

Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries

*In Honour of Jacek Fisiak
on the Occasion of His Fiftieth Birthday*

Volume 1 Linguistic Theory and Historical Linguistics

edited by

Dieter Kastovsky and Aleksander Szwedek

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The photo of Professor Fisiak was provided by Christian Anders Winter.



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for
Jacek Fisiak

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University of Łódź, Ph. D. (English), 1962;
University of California, Los Angeles, post-doctoral Fulbright Fellow
1963–1964;
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, D. Litt. (English), 1965.

Honorary degree: Honorary Doctorate, University of Jyväskylä, Finland, 1983.

Posts: Assistant lecturer in English, University of Łódź, 1959–1960;
Senior assistant lecturer in English, University of Łódź, 1960–1963;
Adjunct professor, University of Łódź, 1963–1965;
Docent, University of Łódź, 1965–1967;
Docent, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, 1965–1971;
Docent, University of Warsaw, 1966–1967;
Head of English Department, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, 1965–1969;
Director of Institute (School) of English, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań,
1969–;
Visiting associate professor of linguistics, University of Kansas, Lawrence, 1970;
Professor of English, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, 1971–;
Chairman of the Committee on English Studies in Poland, Ministry of Higher
Education of Poland, 1971–;
Chairman of the Committee on Modern Languages and Literatures, Ministry of
Higher Education of Poland, 1971–;
Rector, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, 1985–1987;

Visiting professor at: University of Florida, Gainesville, 1974;
State University of New York, College at Fredonia, 1975;
University of Kiel, 1979;
The American University, Washington, D. C., 1979–1980;
University of Vienna, 1983;
University of Zürich, 1984.

Honours: Numerous awards in Poland, the United States, Federal Republic of
Germany, Finland, Belgium;
President, International Association of University Professors of English,
1974–1977;
Vice-President, Societas Linguistica Europaea, 1973–1974;
President, Modern Language Association of Poland, 1973–1979;
Secretary General, FIPLV, 1980–1983;
President, International Society for Historical Linguistics, 1981–1983;
President, Societas Linguistica Europaea, 1983;
Vice-President, 1984;
Chairman, Committee on Languages and Literatures, Poznań Chapter, Polish
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Chairman, Committee on Languages and Literatures, Polish Academy of Sciences,
1981–1987;

VIII *Curriculum Vitae*

Member of the Prime Minister's Committee on Academic Appointments and Promotions in Poland, 1976–1987;
Member of the International Consultative Committee, International Association of University Professors of English, 1977–1986;
Member of the Bureau, Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée, 1981–1984;
Member of the Executive Committee, International Society for Historical Linguistics, 1983–1985.

Decorations: Knight's Cross of the Order "Polonia Restituta", 1979;
Commander's Cross of the Order "Lion of Finland", 1980;
Order of the British Empire, Officer's Class (O. B. E.), 1981.

Member of numerous professional organizations.

Editor of: *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*. An International Review of English Studies, 1967–;
Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics, 1972–;
Folia Linguistica Historica, 1978–;

Member of the editorial board of 16 professional journals;

Direction of 39 Ph. D. dissertations and 130 M. A. theses;

Organizer of 29 international conferences on linguistics (date: December 1985).

List of publications

1961

- 1 'Emendacje polskiego przekładu tekstów staroangielskich w zbiorze A. Bielowskiego *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*', *Sprawozdania Komisji Językowej ŁTN* 8: 79–89.
- 2 *An Early Middle English reader* (Łódź: Uniwersytet Łódzki).
- 3 'Złożony kontakt językowy w procesie zapożyczania z języka angielskiego', *Język Polski* 41: 138–139.
- 4 Review of Tauno Mustanoja, *A Middle English syntax*, in: *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* 8: 451–454.

1962

- 5 'Kategoria rodzaju rzeczowników zapożyczonych z języka angielskiego', *Sprawozdania Komisji Językowej ŁTN* 9: 63–68.
- 6 'Złożony kontakt językowy w procesie zapożyczania z języka angielskiego do polskiego', *Język Polski* 42: 286–294.
- 7 Review of R. W. V. Elliot, *Runes*, in: *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* 9: 203–205.

