

On Regular Polysemy and Semantic Inheritance of Russian Verbs and Their Syntactic Derivatives

Introduction

Regular polysemy (RP) is understood as a similar combination of senses in two or more words of a certain thematic class¹. The goal of this paper is to determine and compare semantic regularities of two thematic classes: MOTION and SOUND. The study is restricted to a group of motion verbs of manner of the *бежать/бегать* type, ‘ideal’ sound verbs (*зреть, зудеть*, etc.- Paducheva 1998b), and syntactic derivatives (SDs) of these verbs, i.e. words with a lexical content identical to that of their derivators but with another syntactic function (Kuryłowicz 1936).

Several approaches to the description of RP have been proposed.

Apresjan (1974:189) was the first to use this term. He presented a detailed survey of binary RP relations as a list of typical paired combinations of related senses. For example: ‘To act’ – ‘to know how to act’ (*Он там плавает – Он плавает*); ‘Non-autonomous movement’ – ‘autonomous movement’ (*Человек едет на машине – Машина едет*). In spite of the author’s insightful observations made in his pioneering work, the binary approach can’t be used to describe the entire regularity in the semantics of separate words or thematic classes.

An attempt to capture the entire semantic regularities of words belonging to a semantic field was made by E.Paducheva (1998a; 1998b). She developed a paradigmatic model based on the idea that semantic regularity can be presented as a paradigm of lexemes (i. e. words taken in one of their senses) connected by semantic derivation. Four parameters were considered relevant for the meaning of a lexeme – thematic class, taxonomic category, diathesis alternations of the verb, and taxonomic categories of the situation participants. Paducheva’s model is deductive. She characterizes the semantic features of specific sound verbs deeply and insightfully but, unfortunately, she doesn’t present the entire paradigm of the RP of sound verbs as a thematic class. True, presenting the eight-sense paradigm of the verb *звенеть*, she claims that “almost all ‘ideal’ verbs of sound dispose of the same paradigm” (1998a: 234). However, this paradigm is incomplete since it doesn’t include such senses as ‘speech’ (*Подруги тархтели без умолку*), ‘expressing emotions’ (*Перестань хлюпать*), etc.

The derivational models approach (Rozina 2005b) focuses on derivational relations between separate senses of a thematic group rather than description of its RP. But in order to obtain models of sense derivation, she inductively determines all possible senses of the phenomenon studied (motion verbs with the prefix *раз-*), and breaks down such verbs into subclasses according to the combinations of these senses.

The idea to determine all regular senses of a thematic class and characterize each word by a set of such senses seems attractive, and it was used in the approach for this study. It consists in the survey of the semantic structure of words under analysis, discovering what combinations of similar, regular senses are shared by those words, with

the ultimate goal to characterize the RP of these words and determine what pattern their RP shows².

Levels of semantic regularity

A distinction can be made between two types of RP depending on the level of its realization: thematic (T-Regularity), and morphological (M-Regularity). RP is usually understood as T-Regularity, i.e. as a phenomenon which exists at the level of words belonging to the same thematic class. Thus, motion of physical objects in a certain manner can be expressed by the words *бежать / лететь / ползти*, etc. These words regularly share certain derivative senses, such as ‘motion of thoughts’ (*мысли бегут/летят / ползут*); ‘motion of time’ (*время бежит, летит, ползет*) etc. However, lexical morphemes, such as specific roots or stems, can have senses peculiar to them and not found in other morphemes of their thematic class. Thus, the words in *-ид-/-ход-* have the sense ‘making a move in a game’: *Идти / ходить конем/ твой ход*, which is not found in other motion words. Likewise, the words in *-звон-* in the sense ‘to call by telephone’ (*звонить/ позвонить кому-л/ (телефонный) звонок*) also demonstrate M-regularity since this sense is not found in the other sound words studied³.

