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A MEETING-PLACE FOR SYNCHRONY AND DIACHRONY:
INFERENTIAL FEATURES IN ENGLISH*

1. Introduction
1.1. Aims and Plan of the Paper

I should like to propose the notion of 'inferential feature' (in the following abbreviated as IF) as a useful linguistic construct for both a synchronic and a diachronic approach to meaning. It can account for polysemy and semantic vagueness, but also for regional and stylistic variation in synchrony. Furthermore, it provides a means for capturing semantic change, i. e. historical variation. The aspect of variation, therefore, is the common basis for IFs. They thus constitute a meeting-place for synchrony and diachrony.

After a time of uncritical adoption and use of the concept of 'feature', semantic features and componential analysis have recently come under attack, as witnessed in publications by Lyons, Leech, and Sprengel.[1] In the following I shall try to show that, in spite of all the remaining problems and difficulties, a subclass of features, viz. inferential semantic features, may be applied profitably and successfully to historical semantics. For this purpose a number of examples from the history of English will be discussed.

1.2. Basic Issues and Typology of Features

1.2.1. It is necessary to clarify a few basic issues. First of all I should like to point out that more than ten years ago I investigated the use and status of semantic features and the related question of semantic tests in my book Semantic Structure and Word-Formation (1972). Moreover, on the basis of the theoretical discussion, I carried out extensive empirical research in this monograph, establishing semantic features inherent in all contemporary verb-particle constructions (VPCs) with out and up. In a later article on semantic components of English verbs and nouns, the field of application was further extended, and the justification of metalinguistic elements was again treated explicitly.[2] I considered three general methods of establishing underlying semantic elements:

1. morphological evidence from complex lexemes, i. e. compounds, prefixal and suffixal derivatives;

2. the extraction of semantic components on the basis of paraphrase relationships; and

3. the use of semantic tests including logical relations such as implica-
tion, tautology, and contradiction.

These justification procedures, however, are not applicable to IFs.

1.2.2. In the article just mentioned I have set up a taxonomy of seven
types of semantic features: denotative, connotative, inferential, relational,
transfer, deictic, and distinctive features. I cannot go into detail here. Suffice
it to say that except for the very important class of inferential features, all the
others function as distinctive features. Only some of them are binary. Like
connotative features such as [+Archaic] in _steed_ and _smite_, inferential fea-
tures are supplementary in nature. They differ, however, from the former in
being optional, not obligatory and inherent. Furthermore, they usually depend
on context. In my definition the class of inferential features covers not only
properties usually associated with a referent – such as slyness with a fox,
clumsiness with an ox etc. – but also the influence of co-text and extralin-
guistic context. The term _inferential feature_ ultimately derives from Nida and
denotes non-obligatory meaning components which may be "inferred" from
the use of an expression. There are close links with the notion of 'inferential
processes' in text linguistics, and with the concepts of 'implicature', 'indi-
rect speech act', and 'lexical presupposition'[3]. Furthermore, IFs are related
to inferential processes required for 'contextuals', in the sense of Clark &
Clark, on the levels of synchronic lexical and sentence semantics.[4] However,
I cannot discuss this here.

1.2.3. In dictionaries IFs, in my use of the term, are normally marked by
labels such as "especially" or "usually", or simply brackets. Thus _beat_ is
often defined as 'hit (especially with a stick)' and _nudge_ is said to contain
possible elements such as 'in order to get attention'. In the following I will use
braces as a notational device for marking such optional features, a conven-
tion taken over from Lehrer.[5] There is a two-fold advantage in the recognition
of optional semantic elements as opposed to strictly inherent features, based
on yes/no-decisions and the principle of the all-or-none. First, they can be
used to capture the fuzziness of meaning and linguistic variation in synchrony.
Secondly – and more important here – they open a door for describing, for-
malizing, and explaining semantic change in historical linguistics.

