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**TO THE QUESTION OF THE REGULAR POLYSEMY AND “ISOSEMANTIC
NUMBERS OF THE WORDS” (IN TERMS OF THE WORDS WITH
THE MEANINGS OF PHITONYMS)**

The article discusses the problems of polysemy phenomena in different languages of the world. Due to the fact that polysemantic words were formed as a result of historical development, they should be studied both in statics and dynamics. Attracting the material concerning the semantic shifts of the words having the meaning “tree”, “forest” in the languages of Altaian and Indo-European groups, the author brings to light optional versions of semantic transfers in the words of lexical group of phitonyms, determines their universalism, proves the phenomenon of regular polysemy (in terms of phitonymic vocabulary) on the basis of “isosemantic numbers of words”.

Key words: isosemantic groups, semantic shift, polysemy, phitonyms, synchrony, diachrony, regular polysemy, metonymic transfer.

The aim of this article is research of the regular polysemy on the material of phitonymic lexicon in the languages of Altay and Indo-European groups in the light of the theory of "isosemantic numbers of words". For achieving this goal it is necessary to solve the following problems: to define the basic theoretical positions in the field of research of lexical polysemy, to define semantic transitions in the words concerning the lexiko-thematic group of phitonyms.

The regular lexical polysemy has been repeatedly considered in linguistics even previously. Originally linguists paid careful attention to studying of the diachronic (or in the traditional understanding "historic") aspect of polysemy – determination of typical formulas and laws of semantic changes. Researchers differently explained the historical changes of the semantic structure of a word. For example, representatives of the psycholinguistic trend in linguistics connected the change of meanings with psychological laws of associative links and divided these changes into "regular" and “singular” ones. They considered these regular semantic changes due to more or less common psychological motives in their formation. Some of them laid emphasis on regularity as the marks defining the specific character of semantic relations.

During the last 40-50 years great interest was paid to the synchronic system aspect polysemy, i.e. to revealing of regular shifts, transitions in the semantic structures of polysems. But it does not mean at all that researchers have refused the remedial approach to this phenomenon, as the same synchronous phenomenon in language can be considered from two points of view: either pure statically, when the presence of this phenomenon is stated, or remedially, when they aspire to define what was the result of the process. Polysemic words have developed as the result of historical development, therefore this aspect can be studied both in statics, and in dynamics simultaneously. Fairly writes about it Y.M. Nazyrova: «...besides changes in dictionary system of language changes also internal structure of lexical units that is word meanings also don't remain invariable» [1, p. 69].

To be necessary to note that the phenomenon of a polisemiya meets in terminological lexicon too [2, p. 120-129], that directly treats our subject.

Yu.D.Apresyan has defined polysemy as follows: “the word A is called as polysemic, if for any its two meanings a_i and a_j , there are such meanings $a_1, a_2, \dots, a_k, a_1$ that a_i is similar to a_1, a_1 - to a_2 etc., a_k - to a_1 and a_1 - to a_j ”. The definition does not require that all the meanings have a common part; it is enough that each of meanings be connected at least to another meaning. Thus, definition covers not only the cases of radial polysemy, but the cases of chained polysemy, too.

According to Yu.D.Apresyan who investigated the regular polysemy on the Russian material, “polysemy of word A with the meanings a_i and a_j is called as regular one, if in this language there is at least one more word B with the meanings b_i and b_j , semantically different from each other in the same way as a_i and a_j , and if $a_i - b_i, a_j - b_j$ are non-synonymous pairwise” [3, p. 184, p. 189-193].

Thus, the author notices that “regularity is a distinctive feature of metonymic transferals, and irregular polysemy is more characteristic for metaphorical transferals” and on the spot adds that “the regular polysemy is similar to word-formation and in the sense that its many types are productive”. The efficiency of regular polysemy "A" - "B" is proved as follows: “if for any word having the meaning of "A", it is true that it can be used also in the meaning of type "B" (if "A", then "B"). Thus in both cases it can be necessary that the word A possesses certain formal (not semantic) signs”. For specificity the author cites the following examples: any noun with the meaning ‘vessel’ can designate also ‘quantity of substance held in the vessel’: compare *spoon, glass, cup, pan, bucket*.

Except active meanings of regular polysemy of nouns of Yu.D.Apresyan in his book cites also other types of meanings which create a basis for the further research of questions of regular polysemy:

1. ‘Plant’ – ‘fruit of this plant’: *apricot, cowberry, pear, fig, guelder-rose, raspberry, plum*.
2. ‘Plant’ – ‘plant flower’: *aster, carnation, gladiolus, lily, peony, mignonette, camomile*.
3. ‘Plant’ – ‘foodstuff of this plant’: *mustard, horse-radish, cocoa, coffee, tea*.
4. ‘Tree’ – ‘wood of this tree’: *birch, fur-tree, cedar, aspen, pine* etc. This number of regular polysemy includes altogether 39 points.

In our researches we follow the axiom that laws of development of word meanings are international phenomena, therefore we are not limited to attraction of material only from one language or from related languages. Under S.S.Mayzel's fair remark: “It gives the chance to learn deeply the semantic laws and spirit of language, to understand its inexhaustible creative genius and to feel the pulsation of its remarkable associative motive force, making infinite ranges of concepts and forms” [4, p. 198].

Considering the question of regular polysemy (rather, regular semantic derivation) of a word, we come across the problems of definition of the semantic root and on this basis revealing of single-root words. The term “semantic root” is used to have a basis for explanation of semantic development of a word. It differs from terms “etymon” and “etymological root” with the fact that the latter involve not only the initial meaning, but the form, too.