On Semantic Similarity

A few remarks on semantic similarity seem to be in place here. Semantic similarity in a set of senses is the basic requirement for RP. However, such similarity may be of various kinds. If we consider linguistic action as a regular derivative sense of words of sound emission, we should ignore certain semantic differences associated with specific linguistic actions. Compare the sentences: *Прокурор гремел с кафедры* and *Старичок шипел им в лицо пошлости*. The verb *гредить* means “to speak in a loud excited voice”; the verb *шипеть* means “to speak in a whisper”. These verbs differ in the manner of speaking, and a similar difference can be observed in other sound verbs: *громыхать, дребезжать, трещать*, etc. Ignoring differences in the manner of speaking will permit to consider the derivation “sound emission – speaking in a certain manner” as a T-regularity. However, variations of linguistic actions can be related not only to manner of speaking but also to its content. Thus, *свистеть* as in *Не свисти, что ты не знал!* means to lie. Such a variation is not regular across the sound words but is restricted to an individual stem and is, therefore, an example of M-regularity.

Restrictions on semantic regularity can relate to individual senses. Thus a number of motion verbs have the sense “motion by moving lower limbs”. This sense can also be found in *ехать/ ездить*, but it is restricted to horses: *Лошади здесь ездят быстро*.

Identification of Regular Uses

The first stage of this study included a survey of senses of the words of MOTION and SOUND and determining their complete semantic structure, to use Rozina’s term (2005a: 52). Semantic information was based on MAC as the main lexicographic source (with minor additions from БАС and other materials). Each word was described as a set of semantic uses. “Use” as the unit of description corresponds to numbered senses, sub-senses and shades of meaning registered in the dictionary (the term “use” is preferred to a more cumbersome term “semantic position in the dictionary” (Denisov 1984:149). Similarity of uses in different words permitted to identify regular uses.

Based on comparing semantic structures of separate verbs, it was possible to establish RP sets of verbs of motion and sound.

T-Regularity (Motion Verbs)

The group of motion verbs studied was restricted to 8 prefixless primary verbs of determined motion, which, with their non-determined counterparts, form an imperfective pair, “which can be thought of as a suppletive means of expressing Activity” (Janda to appear). 34 regular uses were recorded for this group. The number of T-regular uses for each verb is given in Table 1.

Table 1

T-Regular Uses of Motion Verbs*
(35 T-regular uses – 100%)

Verb (determined)	Number of uses / % of reg. uses	Verb (non-determined)	Number of uses / % of reg. uses	Specific uses of non-det. verbs	Total uses of the pair / % of reg. uses	Uses not shared with the идти / ходить pair
бежать	22/ 63%	бегать	11/ 31%	2	24/ 69%	0
брести	8/ 23%	бродить	7/ 20%	2	10/ 29%	0
ехать	6/ 17%	ездить	6/ 17%	2	8/ 23%	1
идти	30/ 86%	ходить	18/ 51%	4	34/ 97%	-
лезть	18/ 51%	лазить	6/ 17%	2	20/ 57%	1
лететь	20/ 57%	летать	10/ 29%	2	22/ 63%	0
плыть	19/ 54%	плавать	14/ 40%	2	21/ 60%	0
ползти	22/ 63%	ползать	11/ 31%	1	23/ 66%	1

* based on dictionaries and discourse materials

The first feature of motion verbs is the semantically dominant role of determined verbs. As can be seen from Table 1, these verbs have more T-regular uses than non-determined ones. The specific uses of non-determined verbs are few. Thus, such uses of *ходить* are related to their inability to occur in the actual meaning (skill: *Мальши уже ходит/ *идет*; promiscuous behavior: *Он устал ходить / *идти по бабам*) and lack of a single direction (motion over a surface: *рука с углем ходила/ *шла по холсту*; motion to and fro: *дверь ходит / *идет на петлях*). These uses are shared with other motion verbs and even verbs of other thematic classes (see Apresjan 1974/92: 250). Cf.: *Он ездит верхом/ лазает по отвесным скалам/ сам летает на безмоторном дельтаплане/ плавает; Пальцы его бегали по крышке парты/ летали по струнам; Седло ездило по спине. Бабник бегают/ лазит по бабам; Поршни бегали вниз и вверх.*