2. Some Important Examples
2.1. The Case of STARVE

2.1.1. A good example of the parallelism of regional and stylistic
synchronic variation and language change is the case of _starve_ discussed by
Lyons, Pyles, and Görlach.[6] All three authors also mention the genetically
related German _sterben_, but do not explicitly draw any possible contrastive

conclusions.[7] Lyons makes the point that frequent syntagmatic modification (such as starve of hunger) may lead to incorporation of the sense 'hunger' into starve, and that in the English spoken in some areas of Northern England (here abbreviated NE) starve may incorporate 'with cold'. Görlach explains the semantic change in Northern England and Middle English (ME) by restriction to certain contexts and the beginning of the opposition to the superordinate die. He uses a simplified feature notation which will be adapted in schema (1) together with Lyons' remarks and information from the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (LDCE) and the COD:

(1)
OE   steorfan   [BECOME NOT ALIVE] >
NE   starve   [BECOME NOT ALIVE] + {of COLD}[6]
MoE   starve   [BECOME NOT ALIVE] + {of HUNGER}[9]

2.1.2. Since the Old English (OE) period the IFs {of COLD} and {of HUNGER} have been added in NE and standard Modern English (MoE) respectively, denoting the cause of the process. It was unspecified in OE, as it still is in German (G) sterben, but the result (death) seems to be an obligatory inherent feature in both language varieties. The MoE collocation starve to death would have been tautological in OE. This demonstrates that a complex semantic component [DIE] is not today a necessary element of starve as we will discuss presently. We could therefore postulate an IF {to DEATH} in MoE in some contexts. That the IF {of HUNGER} has not been obligatory for a long time is proved by the possibility of syntagmatic modification in the formerly existing compound verb hunger-starve.[10] According to Lyons[11] the collocation starve with cold is still possible in Northern England. However – with an incorporated IF {of COLD} – I'm starving in the North is roughly equivalent to Standard English (StE) I'm freezing. Obviously, in the StE expression I'm starving, meaning 'I'm very hungry', the result to death is neither obligatory nor even possible. This also holds for other contexts where, in addition, the IF {of HUNGER} is missing, e.g. She is starving for companionship, The engine was starved of petrol, He's completely sex-starved. They might be accounted for on the basis of a metaphorical relationship and explained with the help of transfer features.

Leaving aside this problem here, I should like to illustrate some aspects of semantic change involving metaphorical (met.) shift from OE to MoE in the following diagram:

(2)

OE <u>steorfan</u> [DIE] + {SUFFER} >

MoE <u>starve</u> (met.)   [SUFFER][from LACK] + {of FOOD} {of LOVE}

The component [DIE] has disappeared completely in these polysemous uses
of <u>starve</u>. For MoE <u>die</u>, the semantic equivalent of OE <u>steorfan</u>, none of the
standard dictionaries mention <u>suffer</u> in their definitions. It can therefore not be
established as an inherent feature of <u>die</u> on the basis of paraphrase relation-
ships, as discussed at the beginning. <u>Suffer</u> is defined in the <u>LDCE</u> as 'ex-
perience pain'. This is certainly what happens normally when someone dies.
We are consequently justified in postulating an IF {SUFFER} for OE <u>steorfan</u>.
This changes into an obligatory inherent feature in all metaphorical uses of the
polysemous MoE verb <u>starve</u>, where the component [DIE] has disappeared.
Further IFs are added from co-text or situational context, such as {of FOOD}
etc. The new inherent component [from LACK] might perhaps be related to the
complex element [DIE], paraphrasable as 'stop living, no longer have life,
lack life'. However, this is rather speculative.

2.2. The Analysis of HOLIDAY

2.2.1. Let us now turn to a more pleasant subject, viz. the example of the
semantic change of <u>holiday</u>, which Leech discusses in the first edition of his
book on semantics only,[12] in connection with the problem of the fuzziness of
meaning. He uses the following diagram (3) for explaining the gradual transi-
tion from state 'A', where the expression had the meaning 'holy day, viz.
Sunday or religious feast', to state 'D', the MoE meaning 'a period when one is
not required to work'.

(3)

<u>holiday</u>: A 'holy day, viz. a Sunday or religious feast' >
   D 'a period when one is not required to work'

STATE 'A'	STATE 'B'	STATE 'C'	STATE 'D'
1. period	1. period	1. period	1. period
2. of a day	2. (of a day)	2. (of a day)	2. ------
3. holy	3. (holy)	3. ------	3. ------
4. (no work)	4. no work	4. no work	4. no work

