

# MORPHOLOGY

CRITICAL CONCEPTS  
IN LINGUISTICS

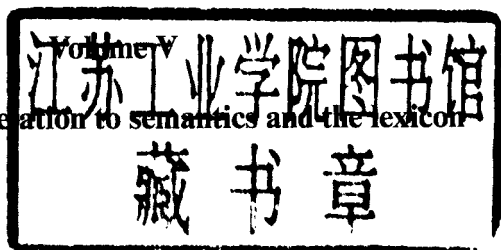
Edited by  
FRANCIS KATAMBA

# MORPHOLOGY

Critical Concepts in Linguistics

*Edited by*  
*Francis Katamba*

Morphology: its relation to semantics and the lexicon



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# FORM AND MEANING—THEIR INTERPLAY IN MORPHOLOGY

*Ivan Poldauf*

Source: *Travaux linguistiques de Prague* 4 (1971): 157–187.

We can assume that conditions underlying the ways in which linguistic units take part in sentence structure are definable, in general or to a great extent, with reference to the form and/or the meaning of the units. This definability enables the speaker to manipulate the units in his performance without having to have recourse, on every single occasion, to the “behaviour” of each unit separately. We will illustrate this from the morphological units of the Czech declension.

With a Czech noun, appurtenance to a paradigm appears to be a feature closely connected with the simply denotative form (the nominative) and the circumstance that the noun is or is not a *plurale tantum* (*škamna* f, sg, *kamna* n, pl). The feature implies both the form and the type of its reference (to males, females, and sexless), though there are forms which, with the same kind of reference, can belong to one of two paradigms (e. g. nouns in *-e* with sexless reference). The choice of grammatical morphological signals (case forms) follows from the appurtenance to the paradigm.<sup>1</sup> There is no direct connection of the choice with the appurtenance to a type in the category of gender, since gender,<sup>1a</sup> morphologically, is hardly more than the bracketing of several paradigms with which the phenomenon of agreement (concord) is connected. Hence change of gender always entails change of paradigm (*choť* m ‘husband’, f ‘wife’), though not necessarily vice versa. Gender is fundamentally of four types: masculine-animate, masculine-inanimate, feminine, and neuter. It is practical, however, to admit another type (or a subclass of masculine-inanimate), namely masculine semianimate, covering in the respective paradigms certain sexless uniques and uncountables referred to by what the language user still feels to be a form primarily suitable to denote humans or animals (*rak* ‘cancer’ < ‘crayfish, crab’, *Slovan* ‘a club’ < ‘Slav’). They are followed by a few countables under similar conditions



(*peršan* 'Turkey carpet' < 'Persian'). A few others vacillate between semi-animate and inanimate (*bacil*, *Saturn*, *biskup* 'parson's nose' < 'bishop'), between semianimate and animate ("animal" names of hotels, restaurants, and periodicals), and between animate and inanimate (names of elevations and constellations, devices and abstract terms in *-tel* and *-ec*, potentially, when in the plural, figures with animal or human shape, such as dolls).<sup>2</sup> The fact that a noun denotes what is of male or of female sex or is sexless (or with sex irrelevant) has nothing to do with the gender-bracketing of paradigms.<sup>3</sup> Both *sírotek* m and *sírota* f denote a he or a she orphan, both *děvče* n and *dívka* f denote a girl, names of mushroom species ("hunted for" by the pickers), *kozák*, *modrák*, etc., are masculine-animate. Nouns denoting a little horse, a dragon, a seal, a cock, a turkey, Oscar or Hamlet are animate even if they refer to a person's hobby, a flying kite, sealskin, a toy cock, roasted turkey, the prize or the play, respectively.

If he knows the paradigm of a noun, the speaker can select the required case form (1. to 7. sg and/or pl) by referring to the pattern. In a number of instances, however, he has to discard the form in favour of an isolate. Thus, he must say *dceři* for *dceře* (3.6. sg paradigm *žena*). Some isolates are optional. Thus, he may, but need not, say *husí* for *hus* (2. p. pl *žena*). There may be a stylistic difference in the option. Thus, *bratři* (adjectival p. with no *-ch* in 2. pl) is bookish compared with *bratři* (p. *pán*). Some isolates cover whole parts of a paradigm (*bratří*, the whole plural), perhaps only two case forms (1.4. pl in *muka*, *figle*, *handle*, *machle*, *pikle*, optional *perle*, *korále*), some are limited to one sense of the word (*rodiče* and *manželé* 'parental and married couple', *rodiči*, *-čové*, *maželové* 'parents', 'husbands'). There are also a few blanks, forms which the language user must not use, having to reach for a synonym (*letech* for *\*rocích*) or for a lexical doublet (*studni* 3.6. sg, *studní* 2. pl for *\*studně*, *\*studen*; *studně* = *studna*).<sup>4</sup>

Some paradigms appear to be but modifications of other paradigms. They arise through the entry of unusual forms, mostly borrowed from other languages, into the nominative (accusative) of the nearest best applicable paradigm.

