for us in applied terminological activity.

3. Besides Horecký's overall survey of definitions of term and the literature connected with this problem, there is also a survey of this whole topic in a separate study by R. Kocourek (1965). Its author besides the analysis of other definitions carries out a detailed analysis of Jedlička's above-mentioned definition, the gain of which he sees in the fact that in comparison with previous definitions Jedlička "introduced a wider understanding of term which is common to the present day" (Kocourek, 1965, p. 8).

It is necessary to mention Kocourek's analysis of the definition of term suggested by K. Sochor, whom J. Horecký also quoted, comparing Sochor's definition with that of A. M. Terpigorev's (Horecký, 1956, pp.43-44). Sochor's definition goes: term "is a precise linguistic expression of a concept which belongs to a system of a given branch" (Sochor, 1955, pp.9-10). As is obvious, the second part of this definition is very close to Horecký's newer definition in the matter of Sochor's classifying term within a system. However, it is not clear from this definition what kind of system it is. Besides, there is one more important difference: Horecký seeks a place for a term within a system of concepts of an objective branch. That is the point, as we see it, that makes Sochor's definition more precise, and we complete thereby the positive evaluation of Horecký's older definition that we made in the last paragraph.

R. Kocourek finds more important formulations in the manual on terminology by Sochor (according to the author they are definitions of term); some of them may be considered

a contribution to the theory of term. The basic attributes
of a definition can be found with the formulation that "term...
as every other word is a unit of a word-stock, i.e. a lexical
unit, and its task is to name the concepts particular for a
certain branch of science or of practical activity (Sochor, 1955,
p. 8). Nevertheless, the statement that "a term is a naming unit
which an expert needs in his field of activity in addition to ge-
neral word-stock" (Sochor, 1955, p.9) can hardly be judged as a
definition. It is simply one potential statement from the logic-
al spectrum of the concept t e r m . After all, in connection
with this Kocourek states that: "The defect of this definition
is that it excludes from terminology expressions like pôda
(soil), voda (water), oblak (cloud), list (leaf), výkon (out-
put)" (Kocourek, 1965, p.10). This account of the defect is
generally correct; however, its persuasiveness is weakened by
the fact that the quoted examples are the classic example for
creating terms in a semantic way, and therefore the words
pôda (soil), voda (water) etc. do not remain or need not remain
outside terminology at all.

A significant place in Kocourek´s study is reserved for
the analysis of the definition of term by K. Hausenblas: "term
is a name or a naming unit which, with regard to necessities
of communication of the special sphere in which it is used,
has a specifically limited meaning" (quoted after Kocourek,
1965, p.11). Kocourek´s general findings that this definition
corresponds with Havránek´s understanding of term and termino-
logy and that Horálek´s views on the naming unit are adapted
here, can be completed with the explicit formulation that
there is a direct connexion with the theory of functional
styles. In other words, it is an emphasis of the idea that

term is an element of the special (scientific, technical, etc.) style and text. From the point of view of the practical demand in accordance with which a definition has to be concise, it is well-founded, as far as we are concerned, to consider the redundance of the collocation naming unit in the expression "name or naming unit" because there is undoubtedly the relationship of synonymy between both the members of this expression, and it is common to designate both the one-word and collocation naming unit or names, i.e. both one-word and collocation terms.

R. Kocourek comments in detail also on the reasoning in which Hausenblas suggests what should be the next course in making the definition of term more precise, and concludes that "emphasizing the stage of the terminological character on the one hand, and the stage of the definition character on the other hand, Hausenblas indicated the aspect essential for the satisfactory definition of term" (Kocourek, 1965, p. 13). Either of Hausenblas´ postulates clearly indicates that he approaches a term according to its "behaviour" in a text and to its amalgamation into a text. However, taking into account that the task of terminology as a scientific discipline is to say with the maximum exactness (and conciseness) what is term and to postulate its basic qualities, and that the task of the applied terminology is to answer the question "what is it?" (what is the thing that a term designates) in the most accurate way, the reasoning on the stage of the definition character and the stage of the terminological character will acquire another sense. The reason is that the absolute majority of terms is not defined directly in a text (of course, with the exception of the newly introduced terms) but they are considered ready-made elements for construction of the text, i.e. elements

with a high degree of definedness and terminological character, or simply exact terms. We presume that the concept of the definedness is compatible with the concept of the way of defining, and that it can be interpreted against its background (the fact that a meaning of a term is mediated in a text by means of an example, a synonym, etc. is above all a way of interpreting its meaning), and if a certain element is considered a term a manner of defining neither deteriorates, nor improves its terminological character. The concepts of the definiton quality, the terminological quality, semiterm (Kocourek, 1965, p.13) are useful above all for the research of a special text and/or originate from such research but they are not relevant for the elaboration of "a satisfactory definition of term" as an element within a system of concepts which the theory of terminology operates with; the definition of term and these concepts are not conditioned by each other, neither are they in a relation of direct coherence.

Kocourek´s study carefully describes and comments on definitions by other authors, and, in addition, on reflections connected with this topic, e.g. the definition by V. Budovičová: "terms ... are naming units of scientific concepts that have been elaborated within science" (Kocourek, 1965, p.14). The author of the study finds a certain proximity between this definition and that of Horecký's newer one; however, he does not pay attention to the essential difference. We see agreement in the fact that Horecký determines a term to an exactly limited place within the system of concepts (terms) of an objective branch of science whereas Budovičová does so within science as a whole. Nevertheless,it is necessary to mention that the formulation "scientific concepts that have been

elaborated within science" intensively approaches tautology,
and therefore its contribution to the theory of terminology
becomes problematic.

Concerning the definition of term we set great store by
the thinking of J. Machač which results in the knowledge that
the dominant features of term as a means of the special commu-
nication are the speciality of its meaning and the speciality
of its function, and all the rest being allotted to term can
be considered important and typical only under certain circum-
stances (Kocourek, 1965, p.15).

The proper definition of term is obtained by R. Kocourek -
in a similar way to J. Horecký - only after having investigated
more definitions with the intention "to express the function
of term in an implied way by the means of its significative
meaning" (Kocourek, 1965, p.20). He realizes that it is important
to grasp the relationship between a concept and a term (i.e. to
intercept its significative meaning), for the definition of
term, however, the definition does not reflect this need. This
definition only marks a dividing line within the literary word-
stock; there are terms as defined elements of the word-stock on
one side of this line (however, it is hard to say what the
aspect of their definition was), and non-defined elements
on the other side. Nevertheless, it is necessary to mention
that the explanation added by R. Kocourek to his own defini-
tion is interesting and convincing, and therefore, it is a
pity that he did not attempt to express some of the elements
in the definition too, e.g. the fact that in his opinion a
term differs from a non-term by the definition character of the
significative meaning.

4. Naturally, the definition of term and its relative problems also attract great attention abroad. As our theory of terminology traditionally is related to Soviet research into problems of terminology (cf. the subchapter Definícia termínu /\The Definition of Term/ in Horecký´s work, Sochor´s work, frequent translations of Soviet works in Československý terminologický časopis /.Czechoslovak Terminological Journal/, reviews in the same journal and in the journal Kultúra slova /.Culture of the Word./ etc.) we will first note two of the most recent Soviet definitions. According to one of them term is understood as "a word (or collocation) within a special sphere, and is a naming unit of a special concept, and has to be defined" (Danilenko, 1977, p. 15).Unlike the definition being used with us in theoretical works on terminology - and also in practice - nothing is mentioned about a system of concepts but there is in accordance with our definition the need to define term. The cornerstones of this definition are the usage of a term in a special sphere, the speciality of a concept and its definition character. However, there is a question of whether is it inevitable to introduce the speciality of term individually when the speciality of the sphere of its usage is being emphasized and the necessity of its definition is postulated; the definition itself also emphasizes - or should emphasize - the speciality of the defined object.

The second definition follows from the author´s definition of terminology and the system of terms: terminology is "a system of signs within some special sphere of activity and is isomorphic with the system of concepts within this sphere and satisfying its necessities of communication" (Averbuch, 1986, p. 46). What is remarkable is the stating of isomorphism between
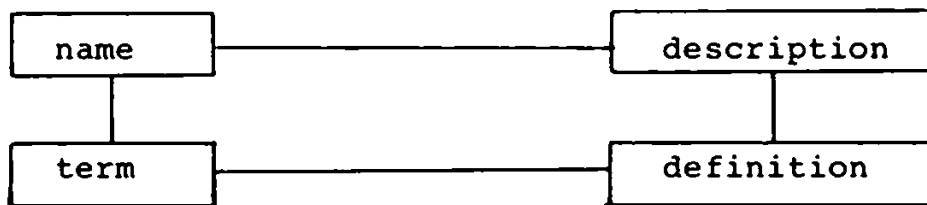
the system of signs and the system of concepts. It is a reaction
to the contemporaneous separateness and unity of the object
c o n c e p t / t e r m that has been divided to meet the
needs of system analysis in order to emphasize the uniqueness
of a concept as an object within the sphere of thinking and a
term within the sphere of language (Horecký, 1974). In accordan-
ce with this isomorphism is defined the system of terms not the
system of oo ncepts as it is in our theory of terminology where
a determination of the concept of terminology is also missing
(cf. Zásady /Principles/..., 1964). From such an understanding
of terminology and the system of terms and from taking into
account the functioning of term in a text, the following defi-
nition of term results: term is "an element of the terminology
(the system of terms) representing a total of all varieties of
a certain word or a stabilized collocation which expresses a
special concept related to some special sphere" (Averbuch, 1986,
p. 46). There are two approaches combined or joined in the de-
finition: a) the approach to term as to the element of a certain
system (in our terminological theory represented by Horecký´s
newer definition, Sochor´s definition etc.), b) the approach
to term as to an element of a special text represented in Czecho-
slovakia e.g. by A.Jedlička, but chiefly by K. Hausenblas).
Unlike in our understanding the approach to term as to the element
of text is particularly emphasized by the fact that all the
varieties of a certain word or of a stabilized collocation
functioning as a term are taken into account, and there is the
explicit reminder that the forms of words and of collocations
in flective languages are also understood as varieties (Averbuch,
1986, p. 46). It is obvious from the definition that it has been
elaborated on the principles of variology, a discipline dealing

with variability as a basic quality of language manifested in all its levels. As it is a completely new understanding of term it is hard to determine what contribution it will make to the practical terminological activity.