1963

- 8 'Zagadka staroangielska', *Zagadnienia Rodzajów Literackich* 6: 159–160.
- 9 Review of C. Lindberg, *MS Bodley 959*, in: *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* 10: 170–178.

1964

- 10 *Outlines of Middle English* (Łódź: Uniwersytet Łódzki).
- 11 'English sports terms in Modern Polish', *English Studies* 45: 230–236.
- 12 Review of Morton W. Bloomfield – Leonard Newmark, *A linguistic introduction to the history of English*, in: *International Journal of American Linguistics* 30: 305–309.

1965

- 13 *Morphemic structure of Chaucer's English* (University of Alabama: University of Alabama Press).
- 14 Review of H. A. Gleason, *An introduction to descriptive linguistics*, in: *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* 12: 200–203.
- 15 Review of G. L. Brook, *English Dialects*, in: *Linguistics* 17: 89–91.
- 16 Review of *Brno Studies in English*, in: *Linguistics* 19: 123–128.

1966

- 17 Review of A. Shannon, *A descriptive syntax of the Parker manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from 734–891*, in: *Lingua Posnaniensis* 11: 156–158.
- 18 Review of Thomas Pyles, *The origins and development of the English language*, in: *Linguistics* 21: 120–126.
- 19 Review of Gerhard Graband, *Die Entwicklung der frühneuenglischen Nominalflexion*, in: *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* 13: 235–238.

1967

- 20 'The Old English *wr-* and *wl-*', *Linguistics* 32: 12–14.
- 21 'Phonemics of English loanwords in Polish', *Biuletyn Fonograficzny* 9: 69–79.
- 22 Review of Harold E. Palmer, *The principles of language study*, in: *Foundations of Language* 3: 116–117.

X *List of publications*

1968

- 23 *A short grammar of Middle English* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe).
- 24 'Prevocalic consonant clusters in the history of English', *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 1: 3–14.
- 25 Review of Josef Vachek, *Prague School reader in linguistics*, in: *Foundations of Language* 4: 203–207.
- 26 Review of Henrik Birnbaum and Jan Puhvel, *Ancient Indo-European dialects*, in: *Lingua Posnaniensis* 12: 207–209.

1969

- 27 *An Early Middle English reader* (2nd ed.) (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe).
- 28 'The semantics of English loanwords in Polish', *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 2: 41–40.
- 29 Review of Randolph Quirk and Alan H. Smith, *The teaching of English*, in: *Foundations of Language* 4: 149–150.
- 30 Review of E. Klein, *Comprehensive etymological dictionary of the English language*, in: *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* 16: 322–323.
- 31 Review of Gerhard Nickel, *Die expanded form im Altenglischen*, in: *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 2: 109–110.

1970

- 32 *A short grammar of Middle English* (2nd ed.) (London–Warsaw: Oxford University Press – Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe).
- 33 'Transformacyjna składnia historyczna języka angielskiego', *Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego* 28: 104–113.

1971

- 34 'The Poznań Polish-English contrastive project', in: *Zagreb conference on English contrastive projects*, ed. by R. Filipović (Zagreb: Institute of Linguistics), 87–96.

1972

- 35 *Wkład Polski do językoznawstwa światowego*, Seria Wykłady Inauguracyjne (Poznań: UAM).
- 36 *An Early Middle English reader* (3rd ed.) (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe).

1973

- 37 'The Polish-English contrastive project', *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* 1: 7–13.

1975

- 38 *Wstęp do współczesnych teorii lingwistycznych* ('Introduction to modern linguistic theories') (Warszawa: WSiP).
- 39 'The contrastive analysis of phonological systems', *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* 22: 315–328.
- 40 'Some remarks concerning gender assignment of loanwords', *BPTJ* 33: 59–63.

1976

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- 44 'Subjectless sentences in Middle English', *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* 23: 263–270.
- 45 Review of Frans van Coetsem and Herbert Kufner, 1972. *Toward a grammar of Proto-Germanic*, in: *Linguistics* 178: 70–71.