Thus: *marabu*, *Rousseau* p. *pán* (also *kuli*, *abbé*, *Linde* in the plural, the singular using the consonantal skeletons of adjectival terminations), *paša*, *pária*, *Kolaja* p. *předseda* (4. pl also *-e*), *Dítě* p. *soudce*, *gejša*, *Máňa* (3.6. sg. also *-i*), *idey* pl (blank for 2. pl), *Samoa* (3.6. sg only *-i*) p. *žena*. In order to fit such a word in the best paradigm, the end of the nominative form may be treated as non-existent (1), or as if it were a different one (2), or the stem may be exchanged for one using a more tractable ending (3). A similar treatment is given to names referring to Graeco-Roman antiquity, even though the nominative form may be tractable. (1) *gradus*, *kosmos* p. *hrad*, *dinosaurius*, *Goethe*, *Jahve*, *Jonescu*, *dingo*, *Stýblo*, *Janko* p. *pán*, *Nietzsche*

p. muž, (2) *Gorkij, Dostojevskij, Tolstoj* as if -ý, p. vrátný, *Oto* as if \**Ota*, p. předseda, *Aeneas* as if \**Aenea* or \**Aeneus*, *Léthé, Sapphō* as if \**Léthā, \*Sapfa* p. žena, *Sofia, Klió, Nemesis* as if \**Sofie, \*Klie, \*Nemese* p. nůše, *idea* as if \**ideje* (but 4. sg. -u, 7. sg. also -ou), *sója, Levoča* as if \**sóje, \*Levoče* (but 4. sg. -u, 7. sg. -ou), *publikum, distichon* as if \**publiko, \*disticho* p. město, *stipendium, stadium, individuum* as if \*-io, \*-uo, but pl (also for the type *folio, embryo*) as if \*-i(j)e, -\*u(j)e p. moře (1.4. pl also -a), (3) *dodo, ion, Paris, Artemis, Ceres, Juno, Salamis* as if \**dodon, \*ioni, \*Parid, \*Artemida, \*Cerera, \*Junona, \*Salamina*, cf. *Jupiter—Jov-, Zeus—Dios*. There are also a few “ungrounded” indeclinables, which only signalize such cases as may be signalized by mere consonantal skeletons of adjectival terminations: *finále, alibi, (svatý) Jiříl/Jilji* ‘the fêtes’, *úterý* ‘Tuesday’ with 7. sg. -m, also -m, -ch, -mi in the plural with *finále*.

With all the said provisos, the clue to the selection of the case ending is not yet final. There are nine “weak spots” in the system where there are several forms of endings to choose from: four (if not five) in one case (5. sg), three in four cases (1.2.3.6. pl), two in four cases (2.3.6. sg, 2. pl). When there are two alternatives we may speak of doublets.

- I. The vocative singular, m and f paradigms: *e, i, o, u*
- II. The nominative plural, m-anim. and semianim.: *i, ové, é*
- III. The dative singular, ib.: *ovi, u*
- IV. The genitive singular, m-inanim.: *u, a*
- V. The locative singular, m and n except m-anim.: *u, ě*
- VI. The genitive plural, f: *i, Ø*; m-inanim.: *ů, i, Ø*
- VII. The dative plural, m-inanim.: *ům, ím, ám*
- VIII. The locative plural, m and n paradigms: *ech, ich, ách*
- IX. The instrumental plural, m-inanim.: *emi, i*

B. HAVRÁNEK — A. JEDLIČKA<sup>5</sup> say: “The choice . . . depends on different factors mutually complementary or antagonistic and ascertaining themselves to a different extent.” We will try to show that the factors are paradigmatic, metalinguistic, formal, semantic, and syntactic.