Semantic root is that reference meaning of a word accepted for initial in the system of any polysem of one separately taken language or related languages. The term "reference meaning" thus should not be confused with the term "central meaning". Central meaning is the one that is usual, accepted in lexicographic practice as paramount, and taken thus to the first place. The initial one is the meaning, to some extent intermediate, also represents a concrete link in the semantic development of a word between etymological and absolutely clear developed derivative meanings of a word. Thus, a semantic root is that base meaning of the word concluded by a researcher on the basis of particularly presented meanings of polyseme, taking into account regular polysemy of a word.

We are more than are sure that revealing of regular formulas of polysemy gives a chance to reconstruct the structure of semantics of a polysemantic word and the direction of development of semantic shifts, and then, considering the factor of consistency, to come closely nearer to get around the problems of the so-called "semantic laws" of language.

Research of a regular polysemy and revealing of a semantic root are inseparably linked with word etymology. As it is known, semantic (informative) processes have more difficult and confused character, than formal processes (phonetic, morphological and word-formative) and consequently constancy and regularities here have been searched least. Formal processes and their regularities can be revealed on the material of one investigated language or group of kindred languages, but semantic regularities in themselves are international ones and have typical character and repeated in various languages, that is why a semasiologist, should operate with more "spatial" material, than, for example, a phonetician or a morphologist, and reveal universal semantic types, important for researches in the field of semantics.

Separation of the semantic root and general regularities in the field of semantics gives an opportunity to reject subjective assumptions and guesses and, naturally, will help to put history of meanings on the same strong basis, as history of forms. A semasiologist should not ignore the typologically repeating facts of semantics and, on the contrary, to be engaged closely in them to develop on their basis key rules of semantic typology which could be applied subsequently in etymological researches. Semasiological rules will be effective when the filiation of meanings established in one language can be possible to support with similar examples from other languages. Repeatability of such filiations is the major proof of correctness of word etymology put forward by a researcher.

'Tree' ↔ 'wood'

During the analysis of floristic terms in the languages of different systems we revealed the following lexemes with semantic transition 'tree' ↔ 'wood'.

Turkic: Chuv. *вӑрман* 'wood', 'grove', 'tree', Chuv. *йывӑҫ* 'tree', 'wood' (timber). According to N.I.Ashmarin, *вӑрман* – fresh growing wood; *йывӑҫ* – dry chopped wood [5, p. 321]; all-Turkic *агач* 'tree', but in kum. *агач* 'wood'; *орман* 'wood', 'grove', but bashk. southern dial. *урман* 'tree'; compare Tat. dial. *бер агач та урман, урман та урман бизде* – tree; bashk. *сауыл* 'wood', 'young birch forest', – bashk. dial. *сауыл* 'tree'.

Mong.: written mong. *mod*, mong. *мод(он)* 'tree', 'wood' (material), byurat. *модо(н)*, kalm. *модн* 'tree'. Tung.-manch.: evenk. *мӧ* 'tree', 'drift-wood', neg. *мӧ* 'tree', 'wood'; compare sol. *мӧ (модо)* 'tree', *мӧса* 'grove'; orok. *мӧ* 'tree', *мӧсо* 'wood'; evenk. *heckuma* 'tree', 'larch' – 'wood, larch wood'; neg. *хоноктон* 'larch (young)' – 'wood (from small larches)' [6, p. 320].

Slav.: Rus. *бор* 'pine or fir forest', but slovak. 'coniferous tree', Rus. dial. *бор* 'tree', 'wood'; czech. dial. *бор* 'tree', 'wood' [7, p. 141]; Rus. *гай* 'big dense wood', but in Polish 'a separate lonely tree'. Finno-Ugric: komi-zyr. *яг* 'pine wood, pinery, pine forest'; udm. *яг* 'pine forest', khant. *юх (jyx)*, mans. *йув* 'tree'.

'WOOD' ↔ 'MOUNTAIN'

Among the phitonyms of different languages we distinguish the following lexemes with semantic transition 'wood' ↔ 'mountain'.

Turkic: Chuv. *умӑ* 'grove', (compare *Улӑн умти*) 'hill'; Chuv. *кӱрен* 'mountain in wood'. The similar regularity determined by indistinguishability of difficult sememes 'mountain overgrown with wood', 'wood growing on mountain', 'mountain in wood', is found out in other languages, too: alt. *йыи* 'mountains covered with wood', 'peasantry', 'taiga' [8, p. 497]; tuv. *арга (арык)* 'mountain wood'.

The appellative *арка* in the dialect of altai-kizhi is widely included into geographical names, designating the northern side of mountain covered with wood; an *арка* – wood in any part of the mountain. The geographical appellative *майга* in Altai can designate 'snowy high mountains',

‘mountains covered with wood’; in the Siberian Turkic languages the word *майга* has an enanthiosemic transition ‘mountain wood’ → ‘mountains deprived of wood’. O.T.Molchanova believes that originally the term *майга* was an orographical one, instead of landscape, and met the concept ‘mountain’ [9, p. 93-94]: compare khalkha-mong. *майга* ‘mountain primeval forest’.

Semantic potentialities of this phenomenon are so considerable that it extends to the borrowed lexemes, too: in bulg. *орман* (from turkish, where nowadays only ‘wood, grove’ along with the meaning ‘wood’, and also ‘mountain, mountain district’; tung.-manch.: evenk. *бор* ‘hill (covered with trailing shrubbery)’, *бору* ‘hill covered with burnt wood’, but orok. *бору* ‘hill (small, without wood and bushes’) the enanthiosemic transition is observed here.

