

different types of contexts (*The Random House Dictionary of the English Language*, College Edition, 1969, lists 134); and second, because the meaning of *run* has already been discussed in several other connections. The following list is typical of the various contexts in which *run*, as an event or related object, can occur. They are arranged in an order which one might encounter in collecting uses of *run* in texts.

1. He ran to the house.
2. The motor is running.
3. The water is running out of the faucet.
4. The color is running.
5. The minutes run as follows.
6. The tune kept running through his head.
7. They ran the blockade.
8. They all ran the risks.
9. He ran across his friend.
10. The grain of the wood runs crossways.
11. The run of sap was light this year.
12. He built a chicken run.
13. In the long run it will work out all right.
14. She runs with a tough crowd.
15. They run around town every Saturday night.
16. He ran the horse around the track.
17. He's running for election.
18. The clock is running fast.
19. The train runs every hour.
20. The car ran down the hill.
21. The mayor isn't running for another term.
22. They ran him for vice-president.
23. The salmon run each spring.
24. The ferry runs between Staten Island and the Battery.
25. The rope ran through a pulley.
26. He ran the strap around the box.
27. The vine ran over the wall.
28. Her stocking is running.

29. His nose is running.
30. He ran the water into the tub.
31. These are the running prices.
32. His writing runs from fair to bad.
33. The office runs well.
34. Time is running on.
35. The well ran dry.
36. The cow ran dry.
37. The manuscript runs to eighty pages.
38. The run on the bank was disastrous.
39. She has a run in her silk hose.
40. A run of a thousand barrels a day.
41. They ran the edition on an offset press.
42. The play ran for three years.
43. The cattle ran on the range.
44. The run of grunion was early this year.
45. He composed a series of runs for the clarinet.
46. The story ran in the Washington Post.
47. He ran an advertisement for a week.
48. The same theme ran throughout the chapter.
49. The sword ran through him.
50. He ran sheep on his farm.
51. He scored a run in the third inning.
52. We have our competitors on the run.
53. They lived near the run.
54. He ran his business poorly.
55. He ran the motor too long.
56. His heart is running too fast.
57. There has been a continuous run on the U. S. dollar.
58. The flour ran out of the sack.
59. The gravel ran down the trough.
60. The line ran off the page.

In dealing with such a series of contexts, the normal lexicographical procedure is to divide the meanings immediately on the bases of syntactic classes: e.g. verbs, nouns, and adjectives (e.g.

as in #31 *these are the running prices*). The verbs are generally divided into intransitive and transitive uses, e.g. *he ran to the house* (#1) and *he ran the horse around the track* (#16). But this type of division, based on grammatical distinctions, is semantically misleading, since it hides numerous interrelations between different meanings. If the semantic structure is to be analyzed properly, a semantic classification, based on semantic structures, must be employed. The first division must separate the idiomatic semantic structures from the nonidiomatic ones; that is to say, the occurrences of *run* which can be analyzed only in terms of the meaning of a larger unit must be separated from those which do not require a larger context. In this series contexts 13 (*in the long run*), 9 (*ran across*), and 52 (*on the run*) seem to fit the first category, while the rest appear to involve nonidioms.

In treating the idiomatic uses of *run*, it is essential to identify in each case the domain into which the respective meanings fit. For example, *in the long run* would be treated in the domain of such temporal expressions as *finally*, *at last*, *in the end*, etc., while *ran across* would be treated with *came across*, *met with*, *encountered*, etc. At the same time, it is useful to contrast the idiomatic with the nonidiomatic meanings of such phrases as *he ran across his friend* and *he ran across the road*. The idiomatic meaning of *on the run* would be treated in the domain represented by *on the defensive*, *win out against*, *beat*, etc.

But our principal concern with this series of contexts containing *run* is in the classification and analysis of the nonidiomatic uses. In dealing with the nonidiomatic uses of *run*, we may group them into loose assemblies of potentially related meanings. In doing so there should be full recognition that significant differences of meaning may occur within such aggregations of meaning. However, it is easier to begin with loosely defined groupings, and to make further distinctions later. In this process precision in designating the features of such classes is unnecessary. More specific distinctions for class membership can always be worked out at later stages.