I. The choice is the least complicated in the vocative. (There is no vocative in the substantivized-adjectives paradigms, with neuters, e. g. *publikum*, such intractables as *marabu* or *Rousseau*, and in the plural.) The rule, i. e. the formulation of the conditions of choice, is metalinguistic and formal. Firstly, it dismisses the stable factors — form of stem and lexical meaning. What matters is the denotative form, known or presupposed: the nominative. The choice of -i is conditioned by “soft-consonantal nominative”, regardless of gender or paradigm. Lexical doublets, such as *báj* p. píseň and *báje* p. nůše,

though inflectionally identical, differ in the vocative, because they differ in their nominatives. Both *chot* 'spouse' and *neposeda* 'fidgety creature' represent each two different words, masculine and feminine respectively, each with a distinct paradigm. But there are identical vocatives, *choti* and *neposedo*. Secondly, the speaker has to know the nominative form in its relation to the paradigm. Thus, with a nominative which ends in an ambivalent consonant,<sup>6</sup> only its place in the system tells him whether he has to do with a hard or a soft type of end: *generál* (2. sg -a) -e—*král* (2. sg -e) -i. Also between *cirku* and *cirkuse* (*cirkus*, p. hrad) he decides on the basis of this knowledge. In other respects, the rules are formal: -o with nominatives in -a and -o, -e with nominatives in -e or in a consonant whose value is hard but which is not velar, -u with nominatives in a velar consonant, -i with nominatives in a consonant whose value is soft (hence also *kost*, *kámen*, *lokět*, *đen*)<sup>7</sup>, but -ěc changes to -če. A subsidiary rule states that final cons.+r changes to cons.+ř before -e. There are also a few isolates: *člověk* -če, *bůh bože*, *strýc -če*, *kněz -že*, *pán pane*, *syn -u* (but *zlosyn-e*), *manžel -i*, *anděl -i* or -e. Selection by the nominative makes the vocative variants perfectly complementary and it is easy to imagine the generation of the apposite form. This special position of the set (of variants) seems to favour the view that in Czech the vocative is only a functional variant of the nominative singular (non-neuter).

II. We will pass now to the choice in the nominative plural (1. pl) of the masculine-animate paradigms (*pán*, *muž*, *předseda*, *soudce*): -i, -ové, -é (the last after dentals only — *i*, *d*, *n*, *l*).<sup>8</sup> "Human-speaking" semianimates may and mostly do join the animates here: *sparticilky* 'vehicles', *pionýři* 'motorcycles', *modráci* 'blue boletus' (cf. *mopedy*). As -i calls for a radical change of the place of articulation of certain preceding consonants (e.g. velar to front) and also a change in the manner of articulation (except for *t*, *d* and *n*), while leaving the labials and other ambivalent consonants unaffected, it is understandable that these distinctions crop up in the formal rules, especially since there is an unmistakable tendency to have the case (nominative) as well as the number (plural) clearly signalled. The form of the nominative singular does not make itself felt here directly, it merely participates in the paradigm. The strongest presence of this metalinguistic factor (regard to a particular case) is felt with what might be called the modified or "deformed" paradigms. These are such as have embraced in their system nominatives actually foreign to their pattern: *marabu*, *Bantu*, *čaučau*, *abbé*, *pekari*, *Janko*, etc. These take -ové as the most easily attachable variant.<sup>9</sup>

1. In the unmodified paradigms, one semantic condition ranks highest. The head rule states that a word denoting "the bearer of the name . . .", i.e. a personal proper name, takes -ové: *Novák*, *Tomáš*, *Přítel*, *Sládek*, *Pták*, *Správce*, *Vančura*, *Janota*. Naturally, the same holds true for names of individual animals.

2. Next comes the paradigmatic rule, stating that words of the paradigm *soudce* have *-i* or *-ové* indiscriminately: *správce*.

3. There is further a paradigmatic and a formal rule combined. Words of the *předseda* paradigm can be subcategorized into (a) those in unaccented *-isla*, *-ita* and *-asta* and felt as loanwords<sup>10</sup> — *basista*, *husita*, *gymnasta*, (b) those in unaccented *-eta*, *-ota* and felt as loanwords — *asketa*, *despota*, (c) the rest. There is *-i* in (a) and (b), but *-é* in (a)<sup>11</sup> and *-ové* in (b) in a more elevated style. There is only *-ové* in (c). *Invalida -de*<sup>12</sup> is isolated and restricted to the literary style.