Slav.: Slovak. *gora* ‘wood’, ‘treed mountain’; Rus. *лиственнич* ‘fir, pine, fir-tree’, but Rus. dial. ‘firwood’; ukr. *кичера* ‘mountain covered with wood’, ‘steep treed mountain’, gusul. *кичера* ‘steep hill, ferny wood’; *шалга* ‘woody hill’ [10, p.398]; ukr. *барак* (*байрак*) ‘hill dense with ferny wood’; bulg. *креи* ‘rocky hill which has grown with small wood and bush’; ukr. *полонина* ‘woody mountain plain’.

One regularity has generated another: at lexemes with difficult sememes of type ‘mountain, ferny wood’ the differentiated meanings gradually started to gemmate: ‘mountain’ and ‘wood’: the Turkic: inter-turkic *алан* (yak. *алы*, alt. *йаланг*, tuv. *аланды*, *алак*, uzb. dial. *алак*) ‘hill’, ‘height’, ‘field woodland’; *таг* – almost in all Turkic languages – ‘mountain’, ‘mountain top’, but in yak. *тыя* ‘wood, taiga’, in krim.-tat. *даг* ‘wood’, ‘mountain wood’, turkish dial. ‘wood’, ‘dense woody district’; *бөк* ‘wood’, ‘hill’, *бүк* ‘hill with trees’.

Mong.: the word *мо-дун* ‘tree’, ‘forest’ N.A.Syromyatnikov compares with tung.-manch. *мō*, ancient jap. *mori* ‘grove’, Korean *me* < **mori* ‘mountain’; N.Poppe compares mong. and tung.-manch. forms with *мou* ‘mountain’, ‘wood’; ancient-jap. *jama* ‘mountain’, ‘wood’;

Tung.-manch.: *гуриа* ‘wood’, ‘taiga’, but manch. *Гурин хада* ‘mountain name’; evenk. *урэ*, *хурэ* ‘wood’, ‘mountain taiga’; evenk. *урэ* ~ *хурэ* (*уро*) ‘mountain’, ‘mountain taiga’, ‘wood’, nan. *хурэ*, *хуре(н)* ‘mountain’, ‘taiga’, ‘wood’.

Slav.: Rus. *гора* ‘mountain’, bulg. *гора* ‘wood’, maced. *гора* ‘wood’, sloven. *hora* ‘high mountain’, ‘mountain wood’; Rus. dial. *калтус* ‘small mountain’, ‘thicket’; ukr. *бескид* ‘mountain range’, ‘wood’; bulg. *бор* ‘wood’, ‘small hill’; *кичера* ‘mountain’, but bulg. *кичер* ‘young wood’; czech. *kičera* ‘old dense wood’, ‘woody mountains’; medium croatian *kičer* ‘top of woody mountain’, ‘wood’, ‘mountain’.

Finno-Ugric: komi *вөр* ‘wood’, udm. *выр* ‘height, hill, hubble’; komi-zyr. *выр* ‘wood’, fin. *vor* ‘mountain’.

Similar semantic transition is observed in the lexicon of the German languages, e.g. in the German language the following lexico-semantic fields of sememes ‘mountain’ and ‘wood’ are fixed. In the names of mountains Schwarzwald, Shtejngerwald, Westervald, Mondenvald there is a word *Wald* ‘wood’; in the Central part of Germany there are mountains Harz, this toponym has evolved from the medieval *Harz* ‘wood’.

Semite.: arab. *dabr-*, *dabr-i* ‘mountain’, *dur* < **debr* ‘wood’. In our opinion, Rus. *дебри* of Arabian origin contrary to N.M.Shansky [11, p. 5, p. 35].

‘Wood’, ‘mountain’ → ‘lowland’, ‘valley’, ‘ravine’, ‘river’, ‘meadow’,
‘bog’ → ‘steppe’, ‘field’, ‘earth’, ‘island’

The enanthiosemic transition ‘raised relief’ → ‘lowland relief’, ‘place covered with woods’ → ‘forestless place’ is a modification of one of existing semantic oppositions ‘top’ ↔ ‘bottom’ and ‘horizontal’ ↔ ‘vertical’.

Turkic: Chuv. dial. *улях* ‘wood, rarewood’ → ‘meadow’, ‘bottom-land, river valley’; Chuv. *утă* ‘wood, grove’ → ‘island’; (*улях* ‘wood, low forest’, ‘island’; Chuv. *йăлăм* ‘across-the-Volga wood’ → ‘valley’, ‘lowland’; yak. *арык* ‘grove, thicket’ → ‘wood island’, the river’ → ‘island’ compare *арал* ‘stream coast’, ‘river’ → ‘island’; tuv. *арга* ‘mountain wood’, *арыг* ‘inundated

wood' (i.e. wood in lowland); compare ancient turkic *art* 'mountain pass', 'hill', 'top', 'plateau'; turkm., turkish *байыр* 'hill', 'mountain slope' (overgrown with trees); *bair* 'desert'.

