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Toward a Semiotic Analysis of Expressive Vocabulary

1. Finnish is often taken as a typical agglutinative language, although Modern Finnish displays considerable Indo-Europeanization which disturbs the ideal state of affairs. This is the price paid for sharing in the general European Greco-Roman culture and vocabulary. Note e.g. the vowel and consonant alternations between the noun *matematiikka* and the adjective *matemaattinen, epiikka/eeppinen*, etc., not to speak of alternations brought about by regular sound change, e.g. nom. *käsi*, gen. *käde-n* 'hand' (etc.), which contrast with the "perfect" agglutination in *talo/talo-n* 'house', and so on. But let us ignore both borrowing and native sound change as disturbers of straightforward agglutination. We can still say that Uralic (the family to which Finnish and Hungarian, etc. belong) is indeed inherently agglutinative, but that *it provides rich formations of expressive vocabulary*[1] which go against the "normal grain" of the type. A case in point are e.g. certain Finnish verbs with the suffix *-ise-* which signify certain onomatopoeic noises. The "roots" for these verbs are tabulated in Fig. 1, after Robert Austerlitz' lecture notes. The initial consonant, the vowel, and the final consonant define the arrangement. We have here an "ablaut" pattern reminiscent of the ones well known from Semitic and Indo-European grammatical categories. These Finnish "roots" occur characteristically with the following verbal suffixes:

-ise-(*/-is-*)	continuous sound (*suh-is-ta* 'whizz')
-erta-(*/-erra-*)	constant discontinuous sound (*nak-erta-a* 'gnaw')
-ahta-(*/-ahda-*)	one flare of sound (*pam-ahta-a* 'bang')

All roots do not combine with all three suffixes, but e.g. *tuh-* does (*-(t)a* 'infinitive'):

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[1] My references below list only a few basic treatments of expressive vocabulary; except for Güntert (1914) and Bolinger (1950), neglected classics in the field, they also indicate a rising modern interest in the topic. Fudge (1970: 164) understands these as words for 1) animal cries, 2) noises, 3) physical states and actions, and 4) mental states. Such subtypes have often different names in the literature. I will use onomatopoeic for 1 and 2, descriptive for 3, and affective for 4, as is rather prevalent. There is of course considerable overlap between the categories. Other terms (with various coverage) that have been used are Urschöpfung, folk etymology, attraction paronymique, congeneric assimilation, Streckformen, phonaesthemes (the tradition well summed in Samuels 1972), recurrent partials, iteratives, contamination, blending, irradiation, and (Güntert's) Reimwortbildung, etc. Wide currency (particularly in the African area) has *ideophone*, also known under "descriptive radical, descriptive adverb, intensive interjection, interjectional adverb, mimic noun, onomatopoeic adverb, phonaesthetic particle, word picture, and so forth" (Samarin 1973: 155).

I will also make use of the shortcut provided by the Stuttgart explications of Peircean semiotics, most notably Walther (1974).

C	V						C
	i	u	ö	o	ä	a	
m		mum- mut- muk- mur-	mör- möl-			mar-	m t k r l
n	nit- nir-	nur-				nap- nat- nar-	p t r
p	pih- pir-	puh- pur- pul-	pör-	por-	pär-	pak-	k h r l
t	tir-	tuh- tur-	töm- töh- tör-	tom- toh- tor-	tär-		m h r
k	kit- kih- kir- kil-	kum- kut- kuh- kur-	köh- kör-	kop- koh- kor- kol-	käh- kär-	kap- kah- kar- kal-	m p t h r l
s	sip- sih- sir-	sup- suh- sur-	söh-	sor- sol-	säh- sär-		p h r l

Fig. 1

tuh-is-ta 'his, puff'
tuh-erta-a 'smudge, *botch*, (keep) puff(ing)'
tuh-ahta-a '(sneer,) whiff, puff'

Note the iconicity in these onomatopoeic suffixes (*-s-/-r(r)-/-ht-*). The glosses are hopelessly inadequate, of course, but they for their part point toward the corresponding English patterns. Let us take out the consonantal frame *k-h-* which occurs with all the vowels given in the table:

kihistä 'hiss, *fizz*'
kuhista 'murmur, whisper, *swarm*'
köhistä '*rasp*, rattle, *râle*'
kohista 'murmur, swish, *roar* (water, river), rumble'
kähistä 'wheeze'
kahista 'rustle'

The meaning of the frame *k-h-* can be described as 'a kind of fizzing/wheezing/rustling noise'. Thus the vowels indicate the more exact onomatopoeic meaning in that the quality of the vowel represents the quality of the noise in more detail.