4. The last paradigmatic rule is likewise combined with a formal condition. It states that words of the paradigm *pán* having a stem ending in *-el-* (not mere *l* as in *d'ábel d'ábl-*) require *-ové* or *-é* (with an occasional stylistic differentiation, as in *manželové* 'husbands', *Španělové* 'individual Spaniards'). These are isolates: *Karel* 'Karelian' *-ové* only, *anděl -é* (*-ové* very rare), *kokršpanělové* or *-i* (for *-é* only goes with humans).

5. Next comes a set of purely formal conditions. Words ending in *-tel* (not *tl* as in *datel datl-*) take *-é*; in unaccented *-at* and *-it*, *-i* and, in a more elevated style, *-é*; in *-ik*<sup>13</sup> or cons. *+k*, *-i* or *-ové*; in *-j* and *-g*, *-ové*. E. g. *kazatel*, *diplomat*, *Hetit*, *Chorvat*,<sup>14</sup> *demokrat*, *alkoholik*, *heftlink*, *feněk*, *-ček*, *čaroděj*, *psycholog*. *Zloděj -i* by the side of *-ové* is an isolate.<sup>15</sup>

6. The least formally conditioned rule is the second-highest semantic rule. Words denoting "mythological creatures and ghosts, and highly placed persons" take *-ové*, unless, in a polysyllabic form, the end is a very common derivative element (or looks like one). The latter case makes both *-ové* and *-i* possible, as in *skřítek*, *cisár*, *vladař*, *vládce*, *carevič*, *kralevič*, *-ic*, *mandarin*. Designations of functionaries do not enter this set: *president*, *rektor*, *děkan*, not even *magnát*, *potentát*. Cf. for *-ové*: *duch* ghost, *džin*, *elf*, *gnóm*, *gryf* — *noh*, *lár*, *mánové*; *belzebub*, *cerber(us)*, *fénix*, *kolos*, *luciper*, *moloch*, *satyr*; *bán*, *bonz*, *boss*, *car*, *don*, *earl*, *gróf*, *chán*, *járl*, *král*, *lord*, *pair*, *princ*, *sir*, *šach*, *šéf*, also *manové*;<sup>16</sup> *bárin*, *cézar*, *diadoch*, *doyen*, *emir*, *gosudar*, *negus*, *pontifex -fik-*. There is a relatedness of this rule to Rule 1. What is here denoted also appears in most situations as a unique individual.<sup>17</sup>

7. Monosyllabic words denoting members of a unique human collective take *-ové*. A word of this kind may denote member of an ethnic group, an inhabitant, a state's national, member of a sect, a society or a family.<sup>18</sup> E. g. *Brit*, *Fin*, *Friz*, *Jön*,<sup>19</sup> *Švéd*; *hind*, *géz*, *guelf*, *orel orl-* 'member of the Orel'; *děd*, *choi'*, *svak*, *svat*, *syn*, *tchán*, *zei'*, also *muž* 'husband' and *druh* 'common-law husband'. Isolated instances are: *Žid -i*, literary *-é*,<sup>20</sup> *Čech*, *Lach*, *Lech*, *Vlach* with *-ši* besides *-chové* (*Laši* is the regional use), *stryč -ové* and *-i*.

8. All the remaining monosyllabic words can be comprised under this rule or rather set of rules: if the stem ends in an ambivalent consonant both *-i* and *-ové* are used, perhaps *-ové* more frequently for persons and *-i* for animals; if it ends in another consonant, *-i* is used unless *e* or *o* precedes a

single consonant, in which case *-ové* is used for persons and *-i* is preferred for animals. E. g. *běs, chám, pop, posel posl-, snob, strejc, žrec -ové* or *-i, datel, datl-, daxl, foxl, kos, krab, osel osl-, páv, plaz, sup, vůl vol- -i* or *-ové, brach, fořt, grand, hráč, klaun, kluk, mleč, muž, myč, pán, rváč, skaut, žák, žrout — čert, drak — brouk, býk, drozd, had, chrt, lin, lvoun, mlž, mník, plž, psoun, pstruh, plák, rak, pinč, sýc, svišť, štir, tloušť, vlk, výr -i; bůh boh-, člen, choť, kmet, coach [koč], rek, sok, špeh, tvor, zběh, zvěd -ové, also otec otc- [oc] -ové, hroch, mrož, šnek, tchoř -i* (less freq. *-ové*). The only two asyllabic stems also belong here: *lěv lv-, pes ps- -i*. The *-elo-x-ové* rule may be called the mid-level vowel harmony rule.<sup>21</sup> The preference for *-i* in *švec-* and *žnec ženc-* is due to the association with polysyllabic derivatives ending in *-ec*. Isolate instances are *hoch hoši, kmoch kmoši, plch plchové, chlap -i*.

