

THE LEXICAL FIELDS BROAD/WIDE/THICK ANALYSED
AND COMPARED WITH THEIR GERMAN COUNTERPARTS
BREIT/WEIT/DICK*

BERNHARD DIENSBERG and ANNETTE DELL

University of Bonn/University of Wuppertal

The lexemes under scrutiny belong to the class of spatial adjectives with includes items like *large, big, high, deep* (and their antonyms). The aim of our article is to establish the respective lexical fields or subfields by means of the relevant semantic components and features. We use *lexical fields* in the sense of Coseriu's and Lipka's *Wortfelder* (see Coseriu (1975:30f.); Lipka (1980:94f.); compare, however, Kastovsky (1982:125f.). A *semantic component* — equivalent to Kastovsky's *semantische Dimension* (1982a:86) — may be SEX and MATURITY, from which the *semantic features* (see Kastovsky (1982a:84): *semantische Merkmale*) MALE/FEMALE and ADULT/NON-ADULT can be derived (see Kastovsky 1982:84 & 91). CIRCUMFERENCE/ STATURE /DISTANCE (BETWEEN TWO OPPOSITE) SIDES AND DIAMETER/EXTENSION OF SURFACES (two-dimensional) and EXTENSION OF SPACES AND CAVITIES (three-dimensional) can, we feel, be considered semantic components in the lexical fields which we shall be examining.

Our semantic description of the subset of spatial adjectives in question will start from the denotational reading (see Bierwisch 1970:43-46). At a later stage connotations and additional sememes will also be taken into account. As for the German adjectives which refer to dimensions of physical objects, namely *lang, weit, breit, hoch, tief, dick, groß* (and their antonyms) Manfred Bierwisch (1967:1-36) has laid the foundations to their semantic description. His work on that subject was later supplemented by Paul Teller's article (1969:185-217). Of the monographs and manuals on the subject Ernst Leisi's *Wortinhalt* (5th ed. 1975) compares German semantic structures with their English counterparts; see also *Praxis der englischen Semantik* (2nd ed. 1985) by the same author.

Our word material represents a selection of the most frequently used spatial adjectives referring to the shape of human beings and animals, to the

* Based on "Kontrastive Untersuchungen zum Englischen und Deutschen anhand des Wortfeldes fat, obese, stout" (M. A. thesis by Annette Dell, University of Wuppertal).

parts of their bodies, also extending to inanimate things, e.g. E *ample, broad, fat, full, stout, thick, wide* and G *breit, fett, voll, kräftig, dick, weit*.

The lexical fields (or rather subfields) BROAD/WIDE/THICK and their German counterparts BREIT/WEIT/DICK seem to contain so-called spatial adjectives which characterize the shape of human beings and animals, parts of their bodies also referring to inanimate things. Manfred Bierwisch points out that "A more detailed analysis reveals furthermore that adjectives like *high, long, wide, tall* etc., do not relate directly to objects, but rather to particular dimensions of objects" (1970:173). John Lyons states that: "The shape, dimensionality and orientation of entities (and spaces) is crucial in the analysis of the meaning of such positional and qualitative adjectives in English as 'long': 'short', 'far': 'near', 'high': 'low', 'deep': 'shallow', 'wide': 'narrow'; and 'thick': 'thin'" (1977:701). One would probably not go so far as to consider SHAPE itself as a semantic feature or component (Friedrich 1970:404). According to Lyons "The distinction between the positional and the qualitative sense of an adjective like 'high' rests upon the distinction between distance and extension" (1977:701).

Adjectives like *high, wide, thick*, etc. consequently describe the maximal or main dimension of mostly unoriented physical objects (Lyons 1977:701) which are grammatically represented by the subjects or heads, e.g. *a high tower, a wide plank, a thick waist*. They either characterize one dimension, e.g. *a long pole, a tall man*, or two dimensions, e.g. *a wide surface, a thick neck*, or three dimensions, e.g. *a large building, a big cube*. We wish to equate Lyons' term extension of objects with dimension, which is always contained in the semantic reading of our spatial adjectives. On the other hand distance can be indicated by a measure phrase which is only possible with the adjectives standing for a maximal dimension (+ POL). Thus, we can say 'This passage is *three feet wide*', but not 'This passage is *3 feet narrow*'.