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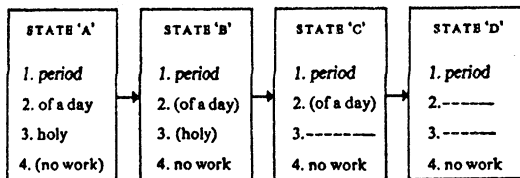
His main point is a distinction between what he calls "criterial compo-
nents", i. e. obligatory semantic features, and "non-criterial" or "optional
features", which are enclosed in brackets. These are identical with my IFs,
viz. {NO WORK}, {of a DAY}, and {HOLY}. They are intended to account for
the fact that the same word, at a given time, can have "two or more overlap-
ping definitions". Such IFs may either become obligatory or disappear com-
pletely. In combination, the result of such a "step-by-step progression" may
be "a complete shift in the reference of the expression". According to Leech
the IF {NO WORK} was optional in the original meaning, corresponding to the
MoE collocation holy day.[13] This would not be an adequate paraphrase for the
lexicalized compound holiday today. Since the optional feature was fre-
quently associated with the expression, it became gradually obligatory. On
the other hand, the obligatory components 'of a day' and 'holy' are lost in
MoE, by transition through the states 'B' and 'C' in which they had become
optional IFs. Such a combination of the addition and loss of features, i. e.
restriction and extension of meaning, can be termed 'semantic shift'.

2.2.2. Leech's schematic representation looks very convincing. Never-
theless it is tempting to follow up the actual linguistic development with the
help of the OED. First of all it is not surprising to find that the dictionary regi-
sters considerable variation, both formally and semantically. Let us first
consider the formal side (neglecting phonological developments) as summa-
rized in simplified form in schema (4):

(4)
OE (a) h a l i g d æ g   (b) h a l i g   d æ g
        dat. pl.:   dat.pl.:
        haligdagum   halgum dagum

from 15th c.: hallidai, halliday (and in northern dialects)
from 14th c.: holidai, holidaie, holiday

The OED makes a distinction between a "combined form" (4a) and an "uncom-
bined form" (4b), in modern terminology, 'compound' vs. 'syntactic group'
or 'collocation'. The basis is a purely formal criterion, viz. inflexion of the
first constituent or its lack. Various spellings are given. As is well known, the
NE form halliday survives in personal names.

Basically three different meanings are distinguished, as quoted in ab-
breviated form in (5), of which the first is the oldest and the other two have
earliest recordings around 1300:

(5)

1. A c o n s e c r a t e d   day, a religious festival – c. 950 ...
2. A   d a y   on which   o r d i n a r y   occupations ...
   are suispended;
           of exemption or   c e s s a t i o n   from   w o r k ;
           of festivity,   r e c r e a t i o n   , or amusement – a 1300 ...
3. A   t i m e   or   p e r i o d   of cessation from work ... – 13.. ...
   (= collect. pl. or sing.)

I have marked relevant semantic material by spacing. This shows that Leech's analysis is basically correct, and that meanings with or without the IF (of a DAY) coexist from about 1300 onwards. State 'A' in diagram (3) is further justified by the remark in the dicitionary that meaning 2 in (5) is "in early use not separable from 1". It is interesting to note that, according to the OED, form (4b) became more frequent "as the distinction in signification between sense 1 and sense 2 became more marked". In spite of some difficulties the following quotations (6) may illustrate how the IF {NO WORK} came in and (of a DAY) and {HOLY} went out:

(6)

For meaning 2:

a 1300 lesus went him for to plai Wit childir on a halidai.
   1478 One for the halydays ... and a nothyr for the workyng days.
   1601 Hence: home you idle Creatures, get you home:
   Is this a Holiday? (Shakespeare, Julius Caesar).

For meaning 3:

13.. Er þe halidayez holly were halet out of toun.
1667 The Christmas holidays giving more leave and licence
to all kinds of people.

2.2.3. The OED also mentions two further subsidiary meanings of holiday which I shall now discuss. One is contained in the obsolete or extinct phrase to speak holiday defined as 'to use choice language, different from that of o r d i n a r y life'. This could lead us to introduce an additional IF {EXTRA-ORDINARY} (cf. also meaning 2 in (5)), related to the feature {HOLY}. Such an IF could be supposed to have been present already in state 'A' of diagram (3), while all the other features of that stage must have disappeared in the phrase.

The second use of holiday is characterized as colloquial and nautical by the dictionary and defined as 'a spot carelessly ieit uncoated in tarring or

painting'. The following diagram (7) may explain the semantic change and again illustrates the usefulness of an IF {EXTRAORDINARY}:

(7)