The semantic dominance of determined verbs is related to their morphological dominance since they are primary in the word-formation clusters (Tixonov 1985; for a different claim see Nessel 2000). They motivate both non-determined and other verbs of the same root. They can pass over their semantics to their derivatives of the first and subsequent stages of derivation. Thus, *nomina actionis* formed from non-determined stems inherit their semantics from both determined and non-determined verbs.

Another feature of motion verbs is the type of structure of their RP. As can be seen from Table 1, out of their 35 T-regular uses, only one is not shared with the *идти-ходить* pair. The most polysemous motion verb *идти* shares (“includes”) most of the regular senses of the other less polysemous verbs. An explanation of this ‘inclusive’ structure of RP probably lies in the opposition of “generalized” and “classifying” motion verbs described in Rakhilina 2004, and the dominant role of the verb *идти* for the entire class of motion verbs (Koporskaja 1996:115).

The semantics of motion verbs concentrates mainly in the domain of Motion. Most of their regular uses (66%) mark physical motion. The remaining (34%) mark non-physical motion, which can be treated as belonging to other domains: Information (*ходят/ бегут/ летят/ плывут/ ползут слухи*); Location in space (*тропинка идет/ бежит/ ползет к лесу*); Passing of time (*время идет/ бежит/ летит*); Human Behavior, including Opposition (*идти/ лезть против начальства*); Change of Social Status (*идти/лезть/ползти в депутаты*); Promiscuity (*ходить / лазить по бабам*); Human Attitude (*идти/лезть на смерть*); Parameter Changes (*цены идут/ползут вверх, вниз/ плавают*); Falling to pieces (*ткань едет/лезет/плывет*); Mental Perception (*мысли идут/ бегут/ лезут в голову*); Emotion (*счастье, радость идет/ плывет/ в руки; горечь лезет в душу/ ползет к сердцу*).

T-Regularity (Sound Verbs)

Sound verbs were restricted to 22 “ideal” verbs “which have sound emission as their central and obligatory component” (Paducheva 1998a: 233).

The number of T-regular uses of sound verbs is given in Table 2.

Table 2

T-Regular Uses of Sound Verbs*
(16 T-regular uses – 100%)

Verb	Number of uses / % of reg. uses	Verb	Number of uses / % of reg. uses
01. греметь	8/ 50%	12. стучать	10/ 63%
02. гроыхать	11/ 69%	13. тарахтеть	10/ 63%
03. грохать	9/ 56%	14. трещать	10/ 63%
04. грохотать	13/ 81%	15. хлопать	10/ 63%
05. гудеть	9/ 56%	16. хлюпать	8/ 50%
06. дребезжать	8/ 50%	17. хрустеть	3/ 19%
07. звенеть	12/ 75%	18. шелестеть	8/ 50%
08. звонить	6/ 38%	19. шипеть	10/ 63%
09. звучать	6/ 38%	20. шуметь	10/ 63%
10. свистеть	11/ 69%	21. шуршать	8/ 50%
11. скрипеть	8/ 50%	22. шелкать	11/ 69%

* based on dictionaries and discourse materials

Table 2 demonstrates that sound verbs are not only less polysemous than motion verbs but also that they lack a “generalized” word, which shares the majority of regular uses with other sound verbs. This fact accounts for the “non-inclusive” structure of RP in sound verbs, which is different from its “inclusive” structure in motion verbs.