By E.V. Sevortyan *байыр* appears also with the meaning 'untilled field', 'earth, suitable for vineyard', 'pasture' [12, p. 38] and there are the following parallels again: turkish *bayir* → bulg. *bajir*, *bairak*, serb. *bair* 'coast', ukr. *байрак* 'wood valley', rom. *байур*, *байур* 'mountain'; *балкан* 'steep treed mountains'. Turkish dial. *balkan* 'bog, march, mire, puddle, dirt'; old-uzb. *кол* 'hill on mountain slope', 'lowland', 'inland canal', old-turkm. *къоол* 'valley', modern turkm. *гъоол* 'valley'; yak. *ой* 'grove in open field', 'separate wood', 'woodlet'. In many Turkic languages *ой*, *о*: *й* 'lowland, hollow, valley, coomb, ravine, hole', 'ground'; in Chuv. *уй* 'field', but earlier it had the meaning of 'wood'; *уй улми* 'wood apple'. Yak. *тала* 'eminence, mountain, breakage', 'open country', 'plain area', 'flatland', compare ancient-turkic *tala* 'steppe', azer. *тала* 'glade, plain'; compare mong. *тала* 'plain, valley', Jap. *тани*, kor. *тан* 'valley'; *кыр* 'hill, mountain', 'field, steppe', 'plateau', 'high coast'; kirg. *кыр* 'mountain ranges', turkm.. *кыр*, *гыр* 'plain', turkish *kir* 'field, steppe, plain', bashk. *кыр* 'field', tuv. *кыр* 'mountain range'.

Chuv. *хир* 'field' earlier, probably, had the meanings of 'wood', 'mountain' which are now lost, but indirectly are present in the names of animals: *хир сысни* 'wild boar'; *хир качаки* 'roedeer' (i.e. wild, wood) ← 'mountain goat', *хир.ни* 'deer' (wood wild cow), *хир кушак* 'lynx' (wood wild cat), *хир майри* 'cedrine nuts' (i.e. wood nuts); khak. *арыг* 'grove, thicke', 'thickets', yak. *арыы* 'island, wood thicket', 'field, meadow', alt. *арал* 'wood', kirg. *арал* 'island'; *арал* 'island covered with bush on the river'; bashk. dial. *шар* 'small willow shrub formation' – bashk. Lit.. *шар* 'bog'.

Mong.: p.-mong. *oj*, mong., byurat. *ой* 'wood, grove'; compare mong. *hoi*, *oi* 'valley' (compare тунг. *hoj* 'bog', 'mire'; tung.-manch.: evenk. *аражан* 'open place' (at mountain top), even. *араган*, *арогон* 'open plain place' (not grown with wood); evenk. *aju* 'wood, taiga' → 'tundra', 'bog', 'field'; evenk. *hargu* 'wood, taiga', 'earth'; evenk. *бургак* 'poplar thickets', 'island or peninsula covered with dense wood'; even. *дундрэ* 'taiga, wood' – 'land, continent', 'seaside, coast'.

Slav.: Rus. *гора* 'hill', Rus. dial. *гора* 'dry and high river bank', 'seacoast or the rivers', 'continent', 'seasoned earth'; Rus. *круча* 'eminence, top, peak', 'deepening, low place, hole'; kor. *корёк* 'raised place' 'low marshy place'; *бор* 'raised place', compare polish *bor* 'marshy place', 'pine wood'; *зай* 'wood'; Rus. dial. *зай* 'separate cane bog'; *майган* 'bog grown with wood'; Rus. dial. *калтус* 'small mountain' – 'thicket' – 'bog' – 'bush growing on bog'; Rus. *круз* 'grove', 'bush thickets', 'field site', 'lowland in wood', 'round field', 'field'; *олес* 'wood', 'bog'; byelorus. *балота* 'bog', 'wood', 'century grove', 'deaf wood place', 'oak grove' 'oakwood', 'leafy forest', 'bog'; *пушча* 'big dense impassable wood', 'impassable bog'.

The semantics of 14 (15) lexemes from 130 Baltic floristic terms is characterised by crossing of semantic fields 'wood' → 'bog': lith., latv. *alksna* 'place, overgrown with alder', 'marshy place in wood', 'bog', 'pool', 'valley', 'hollow'; lith., latv. *sala* 'wood', 'meadow, field', 'island', 'small meadow among a spring-sown field'; latv. *kalva* 'raised place in wood', 'peninsula', 'small island between the sleeves of rivers'.

Finno-ugric: fin. *noro* 'hollow', erz. *нар* 'meadow', komi *нер* 'rare pine forest with marshy soil'; komi-zyr. *нюр* 'bog', nen. *нара* 'thicket, primeval forest', *неро* 'osiery'; komi-zyr. *тиль* 'marshy place with scrubby pine forest, dense thickets of pine forest', udm. *тэль* 'wood', northern dial. 'small wood, young growth, underbrush'. It is possible to compare mans. *tal-kva* 'low' with the lexeme *талквaма* 'lowland'.

The semantic shifts 'wood, mountain' → 'lowland, valley, pasture' → 'bog' → 'steppe, field' etc., should be considered separately, but it is necessary to take into account that each time anyhow the motivating seme appears 'wood'. Transition 'wood → bog' is defined by the extralinguistic fact of indisguishibility of boggy wood and bog overgrown with wood, thus the

etymological bases are defined by one-orientation transition ‘wood → bog’. The same can be said in the cases ‘wood → valley’, ‘wood → meadow, pasture’, ‘wood → ravine → river’ etc., too, where there is regularity determined originally by the unresolvability of difficult sememes ‘valley, overgrown with wood’, ‘valley’; ‘ravine overgrown with wood, bush’ → ‘ravine’ and → ‘treelessness’. This original polarisation of meanings is brightly shown in the semantic shift ‘wood → field, steppe’. The meanings ‘field, steppe’ are, probably, the result of the difficult derivation: ‘place of burnt wood’ or ‘place of uprooted woods’ → ‘glade’ → ‘arable land on the place of uprooted woods’ → ‘developed field’ → ‘field’ → ‘earth’. All this is connected with till agriculture.