9. All the remaining polysyllabic words come under a similar set of rules. Firstly, there are three minor purely formal rules: words in cons. + *r* take *-i* (*bratr, filistr, fotogrammetr, frajtr, kmotr, lotr, obr, švagr*<sup>22</sup>); *-i* or *-ové* avoid cacophony (*kozoroh, lodivod, mouřenín, živočich, šejch -ové, Hotentot -i*); words in *-ec* and *-ic* take *-i* or *-ové* (for such as may also be used as titles *-ové* is preferred).

10. Further, there are two rules which are at the same time formal and semantic. According to one, words denoting members of a human collective belonging to what is expressed in the head component (*Američan — Amerika, měšťan — město, svatebčan* 'member of a wedding party' — *svatba*) and ending in *-an* take *-i* or, in the literary style, *-é*.<sup>23</sup> The semantic condition is blurred or deleted in *pohan, křesťan* and *katan*. According to the other rule, words in *-al* and *-ál tak -ové* (with *-i* rather rare by the side of *-ové* to denote animals): *patolízal, rýpal, šibal, tlachal, vazal, feudál, generál — karakal, maral, mýval, narval, korál, nosál, pardál*.

11. The remaining polysyllables take *-i*, but if their stem ends in an ambivalent consonant, *-ové* is used with persons and it may be also used if the word denotes an animal. E. g. (*arci*)*biskup, děldop, filantrop, Arab, Doudleb, eféb, -fob, cherub, Kašub, nabob, agronom, anatom, anonym, bohém, muslim, otčím, pseudonym, generalissimus, -graf, kalif, -sof, šerif, detektiv, élév, chedív, fiškus, morous, Sioux, Kirgiz, markýz, matróz, apoštol, debil, Hucul, imbecil, Ital, Kabyl, Karel, Kreol, -mil, mogul, sokol* 'member of the Sokol', *všeuměl, homunkulus -ové; polyp, jeřáb, jestřáb, zorav, ibis, kalous, karas, pilous, rorýs, dikobraz, bacil, kokršpaněl, krokodýl, motýl, sokol -i* or *-ové. Dáblí* and *d'áblové* is on the borderline between the personal and the animal interpretation, *vodomilové* follows the former. *Francouzi*, more common than *-ové*, is an isolate.

In compounds, the last element may assert what would be the ending used with it. E. g. *Ostrogoti -ové (Gót-ové), nohsledové, lenochodi -ové* (as if *\*sledové, \*chodové*). There is only *Ugrofinové (Fin-ové)*. Especially *-kazi, -mazi* and *-pasi* is frequent (*stávkokaz, dřevokaz, husopas, konipas, hlinomaz*). Most frequently, however, the compounds behave quite independently:

*Mladočeši, Jihočeši, dobrodruzi, soudruzi, bratrovrazi, zlosyni, polobozi, neznažbozi, lapiduši, vydřiduši, kolohnáti, knihomolové* 'bookworm (person)', *krutihlav -i* or *-ové* 'wryneck (bird)'. This is parallel to the independent behaviour of proper names "degraded" to common nouns: *jidáš, černí petři, fridolini, augusti, džingischáni, nesloři*, etc.

The hierarchy of rules can be overridden by what may be called re-evaluation. The expected ending is not used if there is a gain in using the other ending.

In our case, *-ové* may well preserve the shape of the stem of a low-frequency loanword, esp. of one of rather "exotic" reference, where the expected *-i* would change its final consonant and thus blur the shape: *augur, dinosaurus, eunuch, fakir, feláh, haruspex -spik-, jak, pandur*. This is particularly common with words denoting members of ethnic groups: *Azték, Baškir, Durynk, Etrusk, Faják, Ilyr, Kalmyk, Kazach, Tadžik, Uzbek*, etc. Sometimes, however, the exoticism seems to be a sufficient reason: *hybern, nomád, adlátus, alumns, antipod*, etc.