Semantic transfer to other domains distinguishes sound verbs from most motion verbs (69% of regular sound uses vs. 34 % of regular motion uses). Beside the domain of sound, the derivative uses of sound verbs were found to relate to the domains of Information (*Газеты трещат/ звонят о выборах*); Linguistic Action (*Подруги тарахтели/ трещали*); Inner State (*В висках гроыхает; голова трещит*); Existence (*Звучит стон; шелестит смех*); Motion (*Они хлюпали по грязи; Мимо звенели/ грохотали трамваи*); Force (*Он гроыхал кулаком по столу/ грохал ложкой о кастрюлю*); Entertainment (*Весь вечер мы хлопали в карты/ стучали в домино*).

Semantic Inheritance in Clusters of Verbs

Semantic inheritance of derivative verbs requires a special study but some preliminary observations may be mentioned here.

Usually a derivative can inherit some uses from its derivator, while some other uses are not inherited. The non-inherited uses include the uses forbidden for the derivative and special uses developed by the derivative itself.

Relations of verbs in clusters deserve a special study. Tentative observations partially support the view that markers of Aktionsarten do not change the lexical semantics of the primary verb (A. Sheljakin, cited in Avilova 1976:267).

Determined motion verbs are usually treated as derivators of clusters, in which non-determined verbs are derivatives on a par with prefixed and other verbs. Moreover, non-determined verbs inherit fewer uses from their determined counterparts than derivatives of determined verbs in *no-* (see Table 3).

Table 3

Semantic Inheritance of Derivative Motion Verbs
(based on MAC)

Derivators	Number of uses in MAC	Non-determined derivatives	Number of inherited uses	Number of special uses	Perfective derivatives in <i>no-</i>	Number of inherited uses	Number of special uses
бежать	14	бегать	9	4	побежать	14	0
брести	1	бродить	1	1	побрести	1	0
ехать	4	ездить	2	3	поехать	4	1
идти	53	ходить	31	15	пойти	48	4
лезть	21	лазить	5	0	полезть	21	0
лететь	11	летать	5	3	полететь	10	3
плыть	15	плавать	9	6	поплыть	15	0
ползти	13	ползать	6	1	поползти	13	0

Certain derivatives are explicated in dictionaries only by reference to their derivators, which implies their complete semantic inheritance⁴. Such are the derivatives of determined verbs in *no-* *побежать*, *полезть*, *поползти*, *поплыть*, which are used as Ingressives. Other verbs are somewhat restricted in their inheritance. Thus, *полететь* inherits 10 uses out of 11 of the verb *лететь*. One use ('to be spent quickly' is forbidden (cf.: *Деньги так и летят* /**полетят*). Besides, it has 4 special uses ('to be fired' – *Он полетел*/**летел с работы*, etc.). The verb *пойти* inherits 48 uses (out of 53). It has 5 forbidden uses ('Agreed!' *Идет!* /**Пойдет*, etc.) and 4 special uses ('to begin to do something' *Слово за слово и они пошли* /**шли обвинять друг друга*, etc.)

The comparison of the semantics of prefixed sound verbs with that of their derivators showed that most of their uses are inherited. Lack of inheritance was noted in uses transferred to other domains. Thus, lack of homogeneity, which excludes derivatives in *za-* (Zaliznjak 2006), can be observed in some uses of sound verbs marking activities accompanied by sounds, such as hitting (*щелкал* /**защелкал его в лоб*); killing (*хлопал* /**захлопал мух*); photographing: (*щелкал* /**защелкал меня*), etc.

Semantic Inheritance of SDs

Differences in semantic inheritance are observed not only in derivative verbs but also in syntactic derivatives (SDs), in which syntactic transposition is accompanied by semantic stability.