At first sight, transition ‘wood → island’ stands independently. But if to consider extralinguistic factors which are defining for island, namely “isolation of space” and its “unexploitedness” the term the *island* can be applied to a raised place (mountain), to a dry site among a bog (usually overgrown with wood), to the site of wood among bare area and even to treeless site among wood” (glade).

‘Wood, mountain, tree’ ↔ ‘demonic

(mythological) being: wood spirit, owner of wood, mountain’

The semantic shift ‘wood, mountain, tree’ ↔ ‘demonic being’ is revealed by us in the following lexemes.

Turkic: Chuv. *вӑрман* ‘wood’ → ‘wood as a deity’, *юман йывӑҫ* ‘oak’ → ‘deity name’; Tat. *урман* (~ *орман*) ‘wood’ → ‘deity’; *бал* ‘hill, gorge’ → ‘owner of hill’ (i.e. ‘mountain spirit’ – *Yu.I.*);

Tung.-manch.: nan. *бихӑ* ‘taiga’, ud. *буга* ‘field, steppe’, *manch.* *бша(н)* ‘woodspirit’; evenk. *һаргӑ* ‘wood, taiga’ → ‘evil ghost, devil, demon’.

Slav.: Rus. *Лес* → *wood* ‘main wood spirit’.

Fin.-ugr.: a self-unit *мунку* ‘wood, pine forest’, but *ostyaz.* *менк* ‘wood spirit, devil’.

If for explanation of the semantic shift ‘wood, mountain’ → ‘lowland, valley, pasture’ → ‘bog’ → ‘steppe, field’ it is enough to have extralinguistic factors of the first order, transition ‘wood → wood spirit’ demands extralinguistic factors of the second order, i.e. ancient world outlook representations reflected in folklore demonological and mythological texts. It is possible to consider ‘wood → wood spirit, owner of wood’ semantic transition as taboo – the word use was forbidden by mythological beliefs, superstitions and prejudices. Tabooing the names of gods and spirits and instead of them euphemisms — permitted words instead of forbidden ones were used by primitive people. Demonic beings with negative functions, as a rule, received the name on a habitat. So have appeared Chuv. *шыври* ‘water’, *вӑрманти* ‘wood spirit’; compare evenk. *урэди* ‘spirit, owner of taiga’, at *урэ* ‘taiga’, compare Rus. *Леший, водяной, болотник*. In this respect not only derivative formations are remarkable, but also non-productive lexemes in which limits there is a semantic shift ‘wood → wood spirit, owner of wood, wood spirit’. It is possible to explain similar transition not only by tabooing, but also by personification, embodiment playing such a considerable role in the formation of myths.

The semantic transformation ‘tree’ → ‘spirit of tree’ (tree as a deity), under the ethnographic data, was a rather widespread phenomenon at all people. The fear before mysterious elements of wood has formed the basis for creation of images of wood spirits.

That, as Chuvashs in olden time worshipped to wood as to a deity, is visible from the quoted fragment below: “*Шывсене, ҫӑлсене, кӑлӑсене, вӑрмансене, хӗвеле, уйӑха, турра, вут-кӑвара, ҫил-тӑвӑла, Пихампара тата ытти тӑрлӑ япалана та нумай асӑнса кӑл тунӑ*” – Water, wells, lakes, woods, the sun, the moon, god, fire, storms, Pihambar and many other subjects were prayed to and esteemed.

If one takes into account that semantic transition ‘tree ↔ wood’ is a quite real phenomenon, then the word *вӑрмансене* could be accepted for the lexeme *йывӑҫсене*, i.e. prayed to trees. But in

the Chuvash language there are expressions specifying this position: *вӑрман нӑӑӑ*, ‘spirit name, master of wood’; *вӑрман торпу* ‘wood spirit’ and *вӑрман амӑш* ‘mother of woods’, or it is simply ‘wood spirit’. By ancient Chuvashs wood was considered as a deity of the higher category. At Slavs also, on superstitious visualizations, wood is the ‘main wood spirit’: *Wood is just, far from devil*.

Transition of meanings ‘wood’ → ‘wild’ within the lexeme with major meaning ‘wood’ is explained that simultaneously it is possible to name not cultivated plants wood, or wild; it concerns not tamed animals, too: Chuv. *вӑрман улмуӑци* ‘wood, wild apples (‘apples’); *вӑрман кайӑкӑсем* ‘wood (wild) animals and birds’, compare Rus. dial. *кур* ‘wood cock, game’, ancient rus. *куръ, коръ* ‘wood’.

‘Tree’ (путькиис name) ↔ ‘tree’
(specific name)

During the analysis of phitonyms of languages of different systems, the semantic transition ‘tree’ (sort) ↔ ‘tree’ (kind) we revealed the following lexemes.

Turkic: Chuv. *ӑывӑӑ* ‘tree’ → specific name of trees (oak, birch, aspen etc.); ancient Turkic *sӑgӑit-sӑgӑit* ‘tree’, ‘willow’; karach.-balk., kumyk., nog. *терек* ‘tree’, ‘poplar’; *дерек* ‘tree’, ‘poplar’, ‘aspen’, ‘black poplar’, ‘willow’, ‘pine’, ‘fir tree’; turkish dial. *dal*, sal. *мал* ‘tree’; Tat. dial. *мал* ‘small tree’; yak. *малах* ‘willow, white willow’.

Tung.-manch.: evenk. *ирӑктӑ* ‘larch’, ‘tree’; ud. *окно* ‘dead-wood’, ‘fir’, ‘fur-tree’, evenk. *hӑkuta* ‘larch (young)’, ‘tree (growing)’.

