PARADIGMATIC NATURE OF
DOKULIL'S ONOMASIOLOGICAL THEORY OF WORD-FORMATION

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GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF DOKULIL'S THEORY

Published in 1962 with the title *Word-formation in Czech, a theory of derivation of words*

The first comprehensive theory of word-formation in Czech

Seen as the first onomasiological theory of word-formation

Rooted in the structuralism of the Prague School (the theory was not conceived as paradigmatic)

Later developed by, e.g., Štekauer (1998), but he modified Dokulil's paradigmatic approach in favour of a rule-based one

In various resources, the paradigmatic nature of the theory is often ignored

Written in and applied on Czech, a language with derivation as the predominant word-formation process

BASIC PRINCIPLES OF DOKULIL'S THEORY

Describes the genesis of a word on the background of the existing lexicon.

The onomasiological approach (dynamic process of word-*formation*) is thus complementary to the semasiological one (word-*formedness,* system of complex words) – so, it is not purely "onomasiological" theory (as, e.g., Štekauer's one)

The starting point of his word-formation model is a concept to be named

"An act of forming a new word presupposes that a generalized reflection of reality in human consciousness (i.e., content) has been processed, organized and classified in such a way that corresponds to the possibilities of expression, or more precisely the naming means, of a given language" (Dokulil 1962: 29, my translation)

onomasiology

semasiology

"Only a unification of these two aspects can account for the dialectic relation between word-formative processes and the functioning of word-formative structures" (Dokulil 1994: 130)

THE AIM OF THE PRESENTATION

to introduce some basic principles and key notions of Dokulil's theory of word-formation and relate them to current paradigmatic approaches

SOME KEY NOTIONS OF THE THEORY - ONOMASIOLOGICAL CATEGORIES

The linguistic content of consciousness is first structured, generalized, or specified into one of the following conceptual categories:

- SUBSTANCE – corresponds to nouns

- ACTION – corresponds to verbs

- QUALITY – corresponds to adjectives

- CIRCUMSTANCE – corresponds to adverbs

In word-formation, these conceptual categories enter different relations on the basis of semantic **transposition, modification,** or **mutation**

TRANSPOSITION

The semantic content of the source remains the same, what changes is its conceptual category

ACTION becomes SUBSTANCE   FR *laver* 'to wash' → *lavage* 'washing'

QUALITY becomes SUBSTANCE   RU *zvonkij* 'sonorous' → *zvonkost'* 'sonority'

QUALITY becomes CIRCUMSTANCE   EN *apt* → *aptly*

(examples taken from Fradin 2020)

TRANSPOSITION

required by syntax, semantically predictable

MODIFICATION

The semantic content of the source is added a modifying feature, the conceptual category remains untouched.

Examples of the modyfing features are

diminutiveness	CZ *strom* 'tree' → *strom-ek* 'little tree'
augmentation	SK *chlap* 'man' → *chlap-isko* 'large man'
gender marking	CZ *lékař* 'doctor' → *lékař-ka* 'female doctor'
etc.	

MODIFICATION

MUTATION

The semantic content of the source provides a mental access to the target, so the semantic contents of the source and that of the target always differ. The source and target may be of the same or of different conceptual categories.

SUBSTANCE → SUBSTANCE   EN *hat* → *hatter*

ACTION → SUBSTANCE   FR *laver* → *laveur* 'window cleaner', 'raccoon', 'robotic vacuum cleaner'

QUALITY → ACTION   CZ *černý* 'black' → *černat* 'to turn black'

MUTATION

Naming in the narrowest sense, providing names for concepts in the extra-linguistic reality, the lexical meaning of the target word is unpredictable
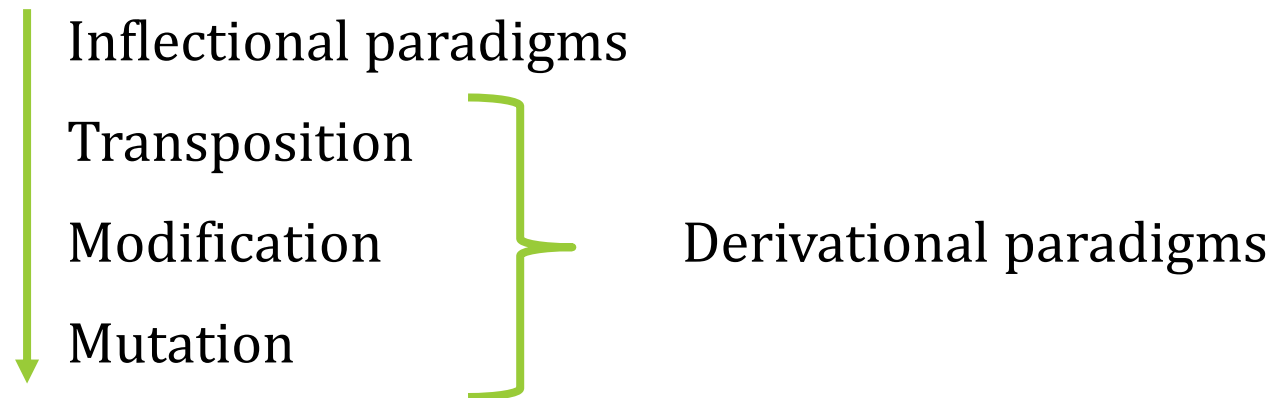
HOW DOES THIS RELATE TO DERIVATIONAL/WORD-FORMATION PARADIGMS?