5. The author of an older Polish terminological work was concerned with problems of technological terminology, and therefore defines term within technology, not term generally: "a technological name which requires a definition is a technological term" (Mazur, 1971, p.10). The need of definedness is reasoned with reference to the collocation <u>ortuťový teplomer</u> (mercury thermometer), which, according to the author, is a technological term because the knowledge of a thermometer and mercury is not sufficient enough to reveal what is the mercury thermometer, and what is decisive is the definition. Such a reasoning of the definedness and status of the technological term can be attacked with an objection as to whether mercury and a thermometer are not technological terms because any man with an average education is clever enough to know what a thermometer and mercury are, and does not need any definition. The author - probably anticipating such an objection explains later that: "One-word naming units used in technology are sometimes terms because they have to be defined" (Mazur, 1971, p.11). Not even this explanation is convincing enough (nor do practical examples increase its conclusivability) because it does not detemine reliably when a definition is necessary, and when it is not. The definition, as we see it, reflects the opinion that it is necessary to differ a name ("názov") from a term ("termín") and the difference between them is given by the definedness. However, we do not consider the facultativity of the definition a sufficiently exact criterion to differentiate a term from a

non-term. The necessity of definedness was also reflected in Kocourek´s definition; nevertheless, he tried to expand the validity of definition beyond the limits of the technological terminology and ascribe a general validity to it.

The definition of another Polish author according to whom "term is a naming unit with a meaning stabilized by an agreement and ascribed to a concept entering a field of interest of particular branch of science, technology, economy, production, education, sport etc." (Nowicki, 1986, p. 35) is deeper and more elaborated. Neither in the previous definition,nor in this one is term understood as an element of a system (this brings both definitions close to that of Danilenko), a system is replaced by a field of interest of a particular branch, and instead of the demand of the definition, that was comprised in Danilenko´s definition, there is a preference of convention (cf. the formulation "with a meaning stabilized by an agreement"). However, the author does not reject the need of a definition because in other place he has written that "term as any other name (naming unit) must be determined (described)" (Nowicki, 1986, p. 37). There is a remarkable formulation useful for the applied terminology, "in a conciliatory way" solving the controversy raised about the understanding of term and name, or more widely, around the boundaries of terminology and nomenclature: "1. term is a specific case of name (naming unit), 2. definition is a specific case of determination, 3. a name is usually described although it could be also defined, 4. a term is usually defined although it could be described" (Nowicki, 1986, p.38). These findings are expressed in the diagram on page 39:

```
┌──────────────┐          ┌──────────────────┐
│    name      │──────────│   description    │
└──────────────┘          └──────────────────┘
        │                          │
┌──────────────┐          ┌──────────────────┐
│    term      │──────────│   definition     │
└──────────────┘          └──────────────────┘
```

However, terminological practice so far enables to make the meaning of the word "usually" used in these formulation more precise, i.e. to determine more objectively two basic situations in which we come into contact with term and in which it is clear how to deal with it. First, it is in a terminological dictionary (but also the standards of nomenclature and lists of terms), where a definition is required; secondly, it is a special text, where not only a definition or a description but also various other ways of making the meaning of a term known are permitted.

6. The Vienna terminological school, the foundations of which were laid by E. Wüster, pays the greatest attention to the concept side, term itself has not been determined as a particular object of research, it is only widely analyzed as a naming unit (Benennung) of concept. The successor to Wüster, Helmut Felber, defines term as a linguistic symbol or a linguistic sign (Felber, 1986). The question of what term is can also be answered in the following way: "Any conventional symbol for a concept formed of articulated sounds or their written representatives (letters)" (Picht - Draskau, 1985, p.96). This formulation represents a purely linguistic approach to term. It means that it is supported by a sign character of term, and that constitution of its meaning is based on a convention. However, this definition is fairly vague because it does not refer to the speciality of term, i.e. does not differentiate a term from a non-term. This is tackled by the authors only later; when considering the content of term they

find it has a higher degree of accuracy or a specific content
unknown in the common language" (Picht - Draskau, 1985, p.97).
The formulation that a term is also differentiated from a non-
term by its "incorporation in a system of terms" (Picht - Draskau,
1985, p. 97) is compatible with that of our understanding of term
(Horecký). It is surprising that the authors have not attempted
to include these important facts in their definition.

The sign character as the basic quality of term is explicit-
ly expressed also in the following definition: "term is in essen-
ce a linguistic sign (in Saussure's understanding of sign), i.e.
a linguistic unit comprising signans and signatum" (Rondeau,
1981, p.21). The author uses the restricting expression "in essence"
as a means of forming a space for making this basis of definition
more precise because he realizes the necessity of differentiating
a term as a linguistic sign from other signs. The differentiating
element in opposition to the other signs is found first in the
fact that a meaning of a term (extension sémantique) is "determi-
ned more by the relation to signatum than by the relation to
signans" (Rondeau, 1981, p.21). Nevertheless, he also finds more
differentiations in other characteristics of term and in reason-
ings on them (we should mention at least the thesis that a term
cannot be considered an isolated object because it is always a
semantic total bound to science, technology or to other spheres
of human activity, in other words, always to some special sphere;
that one of the important characteristics of term are the ways
of its formation etc.). If all these characteristics, observations
and theses became a starting point for the formulation of the
definition the author could get more closer to the essence of
term than only by emphasizing the fact that term is a linguistic
sign. The fact that the author uses the concepts of the general

linguistic sign and of the terminological linguistic sign is for us the proof that the sign character itself is not sufficient for an elaboration of the definition of term.

7. Even this limited digest from a great number of definitions of term in domestic and foreign literature represents various types of definitions. The idea that science and/or its representatives are not able to answer the question what is a term would not be appropriate in spite of the great number of definitions and their variability. Each of the analyzed definitions intercepts at least one essential point of such a complex object as term is (sometimes even its fourdimensionality is mentioned - cf. Masár, 1984, p.155); that is why it is possible to agree with the view that "things in research, and therefore also terms, are characterized by many points which seem to be of a different degree of importance according to the researcher's approach " (Kocourek, 1965, p.16).

The set of the analyzed definitions displays that each of the authors understands term as a linguistic sign, and that the definitions of some of them (Picht - Draskau, Rondeau) are based on the sign character and express it explicitly. However, than definitions based only on this character do not express specific qualities of term and/or do not differentiate a term from a non-term. Other groups of definitions introduce term as an element of a certain system (Sochor, Horecký, Poštolková - Roudný - Tejnor) as an element of text (Jedlička, Hausenblas), as a defined element of the word-stock (Kocourek and also-with a certain restriction - Mazur), as a word within a special sphere naming a special concept (Danilenko, Nowicki), as a product of science (Budovičová), and last but not least, as an element of both the system and the text (Averbuch). This classification has, however, only an orientation

character because with the exception of the definitions formed upon one quality of term only (Budovičová, Kocourek, Mazur) all the other definitions absorb also other important qualities, such as the definedness the function, the representation of a concept, etc. All of this separates term from the general word-stock. In such a way the demand expressed a quarter of century ago in respect of the etymology of the word t e r m (border, limit) has been satisfied to a great extent: "It is necessary to find by what a term is bordered from other terms and what borders it" (Reformatskij, 1961, p.47).

The basic division of the definitions to those determining term against the background of the text level, and to those based on the lexical level raises the question of which definitions are more advantageous in practice. And, the comparison of the definitions shows the need to make the starting definition of this article more precise.

Experience acquired by applied terminological activity prefers the definitions determining term as an element of sub-system of the word-stock. This results from the fact that when standardizing terms the basic form of a term, its accuracy (i.e. its denomination value) unattainable without a definition is the most important. A text takes in a term as a ready-made construction element formed by a collective or an individual terminological activity.

On the basis of the comparison of the definitions we consider it useful to complete the initial definition with the statement that term is an element of the subsystem of the word-stock, and that it is a defined element of a system of concepts not only within a branch of science but also within many other branches of human activity (this has been considered in the definitions

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by Poštolková - Roudný - Tejnor, Danilenko, Nowicki). According to this term (name) is the element of the word-stock naming a concept determined by a definition and a place within a system of concepts of an objective branch of science, technology, economy and other activities. However, the definitions determining term as an element of a system have a weak point in the term "system of concepts" (or according to Averbuch "system of terms") understood as "a set of concepts interconnected mutually in accordance with a strictly determined manner" (Zásady /Principles/..., 1964, p. 134) i.e. that it is a postulated and an ideal system. Nevertheless, it will be necessary to define a real system within the intentions of the new system approach with the regard to the knowledge that a whole has specific qualities different from those of the elements of which it consists, and that it functions according to different laws than the elements it is constructed of.

Note

1 The more recent definition has also been elaborated by J. Horecký, although he is not mentioned as its author, in the Principles of Co-ordination of Czech and Slovak Terminology. The text of the Principles has not been signed even by the then existing Czechoslovak Central Terminological Comission but the author of this study, having been then the executive editor of a publishing organ of that comission, has reliable information that the comission authorized the text prepared for publication by J. Horecký.

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(Translated by E. Pícha)

SEMANTIC RECONSTRUCTION OF THE OLDEST SLOVAK WORDSTOCK[+]

RUDOLF KRAJČOVIČ

1. The fact that the principal source of our cognition of
the oldest wordstock of Slovak is the old toponymy and antropo-
nymy recorded in Latin documents from the 11th - 14th centuries,
is generally known. Likewise known are also the difficulties
of a heuristic character connected with the reconstruction of
the original form of the older records of this historical onymic
material (further on we shall be speaking only about old topony-
my). In the end, neither the problems connected with the identi-
fication of the formal aspect, nor - and specifically - those
connected with the content (i.e. semantic) aspect of the words
which became petrified in the old toponymy, are unknown. Of course,
the present situation is different from what it used to be not
long ago. At present it is already generally acknowledged that
old toponymy is in fact the only source documenting the continui-
ty of the Slovak language from prehistory to the period of its
early development. This fact itself is already a sufficient rea-
son for this precious material to become the object of a detail-
ed scientific research. Moreover, at present we already have
at our disposal several studies from the sphere of theoretical
and applied toponomastics (the most recent one by Matejčík, 1982)
which are instrumental in revealing "the secrets" of ancient
toponymical naming processes and also help to determine more

+ The original (Slovak) version of this article was published in: Jazykoved-
ný časopis, 34, 1983, pp. 156-162.

exact starting points and criteria for the procedures of reconstructing the form and the contents of the old toponymized words.

The positive results of the recent theoretical considerations of the genesis of the old toponymy include, above all, the fact that with the help of the notion of "toponymical desemantization" it was possible, within the framework of toponymical naming processes, to delimit the starting point of desemantization, i.e. the lexical factor, and the product of desemantization, i.e. the onymic factor with its specific functions (identifying, differentiating, orientative, etc.). The question whether the formal and the content reconstruction of the old toponymized wordstock belongs to the sphere of historical toponomastics or to historical lexicology, is not of importance for our theme. In our considerations we shall start with the postulate that the delimitation between the lexical and the onymic, within the framework of the toponymical naming process, as mentioned above, has objective validity. It ensues from this delimitation that the toponymized wordstock can be identified as a specific object of research.