Slav.: old-slav. *дубъ* ‘oak’, ‘tree’; Rus. *дерево*, compare in balt.: lith. *derva* ‘pine’, kimr. *derven* ‘oak’;

If one considers that any tree, irrespective of its specific belonging, has a generic name *дерево*, the transition ‘tree’ (sort) ↔ ‘tree’ (kind) appears a quite natural phenomenon. Transition of the specific term (concept) to generic and, on the contrary, which occurs in connection with loss or occurrence of a certain semantic differential sign, is observed in transition ‘wood → wood’ of a certain type, quality, species of trees”; byelor. *дубрава* ‘wood in general’ → ‘oakwood’, compare in Siberia *дубрава* ‘birch, aspen grove’.

‘Tree’ (‘wood’) → ‘tree part’ (‘trunk, branch, crone, bark, body, root, flower, wood pitch, juice’)

The semantic transition ‘tree’ → ‘tree part’ is a variant of one of semantic oppositions ‘whole’ → ‘part of whole’.

Turkic: Chuv. *ӑывӑӑ* = ‘tree’ → ‘trunk’, ‘tree branches’ etc.; ancient Turkic *dal* ‘branch’ ↔ *tal* ‘willow, willow shrub formation’: *мал* ‘willow’ ↔ *мал* ‘branch’, *терек* ~ *дерек* ‘poplar, aspen’ → Tat. dial. ‘flower’; turkish *salkim* ‘grapes’, ‘brush’, ‘bunch’; bashk. dial. *ӑыӑак* ‘brushwood’, ‘bush’;

Mong.: byurat. *бургааса(н)* ‘bush’ → ‘rod’, ‘osier’.

Tung.-manch.: neg. *тӑ* ‘tree’, ‘wood’ → ‘plant stalk’.

Evenk. *ӑактӑ* ‘fir’ → ‘fir bark’; evenk. *ирӑт* ‘tree’ ‘growing, young tree’, ‘larch’, ‘willow shrub formation’, ‘rod’; evenk. *ирӑктӑ* ‘tree’, ‘larch’ → *эрӑктӑ* ‘bark’.

Slav.: Rus. dial. *липина* ‘linden tree’, ‘linden branch’, ‘linden bark’; Rus. *пихта* ‘fir tree’ → ‘juice of pine, fur-tree, birch trees, etc.’.

The semantic shift ‘tree → tree part’ is based on the analogical links of meanings of polysemic words, in which we accommodate the semantic type of polysemy ‘whole → part’. The transition ‘tree’ → ‘tree fruit’ of the type Chuv. *нӑлеш* ‘mountain ash’ (tree) → ‘mountain ash’ (fruit) is related here, too.

‘Tree’ ↔ ‘tree part’ ↔ ‘body part’

The semantic transition ‘tree’ → ‘tree part’ → ‘body part’ is revealed by us in the following phitonyms.

The Turkic Chuv. *нү* 'stalk' ↔ 'trunk, case, figure'; *турат* 'branch' → dial. *турат* 'penis' (compare the colloquial phrase *турат вёсне шыв килчё*); *тымар* 'tree root' → 'blood vessel'; *сухал* 'beard' → 'fibrous tree roots'; *саакка* 'small stalk' → 'penis of children'; *çүçё* 'hair' → 'small roots'; *туна* 'trunk, stalk' → 'shin, foot', 'small paw, leg' (birds), khak. *салаа* 'branch', 'rod' → 'finger', 'hand', 'front extremity of an animal' ↔ 'branch', yak. *лабā* 'branch, bough' → 'top part of hand'; *аҒач* 'tree' → 'penis'.

Mong. *соёо* 'sprout' → *соёо(н)* 'tusk, tush', *хуй* ~ *хуйс(эн)* 'navel', 'dimple of fruit after disruption of stalk'; mong. *мечир* 'branch'; compare kalm. *төтси* 'extremity', byurat. *мусэ* 'member (of body)'; mong. *сахал*, byurat. *хахал* 'short moustaches of plants' → 'beard', 'moustaches'; mong. *гишуун* 'branch, twig'; 'knot, boughs', compare *гишуу* 'body part'.

Tung.-manch.: evenk. *чиндалбэк* 'cone' (pine, fur-tree) → 'head'; evenk. *лавā* 'branch' → 'shoot of horns'; evenk. *халан* 'two trees growing from one root' → 'branch of tree' → 'branch of deer horns', foot' compare *халган* 'foot'; evenk. *нуңйн* 'trunk, stalk', compare evenk. 'trunk of deer horns'; orok. *гара* 'bough, branch' → 'shoot of reindeer horns', manch. *гарган* 'bough, branch' → 'extremities (hands, feet)'; evenk. *кар* 'rod', 'cane', 'root' → 'radius'; evenk. *эрэктэ* 'bark' (wood) → neg. *эјэктэ* (<*эрэктэ) 'skin of human being'; evenk. *халган* 'foot, sole' ↔ 'door pole in dwelling'; manch. *гарган* 'bough, branch', 'extremity (hands, feet)'.

I.-e: common slav. *кора* (wood bark) ~ new greek *ηορα* ~ lat. *corium* 'thick skin, hide, cover', *skortum* 'skin', *caro, carnis* 'meat'; Rus. dial. arch. *ворга* 'wood on bog', 'marshy bushy hollow', and also 'chamois, pitch scum on pine'; see *волоть* 'thread, vein, vegetative or animal fibre' [13, p. 137] 'stalk, blade of grass, straw' compare *волоть* 'thread, fibre, blade of grass, ear', lith. *valtis* 'oats ear': ancient irl. *folt* 'hair', greek *labios* 'grown with wool or hair'.