This procedure of grouping into loosely defined classes of

seemingly related meanings provides essentially the following results:

- A. Movement in space through the use of the limbs, and with successive instances in which no foot touches the ground:
 1. He ran to the house.
 16. He ran the horse around the track.
 51. He scored a run in the third inning.
- B. Internal or movement of related parts:
 2. The motor is running.
 18. The clock is running fast.
 55. He ran the motor too long.
 56. His heart is running too fast.
- C. Vehicular movement on schedule:
 19. The train runs every hour.
 24. The ferry runs between Staten Island and the Battery.
- D. Movement of a liquid or dry mass:
 3. The water is running out of the faucet.
 4. The color is running.
 11. The run of sap was light this year.
 29. His nose is running.
 30. He ran the water into the tub.
 35. The well ran dry.
 36. The cow ran dry.
 40. A run of a thousand barrels a day.
 53. They lived near the run.
 58. The flour ran out of the sack.
 59. The gravel ran down the trough.
- E. Extension:
 10. The grain of the wood runs crossways.
 26. He ran the strap around the box.
 27. The vine ran over the wall.
 34. Time is running on.
 37. The manuscript runs to eighty pages.

49. The sword ran through him.
60. The line ran off the page.

F. General functioning (e.g. of an organization):

33. The office runs well.
54. He ran his business poorly.

G. Continuous series of steplike actions:

28. Her stocking is running.
39. She has a run in her silk hose.
45. He composed a series of runs for the clarinet.

H. Movement in space, not necessarily as in A:

12. He built a chicken run.
14. She runs with a touch crowd.
15. They run around town every Saturday night.
20. The car ran down the hill.
23. The salmon run each spring.
43. The cattle ran on the range.
44. The run of grunion was early this year.
50. He ran sheep on his farm.

I. Occurrences of special classification:

Relating to election to office:

17. He's running for election.
21. The mayor isn't running for another term.
22. They ran him for vice-president.

Relating to publication:

41. They ran the edition on an offset press.
46. The story ran in the Washington Post.
47. He ran an advertisement for a week.

Relating to financial operations:

38. The run on the bank was disastrous.
57. There has been a continuous run on the U. S. dollar.

Relating to contents:

5. The minutes run as follows.
48. The same theme ran throughout the chapter.

Possible figurative meanings:

6. The tune kept running through his head.
7. They ran the blockade.
8. They all ran the risks.
31. These are the running prices.
Miscellaneous:
25. The rope ran through a pulley.
42. The play ran for three years.

The next step is to examine carefully each of the loosely defined semantic groupings in order to determine (1) the extent of shared components and (2) the relations between any of the distinct meanings included within each grouping. In the second phase of this procedure the number of different meanings involved is determined. Several important techniques are used in such an analysis: (a) supplementing the contexts with other closely related contexts employing the same lexical units, or those of the same semantic class but in transformed arrangements; (b) allocating each separate meaning to its appropriate semantic domain; and (c) testing these classifications by substituting lexical units from the same semantic domain to which each particular meaning of *run* belongs.

In series A there are two significant differences in meaning. The first meaning is the usual so-called central, or literal, meaning of *run*, and it can be duplicated in many similar contexts, e.g. *the dog ran, the woman ran, the boy ran*, etc. Context 16 contains a causative component. The subject *he* is the causative agent, but *the horse* is the actor. This relation involves grammatical "case" and does not represent a different meaning of *run*. The action of running is the same, but the grammatical object of the verb is the one that does the running.

The meaning of *run* in context 51 represents a derivative formation. The basic components of the central meaning of *run* are incorporated into a meaning which designates a particular kind of running in a game, resulting in a scoring unit. This meaning of *run* belongs to the domain of *hit, error, walk, catch*, etc. as relevant parts of a type of game. Series A, therefore, has two meanings of *run*, belonging to different semantic domains.

The meaning of *run* in series B offers no special difficulty. In each instance there is continuous movement of internal parts. In context 55 the relation between the constituents is causative, but this relation is parallel to the meaning of *run* in context 16, and the causative relation should be considered an aspect of the grammatical meaning of the construction.