A feature of SDs of motion is their formation from the non-determined stems. In spite of their morphology, these SDs usually demonstrate a double-verb inheritance from both determined and non-determined verbs. Thus, all uses of *ходьба* and *ходка* were inherited from both verbs. However, there are cases when SDs demonstrate a single-verb inheritance. Thus, *хождение* inherited the use 'perceived motion of sounds' from *идти* rather than *ходить*: *баланс - это хождение звука от левого канала до правого* (cf.: *звук идет / *ходит из двух колонок*). Conversely, the use of *ход* 'motion to and fro' (*ограничитель хода двери*; *ход поршня*) was inherited from *ходить* rather than *идти* (*дверь ходит / *идет на петлях / поршни ходят / *идут вверх и вниз*). Single-verb inheritance can be also observed in other SDs. Compare: *плавание*: 'change in quantity' *плавание курса валюты* from *курс валюты плавает / *плывет*; *ползание*: 'motion of objects in water': *ползание льдин по реке* from *льдины ползут / *ползают по реке*.

Although semantic identity with the derivator is a requirement of SDs, they do not inherit all the uses of their derivators. Thus, *бег* inherited 11 out of 24 uses of the *бежать / бегать* pair. Its forbidden uses are: 'boiling over' (*Молоко бежит - *бег молока*); 'fleeing' (*Противник бежал - *бег противника*); 'courting' (*Петя бегаёт за Катей - *бег Пети за Катей*), etc.

SDs of sound verbs involve certain problems connected with 1) direction of derivation (Is *грохот* a derivative of *грохотать*, or vice versa?), and 2) relation between sound and action within one sense (Is *грохотание* *Nomen Actionis* in certain contexts but not in others?). The first problem can be resolved by adopting Melchuk's approach of mutual motivation of SDs, according to which, say, *рассматривать* III yields *S₀ рассмотрение* II, while *рассмотрение* II, in its turn, yields *V₀ рассматривать* III (Mel'čuk, Zholkovsky 1984: 692, 695). The second problem can be resolved if we don't insist, as E. Uryson (2003:158) does, on hard and fast border lines between actions and sounds within one sense since it is often impossible to distinguish between the meaning of a pure sounding action and sound accompanying that action. Consider: *гул прорывался в промежутках между громыханьем оркестра* (is it *в промежутках, когда громыхал оркестр, or в промежутках между оглушительными звуками оркестра?*).

22 sound verbs yield 55 SDs, whose uses can be broken down into: 1) uses marking action with sound; 2) uses marking action without sound (*звон* 'gossip'; *гудёж* 'bash'; *гроханье* 'murder'); 3) uses marking physical objects, which is more typical for slang than for literary words. Compare: *гудок* 'policeman'; *свисток* 'lips' (*Погоди, свисток намажу*); *звон* small change, etc.

Although semantic identity with the derivator is recognized as a property of SDs, they do not inherit all the uses of their derivators and develop special uses of their own, which becomes especially evident due to a paradoxical feature of SDs, a frequent availability of several syntactic derivatives to one derivator. Why should one derivator yield multiple SDs? An explanation may be that different SDs inherit different uses of the derivator, and certain uses select certain SDs. Thus *ходить по магазинам* implies

хождение / ходьба but not **ход по магазинам*; while *идет бой* implies *ход* /**хождение* /**ходьба боя*.

A number of factors contribute to the selection of a particular SD. They include:

- **Word-Formation meaning** for which different suffixes are responsible. Since “sister” SDs normally belong to different word-formation types, the explanation seems to be in the fact that the semantic structure of a SD combines the inherited lexical senses with the word-formation meaning. Consider the SDs *ход*, *ходьба*, *хождение*, *ходка*. On one hand, they reveal certain similarity since they inherited the same uses from the verbs *идти* and *ходить*. Thus, *хождение*, *ход* and *ходка* inherited the use ‘motion of a vehicle’: *интервал хождения автобусов*; *Поезд замедлял ход*; *последняя ходка грузовика*. Another three SDs *хождение*, *ходьба*, *ходка* inherited the use ‘joining smth, becoming somebody’: *Многие ученые совершали хождение во власть. Пик их ходьбы во власть пришёлся на эти годы*; *Его ходка во власть окончилась неудачей*.
- **Style**. This factor is immediately connected with the Word-Formation markers. Thus, SDs in *-ниж-(e)* are typical for scientific, official and journalistic discourse (Vinogradova 1984: 12); SDs in *-к-(a)* are represented in special professional discourse. SDs in zero suffixes often have the meaning of a single action. They are productive in conversation and fiction, and also in technical and sporting terminology. They develop the senses of a result and a physical object more often than other SDs (Vinogradova 1984: 15). SDs in *-б(a)* mark a continuous action. SD’s in *-ня* are conversational, etc.
- **Directionality**. Thus motion of clouds is usually perceived as unidirectional. Therefore, *облака бегут по небу* yields *бег облаков по небу* rather than **бегание* or */*беготня облаков*.
- **Taxonomic class of the subject**. The difference between *ходьба* and *хождение* can be explained by the subject type, which is usually human in *ходьба*: *ходьба в магазин* vs. *хождение* /**ходьба солнца*.