From now on, Dokulil's (structuralist) approach will be applied on paradigmatic understanding of derivation/word-formation

ONOMASIOLOGICAL CATEGORIES

The distinction between transposition, modification, and mutation is relevant for the level of similarity of derivational paradigms to inflectional paradigms in terms of their size

The level of similarity may be seen on a gradience scale:

Inflectional paradigms

Transposition

Modification   Derivational paradigms

Mutation

„derivational paradigms are like islands" (Fradin 2020: 63)

ONOMASIOLOGICAL CATEGORIES — TRANSPOSITION AND MODIFICATION

The paradigmatic series within transposition resemble the inflectional ones in that they cover most members of their categories (e.g., verbs in principle form action nouns)

Those in modification cover most members of their specific categories (e.g., in Czech, all nouns form diminutives, all animate referents may be given a gender marker)

ONOMASIOLOGICAL CATEGORIES – MUTATION

The paradigmatic series in mutation are those islands, even though some are larger than others

The largest islands are likely to be those based on verbs, such as Agent_N; however, in Dokulil's approach they are seen as an abstraction over a number of paradigmatic series rather than as a single paradigmatic series (see below).

The existence of a derivative in a paradigmatic series is conditioned by the existence of the concept named.

Examples of highly specific paradigmatic series in Czech are

višň-ovice 'wild-cherry brandy'
hrušk-ovice 'pear brandy'
sliv-ovice 'plum brandy'
meruňk-ovice 'apricot brandy'
…

modr-ásek 'blue butterfly'
běl-ásek 'white butterfly'
žluť-ásek 'yellow butterfly'
hněd-ásek 'brown butterfly'
…

ONOMASIOLOGICAL CATEGORIES – MUTATION

Within the mutational category, the actual derivation is always preceded by conceptualization, in which the given concept is mentally processed. Consequently, the lexical meaning is always to a certain extent unpredictable.

Different conceptualizations may lead to the same paradigmatic series, as in

FR *laveur* – 1. window cleaner (person), 2. raccoon, 3. robotic vacuum cleaner

On the other hand, the same extra-linguistic referent can be conceptualized differently in various languages, cf. the terms for the ant-hill in Spanish (a container) and Czech (an area)

hormigu-ero 'ant hill'	*mraven-iště* 'ant hill'
flor-ero 'vase'	*pískov-iště* 'sandbox'
joy-ero 'jewelry box'	*vrakov-iště* 'scrapyard, a place for car wrecks'
sal-ero 'salt shaker'	*ohn-iště* 'fire place'
aren-ero 'sandbox'	*bramboř-iště* 'potato field'
…	…

LEXICAL AND STRUCTURAL MEANINGS

Structural meanings are abstractions over the **lexical meanings** of the existing lexemes

Structural meaning is a "living fact of language consciousness" (Dokulil 1962: 100)

The creation of **lexical meanings** begins in the very process of naming by mapping the result of conceptualization on some of the existing **structural meanings**, which are more general

The **lexical meaning** should not be understood as a secondary idiosyncratic shift of the **structural meaning**, but it is a direct reflection of conceptualization

Structural meanings correspond to cells in paradigmatic series

WORD-FORMATION TYPE

"The key notion of the word-formation system of the language" (Dokulil 1962: 68)

It is a result of the abstraction over a series of words with a homogeneous internal structure which have concrete lexical meanings

It is regarded as a unity of
- the mutual relation of the component parts (structural meaning)
- the lexico-grammatical category of the derivational base (word-class)
- the formative element (e.g., suffix)

This abstraction may also occur on other levels, which are either more specific or more general than the word-formation type.