The material of the above type can be characterized as onomatopoeic, and it contains thus all the problems of fleeting meaning (of low specificity). But the formal aspects encountered do not necessarily vanish when the semantics is more "controllable".

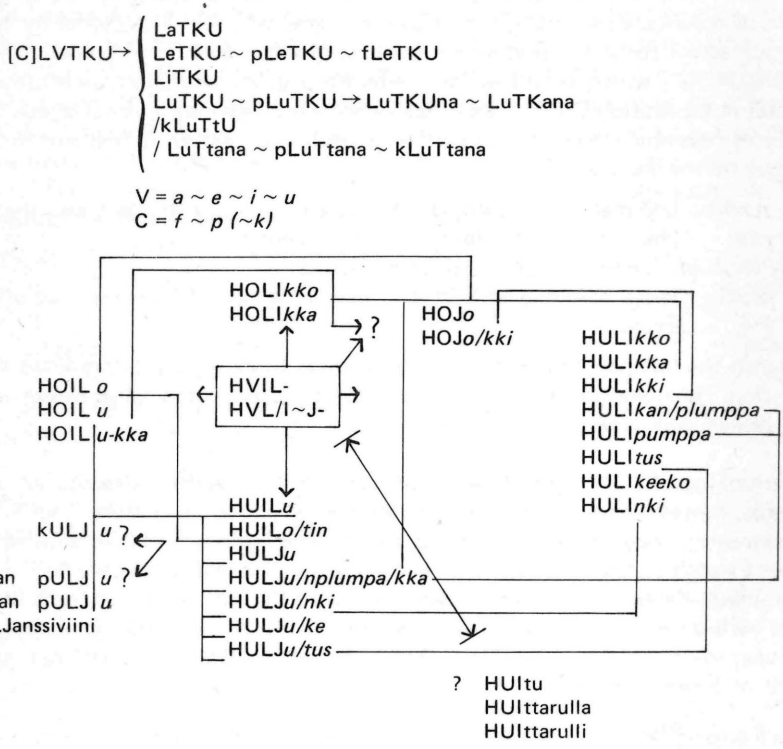

Fig. 2 V = *o* ~ *oi* ~ *u* ~ *ui*

Fig. 2 selects two clusters from among the Finnish words meaning 'skim milk' (Länsimäki 1975: 274). The referent belongs to well-defined object domains (e.g. dairy production), but the formal variation is still enormous (we have now also "root-consonantal" and suffixal differences). The suffixes *-u* and *-ku* add considerable affective force, as do many of the other shapes listed. It is no longer so clear how one should analyze these rosters, although the ingredients stick out telling distance from neutral vocabulary.

2. Reduplication is a device not used in Finnish grammar as such. However, it does occur peripherally in certain intensive adjectives, meaning thus something like 'very (much)', e.g. (with the base form separated by the hyphen):

typö-tyhjä	'empty'	*upo-uusi*	'new'
täpö-täysi	'full'	*viti-valkoinen*	'white'

This phenomenon is very limited and it blends into normal compounds (*vitivalkoinen* can also be taken as such), e.g. *iki-vanha* '(age-)old', etc. The model for the medial *-p-* seems to be the prefix-like fossilized participle of the negative verb, *epä-* 'un-, in-, a-', which would seldom alliterate (e.g. *epä-edullinen* 'un-profitable'). But total reduplication occurs in expressive adverbs, often with vowel alternation and family-resemblance vectors to neutral lexicon (the pattern is frequent in the languages of the world):

mullin mallin 'pell-mell' (cf. *mullistaa* 'turn upside down', *malli* 'pattern, shape')
yllin kyllin 'abundantly' (cf. *yltä-kylläinen* 'abundant')
vinksin vonksin 'pell-mell' (purely onomatopoeic)
pitkin poikin 'lengthwise and across' (cf. *pitkä* 'long', *poikki* 'broken, cut off, across')

Here again the last pair represents actually neutral forms that are combined through alliteration, rime, and semantics to a strong field pattern (cf. English *shiver and shake, quiver and quake;* Bolinger 1950: 131).