2. We shall not devote any specific attention to theoretical and methodological questions of the reconstruction of the formal (acoustic and derivational) aspects of the toponymized wordstock. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that this aspect is also of importance within the analysis of the contents of toponymized wordstock, as the historical interpretation of the semantic aspects of the toponymized words cannot be adequate without the scientifically "modelled" form of such words. E.g. the research worker dealing with the semantic aspects of toponymical words cannot be indifferent to the fact of whether the old Slovak oikonym Vozokany (Vezekyn 1240, Wozokan 1478, now Vozokany, district

of Galanta)[1] originally had the structure <u>Vozo-kany</u> or <u>Vozok-</u>
<u>-any</u>, or whether the oikonym <u>Prievidza</u> (<u>Preuigan</u> 1113, <u>Preuge</u>
1289, etc.) is analyzed as <u>Prĕvid-ja</u> and in its base there should
be sought the form of an antroponym (i.e. the personal name
<u>Previd</u>), or a form of an originally derived appellative (cf.
<u>prievidza, prievidná hora</u> "aisle in a forest; thin forest"; Ká-
lal, 1923, p. 542).

3. In our study we shall concentrate upon the reconstruc-
tion of the semantic aspect of the toponymical words with regard
to their contemporary formal structure. Of course, even at the
outset it will be necessary to point out that the reconstruction
of the semantic aspects of toponymized words is at present right-
fully included among the most important and at the same time
most complicated research operations of genetic toponomastics.
This is connected with the fact that a word at the outset of
the oikonymic naming process enters into a relationship with
the object (i.e. the settlement unit) in the same way as a word
within the formation of a text, i.e. there applies within it
the concrete semantic content, or a delimited complex of com-
ponents of the historical semantic structure (e.g. in addition
to the factographical component there is also applied the express-
ive component, etc.). Hence, the difficulties connected with
the reconstructive "modelling" of the original meaning of the
toponymized word stem from the fact that it is necessary to search
for the concrete historical meaning of the toponymized word,
i.e. to scrutinize its meaning with regard to the denotate which
at the time of the rise and duration of the oikonymic naming
process fulfilled the function of a motivational factor (<u>osada</u>
<u>pri dubovej hore</u> "a settlement at an oak wood" ──➤ the settle-
ment <u>Dubová</u>). These difficulties are further extended by the

fact that the original motivational factor has not always been preserved, or that only some fragments or indirect references have been preserved from it, or else that it still remains hidden from science. In spite of that, genetic toponomastics cannot renounce the identification of the motivational factor because its uncovering can prove or specify the supposed contents of the toponymized word which offers to the linguist the aspect of reconstruction that is the closest to him - the historical-lexical ± aspect. However, a research of the semantic aspects of the toponymized words which has such a complex orientation can be successful only if the basis of its method is represented by the interdisciplinary approach, i.e. an adequate application of the results of non-linguistic disciplines, namely archaeology, historiography, geography, geology, paleobotany, etc.

3.1. In our historical toponomastics the identification of the form and contents of the toponymized word is most often connected with the application of the linguistic aspect. This is applied by means of the internal comparison of the historical state with the contemporary state within the framework of the development of the same language, or by means of external comparison, i.e. a comparison with the historical or the contemporary state of genetically related languages. The results of such a historico-linguistically and comparatively aimed research have a real value mainly if the historical denotate of the toponymized words has not considerably changed since the time of the rise and the relization of the oikonymical naming process, or if the form and the contents of the parallels to the analyzed toponymized word in other genetically related languages have either not been changed or have been only slightly modified. However, such a procedure is not very reliable if the meaning of the compared

non-Slavonic words is heterogeneous, or if there are no lexical parallels in Slavonic languages. In these cases semantic reconstruction can only have the value of a basic postulate which has to be further analyzed and checked, and it is necessary to search for arguments supporting it. To proceed in such a way is necessary with regard to the aim of being able to identify even on the basis of the procedure whether the reconstruction of the meaning of toponymized words has the value of a scientific fact, of theoretical reasoning, or whether it is a working hypothesis, a guess or a subjective construct.

3.2. It stems from the attempts so far carried out at identifying the motivational factors or historical denotates of toponymized words that such motivational factors can be, as a rule, external, i.e. existing apart form the onymic object (the type hradište "fortified settlement"→ village Hradište), internal i.e. inherent to the onymic object itself (dlhá osada "long village"→ Dlhá), and fictive, i.e. invented, pejorative, etc. (the type "a village next to some water or moorland"→ Žabokreky "Frog-quacks"). A specific group is represented by onymic motivational factors. These are the cases when the name of one onymic object is transposed into another onymic object (the river Bystrica → the settlement Bystrica). Of these motivational factors the most accessible ones for research are the external factors, from among the internal factors they are above all the material features (the presence of gable-markers (Štitári) in the village → the village Štitáre). With regard to this fact it can be generally stated that linguistic semantic reconstructions can be verified, hierarchically ordered (if there are more of them), or arguments for them can be acquired mainly by textual onymic and documentary procedures and by factographical argumentation. The textual onymic

procedure is based on the fact that the argumentation supporting
the linguistic reconstruction of the semantic aspects of the
toponymized word is carried out by means of the toponymized words
with relatively unproblematic meanings petrified in the names
of neighbouring or near settlements. E.g. from two older meanings
of the word ciment (cement) "building material" and "material
for cleaning gold" (Machek, 1968, p.82), which were petrified
in the name of the settlement Cimenná in the district of Topoĺ-
čany (Czymynna 1484, Czimenna 1598), the argument for the meaning
"material for cleaning gold" is the word zlatník (goldsmith) "the
person making articles of gold, testing gold, establishing its
value, etc." petrified in the closely adjacent name Zlatníky
(Arannyos 1390, Zlatnik 1863). After all, gold mining in the
area of these two settlements in the 13th-14th centuries is also
documented by other historical sources (Kučera, 1974, p.241)[2].
The linguistic reconstruction of the semantic aspects of the
perished word koplot "strengthened fencing with pallisades,
guards, etc.", postulated with regard to the intensifying prefix
ko- (Machek, 1968, p.263), which was petrified in the original
name of the settlement Koploty (cf. Coplat 1185/tr., CDS I, p.92;
Koploth 1275, nowadays Koplotovce in the district Trnava), is
verified by the word otrok "a person who has no right to speak
at public meetings(an acquired slave, captive run-away servant
or deserter)", petrified in the historical name of the neighbouring
settlement Otroky (Otroc 1156, Otroky 1343), nowadays Dolné a
Horné Otrokovce, and the old Hungarian word vasar "market, mark-
etplace", petrified in the original name of another adjacent
settlement Vasard (Vasar, Vascard 1156, CDS I, p.79), nowadays
Dolné a Horné Trhovište in the district of Trnava. The occurrence
of the old words koplot - otrok - vasar (market, market-place)

petrified in names of settlements located near to each other
can, as a whole, be qualified as a specific case of a historical
text which comprizes an item of information about a historical
social phenomenon - a fenced-in market-place with slave, i.e.
with acquired slaves, captives, caught run-away servants, desert-
ers, etc. (Krajčovič, 1956; more recently, with details added,
Kučera, 1974, pp. 259-334, 275). Such "texts" can be called his-
torical onymic texts, and that is why we also speak of a textual
onymic procedure .

We speak of a textual documentary procedure in those cases
when the meaning of the toponymized word reconstructed by means
of the historical-linguistic method is verified or specified
on the basis of a record about historical facts in old, usually
Latin, written documents. E.g. the postulated meaning of the
word nevidza "non-transparent, thick forest or grove (which is
not thinned)" (cf. the word prévidza "transparent, thin forest"
in part 2) can be considered to be real with regard to the record
"villa Nyweg iuxta multitudinem arborum" in a document from the
year 1234/tr. (Šmilauer, 1932, p. 114) which describes the imme-
diate surroundings of the medieval settlement Nevidza near Nitra,
nowadays Nevidzany. The old meaning of the word deber or debra
"a steep valley, dale, gorge" is directly documented by the record
"saltus Debrei" from the year 1113 (saltus - a forested steep
valley, gorge or afforested downs) in the document from 1113
(CDS I, p. 65). Of course, in a similar way there can also be
verified or specified such toponymized words which used to denote
historical, economic or social phenomena. E.g. the fact that
the old word badati with the meaning "to learn by means of ob-
servation, search or inquiry" (SP I, p. 175 et seq.) was petrified
in the name of the settlement Badín in the district of Banská

Bystrica (Badun 1238, Badyn 1295) is documented by the record about this settlement from the year 1282 "villa custodum silvarum regalium "(on these words see Krajčovič, 1983).

Of great importance is the procedure of factographical argumentation. This means a procedure by which the historical semantic aspects at toponymized words are reconstructed, documented or hierarchically systematized on the basis of the facts found and investigated by non-linguistic disciplines. Of the humanities this means predominantly archaelogy. Let us present at least one example. The existence of the word žel - with the meaning "sorrow expressed by wailing,lamentation, etc." (cf. the contemporary želieť, SSJ V., p.795), probably identical with Old Slavonic žeľa (sorrow) and close to Old Russian žalьnikъ "tumulus - tomb, sepulchre" (Machek, 1968, pp. 724 et.sèq) is proved by the original name žel- (cf. Zel, Zeel 1327), nowadays Želovce in the district Veľký Krtíš, and its importance is documented by the archeological finding of an unusually large Old Slavonic or bi-ritual Slavonic-Avar burying ground in the area of the same village (VSN, p. 258 et seq).

It seems that the application of historiographical knowledge about the historical economic and social facts for the interpretation of historical toponymy is probably the best one known here (Varsik, 1964-1970; more recently Kučera, 1974). Less known is the application of knowledge of natural sciences, although this application is also equally useful. E.g. the word čereň in addition to the meaning "fireplace (on an elevated site)" had also the meaning "flat top of a mountain, ridge of a mountain" (Machek, 1968, p.100). Geographical data provide evidence that villages in Slovakia in the names of which this word became petrified, are located on elevated sites having terrace or flat

tops. These place names include Čereňany in the district of
Prievidza (Cherenen 1388), Čerenčany in the district of Rimav-
ská Sobota (Cherenchen 1344) and undoubtedly also Čerín in the
district of Banská Bystrica (Cheren 1300 indicates the original
form Čereň).[3] In other cases also different spatial qualities
can function as arguments, e.g. the distance from the core of
the settlement area. The old meaning of the word ľädo "untilled
land· (i.e. land which is distant from the core of the settlement)"
is documented by the fact that settlements with names formed
on the basis of this word are also nowadays remote from the core
of the old settlement areas. These include, e.g., Ladice in the
district of Nitra (Leuduch 1213, instead of Lenduch, i.e. Lędic),
Ladzany in the district of Zvolen (Lendyen 1233, Lengyen 1388,
i.e. the older form Lędžän- and the newer Ladžan-), etc.