1977

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Part I

Theoretical linguistics

Semantic features and prototype theory in English lexicology*

Leonhard Lipka

1. Introduction

Under the influence of psychological research on the nature of human categorization, especially that of Rosch (1977) and Rosch – Mervis (1975), an alternative theory of semantics has developed in recent years, as witnessed by Coleman – Kay (1981) and Geeraerts (1984), and criticized by Osherson – Smith (1981). Its linguistic roots can be found in Fillmore (1978) and the empirical work on denotational structure in Labov (1978). The new prototype theory has been labelled ‘non-Aristotelian’, as opposed to the classical feature approach to semantics which Fillmore termed the ‘checklist theory of semantics’. In the following I will discuss whether this really represents an alternative (cf. Fillmore 1975) or simply a division of labour.

1.1. The differences between the two approaches have been characterized in the following way (cf. Fillmore 1978: 153, Coleman – Kay 1981: 26 – 27, Geeraerts 1984: 1 – 2). The Aristotelian or checklist theory of semantics is described as using a list or set of criterial features, which denote discrete properties representing necessary and sufficient conditions for something to be an instance of a category. Category membership is clearly bounded, based on a yes/no distinction, and all attributes or features have a full and equal degree of membership. Fillmore’s example demonstrates the deficiency of such an approach: if *climb* contains the features or components ‘clambering’ and ‘ascending’, the acceptability of both *The monkey is climbing down the flagpole* and *The snail is climbing up the flagpole* cannot be explained. For the prototype approach *climb* also has two criteria, but either of them may be missing.¹

The non-Aristotelian theory, in other words, allows departures from the prototype and some criteria may be missing or be only partially present. For prototype semantics there is a central or nuclear sense of a word, a prototypical kernel, with blurred edges

and fuzzy boundaries, and degrees and different weights of category membership.² The phenomenon is ‘more-or-less’ rather than ‘all-or-none’. Geeraerts (1984: 2) sums up the common ground in all non-Aristotelian theories, which agree that conceptual structures in natural language have: 1. vague boundaries, 2. differences in salience of attributes and degrees of membership, 3. analogy and overall resemblance, and 4. prototypical kernels.

1.2. In human categorization, members of a category which are most prototypical are those that have most attributes in common with other members of the same category. Thus, a *chair* is a more likely instance of the category *furniture* than a *radio*. Natural semantic categories can thus be divided into the clearest cases, the prototype, and non-prototype members. All items can be said to bear a ‘family resemblance’, since they have at least one element in common. According to Rosch–Mervis (1975: 575) ‘prototypes’ can be defined as ‘the abstract representation of a category’ or as ‘those category members to which subjects compare items when judging category membership’. It is interesting to note that in this experimental study of the six categories *furniture, vehicle, fruit, weapon, vegetable, clothing* family resemblances were defined ‘in terms of DISCRETE ATTRIBUTES [my emphasis, LL] such as *has legs, you drive it, or the letter B is a member* [for a control experiment with artificial categories, LL]’ (1975: 576).

In a later study on ‘domains’ such as *colour, forms* (e. g. circles, squares), and *facial expressions* (of emotion) Rosch (1977: 2, 46) defines ‘cognitive prototypes’ as ‘perceptually salient points in the domain’ around which categories form. It is claimed that prototypes are ‘the objects which most strongly reflect the attribute structure of the category as a whole and that ‘by means of prototypes’ categories are made to ‘appear simpler, more clear-cut, and more different from each other than they are in reality’ (1977: 3). At one point the notion of prototype is also identified with a ‘schema’ (1977: 20–21). This view is also adopted in Coleman–Kay (1981: 27) where a ‘semantic prototype’ is said to ‘associate[s] a word or a phrase with a prelinguistic, cognitive schema or image’ and speakers are claimed to possess ‘an ability to judge the degree to which an object ... matches this prototype schema or image’.

2. Semantic features

The concept of distinctive feature was first developed by the Prague phonologists. Due to obvious parallels between the levels of phonology and semantics (cf. Coseriu 1973: 58–72) it was then transferred to the study of meaning. The problem of cross-classification and the impossibility of a strictly hierarchical sub-categorization induced Chomsky to take over the concept of feature from phonology and to introduce complex symbols as sets of 'syntactic features'. Finally, the semantic feature was re-discovered in generative grammar, first in the guise of 'markers' and 'distinguishers'. A survey of recent developments and an extensive discussion of the status of semantic features is to be found in Lipka (1972: 30–71). Features, basically, are theoretical units of the metalanguage and as such may be used for analysis and description on the phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic level. Using the same theoretical construct on different levels undoubtedly makes linguistic theory more unified.