3. Overlooking *olla* 'be' Finnish does not have auxiliary verbs. "Descriptive" expressive verbs, however, can serve in this capacity as adverbial auxiliaries. This in itself is an extremely interesting fact, since it shows once again how the expressive domain in Finnish utilizes a device well known from grammatical description. A further diagrammatic detail here is that the word order in this pattern is different from the normal verb-object order. The auxiliary as the "main" verb follows its object, the traditional main verb of an auxiliary. The order is thus OV vs. the VO normal in the rest of Finnish syntax:

V	Aux	
juoda	*hörppiä*	*'drink* by slurping'
lukea	*sojottaa*	*'read* without effort'
pussata	*moiskauttaa*	*'give* a moist loud *kiss'*
soittaa	*lirutella*	*'play* with light tunes'
maata	*löhöttää*	*'lie* idling away'
laulaa	*hoilottaa*	*'sing* loudly and ungracefully'
hiihtää	*sujutella*	*'ski* easily and steadily'
iskeä	*pamauttaa*	*'hit* with a bang'
näyttää	*vilauttaa*	*'show* by flashing'
veistää	*nutustaa*	*'carve* ahead slowly and gradually'

The meaning of the object verb has been italized in the glosses, which, again, are rather inadequate. Note also that the auxiliary verb is longer than the object verb, a state of affairs that provides another diagrammatic characterization for the ex-

pressive area. The pattern seems to be strong in the Eastern dialects, where its function intrudes that of the metaphor, a situation paralleled in Gbeya which does not have metaphors at all, only ideophones (Samarin 167). This is perhaps not surprising, since both aspects fall under firstness and iconicity.

4. Up to here we have surveyed Finnish descriptive forms that are (inherently) anchored in the expressive domain, as it were, although some items have pointed toward normal lexicon (esp. §§ 2, 3). Any lexical item can also be "demoted" into the expressive area through "derivatory processes". There are many patterns for this (see Anttila 1975b), but I will select just the essential for comment here. As the first cluster in Fig. 2 shows, the canonical shape par excellence for affective forms is a disyllabic stretch with a medial consonant (or cluster) or a long consonant, a particularly "good" shape resulting with final *-u*. The "base" word is normally "truncated" behind its first medial consonant, and then the affective formants are "added". A few examples (with *-(k)u* and *-(kk)ari)*:

NEUTRAL	AFF.	NEUTRAL	AFF.
rengas 'ring'	~ *renkku*	*talonmies* 'janitor'	~ *talkkari*
punaviini 'red wine'	~ *punkku*	*syntymäpäivä* 'birthday'	~ *synttäri*
orava 'squirrel'	~ *orkku*	*televisio* 'T.V.'	~ *talkkari*

Words obviously lose much of their identity, but retain a similarity vector through initial rime between the full shape and the affective form. Much homophony results, e.g.:

mansikka 'strawberry'
mansetti 'cuff link' > mansu

lapio 'shovel'
lapanen 'mitten' > lappari

kumisaapas 'rubber boot'
kumilenkki 'rubber band' > kumppari

Even if the canonic filter for affective forms decreases redundancy (by e.g. blurring compound signs totally), the context helps decoding (and of course many forms just end up as new colloquial norms, e.g. *telkku* 'T.V.', *terkku* 'greeting'). These forms have the same kind of play effect as Pig Latins which similarly lose redundancy, but add group cohesion and speaker attitude.

I should add that vowel alternations do enter these forms also in that long vowels and diphthongs are often represented by short vowels:

muurahainen 'ant'	~ *murkku*	*juutalainen* 'Jew'	~ *jutku*
pieni 'little'	~ *pikku*	*viini* 'wine'	~ *vinkku*

and since the endings supply a rich inventory of possibilities, e.g. also *-tsu* and *-sku* (to remain close to *-kku*; see Anttila 1975b), we end up with the kind of consonant and vowel variation as in Fig. 2. Freedom of choice, however, is limited; most words just choose one suffix. This contrasts with the manner-adverbial auxiliary verbs, were new creation is possible, although tendency toward stereotypes is great

even here (another reminder that all linguistic signs are indeed symbols). Expressive forms of all kinds can be "resymbolized" (e.g. English *laugh*, Finnish *puhua* 'speak').

"Each culture has its peculiar forms of *baby talk*, the way in which one talks to infants and small children. Reading the article by *Dil*, one becomes aware of the degree to which *baby talk* reflects cultural values" (Walburga von Raffler-Engel in introducing Dil [1976], *Word* 27.1). As for Finnish baby talk and nursery forms, the formal means delineated above largely hold. We see also the biological necessity for drastic reduction in the outer shape of words, and why such forms acquire strong affective meaning through the intimate ostensive inculcation which is farthest removed from *formal* styles. Here we do not only make signs cultural units, but units of certain value with formal/informal contrasts (cf. Walther 1974: 130). Baby talk can be taken as an important breeding ground for affective signs in general, although the link remains uncharted, and will not be treated here.

5. The preceding sketch of Finnish expressive formations has been a narrow selection from the wealth of material available in the language. It shows, however, that the patterns involved are important enough to be included in grammatical description. A basic semiotic analysis of these patterns should justify their place in grammar even better, and this is why I undertake such an analysis.

