

## **Outstanding design, awful fatigue: qualitative words as sources for quasi-grammatical meanings**

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The process of grammatical meanings derivation has already received a fine-grained description: it is well known under the term “grammaticalization”, and it involves systematically different types of lexical meanings (see classical studies Traugott 1994, Hopper and Traugott 2003, Bybee 2003 among others). Numerous researches (see Svorou 2002, Heine and Kuteva 2002, etc.) show that models of semantic shifts from lexical to grammatical meanings are typologically relevant: the same sources result in similar goals even in unrelated languages. However, properties of this mechanism seem to be more common in nature (Newmeyer 2001). In particular, some linguistic effects similar to the grammaticalization process (for example, bleaching) accompany some shifts within the lexicon, where, however, the result of the semantic shift belongs to the set of senses often expressed with grammatical means. Interestingly, being slightly different from the grammaticalization process and hence staying on the periphery of researchers’ attention, semantic shifts of this type also appear to be highly systematic and repeat from one language to another.

Semantic shifts into the positive/negative evaluation zone, very frequent for qualitative words (cf. *fantastic story* → *fantastic party*, *awful silence* → *awful taste*, etc.), present an example of the semantic change in question. Though positive or negative evaluation belongs to the set of (quasi-) grammatical meanings, semantic shifts of this type do not fall under the definition of grammaticalization: the source lexemes do not undergo either morphological reduction or phonetic erosion.

We analyzed the derivation of evaluative meanings in several Slavic languages (Russian, Belorussian, Ukrainian, Polish and Serbian) with the data from 10 languages of some other groups and families (English, German, French, Italian, Welsh, Komi-Zyrian, Finnish, Japanese, Chinese and Arabic) as a typological background.

We found out that the semantic derivation of positive and negative evaluative meanings is systematic in several respects:

(1) A limited set of lexical meanings can serve as a source for metaphorization of this type. Moreover, while some “sources” are restricted to positive “goals”, the others can result only in negative evaluation meanings. For example:

- ‘differing from the others’ => ‘good’ (cf. Russian *vydajuščijsja*, *fantastičeskij*; English *outstanding*; Belorussian *admennyj*);
- ‘opposite’ => ‘bad’ (cf. Russian *protivnyj*, French *repoussant*).

(2) As for grammatical meanings, the main derivative mechanism for quasi-grammatical evaluative goals is implicature with certain semantic restrictions on the initial premise (like ‘differing from the others’ – *outstanding*, *fantastic*, *excellent*, etc.).

(3) Qualitative evaluation is adjacent to quantitative one: many lexemes with derived meaning of positive or negative evaluation also shift to the semantic zone of intensification (cf. *awful taste* => *awful headache*, *fantastic salad* => *fantastic sum of money*, see also Reznikova et al. 2013). In the talk, we discuss further ways of semantic change of the words with evaluative meanings in the languages of the world.

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