Re-evaluation may also help bring about a stylistic differentiation. By choosing the other ending, the speaker signals his positive or his negative assessment of the word in the particular context. Whether this is positive (appreciative, admiratory, rhetorical, historical) or negative (depreciative, familiarizing, profaning) depends on the socially accepted value of the meaning. E. g. positive in *druh* 'good friend,' *grand, lěv* (jak lvové bijem o mříze), *mnich, pán* (Dámy a pánové), historical *fojt, hajduk*,<sup>24</sup> *hélót* with *-ové* for *-i*, *Doudleb, Kašub, gróf*, with *-i* for *-ové*, negative in *dobrodruh* 'adventurer', *elegán* 'fop', *hrdopych, kat, lapiduch, nedouk, šprt, vrah* with *-ové* for *-i*, *bůh boh-* (to vědí boží!), *demagog, Habsburk, Moskal, nenasyta, pecivál, Šváb* (oj vy Němci -i) with *-i* for *-ové*.<sup>25</sup> Where both *-i* and *-ové* are the norm, *-ové* may be required by positive approach: *cyník* 'philosopher,' *klasik, magnificus, předeč, svědeč slávy, statečný boreč, dědic Bílé Hory, královský mlěc. Čechové* is more frequent in elevated use than *Češi*. Conversely, *-ové* is practically ruled out where vermin is denoted: *červ, mol, rus, šváb*.<sup>26</sup> The re-evaluating alteration is common with elevated synonyms: *jun, bard, oř, martyr, Helén -ové* (syn. of *junák, pěvec, kůň, mučedník, Řek*), *rek, kmet, Sláv, žrec -i* (syn. of *hrdina, stařec, Slovan, kněz*). It is also common with slurs using reference to animals: *vy koňové, oslové, volové*. Though this "overused" *-ové* may be "trumped" by an ordinary ending: *osli, voli, even koni* (though the norm is *koně*). Personification mostly implies a strongly positive (*duch* 'mastermind' < 'spirit', and cf. *dnové*, etc. in poetry) or negative (*měkkýš* 'softie' < 'mollusc', *bídny lidský červ, zlý jazyk*) assessment (*-ové*). Changing uncountable to countable is, however, a sufficient signal: *vy křeni, smradi*. Naturally, the expression of positive assessment may be ironical.

The negative assessment can be implied in the type of word-formation: *-och, -oun, -ón, -ouch, -our* and quasi-foreign formations, as in *harant, hulvát, mezulán*. Then there is no use for the re-evaluation of the case ending. Some

derivations are expressive, but not necessarily negative: *-ous*, *-ouš*, *-as*, *-us*. With them, re-evaluation of the given type has free play: *bělouš*, *milouš* — *teplouš*, *chud'as*, *klid'as* — *ket'as*, *lotras*, *mamlas*; *divous* — *mrňous*, *morous*; *bachus*, *fiškus* 'fly fellow' — *kakabus*, *kritikus*, *milius*. There is similarly, in *fízl*, *grázl*, *hajzl*, *chromajzl*, *mukl*, etc., *-i* for *-ové* to underline the strongly negative assessment.

It is clear that the hierarchy of rules underlying the selection cannot be presented on the formal and the semantic levels only without setting apart paradigm and form on the one hand and meaning and the metalinguistic approach on the other. Although it is introduced by an all-comprising semantic rule (1) which has a reflex on a lower rule (6), the chief burden of factors is combined paradigmatic and formal (2,3,4) and combined formal and semantic (7,8,10,11). Purely formal rules are in the minority (5,9). The second rule is not barely paradigmatic, since the *soudce* paradigm is nowadays only represented by one derivative type (*-ce*). Among the formal factors, the phonemic end of the stem plays the chief role, whereas the number of syllables in the stem and what we have called mid-level vowel harmony recede in importance. In the lower parts of the hierarchy the semantic factor boils down to the difference  $\pm$ Human, revealing the tendency to secure a distinction between the nominative and the accusative for +Human (phonetically *\*i:i*, *i:e*, *ové:i*), while leaving it less pronounced for —Human (*\*i:i*, *i:e*, *i:i*). In the hierarchy there are only reflexes of the metalinguistic approach, as in the relation of *-an* to the preceding element (*Američ-an:kameraman*) or in the re-evaluation taking into account the loanword and "generally exotic" character of the word. The fact that re-evaluation plays an important role with this hierarchy, though lying outside it, is likewise characteristic of the hierarchy.