(a)
$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{TIME} \\
\{\text{of a DAY}\} \\
\{\text{HOLY}\} \\
\{\text{EXTRAORDINARY}\} \\
\text{NO WORK}
\end{bmatrix}
\longrightarrow
$$
(b)
$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PLACE} \\
\rule{1cm}{0.4pt} \\
\rule{1cm}{0.4pt} \\
\text{EXTRAORDINARY} \\
\text{NO WORK}
\end{bmatrix}
$$
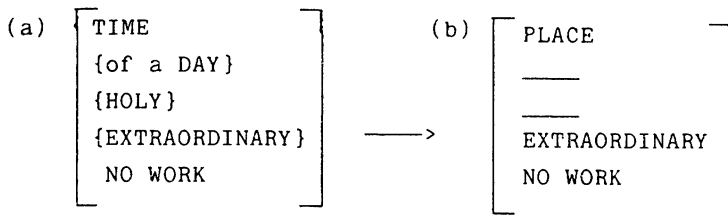
Holiday in this specific nautical register can be defined as 'extraordinary place where no work has been done', which is crudely formalized in (7b). The starting-point of the semantic change, viz. (7a), can be compared to state 'B' in (3). I have replaced 'period' by [TIME] and added the IF {EXTRAORDI-NARY}. This is converted into an obligatory component. The other IFs have disappeared, while the feature [NO WORK] is retained in (7b).

The most radical semantic change from [TIME] to [PLACE] cannot be interpreted with the help of IFs. In my opinion it must be regarded as an abrupt conversion or replacement rather than a gradual transition, or step-by-step progression for which Leech set up his model. Obviously, we here reach the limits of IFs. Furthermore, the actual process of the shift of meaning of holiday may have been quite different from the reconstruction given in (7). Perhaps the situation of coining the new meaning was something like an officer saying: "Is this where you took a holiday?" to a lazy sailor, pointing to the spot in question.

It is well known that not all shifts of meaning are gradual, but some are rather sudden, accidental, and anecdotal. Possibly the best examples of unique changes are dollar (from Joachimstaler) and G Heller (from Haller pfenninc) and those of the history of MoE mint and money and French (F) croissant, denoting a milk-roll, as explained by Ullmann.[14] He distinguishes four "cardinal types" of change: metaphor, metonymy, popular etymology, and ellipsis. These may all involve cases of sudden shift of meaning. On the other hand it is quite normal that a word gradually acquires a new sense, which

then coexists with the old one for some time or even indefinitely.

2.2.4. If we now look at holiday from a strictly synchronic point of view, we can state that some IFs are relevant for MoE as well, not only for a historical approach. Thus the IF {of a DAY}, postulated for the transition from meaning 2 to 3 in schema (5), is not at all obligatory in MoE, but optional. This is evident in the following definition of holiday from the LDCE: 'time of rest from work, a day ... or longer' (cf. also (7a)). Another possible IF is {RECREATION}, derived from sense 2 and 3 in (5) and the following definition in the COD: 'day of festivity or recreation, when no work is done ... period of this'. Its optionality is supported by the fact that recreation is not mentioned in the LDCE.

2.3. Lexicalization

2.3.1. Turning away from our holiday to serious work, it may not seem out of place to make a few remarks on lexicalization. As I understand this term,[15] lexicalization is a multi-layered historical phenomenon, in which a complex lexical item, through frequent use, gradually loses the character of a syntagma and formally and semantically tends to become a single, specific, lexical unit. This process may involve graphemic and phonological changes, sometimes referred to as demotivation, but also morphological and syntactic alterations, and especially semantic modifications. The latter may be largely captured by the theoretical construct of loss or addition of semantic features, which describes the gradual process of idiomatization. In holiday both processes can be found, as well as phonological and morphological changes that isolate the lexicalized compound from its constituents and a parallel syntactic group (cf. 2.2.2.). In other cases such as blackboard or watchmaker, which are perfectly analysable today, demotivation has been caused by developments in the extralinguistic world, something I referred to as 'referential change' ("Referenzwandel") in 1981.

2.3.2. I distinguish lexicalization from what may be called 'instantaneous' or 'individual coining', a phenomenon I once termed "Einzelprägung". This is tied up with the naming function of simple and complex lexical items and must be considered as a singular act, in which new concepts or concrete extralinguistic referents are given a name. This may lead to instantaneous idiomaticity – a fact already noted by Hermann Paul – but does not necessarily do so. Examples for the former are streaker 'person running naked across a public place' and G Geisterfahrer 'car going in wrong direction on a motorway'. Examples of unidiomatic unique coinings may be pedestrianization or G Windabweiser 'part of a car that keeps wind away'.