Selection is one of the basic semiotic processes, and the notion is in fact familiar in the study of linguistic morphology and stylistics (and related areas). Selection, however, implies an inventory from which the selection is made, and this has created conceptual obstacles, it seems, since all inventories (and related notions) have been theoretically devalued in recent linguistics (perhaps sometimes not counting sociolinguistic repertories). This is all the more curious, because at the same time linguistic universals have received wide attention. We can indeed start with the universal pool of all possible and actual human sounds. Any language "chooses its sounds" from this inventory, and this choice characterizes its speakers against the speakers of other languages. The meaning in question pertains to signs in relation to their users and is known as *pragmatic* (Morris). The selection goes on within the language in that certain sounds are likely to occur in grammatical forms, others in the neutral lexicon, and still others delineate social or regional forms, until the total grammatical pattern is diagrammed (as pure form, signs in relation to themselves). Linguists have come rather close to this conception through their notion of *canonical forms*, (majority) patterns that characterize the forms of a language, although few pause to appreciate the fact that such forms are manifestations of a semiotic process. Linguists tend to be happy with mere formalization, without realizing that "semiotics is always an abstract theory of description or classification, and thus it comes before the numerical rendering of the existing, the world" (Bense 1971: 28). Furthermore, linguists have been prone to be swayed by the majority patterns. Since all words in a natural language are symbols, nonsymbolic aspects have been discriminated against. Why this has worked out so "well" is that the majority of the lexicon does not go against this grain, the only (somewhat) recognized exception being the indexical elements in pronouns. Thus all kinds of *expressive* elements have traditionally faced short shrift by grammarians. But "inventory and choice" in Samarin's title and in Fudge's treatment bring the issue almost to *explicit* semio-

tic underpinnings, the way toward which was attempted in Anttila (1976a). All the recent works on the topic listed below agree in acknowledging a real difference between expressive and neutral vocabulary, normally accentuated through different canonical forms, even if exact boundaries cannot be drawn. We see again that selection provides a diagram that indicates a division in the lexicon.

Various diagrams have tried to map the contrast between the neutral vocabulary and the expressive elements, and the like (Anttila 1975b: 17, Wescott 1976: 497). This time, let us look at a classification of linguistic signs which is rather general. The totality of Fig. 3 often escapes recognition. The first partition into diacritic and content signs stems from the Jakobsonian tradition (Andersen 1976). Content signs are generally clear, but it took much effort to realize that distinctive features in phonology are symbols signifying 'otherness' (to keep content signs apart). The second division is commonplace, and below we will consider the Semitic diagram for this. Finally, lexical signs divide into neutral (normal, unmarked) and expressive ones. Although all these signs are symbols, the thick line (sloping down to the right) represents symbols par excellence, and of course all content signs are dependent on diacritic signs for their outer shape (M in the Stuttgart notation). The division is clear-cut on level 1, but gets fuzzier as one goes down the tree; still, there it is, "although it would be impossible to say where the neutral ends and the affective begins" (Bolinger 130). "Thus *scream* is more expressive than *yell*, which in turn is more expressive than *shout*; I have in fact drawn the boundary between 'expressive' and 'non-expressive' between *yell* and *shout*. Among the movement words some indication of where I have drawn the boundary is given by the fact that *slither* is 'expressive' while *slip, slide* are not" (Fudge 163). But there are great differences between speakers, and English is poor in formal marking which aids indeterminacy.