There are other factors affecting the choice of a sound SD: intensity, duration, diminutiveness, estimation, etc.

Let us consider SDs of the verb *скрипеть*: *скрип*, *скрипок*, *скрипение*, *скрипотня*, *скрипня*. These nouns retain the primary meaning of the verb, with additional shades of meaning caused by their word-formation types: duration (*скрипок* is short; *скрипотня* is long); intensity (*скрипок* is weak, *скрипотня* is strong), etc. Likewise, the SDs *стук*, *стукоток*, *стучание*, *стуканье*, *стукотня* reflect differences in their word-formation semantics and style: *стукоток* (quick and frequent knocking) – a separate act of an action perceived as diminutive. Cf.: *слабый стукоток в дверь* / **стукоток кулаком по столу*; *стукотня* (long frequent knocking) is conversational and has a negative estimation. *Голова болит от вашей стукотни* / ** стукотка*.

Along with the description of factors contributing to the occurrence of certain SDs, one should mention factors forbidding their use but they seem to be more difficult to pinpoint. Thus, sound production marked by Instrumental of Source is forbidden for many SD’s of sound. This use is permitted for nouns in *-нје*, *-ёж*, (cf: *гремяние посудой*; *гроханье кулаками*; *гудёж клаксонами*) but is forbidden for many suffixless nouns and nouns in *-от*, *-ня* (**скрип дверью*; **грохот* /**грохотня*/ **гром посудой*; **гуд клаксоном*). It might be assumed that combination of such nouns with Instrumentals is forbidden because they mark sound rather than action. But counter-examples don’t support such an assumption. These nouns permit Instrumental of body parts, which don’t

seem to be conceived as Instruments: *скрип / стук зубами; хруст пальцами; хлопок рукой; щелк челюстями; стукотня кулаками*. Some nouns can combine with Instrumental: *стук ключом/ посудой/ палкой; хлоп/ хлопок дверью, газетой; щелк кнутом, ножницами*.

Another forbidden use is linguistic action. This use is permitted for some SDs (*гуденье, скрипение, скрип, треск*, etc.). But for the majority of sound names it is forbidden. Thus, *гром, грохотанье, дребезг*, etc. cannot express speech, contrary to corresponding verbs. Compare: *Лектор гремел с кафедры - *гром лектора; Ах ты, – грохотал Дед - *грохотанье Деда; Супруга дребезжала ему 'на ухо – *дрезбезг супруги*.

M-Regularity

T-regular uses don't exhaust the semantics of motion verbs. Thus out of 53 uses of *идти* only 30 are T-regular. Many of the remaining uses are shared with the derivatives of the same root, and are therefore M-regular. Compare the root *-лез-/-лаз-* 'penetrating with a hand inside smth': *лезть / лазить в шкаф за книгой; лазание в карман; -лет-* 'falling': *Сбитый с ног, он летел /летал на пол; лёт капли*.

Certain sound-related roots also have M-regular uses. Compare: *-дрезбезг/ж-* 'visual instability': *фонари, дребезжащие светом; дребезжание света; дребезг изображения; -щёлк-* 'photographing': *Щёлкни меня у памятника; щёлканье туристов*.