**III.** We will pass now to the choice between the doublets *-ovi* and *-u* or *-i* in the dative and locative singular (3.6. sg) of the masculine-animate paradigms (same as in II).<sup>27</sup> Masculine-semianimate paradigms, like inanimate, have only *-u* or *-i*. The pair *-u* and *-i* is complementary, the former belonging to the "hard stems" (*pán*), the latter to the "soft stems" (*muž*, *soudce*). Thus also in the semianimate version (*spartak* : *běžec*).

At first sight, the hierarchy seems to be parallel to that in II. There is *-ovi* in "deformed" paradigms, (1) with "personal" proper names (*Srdce*, *Purkyně*, *Dítě* — *Dítětovi*, *Dít'ovi*, *Zeus* — *Diovi*),<sup>28</sup> (2) there is both *-i* and *-ovi* in the *soudce* paradigm, and (3) there is *-ovi* in the *předseda* paradigm. There is both *-ovi* and *-u/-i* in the other paradigms. Still, here already there are minor differences. "Deformed" nominatives like *abbé*, *pekari* follow the adjectivized pattern in the singular: *abbému*, *pekarimu* (cf. *abbéové*, *pekariové*). The notion of proper names is extended to any words used by man in reference to unique persons and animals in his narrow sphere of life, such as domestic animals and persons addressed or referred to in

conversation by that word (as title, etc.).<sup>29</sup> Understandably, the same holds for words denoting individual animals in fables. We will hear in a family: *Dalas' psovi žrát?* (cf. *pěs* — *psi*) *Dovedli ji k býkovi.* (cf. *býk* — *býci*) *Pošli to (panu) stavitelovi. To se farářovi nelíbilo.* And in a fable: *Přistoupila k vlkovi.*<sup>30</sup> Still, *-i* is possible even here, that is with words of the *muž* paradigm. By way of contrast to this, *-ovi* is avoided with reference to the place of business rather than the person pursuing it, if the word is of the *muž* paradigm: *Šla k zelináři. Zajdu k holiči.* But *Šla k doktorovi. Zajdu k zlatníkovi.* (the *pán* paradigm) — *Přistoupil k holičovi* (or *k holiči*) (the person, not the place).<sup>31</sup> Similarly, *-ovi* is sometimes avoided in the zoologist's parlance with reference to animals remote to house or farm life; here, however, if the word is of the *pán* paradigm: *Co už víme o havranu? Dnes pohovoříme o hrochu, o datlu . . .* (the rook, the rhino, the woodpecker). But *Mluvíli jsme o tchořovi.* (the *muž* paradigm).

The only isolates with *-ul-i* are of biblical origin: *bůh boh-* (now any monotheistic God), *Pán Bůh, v Pánu, v Kristu, po Kristu, jít k čertu.* With a number of others, *-ovi* is at least very rare: *člověk* 'man' ([č(o)ekəvɨ] is heard in low colloquial speech in the sense of 'one', German *man*), *král, Duch svatý* or *svatý Duch, Syn i Duch, Pán Ježíš, číň čertu* (or *d'áblu*) *dobře, bratru za (stovku, etc.).* Biblical names in *-áš* have both *-ovi* and *-i*. With the following animal names *-ul-i* is the rule: *lev, pěs, vlk, kůň kon-* (yet, see above).

Apparently, the described hierarchy leaves either *-ovi* or *-ul-i* applicable to an enormous number of nouns (the *pán, muž,* and *soudce* paradigms). Still, there is a difference in distribution which is conditioned paradigmatically: with words of the *pán* paradigm, *-ovi* is the rule and *-u* the exception, with words of the *muž* and the *soudce* paradigms, *-i* is the rule and *-ovi* is the exception: *Postavil se proti řezníkovi, proti pekaři* (*-ovi* to bring out the unique individuality in the situation). *Dávejte vždy uchazeči jednoznačné otázky. Dávejte vždy žákovi jednoznačné otázky* (*žák-u* to bring out the non-individuality). *-ovi* may also be given up where the case is sufficiently signalized by a preceding attribute: *Nedal proto tomu žákovi* (or *žáku*) *žádou úlohu.* On the other hand, *-ovi* is kept in rhematic (final) position. *Takové otázky přece nelze klást žákovi* — *Takové otázky nelze žákovi* (or *žáku*, to bring out the non-individuality) *takhle klást.* If rhematic position combines with reference to an individual, then even *-i* can be found replaced by *-ovi*: *Proč se nemá odmítnout panu učiteli* (*-ovi*)? — *Proč se nemá odporovat veřejnému činiteli?* This is a new type of condition in the choice. It is syntactic, as it concerns both major and minor syntax, both actual and grammatical syntax. The best known example in the field of minor syntax is the surrender of *-ovi* in a group consisting of two or more nouns: *pan Novák, soudruh ministr, panlsoudruh vedoucí, bratr náčelník, Anton Pavlovič Čechov, soudruh topič* — *soudruh Topič.* Only the last word follows the general rules: *soudruhu topiči* (*-ovi*, unique individual), *soudruhu Topičovi* (rule 1.), *Tondovi Novákovi* (*T.* rule 3., *N.* rule 1.).<sup>32</sup> If not initial, the prefinal noun behaves like