In series C there is movement of vehicles, but it is a scheduled movement. In a sense it might be regarded as an aspect of continuous movement, or at least continuity of functioning, a feature also present in series G, and to some extent in series H.

In series D the meaning of *run* involves the movement or flow of a mass, liquid or dry. In contexts 3, 11, 58, and 59, it is the mass itself which runs. Though in context 11 (*the run of sap was light this year*) *run* functions as a noun rather than as a verb, there is no basic referential distinction. In all these instances *run* designates movement of a mass. True, in context 11 *run* specifies a semantically "bounded event", that is, one which can be considered as a unit, and accordingly can be counted. But this meaning results from a grammatical transformation, and the meaning of the relation between the determiner and the nominal form *run* involves a grammatically relevant meaning. The bounding of events in nominal constructions is a frequent transformation in English. Compare, for example, *he spoke/he made a speech, they tested the water/they made a test of the water, he performed/he gave a performance, he lectured/he gave a lecture*. The more or less semantically empty verbs *make* and *give* combine with expressions of event to produce unit events which can be counted, e.g. *he gave five lectures*, which, of course, is different in meaning from *he lectured five times*.

In context 40 (*a run of a thousand barrels a day*), there is no specific mention of a fluid, but the inclusion of *barrels* indicates that a mass, probably a fluid, is to be understood. In context 30 (*he ran the water into the tub*), the liquid (water) is specifically mentioned, but it occurs in a causative construction in which *he* is the causative agent.

In context 29 (*his nose is running*), there is no mention of a

liquid, only the specification of the source, that is, the nose, but the movement referred to is still that of a mass. This specification of the source rather than of the mass is not at all uncommon, e.g. *the faucet is running, the hose is running, the spigot is running, the drain pipe is running*, etc.

In context 4 (*the color is running*), the result of a movement of a liquid is evident, but this is not primarily a movement of a substance, but a change of color as the result of the movement of a substance. This meaning of *run* belongs to the domain of *fade, change, alter, etc.*, while *run* in the sense of a movement of a mass belongs to the domain of *flow, trickle, drip, gush, etc.*

It is easy enough to see that in contexts 35 (*the well ran dry*) and 36 (*the cow ran dry*) there is an implied movement of a liquid, or lack of it. But in these contexts there is no actual movement of a liquid, but a change of state. The verb *run* has quite a different set of components and belongs to a different semantic domain, e.g. *become, turn, result in, change to, etc.* This meaning of *run* may be classified as figurative.²³

In context 53 (*they lived near the run*), there is an underlying meaning of the flow of a liquid, since *run* designates a small stream or rivulet. But in this instance *run* has undergone semantic derivation, and the components of the underlying base have been incorporated into a meaning belonging to a different semantic domain, e.g. *stream, rivulet, brook, river, etc.*

For the meanings of *run* in the contexts of series E, there is little difficulty with contexts 27 (*the vine ran over the wall*) and 60 (*the line ran off the page*), since in these instances there is a clear indication of extension. In context 26 (*he ran the strap around the box*), *run* is a causative. In context 37 (*the manuscript runs to eighty pages*) and in context 49 (*the sword ran through him*), there is also a meaning of extension, though it is not possible in context 49 to determine whether it is a statement of an active process or of a resulting state. In either case, however, the meaning is one of

²³ This classification is based on the fact that there is a radical shift in semantic domain, involving a complete reinterpretation of the diagnostic components of movement of a mass.

extension. In context 34 (*time is running on*), there is also a sense of extension, but it involves an abstract *time*, rather than some concrete object, such as *vine, strap, sword*, etc. In these contexts of extension, the meaning of *run* belongs to a different domain, more related to the domain of *extend, project, continue, proceed, go*, etc. (e.g. *they made the vine go over the wall, they made the strap go around the box, the manuscript went to eighty pages*, etc.). The one possible difficulty in this series is the meaning of *run* in context 10 (*the grain of the wood runs crossways*), where there is no underlying active movement to which the meaning might be related. However, as an expression of position it closely parallels such an expression as *the grain of the wood goes crossways*.

In series F the meaning of *run* involves the internal functioning of an organization, rather than of a motor or organism (as in series B), and as such *run* belongs to the domain of *function, operate, perform, work*, etc.