2.1. The concept of feature itself, however, is not completely uniform and inseparable as is often alleged. Nothing prevents us from distinguishing various types for different phenomena and purposes. In Lipka (1979: 194–196) I have set up a taxonomy of seven classes of features – of which only some are binary – which will be briefly reviewed here. On the basis of various criteria we can distinguish the following features:³ 1. denotative (e. g. [\pm HUMAN] in *girl* vs. *filly*), 2. connotative (e. g. [\pm ARCHAIC] in *steed*/*horse*), 3. relational (e. g. [\rightarrow PARENT] [\leftarrow PARENT] in *father*/*son*), 4. transfer (e. g. $\langle -$ SOLID \rangle or $\langle 2$ PENETRABLE \rangle in *to drink*), 5. deictic (e. g. [\pm PROXIMATE] in *come/go, now/then*), and 6. inferential (e. g. {STICK} in *beat*, {TO GET ATTENTION} in *nudge*). Except for the last type (cf. 2.3.) all features function as 7. distinctive features.

2.2. The most detailed and comprehensive analysis of the problems of semantic features I know of is given in Sprengel (1980). He discusses the questions of discovery procedures and circular definitions, metalinguistic status, linguistic vagueness, the distinction between linguistic and encyclopedic knowledge, hierarchies and concatenation of features, and their universality and psychological reality. Some of his arguments do not carry the same weight as others. On

the whole his approach is quite balanced and by no means a condemnation of feature analysis. Such a verdict would indeed have been surprising in the face of the many successful applications of the theory to a variety of languages, including English. At this point I may perhaps be permitted to draw attention to the feature analysis of a vast amount of verb-particle constructions with *out* and *up* in Lipka (1972). The problems of Componential Analysis, which include those of semantic features, are discussed in Lyons (1977: 317–335) and re-examined in Leech (1981: 117–122). The latter argues that Componential Analysis has the goal of explaining word-sense, not encyclopedic knowledge, and that prototypic categories must be contained in a psychologically realistic theory of reference. In order to deal with the fuzziness of meaning, he proposes an extension of the analysis of word-meaning which includes Componential Analysis and has three levels: 1. ‘word-sense’, as the entire ‘conceptual unit’, which is subdivided into 2. ‘components or features’ by Componential Analysis. 3. On the third level both word-senses and features, seen as prototypic categories, are ‘broken down into fuzzy sets of attributes’ (1981: 121, cf. 117, 84 ff.). Thus features may themselves have internal structure, and are decomposed by a sort of atomic fission that could explode the whole concept. Leech illustrates his idea with [–ADULT] contained in *boy*, *girl*, *child*, *puppy*, which is said to include ‘a further binary taxonomy distinguishing “child” from “adolescent”’ (1981: 121), but further application or convincing illustration is lacking.

A particularly unconvincing example of semantic feature analysis is given in Hansen *et al.* (1982: 172), viz. *apple* represented as: $\langle +\text{KERNELLED} +\text{ROUND} +\text{GREEN} -\text{RED} +\text{EDIBLE} \rangle \subseteq \langle +\text{EDIBLE} \rangle$. The notation \subseteq symbolizes ‘included in’, thus counting *apple* among *food*, and $\langle +\text{GREEN} -\text{RED} \rangle$ is to be read as ‘grün bis rot’, i. e. ‘from green to red’. Discovery procedures or justification for specific semantic features (cf. Lipka 1979) are not mentioned in the book. The interpretation for the features denoting colour does not allow for an entirely green, red, or yellow apple. The possibility of the simultaneous presence of two or more colours, or features in general, is also not accounted for, which is a weakness generally inherent in any Componential Analysis. This seems to be a good case for prototypes.