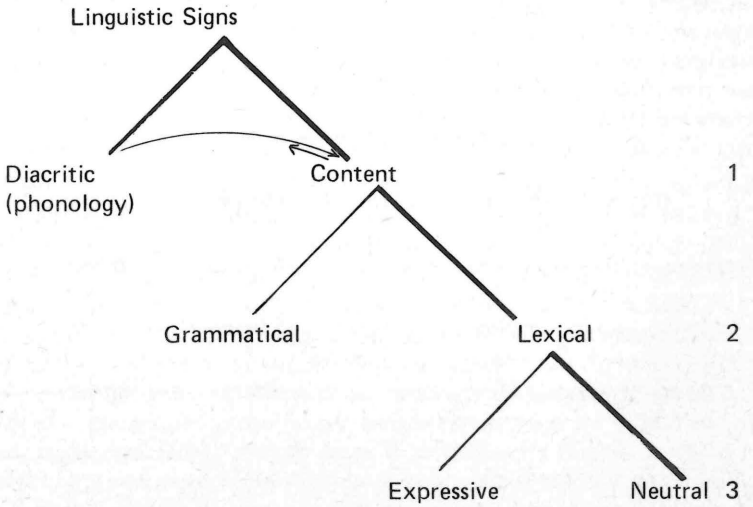

Fig. 3

What the diagram now shows is that, semiotically speaking, grammatical forms and expressive words share a position hanging out from the symbolic main. They also tend to share the formal means provided through the diacritic signs as against the main. Particularly prevalent devices in these are reduplication, vowel and consonant "gradation", "intonation", and relative shortness of words (e.g. in hypocoristic forms, English *Ed, Tom, prof, ma, sis*). This "homophony", however, between grammatical and expressive forms is not "insidious" (Anttila 1975a), since the forms occur in different object domains and interpretant fields (they just share the M-repertory; see Bense 1971: 35). The most "colorless" grammatical markers do not interfere with the most "colorful" elements in language, even if they both serve iconicity, because there are different kinds of iconicity (see e.g. Walther 1974).

"Meanings vary in specificity ([t]he semanticists' 'level of abstraction'). A working principle would be that *the lower the specificity of meaning, the larger is the number of forms that may be subsumed under one morpheme"* (Bolinger 122). Bolinger's evidence is impressive and well laid out, and its value is heightened by the alleged poverty of English in expressive formations. One can paraphrase his principle in semiotic terms: the "fluidity" of meaning is directly diagrammed in the fluidity (variation) of form. In linguistics this sector of language has gone against the (desired) invariance of form and meaning, and has thus given extra reason for ignoring the matter. In other words, such forms were poor symbols, rather parallel to bilabial trills to exhort a horse, or the like, in any case, close to "concrete" nature sounds. "Concrete", however, is as wrong a term here as the traditional "(sound) symbolism" because we have to do with *iconicity* which is *abstract*. Fig. 4 presents some of Bolinger's three-dimensional network (drawn in two dimensions) of submorphemic

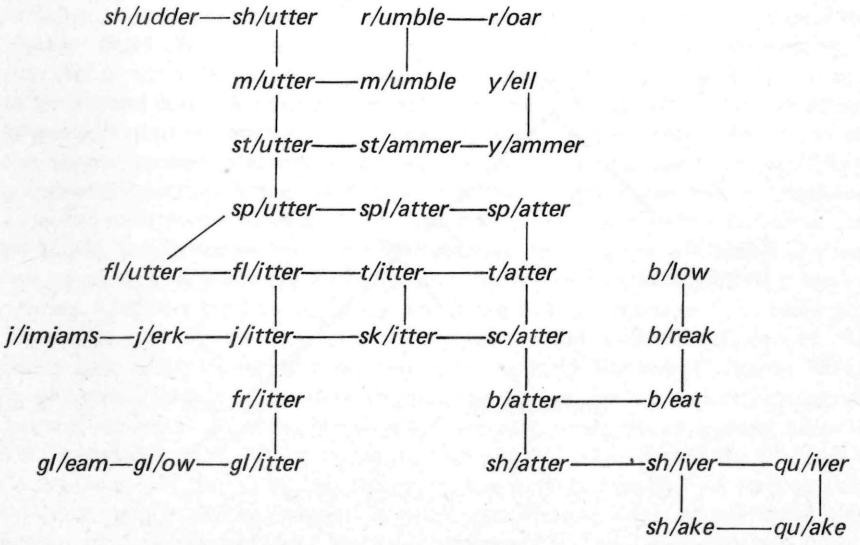

Fig. 4

differentials that keep the structure together with criss-crossing similarity vectors like the fibres in Wittgenstein's rope analogy of family resemblances. As it turned out, Bolinger's message was too unpalatable for linguists who opted for clear segmentation and symbols, i.e. the easy escape through majority patterns. Segmentability has always been a key concept in linguistic typology, but its nature has tended to be randomly used, as e.g. by Max Müller (and company) who evaluated isolating and agglutinating languages (with easy segmentation) much lower than the flective ones. Now, "good" flection in expressive vocabulary was no good, and neither were the really "complicated" polysynthetic American Indian languages which "out-Europed" the glorious European ones. As Peirce pointed out, decreasing semioticity means decreasing separability of sign situations (Bense 1971: 30–1). A symbol represents free connection, an index contiguity, and an icon correspondence, Bense (31):

Symbol:][Index: I Icon: ⊧

It is interesting to note that this topological scheme of Bense's comes so close to the morphological diagrams of Pike and the concepts of Sapir (as e.g. treated in Anttila 1975c, 1976b).