3.3. Finally, deeper knowledge about the historical import-
ance of toponymical words, mainly about their structure, can
be acquired by the investigation of the historical stratification
of old toponymy. This aspect of the investigation of genetic
toponomastics is based on the fact that old toponymy as a whole
is, from the genetic point of view, heterogeneous, and that the
old wordstock from which toponymy arose is made up of several
layers of semantically close words. Basically, they are older
layers of toponymized words the meanings of which have several
common semantic components. As a rule, these components reflect
the particular historical extra-linguistic reality, and they
can also be identified by searching for relationships between
linguistic facts and items of knowledge from the sphere of non-
linguistic disciplines. E.g. the important archaeological finding
of tar furnaces from the 9th-10th centuries in the areas of the
settlements Bojnice and Koš in the district of Prievidza (VSN,

pp.29-31, p.109) allow, within the semantic structure of the
toponymized words <u>breza</u>, <u>brest</u>, <u>miazga</u> (in fact <u>miezga</u> or <u>mézga</u>
/birch, elm, sap/), which became petrified in the toponymy of
the wider surroundings of this tar centre (in the neighbourhood
of Bojnice there are, e.g. <u>Brezany</u>, then more to the west <u>Brezo-</u>
<u>lupy</u>, <u>Miezgovce</u>, the settlement <u>Brestovník</u>), for the identifica-
tion of the component "special raw material". The point is that
both birch and elm bark and sap formed in old times the basic
raw material for the production of tar as well as of pitch. In
the historical semantic structure of the old words nomina agentis
of the type <u>hrnčiari</u> (potters), <u>štitári</u> (gable-makers), <u>tesári</u>
(carpenters), <u>psiari</u> (dog breeders), <u>lovci</u> (hunters), etc., it
is justified to presuppose the component "service status", as
they were petrified in the names of settlements already since
early feudalism, above all in the neighbourhood of Old Slavonic
(Great Moravian) fortified settlements, of important merchant
routes, within the areas of royal, duke or feudal homesteads,
etc. (Krajčovič, 1965; Kučera, 1974).

4. Our considerations lead to the conclusion that only such
reconstruction of the semantic aspects of ancient words petrified
in toponymy can have the value of a scientific fact which operates
by means of arguments. Such arguments can be gathered on the
basis of various procedures among which of convincing argumentative
value are,above all, the results of the search for relationships
between the meaning of toponymized words "modelled" by means
of linguistic procedures and between items of knowledge from
the sphere of non-linguistic disciplines about the extra-linguistic
motivational factor of the toponymical naming process. Such proce-
dure can not only verify the linguistic semantic reconstructions,
but also specify them, systematize them into hierarchies (if

there are more of them), but also provide stimuli for a different solution. However, it is necessary to point out that it is not in all the cases that such procedures can be applied.

Notes

[1] The documents the source of which is not given are from Vlastivedný slovník obcí na Slovensku (Local-Historical Dictionary of Settlements in Slovakia). Ed. M. Kropilák. Bratislava, Veda 1977-1979. 3 vols.

[2] In the given work the meaning "gold-panner" is ascribed to the word zlatník (e.g. p. 241 et seq.). Such meaning of the word zlatník is not documented in the wordstock of Slovak or other Slavonic languages, that is why it is not very probable that the original meaning of this word would be extended in the indicated direction. On the contrary, the operations connected with cleaning gold, assessing its value and qualities, etc ., rank among the operations carried out also by contemporary goldsmiths. In spite of that we are of the opinion that the problem of the older development of the word zlatník with regard to its petrification in oikonyms of the type Zlatníky has to be further investigated.

[3] In names of this type the word čeren (čereň) could also become petrified in the meaning "a rocky place (with flat surfaces)" (cf. Slovinian čer- "rock" čeren "rocky place"; Machek, 1968, p. 100). The description of the areas of the given villages is in Vlastivedný slovník obcí na Slovensku (see note 1), in vol. 1, p.286).

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Abbreviations

CDS   Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae. Ed. R. Marsina. Bratisla-
va, SAV 1972. XL VIII + 427 pp.and 32 suppl.

SP   Słownik prasłowiański (Old Slavonic Dictionary). Ed. R. Sławski.
1. Wrocław - Warsaw - Cracow - Gdańsk, PAN 1974-1979. 4 vols.

VSN   Významné slovanské náleziská na Slovensku (Important Slavonic Excavation
Sites in Slovakia). Ed. B. Chropovský. Bratislava, Veda 1978.

SSJ   Slovník slovenského jazyka (The Dictionary of the Slovak Language).
Ed. Š. Peciar. Bratislava, SAV 1959-1968. 6 vols.

(Translated by A. Böhmerová)

CARPATHIANISMS IN THE LEXICON OF SLOVAK DIALECTS[+]

IVOR RIPKA

1. Classifying analyses of the lexicon of Slovak dialects (the sum total of lexical units of the structured whole of national language used by geographically, professionally, and socially close groups of people) usually identify three strata. Two of these, namely the national core of lexicon (that used without geographical boundaries) and the so-called dialect lexicon proper (whose individual words have their spheres of usage delimited by isolexes), are clearly evaluated in lexical inventories. Concentrated research, however, is required in that part of the dialect lexicon which may, in fact, be used in one or more limited areas and yet forms at the same time either a factual or potential component of the lexicon of standard language. Particular dialect words designate such "realia" (typical activities and phenomena) that are either not known or not used by the whole national collective; thus, they have no uniform standard equivalents. These words (names) are to a certain degree terminologized and constitute that component of lexical resources of dialects which serve to enrich standard language, especially through fiction (Ripka, 1980).

1.1. In connection with the preparatory work on the All-Carpathian Dialectological Atlas (ACDA), the present systemic

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and complex research of lexicon in the countries of Central
and Southeast Europe concentrates predominantly on topics concern-
ing sheepfolding and breeding. The ACDA questionnaire contai-
ning lexical and semantic questions on these topics has also
been circulated and responded to in twenty-four Slovak locali-
ties. Its data help in specifying present knowledge on the geo-
graphical distribution and semantic differentiation of the so-call-
ed Carpathianisms.

1.2. It should be noted that the ACDA theory consequential-
ly differentiates Carpathianisms from Balkanisms. Carpathianisms
are defined as older linguistic phenomena that had been formed
in the languages of the Carpathian region under the influence of
common linguistic substratum. They are characteristic of all lin-
guistic strata, and their study helps to elucidate both the his-
tory and present stage of linguistic contacts in the Carpathian
area. Balkanisms, on the other hand, are the names of objects and
activities brought into the Carpathians during the later migratory
waves (especially at the so-called Walachian colonization) by po-
pulations from the Balkan peninsula.

This article terms as Carpathianisms those lexemes that are
used in Slovak dialects to designate various shepherding and sheep-
folding phenomena. Carpathianisms form the basis of the termino-
logy of shepherding that in principle has also been adopted by the
standard Slovak language.

2. Most Carpathianisms adopted into the standard Slovak lexi-
con are registered and duly explained in the six-volume Dictio-
nary of the Slovak Language (Slovník slovenského jazyka, 1959-1968,
further on SSJ). However, the investigation of semantic structure
of Carpathianisms in Slovak dialects helps in acquiring new views
on the rather extensive semantic range of basic Carpathian lexemes,

which will make it possible to specify the present findings
(summarized in SSJ explanations) in several points.

2.1. The word salaš (shepherds' chalet and its surroundings)
has one meaning registered in the SSJ (IV, 15): "wooden enclosure
in which sheep or cattle spend nights during their stay at alpi-
ne pastures, with belonging shanty (koliba) for the main shepherd
(bača) and his assistant (valach)". This meaning of the lexeme
salaš (along with its phonetical variant sayaš) is well documented
in the dialects of a major part of Slovakian territory. In the Spiš
region (NE Slovakia) it has the heteronym košar, and in Kysuce (NW
Slovakia) the lexeme bačovisko occurs sporadically. Differentiating
features obtained in the semantic analysis of the lexeme salaš al-
low the identification of further meanings known in some geographi-
cal areas. In the dialects of Hont-Novohrad (central S Slovakia),
the word salaš also serves to denote a shed for sheep (ovčiareň)
built either at the farmhouse yard or at an open area outside the
village.

Common grazing of sheep is and always has been the prevailing
form of sheepfolding organization in Slovakia (Podolák, 1967).
Sheep breeders' associations in villages that hired shepherds we-
re also designated by the word salaš in Liptov (central N Slovakia).
The chairman of such an association was called salašník, or salaš-
ní gazda.

3. An inseparable part of the salaš as a shepherds' alpine
dwelling is koliba, most frequently defined in dictionaries as
"a primitive wooden house, wooden shanty" (SSJ I, 718). This seme-
me has integrated several differentiating features with the basic
component "wooden building" which are nevertheless present in all
the definitions and shades of meaning of the word koliba that pro-
ceed from Slovak dialects. The lexemes koliba / koliba denote a log-

or plank-built shepherds' cabin at the <u>salaš</u> used to work and sleep in (containing also an open fireplace).

The Carpathianism <u>koliba</u> is used in the dialects of the Spiš and Zvolen regions (NE and central Slovakia) also to denote a wooden device for drying clover, grass, etc. (i.e. <u>ostrva</u>, a trestle for hay drying, also called <u>sušiak</u>) which is shaped as a tri- or quadrilateral pyramid. The further generalizing shift of the meaning to "device for drying" added another sememe to the lexeme <u>koliba</u> in Spiš, namely "planks for corn drying".

3.1. Slovak shepherds' cabins (<u>koliba</u>) have oblong ground plans and originally consisted of only one room. The central place of the <u>koliba</u> is an open fireplace (<u>vatra</u>) whose location further determines the division of the inner space of the cabin. This fire used to be in the front part near the door, the back part being utilized for storing wooden utensils with whey and for drying cheese, etc. The space, recently separated by a wall which makes a double-room <u>koliba</u> (or is built as a separate shack in front of the latter), is denoted by the word <u>komárnik</u> by most dialect speakers from shepherding and sheepfolding regions. The card file of the Dictionary of Slovak Dialects (Slovník slovenských nárečí, SSN) does not contain many examples to document the use of this lexeme, yet the obtained data make it possible to formulate new interpretations of its meaning. At Horehronie (valley of the upper Hron river, central Slovakia), Liptov, and Spiš, the Carpathianism <u>komárnik</u> (recorded in particular phonetic variants in field research) carries the obligatory feature "place, room for storing something". A similarly defined obligatory feature is attested at the semantic analysis of the Carpathianism <u>komárnik</u> in a broader Slavonic context by G.P. Klepikova (1974). Kálal's Dictionary (1923) interprets the lexeme <u>komárnik</u> as a "small table, stool in the <u>koliba</u>"; however,

this interpretation is not correct.