In fact, Bierwisch has pointed out that POLARITY plays an important role in the (sc. semantic) structure of adjectives (1967:6). He has given a list of antonyms like *weit:eng, breit:schmal, dick:dünn, dick:schlank*. The feature POLARITY (i.e. + POL) is assigned to those adjectives which characterize the maximal or main dimension of physical object. Thus, G *breit, weit, dick* and E *broad, wide, thick* (among others) show the feature (+ POL) in their semantic reading. In a later article the elements (+ POL) and (- POL) are replaced by the relation 'greater than' and its converse (Bierwisch 1969:429). If we say: "The table is *high*", this statement may be paraphrased as "The table is *higher* than a certain norm. The norm involved in this paraphrase is bound to the class of objects to which the subject of *high* belongs." (Bierwisch 1970:173). This is what Ernst Leisi calls "Speziesnorm" (1975:101f.). In addition to "Speziesnorm" he postulates three more norms which are fundamental to the semantic description of the corresponding subsets of spatial adjectives:

"Proportionsnorm" a always takes into account the relation between two dimensions of a given physical object. A human being may be referred to as either G *dick* /E *fat* or G *dünn* /E *thin* if the relation between his/her *length* (or *height*) and *breadth* tends too much in either the horizontal or the vertical dimension compared with the average ('normal') individual (Leisi 1975:120f.). The second norm is called "individuelle Erwartungsnorm" (Leisi 1975:103). It is based exclusively on subjective judgements, e.g. someone may say, referring to a baby girl whom they have not seen for a long time: "Gosh, she has grown *fat!*". The third parameter is the "Tauglichkeitsnorm" (Leisi 1975:103f.). It plays an important part within the subset of spatial adjectives like *weit - eng, wide - narrow*, e.g. G *ein enges, langes Rohr*, E *a wide/narrow passage*.

In the above mentioned article Bierwisch speak of "relative adjectives" (1969:428), referring to the spatial adjectives under discussion. They are termed *relative* because their meaning can only be described in relation to the physical objects or living beings they refer to, e.g. the adjective phrases *a stout lady* (to be derived from the predication *the lady is stout*), or G *die kräftige Dame* (*die Dame ist kräftig*, i.e. *dick*) do not show an inherent property of the subjects and their referents (i.e. *lady, Dame*), "Relative adjectives specify a certain parameter and indicate that the object(s) referred to exceed (or fall short of) a certain point within that parameter." (Bierwisch 1969:428). The term *parameter* may be equated with an *implicit norm* (which can be further subdivided as was shown above), or with an *evaluative scale* on which antonymous adjectives like *fat - slim, dick - schlank* stand for the extreme values, i.e. they represent the *poles* on the scale in question and, consequently, justify the assumption of a semantic feature POLARITY, as we have shown earlier (see Kastovsky (1982:140); Leech (1974:108)).

Yet, the polarity, or as Dieter Kastovsky calls it "the privative opposition", which exists between the semantic content of adjectives such as E *fat - lean, thick - thin, long - short*, G *dick - dünn, lang - kurz*, etc., can be neutralized in certain contexts, e.g. "How *long* is this cigarette?" (1982b:40). If followed by a measure phrase the spatial adjectives under scrutiny do not express a deviation from a norm, i.e. the opposition /+ POL : - POL/ is neutralized, e.g. "there was a band of steel, *a foot wide* and *two inches thick*." (Golding 1967:132). "Und vielleicht mußte sie schon morgen wieder hinaus aufs Land und vier oder sechs Stunden lang durch eine *achtzig Meter lange* und *vierzig Meter breite* Baumkultur hinter ihrem Vater herstampfen." (Walser 1982:242).

As we pointed out earlier spatial adjectives like E *broad/wide/thick/high* a G *breit/dick/hoch* relate to maximal or main dimensions of animate or inanimate objects (see p. 2 above). Thus, either one horizontal dimension, i.e. length, or two horizontal dimensions, e.g. the extension of a given surface, the diameter of an object, or three dimensions, i.e. 2 horizontal extensions and

one vertical extension of a living being or an inanimate object are involved. The following lists showing adjectives and their subjects should clarify this:

noun	(1 Dim)	(2 Dim)	(3 Dim)
stripe	: long	wide	---
board	: long	wide	thick
door	: high	wide	thick
table	: high	long	wide
cupboard	: tall	wide	deep
river	: long	broad	deep
nail	: long		thick
pole	: {long high		thick
tower	: high		wide