So far we have sketched the fact that expressive forms, as characterized against the neutral vocabulary, depend on a particular selection from the sound pattern of the language, and that this selection is organized into special canonical forms which differ sufficiently from those found in the neutral material. The nature of this mode of representation is diagrammatic. The most startling case for this is known from Semitic, where the major vowel/consonant dichotomy reflects directly division 2 of Fig. 3, so that the smaller group (vowels) represents the closed set of grammatical categories and the larger consonantal array is tied to the open set of lexical items. Some English patterns occur both in grammatical formations (*drink/drank/drunk*) and expressive/onomatopoeic words (*clink – clank – clunk*) (Wescott 502). Wescott (507) points out further that English /z/ is a frequent sound in both grammatical markers and racy vocabulary. Although the Finnish pattern (§ 1) is restricted to the expressive domain, it is semiotically and typologically no less significant. The pattern that emerges is as clear as Bolinger's tabulations for English, and his criticisms of his colleagues for avoiding the loud calls (by the material) for analysis equally obtain. Finnish linguists do not cut out vowel (sub)morphemes à l'arabe.

A closer look into this Finnish pattern should be revealing. Words are generally symbols, more particularly rhematic-symbolic legisigns (see e.g. Walther 1974: 81). In drawing up the classification of Fig. 3 we already gave up a strict insistence on this, because in the subsign admixture of expressive vocabulary nonsymbolic elements dominate. In leaving the symbols aside we must now ask: What kind of a sign would, say, *k-h-* be (Fig. 1)? I suggest that we have here a rhematic-iconic legisign, in other words, a general diagram like Peirce's typical fever curve of a sickness (Walther 80–1). The same is true of the other consonantal skeleta in Fig. 1, we have here general diagrams of various noises, which can perhaps be combined into a higher order diagram of family resemblances as in Bolinger's English material (Fig. 4). The actually occurring noise is filled in as an actual reading, as an individual diagram (rhematic-iconic sinsign). At this point it does not matter whether the

sinsign is a replica of a symbolic legisign or an iconic sinsign, because in terms of the relation of the sign to itself (Mittelbezug) the actual shape is, say, *kihistä*. The latter explication seems to be the more revealing. As for Länsimäki's canonical form [C]LVTKU (Fig. 2), could it also be interpreted as a general diagram? Or should the variation of form be tied with a looser conception of replicas? In other words, replicas would iconically show "bad copy" which provides "good symbols"!

Now we see that the vowels (*i – u – ö – o – ä – a*) are indeed signs of qualities, i.e. "colors" (*tones,* qualisigns). These are embedded in a higher-order sign to quasi-assert an indexical (quasi-truth) value. Note that the iconicity here is that of *images,* and this contrasts with the bulk diagram of the Semitic vowel/consonant distinction. But a diagram with all the vowels of the language is presented by Andersen (1976: Fig. 8) for certain Russian nominal desinences (e.g. locative plural *-úx/-óx/ -éx/-íx/-ás, -áx*) where content corresponds with expression (Fig. 5). The marked rounded vowels signal the most restricted part of speech (numerals), and within the unrounded vowels the maximally marked /e/ represents the closed category of pronominal adjectives, up to the maximally unmarked /a/ which signals the least restricted nominal part of speech, the nouns. Here the distinctive feature hierarchy with its relations signals relations within the nominal classes, and we have thus a typical (symbolic) diagram. The reading here is based on the (hierarchical) makeup of the vowel (from within) which thus itself is a diagram, rather than the vowel as an image (from without; Finnish above). The desinential frame, e.g. *--x*, could still be taken as a general diagram for 'locative plural', although such a "sickness" is of course a clear symbol.

Rounded		Unrounded			
		[-high, -low]	[-low]		
u	o	e	i	a	FORM
'2'	'3'	pron. adj.	adj.	subst.	MEANING

Fig. 5

We see also that the open nature of rhematic signs is preserved in expressive diagrams like Finnish *k-h-*, etc.[1]. This is in fact structurally parallel to a frame like

[1] Diffloth who also notes various ways of signifying expressive meaning points out (445) that "ideophones have unusual properties in negative sentences and do not have true opposites as most adverbs have.(446) In some languages ideophones cannot be used at all in negative sentences, in others (Korean) one cannot negate the ideophone itself but only the appropriateness of a given ideophone to describe a certain situation." As can be seen above and below, I came to quite a parallel conclusion for Finnish.

– *on lintu* (– *is a bird*). In the latter, to get dicentic truth value, you fill it in with a symbol, e.g. *Varis on lintu (The crow is a bird).* In *k-h-* you just insert a tone, and you get e.g. *kohista*, whose "truth value" can be determined in the actual situation of use. Thus these expressive patterns are *formally* quite presentable, contrary to prevailing opinion. But as Bense said, before mere formalization (numerical rendering) the semiotic facts must be dealt with. Even current syntax is deficient in this respect (Walther 1974: 99–100).