Series G consists of a limited and restricted set, in which there is a continuous series of steplike actions. There is no underlying action of an object moving in space, as there is for series A-D, but there is a component of extension, or at least of movement from some point, in rapid succession. Any connection in meaning between the uses in context G and those of the preceding series is primarily based on supplementary components, or completely reinterpreted diagnostic components; hence, they can be regarded as essentially figurative. Thus there are two figurative meanings, one relating to raveling of a thread in knitted apparel, and the other to a rapidly executed scale in music.

The contexts in series H are combined by virtue of the fact that all involve movement, but not necessarily of the type included in series A. For example, in context 15 (*they ran around town every Saturday night*), it is possible that the persons involved might actually run, but it is quite unlikely. At least it is not implied in the meaning of *run*. Similarly, in context 12 (*he built a chicken run*) the chickens may in fact run in such an enclosure, but it is primarily a place for chickens to move about, not one in which they must run. In this context, however, *run* is obviously a derivative, since the

components of the base are incorporated into the meaning of an object which is a place for movement, not the movement itself. A parallel to this derivation may be found in *walk*, e.g. *he built a walk*.

For context 14 (*she runs with a tough crowd*), the meaning of *run* in combination with *with* designates primarily association, not actual physical movement. Even though movement is normally involved, it is only a secondary feature. In this case *run with* belongs to the domain of *associate with, belong to, be a member of, pal with*, etc. But in context 15 (*they run around town every Saturday night*), the meaning of *run* is somewhat different. Association is strictly a secondary feature, dependent upon the occurrence of the plural subject (cf. *he runs around town every Saturday night*). In this instance, the domain of *run* is primarily one of general movement, e.g. *go, meander, roam, travel*, etc. The meaning of *run* in context 20 (*the car ran down the hill*) is closely related, but it has a directional component, typical of the domain *go, drive, coast, slide*, etc.

In contexts 43 (*the cattle ran on the range*) and 50 (*he ran sheep on his farm*), the meaning is not primarily one of actual movement, but of location and feeding. In this instance one may say that *run* belongs to either one of two domains, depending upon the specific meaning of the context, since their present forms are ambiguous. This meaning of *run* belongs either to the domain of location and position, e.g. *be, stay, live, exist*, etc. or to the domain of feeding, e.g. *feed, forage, pasture* (e.g. *the cattle fed on the range and he pastured sheep on his farm*). It is possible, though not probable, to understand the usage of *run* in context 43 as meaning that the cattle moved about, in which case the meaning of *run* would belong to the semantic domain of *roam, wander, move about, travel*, etc.

Contexts 23 (*the salmon run each spring*) and 44 (*the run of grunion was early this year*) refer to movement, but only to a specific kind of movement of fish. It is not equivalent to *swim*, though swimming is involved. In these contexts *run* is not a designation of the mechanism of movement, but of the periodicity and volume of movement. A *run* of fish indicates a movement which occurs periodically and involves large numbers.

The meanings of *run* in series H in some instances depart considerably from the so-called central or literal meaning of *run* (as in contexts 1 and 16), but there is no special reason to regard any of them as figurative, since all refer to some kind of movement, as either a primary or a secondary component. Since to some extent they share this component of movement with the central meaning of *run*, they can be regarded as peripheral meanings.

In series I several uses of *run* are highly specific and semantically remote from those in the preceding series. In the use of *run* as a designation for electoral competition, the central meaning of *run* appears only in certain supplementary features, namely, energetic activity and competition (cf. *he entered the race for mayor*). Hence this meaning of *run* should be regarded as essentially figurative, since it does not involve physical movement as such. It certainly belongs to a different semantic domain, e.g. *compete, try to be, enter race, aspire to*, etc. Only a few lexical units can occur in this domain, since the type of activity is specific.