3.2. Komárnik serves in the first place for storing and drying cheese. The shelf on which this most important sheepfolding product is placed is called podišiar. Slovak dialects in the Carpathian area contain several phonetic variants of this Carpathianism adopted via the Rumanian language; closest to its source is the variant podišor. Other adaptations resulted in the forms with changed suffix -or to -ar, the a > e change (following soft s) in the Ukrainian dialects, and the change š > s in Polish dialects (cf. Klepikova, 1974, p.222). In Slovakia, podišiar (podišár, podišär) originally served for the final drying of curdled and drip-dried cheese; later this shelf came to be used also for wooden utensils necessary for making other milk products. Both the function and shape of the shelf are rather modified in various regions of Slovakia, but there are few heteronyms (lexical variants): the word podišiar is highly terminologized. Only the dialects of the south Trenčín region (central W Slovakia) have documented sole lexeme podra.

At the village of Zázrivá in Southern Orava (central N Slovakia) the word podišär denotes the space in the barn above the gate (for drying hay, clover, etc.) consisting of short poles.

3.3. From among the other names of koliba belongings, the lexeme kumhár especially merits attention. It does not belong to the group of "classical" Carpathianisms. Its origin is uncertain (Machek, 1968), and some of its interpretations remain unclear. The SSJ (I, 791) considers the word kumhár a dialect word with the meaning "rod with a hook to hang a kettle over the fire". Comparative semantic analysis of available linguistic material shows that kumhár (or its variant kumhák) is a device on which (or by means of which) the kettle with whey is hung over the fire. In Orava it

is a simple wooden hook designated also by a synonymous name odvarák derived from the local word odvárať (to separate by boiling, cf. Habovštiak, 1961). In Liptov and Novohrad the name kumhár serves to denote a more complex (but in principal functioning identically) rotating device to hang the kettle on. Some of these are made from various tree roots or branches; others have an arm fixed in a vertical pole. In Spiš such devices are called by the heteronym kolovrat (Podolák, 1967).

4. The Carpathianism košiar (sheep pen), well known and widely distributed over the whole Carpathian area, has also a richly ramified semantic structure in Slovak dialects. Analyses of the material acquired in field research reveal the distribution of individual meanings in various geographical regions. Moreover, their interpretations carry marked traces of subjective onomasiological attitudes of the informants. The systemically relevant feature of all sememes is the component "pen / covered space for animals".

The lexicon of Slovak dialects makes it possible to distinguish the following meanings of the lexeme košiar (košár, košär, košar): 1. pen from (portable) parts of wicker fence for sheep at the salaš or open pasture (W and central Slovakian dialects); 2. pen from other material (wooden poles, recently also iron bars) at the salaš (distribution as in 1.); 3. barn for sheep (Hont-Novohrad dialects); 4. shepherds' settlement in the mountains, salaš (E Slovakian dialects, Gemer); 5. association of sheep breeders (Spiš).

The lexeme košiar/košar is also documented in the meaning "basket" in the dialects of the Novohrad and Spiš regions. Synchronically viewed, this is indirect (mediated) polysemy: the common seme "object made of wicker" is only an implied element of the original meaning. The present degree of relationship of the features "pen / covered space for animals" and "object, container made of

wicker" also allows to present the lexeme košiar in the national dialect dictionary as homonymous.

4.1. The sheep pen (košiar) is a protective enclosure at night not only for ewes and rams, but also for milking sheep. In the period of (and directly during) milking, however, milk sheep are kept in a pen called honelnica (holelnica) in Slovak dialects. One side of this pen has openings through which the sheep pass to the shepherds who milk them. In the major part of Slovakian territory, this device is named by the Carpathianism strunga / strunka. The expression came to the Carpathian area from the Balkans (SerboCroat struga, Bulgarian straga or struga) via Rumanian shepherds; however, its proper origin has not yet been explained. Metonymic shifts and transfers of meaning have changed and extended its semantic structure so that at present the following meanings are documented in Slovak dialects: 1. one side (usually the upper one on the slope) of the honelnica enabling the sheep pass to the milkers; 2. the passage itself (opening, hole) for sheep to come to be milked; 3. enclosed space (usually under a low roof) for sheep milking; 4. honelnica, i.e. the place where sheep are gathered before milking.

5. The group of terms from the sphere of folk architecture concerned with sheepfolding and breeding also includes the Carpathianisms okol / úkol and cárok. Their isolexes and isosemes cover wide areas in the Carpathians and the Balkans; both lexemes are also extensively distributed in Slovak dialects.

When one analyzes the semantics of the Carpathianism cárok, its obligatory feature (smaller fenced place in a larger space) comes clearly to the fore as a constituting component of the following meanings found in Slovak dialects: 1. fenced place for the young in a stable (cowshed, sheep pen); 2. fenced place for poultry;

3. enclosure in the corner of a stable for hay and cut straw;

4. place in cellar fenced off for potatoes.

     5.1. Milk obtained at the _salaš_ is curdled in a pail-like wooden container called _putera_ using coagulant. Although at present factory-made coagulants are used, the Carpathianism _kĺag_ (rennet), denoting shepherd-made coagulant at the _salaš_ is a fixed component of dialect lexicon. Explication of the meaning of lexeme _kĺag_ in the SSJ (the stomach of young calves used for curdling milk; I, 694) can be further specified by dialect research. _Kĺag_ (along with the most frequent phonetic variant _kĺak_ there occur also the forms _kĺiak_, _kläk_, in the Gemer region even _tlak_) is a solution arising from the maceration of smoked (dried) stomachs of calves or lambs in boiled salted water. The semantic development (metonymy) led to the designation by the lexeme _kĺag_ of the above type of stomach itself (prior to its processing for the coagulant).

     5.2. To produce _kĺag_, the cleaned and dried part of the stomach (abomasum) of young unweaned lambs or calves is used. This stomach is known in Slovak dialects as _rencka_, _rincka_, _roncka_. In the prepared national dictionary of dialects, these phonetic variants will be included under the headword _ryndzka_, which stands closest to the reconstructed Carpathian metaform.

     6. After one collects curdled cheese from the _putera_, there remains _srvátka_ (whey). This Carpathianism of doubtful etymology has also been adopted into the lexicon of standard Slovak. The SSJ (IV, 220) explicates it as "translucent yellow-green liquid remaining from sour milk after removing its coagulated components". Its form in Slovak dialects is both phonetically and lexically differentiated (_sirovátka_, _srovátka_, _servatka_, _srvač_, _srvať_) and has also several heteronyms (e.g. _žinčičňík_ and _ňevárka_ in the Lip-

tov and Turiec regions, ľevarka in the Spiš region).

6.1. The Carpathianism žinčica (boiled whey) has a richly ramified semantic structure in Slovak dialects as compared to the standard language. The SSJ (V, 806) explains it as boiled whey of sheep's milk. In dialects (with recorded forms žinťica, žinkica, ženťica, ženšič), the following meanings can be specified according to the differentiating features "type of raw material / method of processing": 1. the remainder of curdled milk after removing the cheese left in the putera or following out from the hrudiarka (specific drained container for curdled cheese only, used in Liptov); 2. the upper layer remaining on boiled whey called urda in Liptov and Orava; 3. the layer of boiled whey of worse quality remaining after the urda is removed (Liptov, Spiš).

7. Lexemes analysed in this article represent a firm component of the lexicon of Slovak dialects, along with some others that have not been discussed (čula, kornuta, šuta, vakeša, etc.). They serve as names of phenomena and objects closely connected with sheepfolding and breeding, irreplaceable even in the present forms of its organization and thus remaining an active part of their speakers' word-stock. They are highly terminologized with considerable communicative capacity. Proceeding from the concept of lexical meaning as a dynamic, intrinsically articulated structural and hierarchically organized set of semantic components, the analysis of the semantic structures of selected (broadly conceived) Carpathianisms (košiar, strunga, salaš, žinčica etc.) proves the existence of an all-Carpathian connection of semantic structures of the investigated lexemes. The causes, course, and consequences of the Carpathian linguistic contacts are studied by linguistic carpathology. Its most prominent project is the All-Carpathian Dialectological Atlas which will give a complex picture of the semantic structure of Car-

pathianisms.

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(Translated by D. Užák)

PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES OF LEXICON INVESTIGATION
USING CONFRONTATIONAL AND EQUIVALENCE METHODS[+]

ELLA SEKANINOVÁ

When analysing lexico-semantic phenomena in the search for ways of the systemic investigation of lexicon, modern linguistics has concentrated on the discovering of inner structural relationships and interactions of various aspects of the word with the aim of elucidating the essence of lexical meaning.

The problems of lexical meaning have been given much attention. V. Blanár presents the question of lexical meaning as an interdisciplinary problem, maintaining the essential role of clarifying the link between the conscious reflection of objective reality and the constitution and structure of lexical meaning for the understanding of the latter's nature. The author characterizes lexical meaning as a "historically constituted, hierarchically organised structure of semantic features of various levels of abstraction that are combined according to the elementary operations of collocability" (Blanár, 1985, p.41). In her work on lexical meaning citing rich references on the object of investigation A.A. Ufimceva (1986) analyzes this problem from various aspects and in various contexts. In doing so, she develops the theories of V.V. Vinogradov according to whom lexical meaning is not only determined by its correspondence with the concept expressed by a particular word, but also by the properties of that lexical and grammatical category to which the word belongs,

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by its current contexts of use accepted by the society, and by particular lexical interrelations with other words underlied by the regularities of collocability of word meanings proper to a particular language, as well as on the expressive and stylistic colouring of the carrier word (Vinogradov, 1977, p.65). Ufimceva considers such synthetic determination both all-comprehensive and at the same time concrete. This is applicable to any language and reflects the specificity of linguistic conditions for the constitution and functioning of word meaning in any particular language which incorporates lexical meaning among linguistic categories. Apart from pragmatic factors, lexical meaning is determined by three basic factors: 1) logical-objective content representing not only the reflection of objects and properties of objective reality, but also their contiguity in the real world; 2) regularities and specificities of grammatical means through which this logical-objective content assumes its form, thereby realizing and reproducing itself; and 3) interrelations of word content with the whole semantic system of lexicon (Ufimceva, 1986, p.33).

It results from the abovesaid, Ufimceva (ibid.) goes on, that even the most detailed investigation of the conceptual aspect of the word carried out in separation from the purely linguistic conditions and forms, equally constituting its lexical meaning, will not help us discover the essential problem: 1) what exactly shapes and differentiates the conceptual aspect of words via transformed substance of both material things and socio-historical experience that are essentially identical for all people (for various speech communities); and 2) what underlies the "transformation" of a concept into the meaning of that particular and no other word, into an element of the semantic system of a given

language at a certain period of its development (ibid., p.33)
and, we may add, also in different languages.