WORD-FORMATION TYPE

There is no theoretical distinction between derivational and word-formation paradigms

The paradigmatic series, such as Agent_N (e.g., Bonami & Strnadová 2019), are seen as a more abstract level of categorization (word-formation category) and are rarely instrumental in providing models for production

The word-formation category of Agent_N thus comprises a number of word-formation types, which have the same structural meaning but different suffixes

> *zpěv-ák* 'singer'
> *tlumoč-ník* 'interpreter'
> *vlád-ce* 'ruler of a country'
> *hol-ič* 'barber' (lit. shaver)
> *uči-tel* 'teacher'
> *let-ec* 'pilot' (lit. flyer)

PARALLEL MOTIVATION

Members of paradigms are related through motivation

A morphologically derived word may be motivated by more words – parallel motivation

They may be correlative, not necessarily derived from each other

This may lead to perintegration, and subsequently to a creation of a new suffix

mlad-ík 'young man' ⟷ *mlad-ice* 'young woman'

mladý 'young'

citron-ov-ý 'lemon$_{REL ADJ}$' ⟷ *citron-ov-ník* 'lemon tree'

citron 'lemon'

mladý ⟹ *mladík* ⟹ *mladice*

citron ⟹ *citronový* ⟹ *citronovník*

PARALLEL MOTIVATION

Consequently, some members of the system may be missing

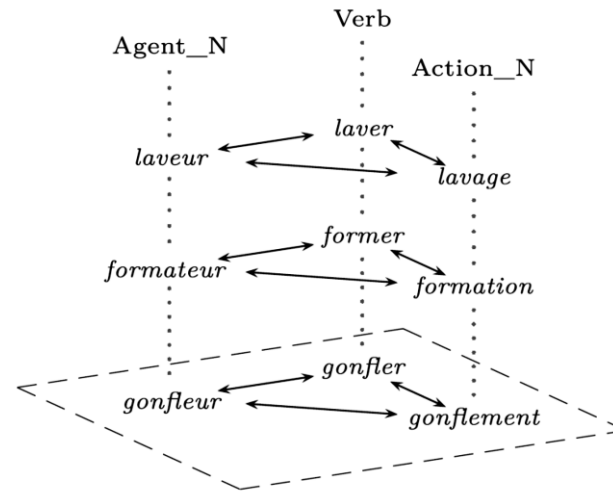|		
hlava 'head'	*hlav-atý* 'having a large head'	*hlav-áč* 'a person with a large head' *
roh 'horn'	*roh-atý* 'having horns'	*roh-áč* 'stag beetle' or 'great crested grebe' **
noha 'leg'	*noh-atý* 'having long legs'	*
parohy 'anthlers'	*	*paroh-áč* 'cuckold, a person with anthlers' **
*	*boh-atý* 'rich'	*boh-áč* 'rich person' ***

* example of correlative system only
** highly specific lexical meaning, also metaphoric
*** stem obscure

In Dokulil's conception, paradigmatic series may thus form paradigmatic systems on the condition that they are interconnected through the relation of motivation

If we apply Dokulil's approach on paradigmatic systems in Bonami & Strnadová (2019):

A French paradigmatic system based on derivationally-related words
(Bonami & Strnadová 2019)

- Action_N belongs to the transpositional category – morphosyntactic, lexical meaning overlaps   with the structural one

- Agent_N belongs to the mutational category – morphosemantic, lexical meaning is often unpredictable, the existence of the form depends on the existence of an extra-linguistic referent (cf. Bauer's 1997 example of *expresser*) or it may have a highly specific lexical meaning (cf. *goer* 'a woman who enjoys having sex frequently, especially with different men')

- Agent_N and Action_N are abstractions over a number of paradigmatic series each rather than single paradigmatic series

- Agent_N and Action_N are not correlative (not derivationally related)

CONCLUSION

Dokulil's conception thus corresponds to

Bonami & Strnadová (2019):
 - Dokulil allows for parallel motivation, i.e., a paradigmatic system
 - Dokulil's word-formation category (an abstraction over a number of word-formation types) corresponds to Bonami & Strnadová's cell, as the individual word-formation types share the same structural meaning. If no such abstraction is possible, the identity of the cell is given by a word-formation type.
   - in other words, Dokulil would not align the table above vertically

Booij (2010):
- Dokulil's word-formation type can be seen as Booij's construction
- Dokulil's word-formation type (abstraction over a single series of motivated lexemes) is the central notion of the word-formation system

THANK YOU

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