2.3. In all the articles on prototype theory referred to in 1. the following points were mentioned as the cardinal deficiencies of

semantic feature analyses: The clear boundaries of categories, the treatment of semantic features as discrete properties, the rigid yes/no decisions for the presence of semantic features, and, finally, their equal weight. Aristotelian semantics is accused of being unable to handle fuzzy sets and boundaries, and degrees of properties and membership. There are, however, a number of linguists who admit, and in fact use, graded or scalar semantic features. The further, allegedly insurmountable difficulties can be solved to a large extent by using a specific type of semantic feature which I have proposed, namely the inferential feature, marked by braces (cf. Lipka 1985). Inferential features are not discrete, obligatory, and inherent but rather optional, supplementary, and dependent on linguistic and extralinguistic context, from which they can be inferred. They can account for synchronic variation, vagueness, and polysemy – {of COLD} in Northern English *starve*, {GRAIN} in *barn*, {GRINDING} in *mill* – as well as for semantic change (cf. Geeraerts 1984), described in the form of loss – {HOLY} in *holiday* – or addition – {for HUNTING} in *hound* – of semantic features.

3. The linguistic relevance of prototype theory

We have seen that a modified and elaborated theory of semantic features can solve the problems usually ascribed to it in publications on prototype theory. Let us now turn the question round and ask for which purposes prototype theory is particularly well suited.

3.1. It seems that prototype theory is most easily applicable, and should perhaps be restricted, to the denotation of concrete nouns. Thus, the categories studied in Rosch–Mervis (1975), including *furniture*, all belong to this group (cf. Rosch 1977: 32–33). However, this area has also attracted research in structural semantics, either using semantic features or not, and the category *chair* has been studied as realized in lexical fields in French (cf. Coseriu 1973: 55–56), German, and English (cf. Lipka 1981: 377–381). Leech (²1981: 84) states that ‘natural species, such as dogs, fish, trees, etc., are good examples of prototypic categories’ and points out that herring and trout are more prototypic than eels or octopuses. It should be noted, however, that in closely related languages such as English and German, prototypes may be quite different as in *snail*/

slug vs. *Schnecke*, *ape/monkey* vs. *Affe*, and *eat* vs. *essen/fressen* (cf. Lipka 1981: 376–377). The usefulness of prototype theory is also evident if we look at the category *bird* and the more peripheral members *ostrich* and *penguin*. Very impressive work on the denotational and prototypic structure of English container nouns, especially *cup*, *mug*, *glass*, and *bowl*, has been done in a series of studies by Labov (cf. 1978). The denotata form continuous series and are distinguished by both categorical properties (e. g. with or without handle) and weighted ones (e. g. if X is present, *cup* is more likely to be used). Category boundaries are not discrete and material and context (e. g. filled with coffee or food) played a role in the experiments. Labov (1978: 223 ff.) found that besides vagueness, the interdependence of criterial conditions (e. g. shape, material, handle) is a general property of denotational boundaries, a phenomenon semantic feature theory does not permit. The prototypical *cup* has a certain ratio of height to width, a certain shape, and a handle. The prototypical *bottle* ‘appears to be a glass object with a narrow opening and a neck one-third the width of the bottle’ (Labov 1978: 231). If we return to the example of *apple*, we may state that its prototypical shape can be captured by a real or mental picture, but not by a semantic feature [+ROUND]. The simultaneous presence of different colours is also no problem for prototype theory.

The discovery of focal points in the domain of *colour* by Berlin and Kay represents a challenge to both the theory of linguistic relativity and semantic features (cf. Rosch 1977: 5–6). Colours, and the terms denoting them in different languages, together with the absence of clear-cut boundaries between them, must be seen as evidence for physiologically determined cognitive prototypes. They are on the borderline between concrete objects and abstract categories.

3.2. The description and analysis of abstract verbs would appear to lie on the other end of a scale from concrete, clearly delimitable nouns, and to pose serious problems for prototype theory. However, the two articles by Coleman–Kay (1981), on *to lie* ‘prevaricate’, and Geeraerts (1984), on Dutch *vergrijpen* ‘mis-take, use physical violence against, etc.’, seem to constitute counter-evidence. The authors of the first (experimental) study point out that previous research on semantic prototypes was confined to directly perceptible physical objects or perceptual sensations. They want to investigate less concrete things, such as a type of speech act, namely lies. For