The meaning of *run* in context 41 (*they ran the edition on an offset press*) can be interpreted as essentially the same as in series B. An offset press may be regarded as running, in the same sense as a motor can be said to run. Accordingly, *they ran the edition on an offset press* would simply be a way of introducing *they* as the causal agent, *the edition* as the affected constituent, and *offset press* as the instrument. It is to this basic meaning of *run* that the meanings in contexts 46 (*the story ran in the Washington Post*) and 47 (*he ran an advertisement for a week*) can be related. However, in terms of present-day usage this meaning of *run* refers to the particular process of printing, and hence belongs essentially to the same domain as *print, publish, produce*, etc., e.g. *the story was printed in the Washington Post, the story was published in the Washington Post*. Since in this meaning there is no relevant component of movement, it is best to regard this use of *run* as a figurative extension.

The meaning of *run* in contexts 38 (*the run on the bank was disastrous*) and 57 (*there has been a continuous run on the U. S.*

dollar) is also figurative. It may be related to the central meaning of *run* through the supplementary component of 'urgent activity', but the specific action involved is not physical movement but financial payments.

The meaning of *run* in context 5 (*the minutes run as follows*), a frequently occurring sense, involves the component of continuous motion. The meanings of *run* in contexts 5 and 48 (*the same theme ran throughout the chapter*) are so closely related as to be combinable into a single meaning.

The occurrences of *run* in contexts 7 (*they ran the blockade*) and 8 (*they all ran the risks*) are probably best treated as figurative extensions of meaning. In context 7 there is an element of movement (often fast and dodging), but the meaning is one of escape. In context 8 no real movement is implied, nor is there a sense of escaping (though that is the intent). Rather, the sense is of *undergoing, being involved in, exposing oneself to*, etc.

In context 6 (*the tune kept running through his head*) movement is implied, but it is psychological, rather than physical. This type of shift in meaning can be regarded as figurative.

In context 31 (*these are the running prices*), *running* may be analyzed as figurative, since there is a radical shift in the relevant domain, from action to a state, i.e. from movement to a prevailing condition.

The occurrence of *run* in context 25 (*the rope ran through a pulley*) is ambiguous. We cannot tell from the limited context whether the meaning should be understood as designating (1) the manner in which the rope extended through the pulley (in which case, *run* would have the same meaning it has in context 27) or (2) the position the rope occupied during an implied continuous movement (cf. *the V-belt was running rapidly over the fan pulley and the belt on the motor was running too fast*). This type of meaning is essentially equivalent to the meaning involved in mechanical movement (contexts 2, 18, 55, and 56).

The meaning of *run* in context 42 (*the play ran for three years*) may be interpreted as merely an expression of extension. However, it may also relate to operation and function, e.g. *a good show is*

now running at the theater on Madison Avenue, the picture is now running. These meanings can be related to general functioning (series F) and to mechanical function (series B).

From this analysis of the meanings of *run*, it is evident that two different types of classificatory grids (or degrees of delicacy)²⁴ can be used. One may either set up broad meanings, with a number of subclass distinctions, or set up a number of different meanings and group them into what may be called "semantic bundles". It makes little difference which type of semantic grid is employed. What is important is that the same type of grid be applied consistently throughout an analysis, and that all the various relations be indicated systematically.

It is tempting to try to demonstrate the many-faceted interrelations between the various meanings of a polysemic term such as *run* by constructing a diagram or matrix in which the various components could be clearly marked. The difficulty is that no two- or even three-dimensional figure would suffice, since the meanings have so many interrelations and the bonds between the meanings involve so many degrees of cohesiveness. Even an extended matrix is not a very useful tool for explicating certain gross differences and similarities, since it would be so long and involved and have so many empty positions. It is one thing to construct a matrix of closely related meanings of different lexical units; it is quite another to construct a relevant matrix of meanings which are far apart in semantic space and at the same time exhibit many tenuous links.

Rather than attempt some diffuse and ultimately unsatisfactory diagrammatic description of the semantic interrelations of the meanings of *run*, it is better to consider the techniques essential for the description of the individual meanings. To do so is the theme of Chapter 5. (Problem 49)

²⁴ Halliday 1968 makes an important point of the degrees of delicacy used in classificatory systems.