Methods studying the constitution of lexical meaning by
comparing its realization in various languages also include the
confrontational method of investigating linguistic phenomena,
which is currently prominent and finds even broader application.

Confrontation (the comparison of individual languages) aims
both at discovering a common basis (universals as phenomena common
to all natural languages) and at determinimg the differences
existing between them. The confrontational method of linguistic
research becomes an important instrument of the typological dif-
ferentiation of languages. It collects data for the typological
evaluation and generalization. Confrontational and typological
studies are also methodologically close because they are both
not confined to comparing related languages only (as it is in
the historical-comparative method), but to comparing non-related
languages, too. Moreover, the two former methods do not only
study correspondences and differences between languages compared,
but they also evaluate these from the aspect of their interrela-
tions. Confrontation is interested in these correspondences and
differences as well as in the interrelations from the aspect
of comparing language systems; on the other hand, typology
focusses on the ascribing the compared languages to language types.

V. Barnet (1983) distinguishes confrontational linguistics
as a subtype of comparative linguistics, along with historical-
-comparative linguistics, area studies, linguistic typology,
and linguistics of translation. The author differentiates between
the systemic and functional equivalence of the languages compared
in confrontation using the systemic-functional approach. Closely
related to typology and irreplaceable in the study of linguistic

universals is also the contrastive method as a component of con-
frontational studies. In connection with general responses, especial-
ly to the opinions expressed by the authors of papers on contras-
tive and confrontational grammar in the volume "Probleme der kon-
trastiven Grammatik" (1969), K. Buzássyová (1971) emphasises that
both contrastive and confrontational views of languages can con-
siderably extend knowledge of the languages studied.

An important condition of adequacy of the confrontational
study of languages is its complexity. A complex confrontational
analysis should include all structural components of the utterance,
i.e., the grammatical and lexico-semantic components, phonetic
structure, modality, and the functional sentence perspective.
Thoroughly elaborated both from the monolingual aspect and from
that of related languages, these components can be subjected to
interlingual confrontational analysis. Models used to describe
linguistic systems should be different for different levels of the
same system (Akhmanova, Melenčuk, 1977).

The complex confrontational study of languages and their part-
icular strata also includes confrontational lexicology as its re-
levant component. J. Filipec (1983, p.91) maintains that confronta-
tional lexicology is necessary as a mediator of lexical specificity
of individual languages which could not be understood without an
external view of these systems, i.e., without an overview making
their mutual comparison possible. The system of wordstock has not
yet been approached panoptically as a whole, but only gradually
through the description of its partial subsystems. Confrontational
research runs parallel with the understanding of these subsystems.

Confrontational lexicology complies with all general state-
ments valid for confrontational linguistics. The systemic approach

to the investigation of lexicon uses categories such as lexico-semantic fields, groups, subgroups, and sequences; it distinguishes common semes that associate these formations and differential semes that dissociate them. As delimited by J. Filipec (1985, p.201), the main spheres of confrontational lexicology include: 1) parallelism in the description of compared languages; 2) common metalanguage as a base for comparison (tertium comparationis); 3) theory of equivalence; 4) models of partial subsystems and their typology; and 5) proportion characteristics of opposing sets in the lexicon. The evident necessity of a common metalanguage in the confrontational study of lexicon is also emphasised by J. Filipec in another place, when he states that "linguistic confrontation requires reaching agreement on a certain method and certain meta-language, first of all on semantic metalanguage and, in lexical studies also on a certain extent of lexical material" (Filipec, 1986, p.21).

A serious problem concerning the relation of confrontational approach to the special methods of linguistic description is con-sidered by V. Barnet in his abovementioned paper (1983) and else-where (1983a). He investigates how these methods modify the ele-mentary concepts of linguistic comparison such as "tertium com-parationis" and "equivalence" which form the essence of the con-frontational study.

In linguistic confrontation it is necessary to proceed from the fact that certain lingustic phenomena and categories can be differently expressed in particular languages, e.g., grammatical categories by lexical means and vice versa, which leads to the overlapping of morphological, lexical, and other strata. Also frequent is the overlapping of systemic and functional characters of certain phenomena in respective languages or their nonexistence

in either language. These facts are mentioned by K. Horálek:
"The same semantic category can be expressed once gramatically,
at other times lexically, now through morphological and now through
morphological-syntactic or syntactic-lexical means" (Horálek, 1977,
p.9). Any language is capable of expressing any thought process,
but mostly with different possibilities of expression at its dis-
posal. These possibilities are disclosed and mutually confronted
in each of the studied languages against the background of "tertium
comparationis". J. Horecký points out the possibility to conceive
"tertium comparationis" as a deep structure. Linguistic confronta-
tion determines coincidences and differences in the ways of manifest-
ing common deep structure on the level of surface structures of
the compared languages (Horecký, 1974, p.56).

"Tertium comparationis" as a logical-functional category of
the functional level of language is a metalinguistic formulation
of the essence of comparing respective languages on their formal
levels. The task of any particular investigation is to seek forms
and ways of expressing the desired objective in these languages,
to look for coincidences and differences between the former, and
to explain their causes and consequences.

Especially prominent within the sphere of confrontational
research is the equivalence procedure in lexicon investigation.
When we compare the lexicons of two or more languages via correlat-
ing their lexemes as elementary lexical units, we proceed from the
basic assumption that the phenomena and objects of objective reality
serving as denotates can, but need not and mostly in fact do not
have identical designations in different languages (Kollár, 1973,
1974).

The selection and combination of semes as semantic components
of sememes and their realisation by identical lexemes or their

distribution into various lexemes are independent of their rela-
tion to extralinguistic reality and can be different in particular
languages. According to Ufimceva (1986, p.152) the difference
between the lexicon of one language and that of another language,
designating as it may seem universal categories of objective world
and of linguistic thought, rests in that the specific nominative
decomposition and presentation of objective world, plus the con-
comitant syntactic and semantic derivations, constitute the idio-
ethnicity of lexical units. The interpretation of various semantic
components of the functional level by formal means of various
languages can coincide, but can also be partially or totally dif-
ferent. "The organisation of functional and formal components
in individual languages is not identical" (Horecký - Blanár -
Sekaninová, 1984, p.16). To grasp and to express the above facts
in the analysis of both functional and formal components of the
lexemes of source language and to find their equivalents in the
target language are the tasks of the equivalence method of lexicon
investigation, which finds its application first of all in bilingual
lexicography.

To illustrate the use of the above methodological procedures
(the confrontational and equivalence methods) in investigating
lexicons of two languages, we shall present their application
to the comparison of distributive verbs in Slovak and Russian.
Using the confrontational method, we shall specify the distribution
of verbal action as "tertium comparationis" and shall seek for
ways of its expression in Slovak and Russian.

Distributiveness is understood as the dissection of verbal
action into individual acts forming components of the whole so
that the action is essentially conceived as a single instance
consisting of regularly sequenced sections (Sekaninová, 1974,

p.60). Thus, the distribution of action concerns a number of objects in transitive verbs and a number of subjects in intransitive verbs, which are gradually involved in the action. The aim of our present study is the distributiveness of action expressed by prefixes.

In Slovak (Sl), the prefixed distribution of verbal action (DVA) is expressed by two types of verbs with the prefix po-: 1) verbs with a prefix-free base (pošiť = sew, make the lot; pokosiť = finish cutting grass, etc.; ponosiť = carry, gradually to a place; pochorieť = fall ill, successively, of a number of persons; pohniť = go rotten, gradually, of the lot) and 2) verbs with a prefixed verb base (podonášať = bring, gradually, one by one; ponakladať = load, lade gradually; porozvážať = drive, deliver, distribute, gradually, one by one; podobiehať = come running one by one, gradually; podorastať = grow up successively; povychádzať = come out, appear successively, one by one). (Translator's note: All English equivalents are only approximate; their real translation is highly context-bound.)

These groups can further be subdivided according to verbal types: 1a) transitive (pošiť, pokosiť, ponosiť) and 1b) intransitive (pochorieť, pohniť), and 2a) transitive (podonášať, ponakladať, porozvážať) and 2b) intransitive (podobiehať, podorastať, povychádzať).

The group of transitive verbs (1a) contains cases with plural object (Opl), e.g., Kosec pokosil lúky (The mower finished mowing /all the/ meadows) and with both subject and object plural (Spl--Opl), e.g., Kosci pokosili lúky, in contrast to the cases of Ssg type – Kosec pokosil lúku. These cases are not included since they do not comply with the requirement Spl or Opl.

Similarly, in the group 2a) there occurs Spl-Opl, e.g., Nosiči podonášali kufre (The porters gradually, one by one, brought the

suitcases), or only Opl - Nosič podonášal kufre (one porter etc.),
but not Ssg and Osg.

In the group of intransitive verbs 1b), Spl appears as an
obligatory component for the realisation of distribution of verbal
action, e.g., Všetci žiaci pochoreli (All the pupils gradually
fell ill), Ovocie pohnilo (/All the/ fruit got rotten gradually);
similarly in group 2b) Deti jej podorastali, povychádzali z domu
a porozchádzali sa po svete (All her children subsequently grew
up, left their home one by one, and eventually scattered all over
the world).

In Slovak, the prefix po- forms the distributive aspect of
verbal action in combination with all prefixes.

In Russian, the distributive aspect of verbal action is formed
by two prefixes (pere- and po-)with considerably distinctive
distribution of their sphere of activity.

The prefix pere- combines only with prefix-free verbal stems,
with transitive verbs (e.g., perebuntovať /= rise sb. gradually
to mutiny, revolt/, perevjazať /dress again, e.g. a wound/, pere-
daviť /crush, subdue gradually/, peredrobiť /crush, crumble gra-
dually/), and intransitive verbs such as perebolet /pass, outgrow
of some illness/, peredochnuť /die gradually, of a group/, perezjab-
nuť /get chilled gradually/. The obligatory component of obtaining
distributive meaning in the former case is Opl - perebuntovať
vsech ili mnogich /rise all or many to mutiny/, perevjazať vsech
ranenych /dress again the wounds of all the wounded/, peredaviť
vsech ili mnogich /gradually subdue all or many/, peredrobiť vse
/gradually crumble everything/; in the latter case it is Spl -
vse deti pereboleli /all the children were gradually restored
to health/, vse kury peredochli /all hens gradually died/.

In distributive verbs, the prefix <u>pere</u>- emphasizes the on-going process of an action up to its total completion. This can explain the fact that these verbs also appear in an imperfective aspect (<u>peremyť-peremyvať</u> = wash up/be washing up again; <u>peresochnuť-peresychať</u> = dry up/be drying up).