6. The preceding sections have now delineated the sign in relation to itself and an inventory (§§ 1–4), and in addition to this, its relation to the object signified was added (§ 5). The crucial aspect that has come out has been diagrammaticity. Sign formation cannot be independent from objects and interpretants (Walther 126), and this has been obvious throughout the treatment. When we also remember that we have to do with *formal* means (Walther: geformte bzw. gestaltete Mittel) that convey semiotic information about the object only in certain respects (Walther 127), then e.g. Bühler's objections to Lallwörter (and the like) should disappear. Semiotic information is greatest in the icon, the reverse of semioticity (127–8; cf. Bense's topological scheme above). It is also obvious that our discussion has dealt with iconicity, and has provided a new interpretation for the general "holistic" evaluation of expressive words (as unanalyzable). It is true, these signs can be taken (and most of the time in language use must be taken) as total Gestalten or minifields, but the sign operation of *superization* shows us how these Gestalten were put together from lower-order signs (Walther 108–9, Bense – Walther 1973: 106); this was shown in section 5, without of course mentioning superization. The signs treated can now be taken as low-order supericons, and it is these units that get entered into dictionaries, if they get entered at all. The sign process involved is *abstraction*, in other words, a frame scheme through abstraction (Walther 112–3). The canonical forms linguists speak about fit right in here, i.e. we have iconic frame systems tied with symbolic repertory systems (128), and we of course have to do with an iconic expression system comprising also gestures (Diffloth [445] notes how mimicry often accompanies ideophones). Note that these shapes under discussion comply with selectional restrictions parallel to those in poetic meter (cf. Walther 115, Wescott 1976).

Expressive (super)icons are directly so communicative (cf. Walther 129) that they tend to be omitted from dictionaries. When we follow the domain of firstness through the ten Peircean trichotomies (Walther 1974: 88ff, 1976: 34–5) we get the following terms:

1. potisign, tone
2. descriptive
3. abstractive
4. icon
5. hypothetic, expressive
6. sympathetic
7. suggestive
8. saturating (producing pleasure)
9. sema (rhema)
10. certainty of instinct

The fit with terms used in the traditional description of expressive vocabulary is startling indeed. The message is clear: the meanings of expressive vocabulary are not extraordinary or untouchable; they just pertain to the category of firstness. And firstness cannot be undervalued, it is after all first (and the main agent for change). In fact, our total discussion has moved along the edges of the nine subtypes of

1.1	1.2	1.3
2.1	2.2	2.3
3.1	3.2	3.3

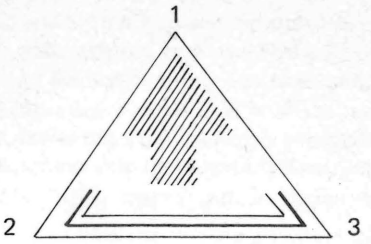

Fig. 6 A. Form B. Meaning

signs, i.e. along the Mittelbezug and the Mittelstufe (Fig. 6A). The diagrammatic peculiarity of these signs has a clue to their meaning. This meaning points toward firstness in, say, Walther's embedding triangle diagram of the inclusion scheme (Walther 95, Bense – Walther 43) (Fig. 6B). For both form and meaning this is what one would expect (firstness).

A few comments must be said about the affective words in section 4. These do not grow out of firstness as the other types, but are demoted from thirdness. Would the demotion be a link in the process of degenerative semiosis, at least in that often ambiguity increases? On the other hand, affective color is definitely added. We have to do with the most important sign operation, *substitution,* which replaces signs with others, deletes or adds them, as well as shortens them (Walther 107–8) for various (well-known) reasons. Furthermore, affective words are supericons with a symbol built in, even if the symbol is formally truncated in that only an index remains. This index is acronymic (like *sitcom, NASA, DNA,* etc.), and it is the similarity vector that connects the base word and its derivative. Thus the affective words are largely signs for signs, since one would hardly take variants like *muura-hainen/mur-* 'ant', *talonmies/tal-* 'janitor' as "allomorphs", with the short variant occurring with affective suffixes, although this is indeed what we have. All this shows the inadequacy of the standard allomorph notions (see Anttila 1976b). If we take the connecting similarity vector between the two forms at face value, as we should, the two "variants" seem to be thereby connected into one field. The shift in shape and bulk indicates a shift in semantic mode (say, cognitive/affective). The sign thus turns around its shape (Fig. 7). The object of the affective sign seems to be the cognitive signs; the former presents the latter descriptively as a simple quality