A serious deficiency in many approaches to referential meaning is the tendency to regard meaning from only one perspective. Those who concentrate upon the denotative significance of lexical units would like to reduce all meaning to a digitally manipulatable series of pluses and minuses; while those who look on meaning in terms of its connotative values see in it the numerous analogical potentialities which give rise to metaphorical extensions and subtle shadings of interrelations between meanings. The truth is that language is both digital and analogic,¹⁸ but in a sense it can be strictly digital only when some of the semantic potentialities of meanings and borders between meanings are temporarily overlooked. When we consider the weighting of components, we realize how basic analogic meanings can be. It is then that we appreciate how such a poet as N. C. Lindsay (son of Vachel Lindsay) can speak of storms in such phrases as *wind-tormented sensual waves writhe in avid hunger; green howling rage; a storm green seething; and patched up realities like splinters dance on reeling reefs*.¹⁹

It is this dynamic, analogic character of language which makes the semantic structure of language a living, constantly changing tool for the equally fluctuating patterns of human thought and experience; and it is this aspect of semantics which poses some of the most profound challenges to research, while also offering some of the most meaningful rewards.

Psychological significance of componential analysis

As mentioned briefly in Chapter 1, it is essential to distinguish between structural validity and psychological awareness in the analysis of semantic components. Speakers of a language cannot be expected to be aware of the componential features which combine to make up the meanings of lexical units — of these diagnostic elements, which are determinate for behavior, speakers need not be

¹⁸ See Wilden 1972.

¹⁹ In a series of poems published privately in 1967 in Goshen, Indiana, under the title of *Yes*.

consciously aware. In this aspect of behavior, language is no different from many other forms of human activity. People engage in many types of structured behavior without being aware of its distinctive elements, e.g. the variety and frequency of shaking hands. It is true that any final statement about the componential features of meaning should be psychologically "satisfying" to the speakers of a language; that is, they should be able to comprehend how these features do in fact influence their use of the language in such functions as naming, paraphrase, collocation, opposition, etc. But one cannot assume from an analysis of semantic structures that speakers of the language are aware of such relations, or realize that in encoding or decoding the mind unconsciously employs techniques which parallel the componential structuring. The only way to test the psychological relevance of componential analysis is to employ independent approaches to verbal behavior. But, even if such tests showed little or no confirmation of the relevance of semantic components for the psychological processes of encoding and decoding, this result would not in itself destroy the significance of componential analysis as a valid way to describe efficiently the role of referential meaning in language. It might lessen our interest in componential analysis, since it would seem to hold out less hope for broader generalizations.

But, in fact, psychological tests have indicated that in various ways componential features of meaning do figure significantly in various aspects of human verbal behavior. Sanday²⁰ has reported on some tests designed to expose the extent to which componential features may be significant in personal treatment of semantic domains. In one test subjects were asked to list all the various kinds of kin. Many persons listed them in an order that revealed quite clearly the significance of the componential features. Some, however, listed the kin types on the basis of association in groups. Sanday concludes that for these subjects there were at least two kinds of psychological "reality". However, it would appear that both groups of subjects would probably have recognized the validity of either kind of grouping.

²⁰ Sanday 1968.

George A. Miller²¹ has undertaken a far more extensive study of componential features in an analysis of the meanings of verbs of motion. In this study the subjects were asked to group together various sets of verbs of motion. The results of these tests show clearly that at least some componential features are important to most persons in determining semantic relations between words belonging to the same general domain.²²

Much more research in the field of componential analysis is needed, but even this brief introduction to referential meaning should make it clear that semantic components are extremely important in (1) the description of language behavior and predictions concerning it, (2) the detailed comparison of meanings, whether intralingually (i.e. within a single language) or extralingually (i.e. between languages, thus providing a more adequate basis for translational equivalences), (3) the judging of semantic compatibility, as an important feature of style, and (4) treating figurative extensions of meaning. In a real sense, therefore, this book serves only as "an introduction to semantic structures".

²¹ George A. Miller 1972.

²² For many persons meanings of words may tend to cluster about certain prototypes. For *run* the psychological prototype may well be a sprinter dashing down the track. This prototype may then serve as a point of departure for various related meanings of *run*, e.g. running the hurdles, cross-country running, stationary running, etc. It may also serve as a prototype against which the related meanings of other words may be judged, e.g. *jog*, *sprint*, *dash*, and *race*. These psychological prototypes should not be confused with the often mentioned "mental images."