a common noun with non-individual reference: *panu Františkovi* (or *-u*) *Novákovi*, *soudruhu architektovi* (or *-u*) *Topičovi*, *Antonu Pavloviči Čechovovi*. The nouns in the other positions may be said to as good as refuse *-ovi*: *Čapku Chodovi*, *Karlu Matěji Čapku* (*-ovi*) *Chodovi*, *našemu bratru náčelníkovi*.

A distant reflex of the re-evaluation found in II is the preference for *-ovi* with expressively coloured words (e. g. diminutives and slur words): *nasypeme vrabečkoví zrní*; *dej tomu volovi, co chce*.

The hierarchy of rules in the case under inspection is introduced by an all-comprising, but not inviolable, semantic rule (I), proceeds through a set of paradigmatic rules (2,3), leaving the burden to semantic ("individual — non-individual") and especially syntactic factors within a formal frame (*pán — muž, soudce*). This hierarchy is a few removes from the complementary hierarchy which we learnt in the vocative (I) and also rather different from that of the nominative plural (II).

IV. Another case of doublets is that of *-u* and *-a* in the genitive singular of the masculine-inanimate paradigm *hrad*.<sup>33</sup> The narrow circumscription relieves paradigmatic rules from any part in the hierarchy of rules for the double-barrelled metalinguistic rule.

1. If a noun is felt to be a loanword or a conversion from a verbal stem, "a verbid", the ending is *-u*: *bunkr, hotel, kvádr, dóm; kryt, obvod, soumrak, srub, tok, východ, záhon, záchod* (cf. *krýt, vod-it, s-mrác-at se, s-roub-it, téci — tek-l, hon-it, chod-it*). *Zákon*, an isolate, is no longer connected with *kon-at*. *Průjezd* 'gateway passage of a house' with both *-u* and *-a* is an isolate (diff. from *průjezd-u* 'passing-through').

We will see later that place-names, Pl.-Nn., take *-a* very frequently. Rule 1. excludes names of towns, villages, hamlets, mountains, hills, lakes, rivers and brooks outside the Czech-speaking territory, unless they belong to a narrow sphere of contacts, i. e. are "next door", and/or show certain formal characteristics shared with the home stock. Either of these circumstances cancels the "loanword character". The chief formal characteristic is the stem ending in *-ov* or *-in*: *Prešov, Krakov, Lvov, Mnichov, Janov, Glasgow, Teltow, Trenčín, Berlín, Kolín (n./R.), Londýn, Turín; Halštrov* 'river', *Rýn* 'Rhine'.<sup>34</sup> Another characteristic is the ending *-berk*. The genitive *-a* is only found with names of towns outside the Czech-speaking territory within the "narrow sphere of contacts" (confirmed by the change of *berg* to *berk*): *Bamberk, Heidelberk, Norimberk*, also *Ružomberok -rka* in Slovakia (*-u* always also possible). A similar phenomenon with *-burk* is receding: *Augšpurk, Hamburk, Magdeburk* (*-u* rather than *-a*). With *-ev* and *-sk* the cancellation of the "loanword character" results from the notion that the reference is Slavic: *Kyjev, Kujbyšev, Kišiněv, Ržev, Gdaňsk, Jakutsk, Minsk, Norilsk* (though *-evu* and esp. *-sku* are also met with). In *Záhřeb* 'Zagreb' and *Ostrihom* 'Esztergom' (German *Gran*, archprimacy) the very Czech look of the Pl.-Nn. seems to make *-a* possible besides *-u*. In *Martin* and *Zvolen*, the proximity, the