3. Other Interesting Cases of Semantic Change
3.1. Restriction and Extension of Meaning

3.1. I will now turn – in less detail – to some other examples of semantic change that have been repeatedly used in the literature. As Pyles (p. 347) points out, many of them can already be found in a book by Greenough and Kittredge published in 1901, but have been adopted by him and me since "they make their point better than less familiar ones would do". I will here concentrate on two fundamental "categories" of semantic change, in Ullmann's terminology, to which a feature approach is most amenable, and which are based on the result of change and the range of words, viz. extension and restriction of meaning as illustrated in schema (8):

(8)
(a) Restriction (features added):
    deer, fowl, hound, liquor, starve
(b) Extension (features subtracted):
    barn, bird, dog, meat, mill, tail

In the following, I shall distinguish two groups of authors who have dealt with these examples and will try to review the most important points they make. With all of them the analyses of specific items do not differ much.

3.2. The Works of Bloomfield, Pyles, and Ullmann

3.2.1. Bloomfield, Pyles, and Ullmann belong together in that they do not draw on the concept of feature. Bloomfield surveys previous research, notably Paul, with his distinction between general and occasional meaning, and Sperber, with his stress on the context of new meanings. In this connection Bloomfield uses the term "extension of meaning"; otherwise he speaks of "narrowing" and "widening". For him finding the context or situation in which a linguistic form may be used with both the old and new meanings is the key for explaining semantic extension. At the same time the paradigmatic and syntagmatic co-text – in modern terminology – must be considered, e.g. the competition of meat and flesh, and possible unfavourable connotations.[16]

3.2.2. Pyles distinguishes between "specialization" and "generalization" of meaning, a classification "based on scope". He treats some examples that are not discussed in the other books, viz. barn, mill, tail, and liquor, and also makes reference to regional semantic variation between British English (BrE) and American English (AmE). Thus barn was originally a compound of OE bere 'barley' and ærn 'house'. We may therefore postulate an IF {BARLEY} for the

specific kind of cereal or grain that disappeared in the development to modern BrE barn 'storehouse for grain'. In AmE and some other varieties of English even the feature [GRAIN] is no longer obligatory, since barn may be defined as a 'building for storing hay, livestock, vehicles, etc.' (cf. COD). Finally, the feature [for STORING] may also be absent in some other uses of barn as in the definition of barn₃ in the LDCE as 'a big bare plain building'. On the synchronic level we can therefore postulate two IFs {GRAIN} and {for STORING}.

Pyles further points out that a mill was formerly a place for making things by grinding, viz. meal (etymologically related), and that it is now only "a place for making things", because "the grinding has been eliminated".[17] As evidence he cites the syntagmatic modifications in "woolen mill" (sic!), steel mill, and even gin mill. The situation is, however, more complicated and we might be induced to postulate IFs such as {GRINDING}, {BUILDING}, and {GRAIN} both for diachronic and synchronic purposes.

The third item considered by Pyles alone is tail, from OE tægl, which he defines as probably having meant 'hairy caudal appendage, as of a horse'. According to him the "hairiness" and "horsiness" have been eliminated in the development to MoE tail, which could be represented by the IFs {HAIR} and {HORSE}, or {EQUINE}, the latter found as inherent features in MoE horse, stallion, mare, gelding, foal, filly, colt etc. The semantics of tail are fare more complex if we include metaphorical and metonymic extensions, as a glance at the dictionaries will show. Thus, for example, we probably need an inherent feature [BACK] to account for tail in the sense of 'reverse of coin'.

I therefore turn to the last item, liquor, which is also special in being a case of semantic restriction. Pyles claims that originally it simply meant 'fluid', but that "we have added 'alcohol'". This is not borne out if we look up liquor in the COD, where alcohol plays a very small role. On the other hand the LDCE is much more alcoholic, since the first definition is plainly 'alcoholic drink', and the second one, labelled AmE, even reads 'strong alcoholic drink'. It is therefore probably not unwise to postulate an IF {ALCOHOL} both synchronically and diachronically.