Taking into account natural link of meanings 'filament, blade of grass, stalk' ↔ 'branch', 'wood', O.N.Trubachev offered suggestion that iran. **drau* is an initial for oset. **rdū* 'hair' had designated originally 'tree', 'wood': compare oset. *хххед* 'joint', obviously, the same, as *ачх* 'bough' [14, p. 185].

The common slav. *гора, hora* 'wood', 'mountain', s.-croat. *gora* 'offshoot, shoots of branches, stalks used for feeding cattle'; Rus. *стебель* 'basic part of a grassy plant from root to top, usually of cylindrical form' → rus. dial. *стебель* 'part of foot of human being from foot to knee, shin'; ancient rus. *труп* 'tree trunk' → 'dead body'; bulg. *труп* 'the same'.

According to L.G.Nevskaya, "to correlation of the geographical term and the term of body part corresponds (and can determine it, too) the image of creation the world from body parts of a mythical ancestor, a giant".

The regular link of denotation of botanical terminology and body parts, noted by us in many languages, affords grounds for assume a deeper reason of their indissolubility. In this respect a particular interest is identification of plant and human being. A human being is a child of nature, therefore he/she should compare himself/inself with plants and trees surrounding him/her. In this respect special attention is to be paid to the statement of French scientist J.O.Lametri: "Similarity of vegetative and animal worlds has forced me to find out the basic elements in the first of them being in the second one... To judge analogy between two basic worlds of nature, it is necessary to compare the components of plants with the ones of human being and all that I speak about a human being, to apply then to animals" [15, p. 245-261].

It is necessary to pay attention to association of various types of links of meanings in lexico-semantic groups (LSG), too, in which one of LSV has the meaning 'a human being' (to be more exact, a sign inherent to a human being): Chuv. *юман* 'oak' → 'strong healthy man' (a positive appreciation); Rus. *дуб* 'tree' → 'stupid, tolerant man' (a negative, lowered estimation). In the same there is a semantic transition 'tree → material (tree part) → human being': Chuv. *тунката* 'stub' → 'stupid person', Rus. *дубина* 'oak stick' → 'stupid person' and the semantic shift 'wood' ↔ 'tree' → 'young growth' → 'scrubs' of the type Chuv. *хунав* 'sprout, young growth' → 'children, youth'.

Disregard to such an analogy can lead researchers-etimologists to wrong conclusions. For example, Rus. *дылда* ‘big tall person’, ‘awkward person’ does not have an etymology. In the “Etymological dictionary of Russian” edited by N.M.Shansky, a probability is supposed that *дылда* could be formed from *дыля* ‘foot’, and on this basis Sobolevsky's statement that the *дылда* could be formed from *дыль* ‘log, pack, block’ is exposed to criticism. Such an explanation, according to the authors of the dictionary, is considered unreasonable only because in similar cases simple carrying over of the name from one subject on another without word-formation renewal of a word is observed. The authors of the etymological dictionary obviously do not reckon with the phenomena of regular polysemy, besides the version of “simple carrying over” is denied by the data of the Russian language itself: дуб₁ – дуб₂; дубина₁ – дубина₂.

In the ‘Etymological dictionary of Turkic languages’ E.V.Sevortyan in the entry on *айак* ~ Chuv. *ура* ‘foot’ quotes the forms *йадак*, *азақ* and says that this form could have been connected with the offered in Altaistics great form **padak* ‘end’ (compare Chuv. *намак* ‘stick’. – Yu.I.). However, including the fact that this statement essentially possible, the researcher has not developed thought further, having considered that it requires confirmation.

G.E.Kornilov considers *-ak* as a word-formation nominal suffix in the word *намак* ‘stick’ and supposes possibility that Chuv. *ура ура* ~ Turkic *адак* and *намак* ‘stick’ may go back to imitative **namt-* and its alloforms [16, p. 114].

‘Wood’, ‘tree’ → (material) → ‘product from tree’

The semantic transition ‘wood’, ‘tree’ → (material) → ‘product from tree’ we have found in the following lexemes.

Turkic: Chuv. *авяр* ‘rod, stalk’ → ‘handle, black, handhold’; Chuv. *ывяс* (lit. *авяс*) ‘aspen’ → ‘wooden circle for toping of ware’, ‘board’; *хурама* ‘elm’ → ‘sheaf orsheves up’ (flexible rods with which wedges are connected), compare alt. *карама* ‘elm’ – ‘elm braces with which runners are attached to sledge’; Chuv. dial. *йрече* ‘elm’ ↔ ‘bed at cart’, ‘stave of a cart’; all-Turkic *аҒач* ‘tree’ in various languages has the meanings: ‘log, beam, cross tie, column, jamb, tree piece, stick, cudgel, staff, product from tree, firewood’; compare *сала* ‘branch, shoot’ and *сала* ‘plough’; *дерек* ‘tree’, ‘aspen’ → ‘column’, ‘shelf’, ‘case’, ‘perch for hens’; compare *дирак*, *тирек* ‘selection, staff’ ‘support’, ‘column’, ‘mast’, ‘flagpole’; tuv. *адыр* ‘branch’, ‘wreck’, ‘branch’, compare Kazakh. *Айыр* (о – й) ‘pitchfork’; azerb. *чатал* ‘branch’ (doubled, forked); compare turkish *çatal* ‘hayfork, plug’ [17, p. 194].

Mong.: mong. *чаргай* ‘wood (traditional)’, compare *чарга* ‘sled, sledge, sleigh’; mong. *уу* ‘stalk, trunk of plants’ → ‘handle, knob’.