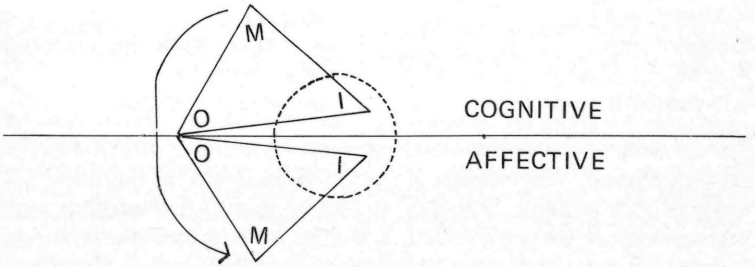

Fig. 7

(immediate object). The dynamic object would now be the "cognitive" sign (concretively). The immediate interpretant would be hypothetic, the dynamic one sympathetic, and the final interpretant could be saturating. But if the dynamic object is indeed the real cognitive sign, interpretation must ultimately include the interpretants of the latter. One sees now that these signs are in fact much more complex than assumed, and ignoring them is understandable. Here I have attempted to chart a sufficiently detailed challenge for a better tapping for a semiotics of this sector of vocabulary.

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Zusammenfassung

Expressive Wörter im Finnischen gebrauchen Vokal- und Konsonantenalternation (Fig. 1, 2), Reduplikation (§ 2) und Hilfsverben in der Funktion von Adverbien der Art und Weise (§ 3) – alles Mittel, die in anderen Sprachen aus den grammatischen Formkategorien wohlbekannt sind, wenngleich nicht aus dem Finnischen. Linguisten machen sich oft nicht klar, daß ihr Gebrauch kanonischer Formen unter den Begriff

der Selektion fällt. Selbst die Selektion, die eine Sprache für ihre Laute aus dem menschlichen Lautreservoir macht, hat pragmatische Bedeutung, da dies die Sprecher der betreffenden Sprache charakterisiert. Verschiedenartige Selektionen aus dem totalen Inventar der Sprache umreißen weiter andere Bereiche von Bedeutung, und oft teilen grammatische und expressive Formen die diagrammatischen Mittel. Diese Homophonie stört nicht, da die Formen in verschiedenen Teilen der Grammatik erscheinen (Fig. 3). Der finnische lautmalende Rahmen *k-h-* 'eine Art zischendes, raschelndes, aufwallendes Geräusch' kann als ein allgemeines Diagramm interpretiert werden wie die typische Fieberkurve einer bestimmten Krankheit, die dann mit einer wirklich vorkommenden Lesung verglichen werden kann, indem ein direktes Bild (in der Form eines Vokals) in den Rahmen eingeführt wird. Solche Zeichen sind offenen rhematischen ganz parallel wie – *ist ein Vogel*, die mit einem Symbol (z.B. *die Krähe*) gefüllt werden müssen, um ihnen Wahrheitsgehalt zu verleihen. Das finnische affektive Vokabular betritt den expressiven Bereich von gewöhnlichen Wörtern (Symbolen) her (§ 4), die normalerweise nach dem ersten inlautenden Konsonanten abgeschnitten werden; den verstümmelten Wörtern werden dann verschiedenartige affektive Suffixe hinzugefügt, so daß die resultierende Gesamtform sich kanonischen Formen anpaßt. Eine solche Filterung erzeugt Homophonie durch abnehmende Redundanz wie in den Wörtern in Kauderwelsch, aber fügt Gruppenzusammenhang und die Einstellung der Sprecher hinzu.

Die biologischen Beschränkungen der Lallsprache (baby talk) sind mit diesen Formen verwandt. Alle expressiven Formen sind Supericone, unabhängig davon, ob sie „von unten" oder „von oben" gestaltet worden sind (die affektiven Formen verkörpern Symbole). Das iconische Ausdruckssystem läßt sich mit metrischen Schemata vergleichen, die in gleicher Weise passende Formen selektieren. Diese Diskussion hat sich dem Mittelbezug und der Mittelstufe entlang bewegt (Fig. 6A), und so die verwickelte Strukturierung der Erstheit gezeigt, die die Linguisten zu ignorieren geneigt sind. In der Tat bildet die Form der Erstheit ein Diagramm für korrespondierende Bedeutung, da die Termini für Erstheit in Peirces zehn Trichotomien den traditionellen Begriffen für das expressive Vokabular entsprechen. Diese Formen deuten auf Erstheit (Fig. 6B). Spekulation über die Verwandtschaft von neutralen und affektiven Formen deutet auf die Möglichkeit, daß die Verschiebung im größten Teil des Zeichens eine Verschiebung im semantischen Modus anzeigt (Fig. 7). Das dynamische Objekt des affektiven Zeichens wäre nun das neutrale Zeichen, und die Interpretation muß schließlich das letztere in seiner Gesamtheit einschließen.

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