3.2.3. Ullmann draws attention to the fact that many semantic changes arise in "ambiguous contexts" and notes that "extension of meaning" is apparently "a less common process than restriction". He gives some very interesting examples for extension, viz. F pigeon, dindon 'turkey-cock', hêtre 'beech', and MoE bird from OE brid 'young bird'. In all these cases, which denote whole species, the original meaning was 'young animal or plant' (cf. also G Schößling 'young plant').[18] We can therefore postulate an IF {YOUNG} that has disappeared. It was formerly an inherent distinctive feature, and still is in a number of MoE lexical items, such as boy, girl, foal and its hyponyms, etc.[19]

The reverse process, viz. restriction of meaning, is illustrated by Ull-mann with the help of the examples deer, earlier meaning 'beast', hound, formerly 'dog', fowl, once denoting 'bird' in general, and starve. He notes that G Tier, Hund, Vogel, and sterben have "retained the wider meaning". We might postulate the additional IFs {family CERVIDAE}[20] added to the sense of OE dēor, {for HUNTING} in hound, and {family GALLUS} incorporated in the sense of earlier OE fugol. It would seem that German always retains the origi-nal sense and is thus less susceptible to semantic change. However, Pyles, giving the further items G Knabe, selig, Knecht (to which we might add Knap-pe, Korn, and Mühle), had already warned against jumping to this conclusion, and argued that the impression would not be the same with a different choice of examples.[21] To finish the review of this group of linguists, let me state that all three, viz. Bloomfield, Pyles, and Ullmann, draw on relevant German ma-terial and do not diverge much in their opinion on particular lexical items.

3.3. The use of features: Görlach, Berndt, Nöth

3.3.1. Görlach was to my knowledge the first to use a simplified feature notation in 1974 for the explanation of semantic change in the history of Eng-lish, if we disregard Leech's isolated schema for holiday. He illustrates ex-tension of meaning by an inherent feature [+ jung], becoming optional in MoE bird, which corresponds to our IF {YOUNG}. For restriction of sense Görlach uses [+ zur Jagd] and [+ fleischl.] in MoE hound and meat respectively, which were missing in OE hund and mete.

He gives detailed chronological tables for the semantic development of MoE sad, silly, nice, and stout, where the overlap of particular senses at certain times is clearly shown. This could also be captured with the notion of IF, something Görlach does not attempt to do. Finally, his approach is ex-ceptional in that he does not confine himself to the investigation of single lexical items in isolation, but tries to analyse a whole word-field in its seman-tic development.[22] Thus, the interdependence between MoE farm, hamlet, village, town, city and their earlier equivalents are studied on the basis of a text corpus. This field of 'a collection of dwellings', for which an archilexeme is missing, also includes e. g. OE wīc, hām, castel, ceaster, and burg, for which semantic continuations in Modern English do not exist.

3.3.2. Berndt also takes into account paradigmatic lexical relationships in his discussion of semantic change, but in addition includes syntagmatic context by quoting extensive syntagmas or full sentences. He argues that "changes in the meaning of a word ... have to be seen from the point of view of their effects upon the relation of this word to other words in the same semantic field or the same subsystem".[23] He therefore jointly investigates the history of

fowl and bird; deer, beast, and animal; meat, flesh and fodder; hound and dog, and the co-occurence of ME sterven, swelten, and dīen. In many cases he demonstrates overlap and even synonymy at some time during the ME period. He explicitly deals with meaning differences between "cognate words in English and German (partly) due to narrowing of the range of reference in the history of the English items" (p. 86 f.) Berndt generally explains "specialization" and "generalization" as due to the "a d d i t i o n of certain structural components" and the "s u p p r e s s i o n or l o s s of certain structural components", with "substitution" combining the two processes.[24] However, he never makes an attempt to isolate or formalize these components with a feature notation.

3.3.3. Our last author, Nöth, is exceptional because he applies such a notation to both diachronic and contrastive semantics at the same time. Using many of the English and German examples already treated here, and a con- siderable number of others, his aim is to find out the affinities and differences between the two branches of semantics. He argues for a more dynamic view of the interrelation between the two systems, which is quite compatible with my conception of IFs.

4. Conclusions

4.1. Specific IFs

This brings us back to my own proposal and the conclusions one can draw from it. A number of specific features have been established in the course of this paper, as summarized in (9), with (9a) and (9b) following the same order as (8a) and (8b), and (9c) containing the IFs mentioned elsewhere in the order of appearance in the text:

(9)
(a) {family CERVIDAE}, {family GALLUS}, {for HUNTING}, {ALCOHOL}, {of HUNGER}
(b) {BARLEY}, {GRAIN}, {for STORING}; {YOUNG}; {particular BREED}; {FLESH}; {GRINDING}, {BUILDING}, {GRAIN}; {HAIR}, {HORSE} = {EQUINE}[25]
(c) {of COLD}, {CAUSE}, {of HUNGER}, {to DEATH}, {SUFFER}, {of FOOD}, {of LOVE},
{NO WORK}, {of a DAY}, {HOLY}; {EXTRAORDINARY},
{RECREATION}.