Tung.-manch.: evenk. *мō* ‘tree’, ‘wood (floatable)’ → ‘log’, ‘column’, ‘stick’, ‘log’; evenk. *голо* ‘fallen tree’, ‘pack’, *голо (гулу)* ‘log, block’, ‘chock’; ud. *бул 'а* ‘young ash-tree’ → ‘spear staff’, compare oroch. *булэ* ‘staff, handle, gripe’; evenk. *болоко* ‘meadowsweet’, ‘willow’ → ‘shank, mouthpiece’ (pipe); nog. *гаја* ‘bough, branch’ → ‘rowlock in a boat’; evenk. *чāкpe* ‘fur-tree’ → ‘board fur-tree’ (for manufacturing of skis); evenk. *сэргэ* ‘column’ → ‘larch’ (for tieing of deer at a dedication ceremony, tabooing) → ‘hitching post’, compare yak. *сāргā* ~ *сōргō* ‘column for horse standing’.

Slav.: common slav. *гора*, *hora* ‘mountain’, ‘wood’, compare ukr. *гора* ‘attic’, czech. *hůra* ‘attic’, Rus. dial. *калужина* ‘tree, log sunk in water’, ‘big piece, tree fragment’ → ‘log, from which "streams" are hacked out’ → ‘trench going along a roof bottom edge’; *калужка* ‘stick’, ‘log’ → ‘wooden self-made dug-out dish’ (in the same place); Rus. dial. *корч* ‘tree, uprooted with a root’, ‘top end of a vessel stem and stem itself’; Rus. *сук* ‘lateral shoot from tree trunk’ ~ ancient ind. *çemkūs* ‘sharp peg, wooden nail’; ancient slav. **sokъ* ‘bough’ → ancient rus. *соха* ‘stake, cudgel’, Rus. *соха* ‘plough’, ukr. *соха* ‘prop’, ‘plough’.

Slav.: Rus. *дерево*: “it is called tree call not only on root, but also on blockhouse and clearing of boughs, log ... One calls tree everything that is made of itflagpole, standing for, handle,

etc.”; Rus. dial. *лѹна* ‘oak’ → ‘intel, jamb, window sill at a door, windows, carts’, ‘low small bench on which shoemakers sit at work’, ‘bast basket’, ‘pole to hang up anything’; Rus. *дыб* ‘long deciduous tree bringing acorns and possessing strong wood’, Rus. dial. *дыб* ‘boat, canoe’, ‘boat hollowed from a pine pack’ (by Karelians), ukr. *дыб* ‘oak plant’, ‘big boat hollowed from tree’; Rus. *депево* ‘long-term, large or small plant with a firm trunk and branches forming acerate or frondiferous crone’, Rus. dial. *депево* ‘wooden part of plough’, ‘mast’, ‘boat hollowed from one tree’, ‘shoe tree’, ‘yoke’, ‘pincers (wooden semioval bars) of collar’.

Balt.: lit. *virbas* ‘spray, rod’, latv. *virba* ‘wooden pole, spear’; compare Rus. *верба* <lit. *kartis* ‘cut off pole, stick’ → ‘oar, steering oar’ → ‘wheel’.

Finno-Ugric: mar. *алдыр* ‘big wooden ladle’, udm. *дыры* ‘pouring ladle’ in ancient ind. *darvi-h* ‘wooden spoon’, sanscrit. *daarvi* ‘spoon’, *du'ree*, *du're* ‘big spoon’ from ancient ind. *daaru* ‘tree, wood’; hung. *ta* ‘tree’ → ‘wood’ (material) → ‘timber’, ‘firewood’ → ‘pin (skittles)’; fin. *korento* ‘pole, perch’ → ‘yoke’.

Tree → material → product from tree

It is necessary to notice that researchers, describing the basic types of polysemy, left out of sight the link of meanings ‘tree’ → material → product (subject) from tree’. Yu.D.Apresyan, and after him N.I.Salnikova in a number of types of the regular meaning include only the semantic shift ‘tree → wood of this tree’, and in the paragraph ‘material → product from this material’ both authors do not include tree as ornamental, construction material. From tree since ancient times various household items have been made: ware, agricultural tools, handles, gripes of various subjects, means of transportation, pegs and nails for various purposes, wooden parts of boats, vessels and ships. Considerable interest for etymology is represented also by those nominal words which in dictionaries are given with a determinative “wooden”. If one considers that at primitive people there was no difference between instruments of labour and weapons, it becomes clear, why the Turkic *балдак* is ‘crutch’, but at the time ‘club’ (weapon).

If one starts with concrete material conditions of development of the society and language, it is not simply possible to notice the transition ‘tree’ → ‘material’ → ‘subject from this material’, for tree as a material always was near at hand and to this day products from tree are very claimed. The civilisation enters new concepts into consciousness of people. Novelty in a language is very often transferred by new words or loans. It is characteristic for all stages of development of languages. But the phenomenon of semantic derivation, when the lexicon replenished at the expense of development of word meanings, was never alien to a language. As we see, the semantic transition ‘tree’ → ‘material’ → ‘product from this material’; ‘wood’ → ‘material’ → ‘product from this material’ was not an alien phenomenon for many languages. It is possible to consider this phenomenon universal.

Thus, on the basis of this research it is possible to come to the following conclusions: 1) there is sufficient great number of possible variants of semantic transitions in words of the lexical group of phitonyms; 2) each of the revealed transitions proves to be true a material of the languages belonging to different genealogical families that confirms their universality; 3) the phenomenon of regular polysemy in the case with of phitonymic lexicon exists on the basis of “isosemantic numbers of words”.

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