M-regularity is widely developed in slang. Compare slangy uses of sound roots: *-гуд-* 'boozing-up': *Будем гудеть всю ночь; гуднули знатно! гудёж до утра в баре;* *-свист-* 'lying': *Не свисти! Разносить свист про Сидорова; Он свистун; -стуч/к-* 'denunciation': *Осторожно с ним – он стучит; Он, сука, наверно стукнул; На него был стук; Он стукач; Стучание в органы*⁵.

Extension to a wider thematic vocabulary

Although small groups of words were used to describe RP of Motion and Sound, many other words of these domains can also express the same kind of regularity. Compare other motion verbs expressing T-regular uses:

'motion of a vehicle': *В дальнем море Корабли гуляют; по дороге плелись телеги; Машина юркнула в тоннель;*

'passing of time': *Время течет медленно/ льется неотвратно/ мчится полным ходом/ несётся бешеным потоком;*

'changing in quantity': *температура скачет; цены колеблются; давление падает.*

T-regular uses can be found in other sound verbs as well:

'sound emission of a creature': *бьет 'перепел; дёргает коростель;*

'sound emission of a device': *брякнул звонок; катер бубнил мотором;*

'linguistic action': *ворковали подружки, гавкал на подчиненных;*

'spreading information': *об этом все газеты вопили / трубили / ревели / жужжали;*

'expressing emotions': *над шуткой ржал / гоготал; от боли ревел / выл / визжал от восторга.*

The border line between T- and M-Regularity is not absolute. If the adopted restrictions of material are removed, M-regular uses can become T-regular. Such are the uses 'being current, in progress': *Работа идет/ движется вяло;* 'be humiliated, grovel

to somebody’: *ползать, пресмыкаться перед кем-л*; ‘denouncing somebody’: *стучать, звякать; шпрыхнуть на к-л*, etc.

Conclusion

To sum up, this study showed that

1. RP is a semantic phenomenon, which, as a set of similar senses, characterizes groups of vocabulary united by a theme or a morpheme, and is based on cognitive associations between various situations of the real world (Розина 2005a:45)
2. Semantic regularities in the domains of Motion and Sound have demonstrated both similarities and differences. They are similar in that they are not restricted within their domain but “invade” into other domains. They are different in the pattern of regularities, which is inclusive in motion words, and non-inclusive in sound words.
3. Semantic identity with derivators as a property of SDs is far from being absolute. Availability of several SDs to one derivator can be explained by their differences based on a number of factors including word-formation meaning, style, etc.

NOTES

1. Requirements for regular polysemy (RP) can vary in strictness. Semantic similarity of at least two meanings of at least two words was considered sufficient for RP in Apresjan 1974/1992: 211. The requirement is more demanding in Apresjan 2000:10, where many or all words a semantic class must have similar meanings. RP can be observed in both thematic and semantic classes. For differences between them, see Paducheva 2004: 42-43.

2. The derivational relations of senses present a special task which is not treated in this paper.

3. This sense can be found in a more representative list of sound verbs, cf. *брякать / брякнуть* : *Брякни мне часов в 10. Она опять брякает по телефону.*

4. Semantic inheritance differs from word-formation motivation. Motivation reflects derivative relations between the derivator and words which derived from it regardless of semantic similarities. Thus *огреть* ‘to smack, to whack’ is motivated by, or derived from, *греть* ‘to warm’ although it does not immediately inherit the meaning of warming.

5. The same idea (informing authorities, acting as an informer) is marked in English slang by the words *squeak* ‘скрипеть’, ‘пищать’; *squeal* ‘визжать’, hence *squeaker*, *squealer* ‘secret informer’. This sense probably developed from the derivative sense of *rat* ‘informer’, *to rat on somebody* ‘to inform authorities about somebody’.

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