The prefix <u>po</u>- in distributive verbs emphasizes the completion of an action performed gradually. Such verbs appear with a prefix-free verbal stem only in the perfective aspect (<u>pobiť</u> = beat down subsequently, break the record, <u>pobodať</u> = but down etc., <u>pobudiť</u> <u>vsech ili mnogich</u> = impel, induce, prompt all or many), but they occur largely with prefixed verbal stems of both perfective and imperfective verbs, e.g. <u>ponavezti-ponavoziť mnogo čego-li</u> (cart, bring in gradually - be carting gradually a lot of sth.), <u>pootobrať</u> (<u>vse u nich pootobrali</u>) -<u>pootbirať</u> (choose, select gradually) all people have taken their pick there (- be choosing or selecting gradually), <u>poprichodiť</u> (<u>vse učeniki uže poprichodili</u>) (all the pupils have already come, one by one), <u>porazbiťsja-porazbivaťsja</u> (<u>posuda porazbilas´</u>) (get broken-be getting broken, the dishes got broken subsequently), <u>posbrosať-posbrasyvať</u> (<u>sneg s kryši</u>) (throw off, down, gradually - be throwing etc., snow from the roof), <u>pouchodiť</u> (<u>vse pouchodili</u>) (leave or quit gradually: all of them have left subsequently), <u>povybežať-povybegať</u> (<u>deti povybegali</u>) (run out one by one - come running out one by one: the children come running out one by one), <u>pozabiť-pozabivať</u> (<u>vse gvozdi</u>) (drive in, hammer in gradually - be gradually hammering in /all the nails/).

Having examined the DVA in Sl and R on the basis of equal criteria (with only the results of the study presented above), we can proceed to the confrontation of achieved results. The co-incidences established through the confrontation are the following:

1. Both Sl and R produce DVA by prefixation.

2. The identical prefix producing DVA in the two languages
   is the prefix po-.

3. Both S1 and R produce DVA from prefix-free and prefixed
   verbal stems.

4. Both S1 and R produce DVA from transitive and intransitive
   verbal stems.

5. Transitive verbs expressing DVA in S1 and R require oblig-
   atory Opl or Spl, or both Spl and Opl to realize their
   semantics.

6. Intransitive verbs expressing DVA in S1 and R require
   obligatory Spl to realize their semantics.

The differences established through the confrontation are
the following:

1. S1 produces DVA by prefixation using the prefix po-, R
   using the prefixes pere- and po-, the latter two with
   distinctly delimited spheres of activity.

2. The prefix po- in S1 combines both with prefix-free and
   prefixed verbal stems. The prefix po- in R combines less
   with prefix-free verbal stems, but combines well with
   all prefixed verbal stems from which DVA is produced.

3. The prefix pere- in R combines only with prefix-free verbal
   stems.

4. Distributive verbs with the prefix pere- in R emphasize
   the ongoing of action up to its total completion, while
   verbs with the prefix po- in R emphasize achieving complete
   realization of the action through the gradual performance
   of its phases. The latter results from the working of
   verbal aspect. Verbs with the prefix pere- having distribu-
   tive meaning occur both in the perfective and imperfective
   aspects (brať-perebrať/perebirať vsë), whereas verbs with

the prefix <u>po</u>- of the above type occur only in the perfect-
ive aspect (<u>brať-pobrať vse</u>).

5. Prefixed verbal stems combine with the prefix <u>po</u>- having

   distributive meaning both in Sl and R. The difference,

   however, is that in Sl they regularly combine with a secon-

   dary verbal imperfective with any prefix (<u>brať-nabrať/nabe-</u>

   <u>rať-ponaberať</u>; <u>vybrať/vyberať-povyberať</u>; <u>prebrať/preberať-</u>

   <u>popreberať</u>; <u>zabrať/zaberať-pozaberať</u> etc.), whereas in

   R there is great irregularity in this respect with much

   fewer verbs of this type and in distinction to Sl which

   forms both from the perfective and imperfective aspects

   of verbs (<u>brať-nabrať/nabirať-ponabrať/ponabirať</u>; <u>dať-razdať/</u>

   <u>razdavať-porazdať/porazdavať</u> etc.).

6. Types of verbs presented in (5) mostly show stylistical

   differences between Sl nad R. In Sl they are neutral,

   and in R they are rare, stylistically marked, mostly col-

   loquial, and substandard.

Many of the above phenomena manifest their new aspects in

consequence of the confrontational view, and the results obtained

also assume different value retrogressively, thus influencing

the research of any of the compared languages. This fact is pointed

out by A.M. Kuznecov who reported in specific circumstances that

semasiologists choosing a non-native language as their object

of study are as a rule less afraid of the danger of subjectivism,

as they are forced to utilize in these cases other sources of

information on that language in addition to their own linguistic

competence (Kuznecov, 1986, p.63).

The phenomenon of the distribution of prefixed verbs will

further be considered from the aspect of their equivalence in

Sl and R, i.e., from that of applying the procedure of equivalence

to the confrontation of lexicons of two languages via the confrontation of individual lexemes.

The equivalent of a source language lexeme is that target language lexeme which names (using formal means of the target language) the semantic contents - sememes constituted by a cluster of semes and themselves constituting components of the semantic level of the source language (Sekaninová, 1974, p.114). However, no lexeme acts in isolation, but in lexical combinations of various kinds and in different contexts. Particular meanings as individual sememes realized in these contexts are at the same time also the starting point for determinimg the meaning and later its equivalent.

Demands on the confrontational study are increasing and extending on the level of realization of the studied phenomena in speech. This is dictated on the one hand by the integrity of theoretical linguistic research and on the other hand both by the requirements of communication and the practical needs of translation and didactics.

This aspect brings to the fore, rather expressively, the questions of lexico-semantic collocability related to the semantic valency of lexemes entering the combinations. The problem is duly noted by D. Viehweger who remarks: "The combination of a sememe with contextual partners must comply with certain conditions underlied by the semantic structure of units entering the combinations, which reflect certain relationships between the phenomena of reality. This type of relationships is described as s e m i c   r e -
l a t i o n s h i p s   o f   c o l l o c a b i l i t y "
(semische Vereinbarkeitsbeziehungen) (Viehweger, 1982, p.27).

Semantic relationships between the elements of lexicon on the syntagmatic level continue to gain even more attention in linguistic research whose results have both practical and theoretical impact.

The investigation of the conditions of lexeme collocability via the analysis of semic inventory of their underlying sememes is a specific sphere of confrontational research making it possible to elucidate the peculiarities in both the semantics and collocability of the confronted languages.

Apparent in specifying the equivalence of two lexicons, in our case those of Sl and R, is the aforesaid fact that the units of semantic and formal strata in Sl and R mostly do not correlate. If we proceed from the bilingual lexicographical practice, several equivalence types can be singled out and further subdivided into the groups of symmetrical, asymmetrical, and asymmetrical-symmetrical equivalence (Sekaninová - Kučerová, 1982, 1984).

The following part of our paper deals with specifying the equivalents of Sl verbal lexemes expressing DVA using the prefix po-. As shown further by particular examples, their R equivalents are not always prefixed lexemes, although R possesses this type of lexemes, as documented by the preceding confrontation of DVA in Sl and R. We shall concentrate on double-prefixed verbs, i.e., the distributive verbs with the prefix po- attached to a prefixed verbal stem. The set of these lexemes will be grouped according to the original prefix of the verbal stem, and the type of equivalence will be determined. We proceed from Sl to determine equivalents in R using previously elaborated terminology of aspects of action (i.e. Aktionsart; Sekaninová, 1980).

I. Distribution of VA within semantic sphere of localisation

1. The prefix po- combined with a prefixed verbal stem (PVS) containing verbum movendi plus the prefix do-, i.e., podo- + VS (verbum movendi), designates the distribution of versovert VA, i.e., that of reaching certain limit in space (e.g. podobiehať = gradually come running to a destination; podochádzať = gradually

catch up with sb or sth).

Specifying the equivalents in R, which lacks this type of verbs with the prefix do-, requires an explicit designation of Spl through supplements o vsech, mnogich (about all, many) and that of action distribution through: poočerëdno (successively) or postepenno vsech, mnogich, vsë, mnogoe (gradually all, many, everything, much) which, however, is no more given in the exemplification in a dictionary, e.g., podobiehať 1. (o vsech, mnogich) pribežať; podbežať; dobežať (poočerëdno): pretekári podobiehali do cieľa (the contestants one after another successively came running to the destination) -učastniki sorevnovanij odin za drugim dobežali do finiša; podobiehali aj poslední bežci (even the last runners eventually came, etc.) -pribežali i poslednije beguny. (This R equivalent misses the Sl expression of the successiveness of action.)

2. The prefix po- combined with a PVS with the prefix nad-, i.e. ponad- + VS designates the distribution of supervert VA, i.e. that of aiming above or located above sth (e.g., ponadhadzovať = throw up several times; ponaddvíhať = lift up a little, in several places and/or several times; ponadpisovať = provide with headings, gradually, more items).

The equivalence of these double-prefixed verbs in R looks as follows: ponadhadzovať koho čo - podbrosiť, podkinuť (postepenno vsë, mnogoe, neskoľko raz): ponadhadzovať plecniak na chrbte (throw up a bag on the back several times) - podbrosiť (neskoľko raz) rjukzak na spine; ponadhadzovať dieťa na kolenách (throw up a baby on the knees several times) - podbrosiť (neskoľko raz) rebjonka na kolenjach; ponadhadzovalo nás na ceste (we were thrown up, bumped, several times, during the journey on the road) - na doroge nas neskoľko raz podbrosilo.

3. The prefix po- combined with a PVS with the prefix pre-, i.e., popre- + VS designates the distribution of transvert VA, i.e., that oriented from one side of sth to the other side (e.g., poprechádzať = come over or cross, one by one, of many or all, poprebiehať = come over or cross in running, etc.; poprenášať = carry over successively more objects; poprevážať = carry over, esp. ferry over or across successively more objects; popreťahovať = move over, esp. draw across successively more objects).

The equivalence of these types of verbs offers several possibilities. In most cases the distribution of action is expressed through attendant explanations at the general equivalent, and either not expressed in the exemplification or, even when such equivalent verbs do exist in R, they are not coincident stylistically:

poprechádzať 1. čo, čím, cez čo (sth, through sth, across sth) - projti po čemu (poočerědno): poprechádzať cez všetky izby al. všetkými izbami (walk, pass all or through all the rooms) - projti po vsem komnatam, obojti vse komnaty;

poprenášať koho, čo (sb, sth) poperenosiť, perenosiť; perenesti (vsech, mnogich, vsë, mnogoe): poprenášať kufre, knihy (carry or move across all suitcases, books) - perenosiť čemodany, knigi.