4.2. General Results

I hope to have shown that the notion of IF is both necessary and inevi-

table, if one accepts the idea of semantic components at all. It is furthermore extremely useful for descriptive adequacy and possible generalization, as well as for contrastive and didactic purposes. In synchrony, it can account for fuzziness of meaning, for polysemy, and for regional, stylistic, and other variation (cf. 2.2.4.). On the diachronic scale, it can capture semantic restriction, extension, and shift and possibly other changes of meaning. Obviously, the items discussed in section 3 and listed in schema (8) have not been treated in the same detailed way that was reserved for our crucial examples starve and holiday. Nevertheless, I am convinced that if they were followed up in the OED in the same manner, this would further support my argument and prove the value of IFs for synchronic and historical semantics.

Notes:

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1 J. Lyons, Semantics (Cambridge, 1977), p. 317–335; G. Leech, Semantics: The Study of Meaning, second ed. (Harmondsworth, 1981), p. 117–122; K. Sprengel, "Über semantische Merkmale", in: Perspektiven der lexikalischen Semantik, ed. D. Kastovsky (Bonn, 1980), p. 145–177.

2 Cf. L. Lipka, Semantic Structure and Word-Formation. Verb-Particle Constructions in Contemporary English, (München, 1972); L. Lipka "Semantic Components of English Nouns and Verbs and their Justification", Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok 12/Hungarian Studies in English 12, (1979), 187–202.

3 See L. Lipka, Components, p. 195 for Nida and L. Lipka, "Die Analyse englischer Texte aus linguistischer und pragmatischer Sicht", Anglia 98, (1980), 293–318, esp. 302 ff for 'inferential strategies'.

4 Cf. E. V. Clark/H. H. Clark, "When Nouns Surface as Verbs", Language, 55 (1979), 767–811, esp. 787. They explicitly refer to Grice and develop a theory of interpretation which explains the production and understanding of utterances such as to porch a newspaper or to Houdini one's way out of a closet. Cf. also L. Lipka, "Causatives and Inchoatives in English and their Treatment in Recent Lexicographic Practice", Studia Anglica Posnaniensia 14, (1982), 3–16, esp. 13 ff.

5 A. Lehrer, Semantic Fields and Lexical Structure (Amsterdam, 1974), p. 84.

6 Cf. J. Lyons, Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics (Cambridge, 1968), p. 452; T. Pyles, The Origins and Development of the English Language, second ed. (New York, 1971), p. 348; M. Görlach, Einführung in die englische Sprachgeschichte, second ed. (Heidelberg, 1982), p. 124.

7 R. Berndt, A History of the English Language (Leipzig, 1982), p. 86,

however, states: "The semantic differences between ModE <u>starve</u> and its modern German cognates, HG <u>sterben</u> and Low German /sta:vn/, arose as a result of addition of further structural components to the underlying structure of the earlier meaning shared with ME <u>dīen</u>." Cf. L. Lipka, "Methodology and Representation in the Study of Lexical Fields", in: <u>Perspektiven der lexikalischen Semantik</u>, p. 93-114, esp. 102 f. for hyponyms of <u>sterben</u> and <u>die</u>, contrastive equivalents, and the problem of choosing between analytical paraphrases.

8 <u>Cold</u> and <u>hunger</u> may be further analysed as `absence or lack of heat/food', cf. <u>LDCE starve</u>₁ and <u>starve</u>₃ `to (cause to) suffer from not having some stated thing'. For possible approaches to the optional causativity in all three meanings of <u>starve</u> cf. Lipka, <u>Causatives</u>. We might postulate an IF {CAUSE}.

9 ME <u>sterve(n)</u>, according to Görlach, p. 124, is already characterized by an obligatory feature [+ durch Hunger]. However, of the 50 entries in J. S. P. Tatlock/A. G. Kennedy, <u>A Concordance to the Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer and to the Romaunt of the Rose</u> (Washington, 1927) under <u>starve</u> not a single one justifies [of HUNGER]. The earliest date for the sense `to die of hunger' in the OED is 1578.

10 Cf. Pyles, p. 348. The <u>OED</u> gives 1390 and 1879 as the earliest and latest dates respectively for this verb. For the general problem of the interrelation between syntagmatic modification and paradigmatic lexical structuring cf. L. Lipka, "On the Interrelation of Syntagmatic Modification and Paradigmatic Lexical Structuring in English" in: <u>Logos Semantikos. Studia Linguistica in Honorem Eugenio Coseriu, Vol. III</u>, ed. W. Dietrich/H. Geckeler (Berlin, New York, Madrid, 1981), p. 373-383.