(Bierwisch 1970:174)

In some contexts *broad* can replace *wide*, which is still much more frequently used than the former, e.g. *a broad expanse*, *a broad shadowy garden* (see below the discussion of *broad*₂ on p. 109).

noun	(1 Dim)	(2 Dim)	(3 Dim)
Wagen	: lang	breit	hoch
Schrank	: hoch	breit	tief
Tür	: hoch	breit	dick
Brett	: lang	breit	dick
Zigarette/ Zigarre	: lang		dick
Turm	: hoch		dick
Stange	: {lang hoch		dick
Fenster	: hoch	breit	---
Straße	: lang	breit	---
Mensch	: groß		dick

(Bierwisch 1967:15)

The list shows that two dimensions can be collapsed in one, e.g. *thickness*: this is the case with *Zigarette*, *Turm*, *Stange* (see Bierwisch 1967:15). This is also true of English spatial adjectives: "If the extension of the object in the other two dimensions is negligible in relation to its length, we then collapse these two dimensions, as it were, in the single dimensions of thickness: we talk,

for example, of *a long thick pole*." (Lyons 1977:702). As for the maximal dimension of three-dimensional physical objects (Bierwisch (1967:18); Lyons (1977:701f.)) we do not assume that the vertical dimension will be the maximal one. We abstain from postulating a feature (+SECOND) if one of the non-vertical dimensions is maximal (Bierwisch 1967:18). The main dimension of the object characterized will be the one expressed by the spatial adjective, and it may not always be identical with the maximal one. Taking for example the phrase *ein hoher Turm* /*a high tower*, both maximal and main dimension happen to be identical, but in the example *G ein dickes Brett* /*E a thick plank* we regard *thickness* as the main dimension, which is obviously different from *length*, the maximal extension of a plank under normal circumstances. Of course, *width*, too, may be the main dimension in this case, e.g. *G ein breites Brett* /*E a wide plank*.

A considerable number of the adjectives examined cannot modify any possible class of subjects. The following table includes the relevant lexemes of which only *G dick* is without restriction (see Leisi 1973:44):

unrestricted	restricted to			
	things	animals	and humans	humans women
<i>dick</i>	<i>thick</i>	<i>fat</i>	<i>plump</i> <i>stout</i> <i>corpulent</i>	<i>buxom</i>

Of course, *E thick* may refer to parts of the human body, e.g. *a thick waist*. When referring to whole persons it denotes a specific quality of the mind: *a slightly thick young man* means that he is slightly stupid. — Leisi points out that unlike *E wide*, which can be used with solid bodies, e.g. *wide oak-boards*, *G weit* can only refer to cavities, e.g. *eine weite Öffnung*, and to surfaces, e.g. *ein weiter Sandstrand*. Thus *a wide plank* has to be rendered by *G ein breites Brett* (Leisi 1975:44).

It becomes obvious that the meaning of the spatial adjectives concerned will be influenced — to a certain extent — by the class of subjects they modify. We stated earlier that dimensional adjectives do not possess a completely independent lexical reading, but that their meaning is largely determined by the *size*, *extension* and *shape* of the physical objects they refer to (see also Piitulainen (1981:24 and 34)). In this treatment of spatial adjectives Franz Hundsnurscher points out that the semantic description of these lexemes should contain features of the semantic structure of the nouns they modify (1970:104-106).

Referring to *a plank/a board*, *E thick* characterizes the distances between the opposite sides of that object, when used with parts of the body

(± HUMAN) it denotes the circumference, e.g. *his thick neck, a negro's thick lips; like thick black coiling serpents*. Consequently, we postulate *thick*₂ covering the latter and *thick*₁ covering the former meaning. The same is true of G *dick*, which is split up into *dick*₁ as exemplified in *ein dickes Mädchen, seine dicke Oberlippe; ein dicker roter Wurm*, and into *dick*₂ as in *ein dickes Brett/eine dicke Bohle* 'a thick plank', *ein dickes Buch/ein dicker Bleistift*, 'a thick book, a fat pencil'.

It goes without saying that adjectives and their subjects must not contain contradictory semantic features in their lexical reading. Thus, **a buxom young man* is excluded as is **a married bachelor* (see Kastovsky 1982a: 107, Burgschmidt and Götz 1974:231f.). Both *buxom* and the class of subjects modified must contain the feature (-MALE), e.g. "Sandra Dix, the *buxom blonde*" (*Lodge, Small World*, 83).