The above examples show that VAs occurring within the semantic sphere of localization in Slovak form the distribution of the given action using the prefix po- with a double-prefixed verb, which in Russian have no corresponding equivalence in a double-prefixed verb.

II. Distribution of VA within semantic sphere of temporality

1. The prefix po- combined with PVS with the prefix do-, i.e., podo- + VS (verbs singnifying concrete activity) designates the distribution of finite VA, i.e., that denoting the completion

of the final phase of an action) e.g. podohárať = (gradually finish burning of many or all objects), podopekať (gradually finish baking), podojedať (gradually finish eating), podopisovať (gradually finish writing).

R has no equivalent types of verbs. Trying to find the equivalence, we must seek other ways of expressing their meaning:

podohárať (obo vsem, mnogom) (about all, many) - dogoreť (postepenno) (gradually): vatry potichu podohárali (fires went out calmly) - ogni potichoňku dogoreli;

podopisovať čo (sth) - dopisať (vse, mnogoe, odno za drugim = one by one, postepenno): podopisovať listy (gradually finish writing the letters) - dopisať pisma (odno za drugim).

2. The prefix po- combined with a PVS with the prefixes roz- and od-, i.e. poroz- + VS (verbs signifying anullable action) designates the distribution of an anullative VA, i.e., that anulling the results of the preceding action (e.g. porozväzovať (gradually untie or unbind, of many or all objects), porozpínať (gradually unbutton), porozliepať (gradually unstick), poodväzovať (gradually untie, unfasten from sth), poodbaľovať (gradually unwrap, partly, of more objects), poodpínať (gradually unfasten).

The equivalentation of these verbs in R looks as follows (including R verbs with the double prefix poraz-):

porozväzovať čo - porazvjazyvať, porazvjazať, razvjazať (postepenno vse, mnogoe): porozväzovať balíky (gradually unbind all parcels) - porazvjazyvať posylki;

porozpínať čo - porasstegivať; rasstegnuť (postepenno): porozpínať patentky (gradually unbutton all snap buttons) - porasstegivať knopki; porozpínať si kabát (gradually unbutton one´s coat) - rasstegnuť paľto.

For the sphere of temporality, asymmetric equivalence can
be confirmed between S1 and R except for a few cases when DVA
in R is also expressed by a double-prefixed verb.

<u>III. Distribution of VA within semantic sphere of modality</u>

The prefix <u>po</u>- combined with PVS with the prefix <u>do</u>-, i.e.
<u>podo</u>- + VS (verbs signifying concrete activity) designate the
distribution of completive VA, i.e., that denoting supplementary
completion up to a given limit (e.g. <u>podokupovať</u> = complete a
purchase by subsequent addition of lacking objects; <u>podolievať</u> =
fill up (more containers) by subsequent pouring of missing liquid;
<u>podokladať</u> = subsequently add missíng objects; <u>podoplácať</u> = sub-
sequently pay off the whole; <u>podorábať</u> = complete the work on
several objects subsequently; <u>podorastať</u> = subsequently grow up
to a certain limit).

The above verbs are exemplified with R equivalence as follows:

<u>podolievať</u> <u>čo, čoho</u> - <u>podliť, doliť, priliť (vo vse sosudy)</u>:
<u>podolievať hosťom vína</u> (fill up the guests´ glasses with wine)
<u>podliť/doliť gosťjam vina</u>;   <u>podolievať vodu do váz</u> (fill up vases
with missing water) - <u>podliť vody v vazy</u>;

<u>podokladať</u> <u>čo i čoho</u> (sth acc. or part.gen.) - 1. <u>podložiť,</u>
<u>doložiť čto, čego</u> (<u>vsem, mnogim</u>): <u>podokladať všetkým mäsa</u> (add
more meat to all /the guests/) - <u>podložiť vsem mjasa</u>; 2. <u>priložiť</u>
<u>(postepenno)</u>: <u>podokladať k žiadosti doklady</u> (add necessary documents
to the application or petition) - <u>priložiť dokumenty k zajavleniju</u>.

Our last example presents the distribution of partitive VA,
i.e., involvement in the action of a part of the object only,
expressed by the prefix <u>po</u>- combined with PVS with the prefix
<u>na</u>-, i.e., <u>pona</u>- + VS (verbs signifying usually partial decomposi-
tion of an object), e.g. <u>ponarezovať</u> (cut up partly, more objects),
<u>ponakrajovať</u> (cut up, slice partly, etc.), <u>ponalamovať</u> (break

open partly, etc.), ponahrýzať (bite off several bits, etc.),

ponahnívať (go rotten partly, etc.).

The examples of verbs with R equivalents are the following:

ponahrýzať čo - ponadkusyvať, nadkusiť (postepenno vsë, mnogoe):
ponadhrýzať jablká (bite into, nibble at the apples) - nadkusiť
(vse) jabloki, ponadkusyvať jabloki;

ponakrajovať čo - nadrezať (postepenno vsë, mnogoe): ponakra-
jovať melóny (partly cut open more water melons, successively)
- nadrezať arbuzy (odin za drugim).

In summarizing the results achieved by the confrontational
and equivalence methods in investigating lexico-semantic groups
of verbs which designate the distributive aspect of verbal action
in Slovak and Russian, we can see that differing images of equi-
valence have been achieved.

By applying the confrontational method and adopting the distrib-
ution of verbal action as "tertium comparationis", we investigated
the realization of this functional category in the formal catego-
ries of Sl and R languages. The confrontation yielded an asymmet-
rical image of equivalence, although both Sl and R express dist-
ributiveness by prefixes. However, in Slovak it is expressed by
one prefix (po-), and in Russian by two prefixes (po- and pere-),
with each of these prefixes combining with different types of
verbal stems. The differences between Sl and R here are both in
the aspectual characteristics of these verbs and in their different
collocability with perfective and imperfective verbal stems.

The application of the equivalence method in seeking for
full-value replacement, i.e., for the equivalents of Slovak poly-
prefixal lexemes expressing the distribution of variously different-
iated verbal action, led to the conclusion that these lexemes
have neither formal nor functional equivalents in Russian. The

equivalence must be here expressed in most cases by prefix-free lexemes with the accompanying lexical expression of distributiveness.

The aim of the present analysis of homogenous phenomena by the confrontational and equivalence methods is to indicate the variability of procedures along with the variability of their results.

In conclusion it must be added that the point of departure in investigating lexicon both by the confrontational and equivalence methods is underlied by the author's own studies of the compared languages. The aims coincide in that each of these studies tries to demonstrate the ways of interpreting certain contents through the formal means of various languages. The above methods differ in the results achieved. The results of the confrontational method are important especially for linguistic typology because of their eventual typological generalizations, as well as for the confrontational lexicology of several languages. The sphere of activity of the equivalence method is directed more at applied linguistics, especially at the theory and practice of bilingual lexicography. It is also applicable in the theory of translation along with its practice and in the didactic sphere.

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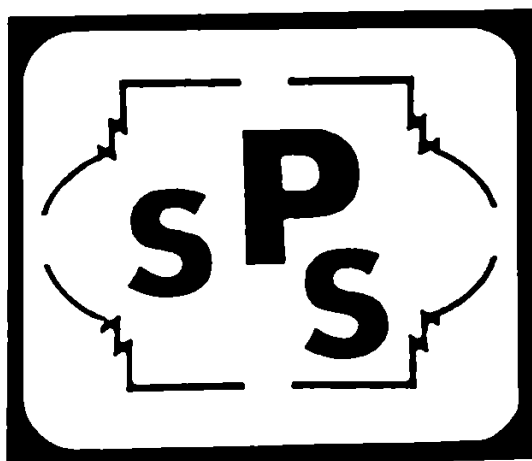
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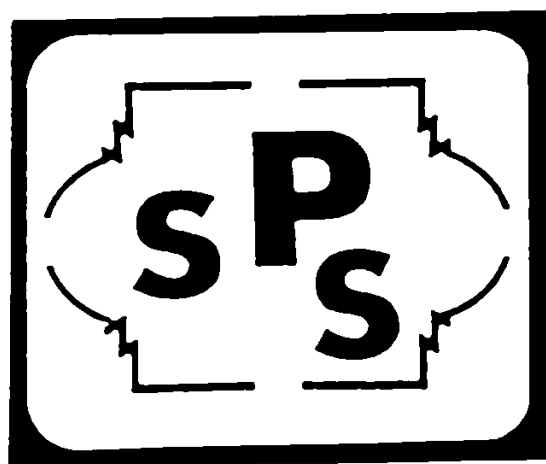
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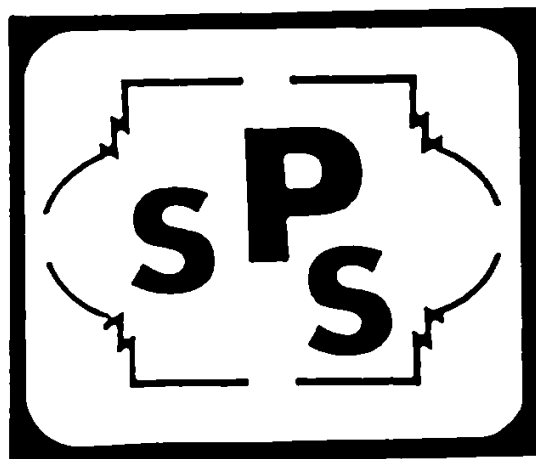
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Temporal- und Modalad-
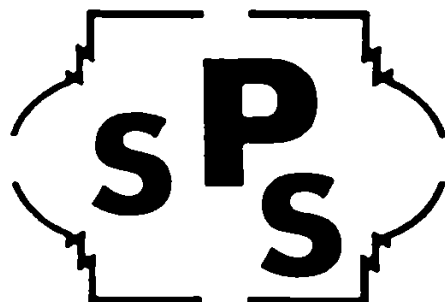verbialen.

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SPS

1. Temporal determination of the main action by the subordinate action

1.2 Temporal limitation (/for/ how long?)

1.21 Initial boundary (since when?)

1.211 simultaneity

1.2111 — MA lasts from the beginning of SA duration

1.2112 — MA arises at the beginning of SA duration

1.212 anteriority

1.2121 — MA lasts since SA realization

1.2122 — MA arises at SA realization

1.22 final boundary (till when?)

1.221 simultaneity

1.2211 — MA lasts till the end of SA duration

1.2212 — MA culminates by the end of SA duration

1.222 posteriority

1.2221 — MA lasts till SA realization

1.2222 — MA culminates till SA realization

2. Temporal correlation of equivalent actions

2.1 — sudden onset of the second action

2.2 — unexpected entrance of the second action into the first one