11 Lyons, <u>Introduction</u>, p. 452.

12 G. Leech, <u>Semantics</u> (Harmondsworth, 1974), p. 123 f.

13 If we follow F. Liebermann, <u>Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen</u> (Berlin; Aalen, 1903-1916; 1960), p. 399, 656 f, s. v. <u>Feiertag</u> 5), <u>Sonntag</u> 3) and 4) this is not correct, since there were strict laws that prohibited work on a holiday in the Anglo-Saxon world.

14 Cf. S. Ullmann, <u>Semantics. An Introduction to the Science of Meaning</u> (Oxford, 1972), p. 197, 212 ff. for the four "types" and p. 227 ff. for his "categories" of semantic change.

15 Cf. L. Lipka "Zur Lexikalisierung im Deutschen und Englischen", in: <u>Wortbildung</u>, ed. L. Lipka/H. Günther (Darmstadt, 1981), p. 120 f. for my definition, p. 124 for "Referenzwandel", and p. 122 for "Einzelprägung".

16 Cf. L. Bloomfield, <u>Language</u> (London, 1935), p. 440 f. In another connection Bloomfield, p. 432, 440 mentions <u>meat and drink, sweetmeats</u>, and <u>counted one's bedes</u> (more currently <u>tell one's beads</u>). The co-existence of the former cases with MoE <u>meat</u> `flesh-food' could be accounted for by an IF {FLESH}. Cf. also the MoE saying <u>one man's meat is another man's poison</u>. In the expression <u>tell one's beads</u> the noun <u>bead</u> `prayer' is synchronically unrelated to <u>bead</u> `small object' and there is only an etymological connection.

17 Cf. the definitions in <u>LDCE</u>: 1. `(a building containing) a machine for crushing corn or grain into flour'; 2. `a factory or workshop', and in <u>COD</u>: 1. `Building fitted with machinery for grinding corn'; 2. `Any mechanical

apparatus for grinding corn ... any solid substance ...'; 3. 'Any machine, or building fitted with machinery, for manufacturing–processes etc.'. The treatment of the "metaphorical extension" of the meaning of <u>mill</u> in W. Nöth, "Contrastive Semantics in the Light of the Theory of Semantic Change", <u>Anglistik & Englischunterricht</u>, 8, (1979), 25–39, esp. 33 is apparently based on the <u>COD</u> or <u>OED</u>. Cf. also the syntagmatic modification in: a) <u>flourmill, watermill, windmill</u>, b) <u>coffee–mill, pepper–mill</u>, c) <u>cotton–mill, paper–mill</u> as a test.

18 Cf. Ullmann, p. 195, 229 and for the examples p. 231.

19 As a binary feature it is also relevant for the system of address in many languages, e. g. as one of the factors involved in the distinction between <u>tu, du</u> (for children) and <u>vous, Sie</u> (for adults).

20 Cf. <u>COD</u> s. v. <u>deer</u>; Nöth, p. 31; Pyles, p. 348, who points out that the feature was not yet present in Shakespeare's "Mice, and Rats, and such small Deare".

21 Cf. Pyles, p. 350, fn. 10, and also Berndt, p. 92–95 for <u>boor</u> and G <u>Bauer;</u> <u>boy, knave, child</u> and G <u>Knabe; silly</u> and G <u>selig</u>; and <u>knight</u> and G <u>Knecht</u>.

22 Cf. Görlach, p. 118 f, 126 f, 123.

23 Berndt, p. 80, cf. also 81 ff.

24 Berndt, p. 81. Pejoration and (a)melioration are accounted for by "gain or loss of evaluative meaning components" (p. 93 ff). Thus e. g. <u>knave, silly</u>, and G <u>Knecht</u> are said to have acquired "negative evaluative components", while <u>knight</u> is a case of additional "positive evaluative components". For a semantic feature Negative Evaluation [+ NegEv] in G <u>stinken</u> and participial adjectives like <u>choked up, snowed up, mixed up, glued up, inked up</u> cf. Lipka, <u>Semantic Structure</u>, p. 136–138, 208.

25 For ME <u>dogge</u> 'dog of a particular breed' cf. Bloomfield, p. 426 and also G <u>Dogge</u>. This leads to an IF {particular BREED}. For <u>meat</u> cf. Bloomfield, p. 425 f, 431, 440 f, Pyles, p. 348.