them, 'the prototypical lie' — which they contrast with the 'social lie', or white lie — is characterized by '(a) falsehood, which is (b) deliberate and (c) intended to deceive' (1981: 28). It thus contains three 'elements', which need not all be present in other, less than 'full-fledged lies'. Geeraerts applies prototype theory to diachronic semantics and examines the development of *vergrijpen* from 1500 up to 1900. He does not give a prototypical definition of the verb, but instead analyses various senses, their development, and interrelation (cf. the diagram 1984: 14 f.). For example the notion 'acting against *someone's physical person*' is replaced by '*... so.'s wishes/authority*'. Such a semantic shift and the resulting links could clearly be captured also by a modified theory of semantic features. Geeraerts (1984: 29) admits that an Aristotelian theory, if provided with 'fuzzy sets of features' would be 'descriptively compatible with these facts', but claims 'more explanatory value' for his approach. However, the reasons he gives for this are to me not convincing.

4. An integrated view

In weighing up the pros and cons of semantic features and prototype theory we are compelled to recognize that here too an all-or-none approach is misguided and that any claim to exclusiveness must be abandoned. We have a division of labour and both views are complementary. Semantic features can neither cope with simultaneous properties from the same dimension, e. g. colour, nor with the interdependence of criterial properties (cf. 2.2., 3.1.). Contextual influence, however, is handled adequately by inferential features. Semantic features, furthermore, do not capture the psychological reality of prototypes for concrete denotational structure, although distinctive features are relevant here too (cf. Weniger 1980). The long recognized problem of the internal structuring of meanings must be solved, allowing for disjunctions of semantic features, e. g. in *uncle* or *brother-in-law* (cf. Lyons 1977: 319 — 320). In spite of all this, semantic features, if objectively justified, can be and have been applied most fruitfully to (contrastive) linguistic analysis and description, language teaching, and historical semantics. Prototype theory, on the other hand, cannot adequately account for abstracts, and the articles on *lie* and *vergrijpen*, in my opinion, are based on variants of a modified semantic feature theory⁴. Nor can it capture — unlike connotative features — differ-

ences between e. g. archaic *smite* vs. *strike*, or affective *town* (as in *London town*, *Chicago town*) vs. *city*. Furthermore, prototype theory is incapable of dealing with deictics (*come/go*), relational words (like *precede*, *love*, *height*, *father*⁵), and syntagmatic relations (selection restrictions or transfer features) in general. Yet, like Rosch (1977: 36, cf. also 1.2.), I believe that, in dealing with the concrete world, prototypes free human beings from 'laborious cognitive processes' and provide an 'efficient processing mechanism of matching to a prototype'. In other areas, the 'attributes' or 'elements' of prototype theory are equivalent to semantic features (cf. 1.2., 2.2., 3.2.). In conclusion, I contend that semantic features and prototype theory do not represent true alternatives, and the present paper is therefore a plea for an integrated view.

Notes

- * I should like to thank Eva Leitzke, Bernd Brömser, and Christopher Inman for very helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.
1. Cf. the definitions in the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (LDCE)*: 1 'to go *esp.* from a lower to a higher position up, over, or through, *esp.* by using the hands and feet', 2 'to go ... *as a sport*', where the elements marked by *esp.*, and *as a sport* can be interpreted as inferential features (cf. 2.3.). The semantic element 'upwards' in the verb-particle construction *climb up* is explicitly contained in *up* (cf. Lipka 1972).
 2. Cf. the distinction between 'centre' and 'periphery' as a language universal in the Prague school of linguistics.
 3. Both the arrows, e. g. in [←PARENT] for *son*, and the numbers, e. g. in <2PENETRABLE> for *to drink*, have been adopted from Leech (²1981) as notational conventions. The former symbolize the direction of the relation, the latter a scalar opposition, where 1, 2, 3 PENETRABLE corresponds to 'solid', 'liquid', 'gas'. The angled brackets < > are used for transfer features (cf. Lipka 1979). The braces {}, for inferential features, are taken from Lehrer (1974: 84–85).
 4. Cf. Osherson – Smith (1981: 63 fn. 3, 61), where the intensifier *very* is mentioned, as well as 'intricate concepts' like *belief*, *desire*, *justice* and the meanings of prepositions, sentence connectives, and 'a host of other ideas'.
 5. But cf. Fillmore (1975: 128–129) for *widow* and *bachelor*.

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