Besides the basic semantic content of adjectives like E *thick/fat* – G *dick/fett*, which consists in the *circumference* of the objects referred to exceeding an implied norm to a greater or lesser extent (see above p. 3), their lexical reading exhibits additional sememes which serve to differentiate the respective members of the subfield in question from each other. The additional sememes SMALLNESS and STRENGTH seem to occur more frequently with the English adjectives examined than with their German counterparts, e.g. E *stocky*, which contains both, e.g. "her red illegal dress not yet settled into folds around the *stocky* body" (Golding 1967:126), which is also true of G *stämmig*, e.g. "eine *stämmige* kleine Frau mit runden Brillengläsern" (*Brigitte* 5/1985:125), the additional sememe DIGNITY is to be found with E *portly*.

In fact the adjectives under scrutiny do have connotations which may be connected with style (*formal* – *informal*, etc.), or with the speaker's attitude (*pejorative* – *meliorative*), or may be socially motivated (*euphemistic*, etc.). Connotational reading of any given set of lexemes must be kept apart from the denotational reading. It is, however, based largely on convention and is independent of individual usage. One and the same lexeme may be unmarked or neutral for connotation, e.g. *appoint* 'to put in or choose for a position/job', but compare *Let's appoint a day to have lunch together*, which is marked for connotation, i.e. (+ FORMAL) (see Hansen et al. 1982:19-25). Thea Schippan postulates seven subsets of connotations, of which "die sozialen Konnotationen", "die situative-emotionalen" und "die kommunikativ-funktionalen Konnotationen" (Schippan 1983:273f.) may be most relevant in connection with the class of spatial adjectives to be examined below.

The indications of whether an adjective shows (or not) a *stylistic, euphemistic* or *pejorative* (DCE: *derogatory*) connotation are derived from the

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reference works consulted (see bibliography, although the DCE was used mostly for English and the Duden consulted in most cases for German adjectives). Thus, G *mollig* is clearly (+ INFORMAL), *vollschlank* (+ EUPHEMISTIC), and *feist* carries a *pejorative* connotation. E *fat* may be unmarked if used to refer to animals, e.g. *to dine on fat capons, some fat white ducks*, and even if used to characterize parts of the human body, e.g. *he raised his fat, protuberant hand*, "I wish to God I could feel like that old black bitch with her *fat* cheeks, and sing". (Osborne 1959:71). In reference to persons it may be either neutral: e.g. "Mr. Player was *fat* and red-faced" (Lessing, *Martha Quest*, 207), a jolly, *fat* fellow, or uncomplimentary (i.e. *derogatory*), e.g. "Are you sure this doesn't make me look *fat*?" (*Company* 5/1984, 98).

In addition to the dictionaries consulted (see under REFERENCES) and the short questionnaire which was circulated among a dozen native speakers of English (for problems concerning the German spatial adjectives we have to some extent relied on our native speaker intuition), a selection of English and German novels, short stories, plays, journals and newspapers was used as a corpus to confirm or to modify the information found in the reference works. Only in very few cases were the indications given by the dictionaries actually modified, e.g. E *broad* referring to the stature of persons is found in the corpus, e.g. "He was a short *broad* man." (Murdoch 1957:90) – see the discussion of *broad*₃ below (p. 110). *Broad*₂ is clearly less frequently used than *wide*₁ in contexts like *the broad old table*, where *wide* is preferred. Yet we cannot agree with Paul Teller when he asserts that "*broad* never takes a measured phrase" (1969:205), although this may also be a matter of frequency. In fact, a quotation like we have made the path "*ten feet broad*" (LNUD: 116, s.v. *broad* 1b) confirms our assumption. Of course, *wide* would also be possible, e.g. *a passage three feet wide* (i.e. having a specified width; LNUD: 1120, s.v. *wide* 2a).

Adjectives describing *fatness/corpulence* and *stature* of persons are most likely to be encountered in women's magazines which deal with fashion and give advice on figure problems: "Ich war schon als Kind *mollig*"; "Jetzt bin ich nicht mehr zu *fett* für's Ballett" (*Brigitte* 2/1984). – "if an *obese* person loses weight (...)" (*Company* 5/1984, p. 78). Here is a letter to the editor of *Company* (February 1984) which is in reaction to an article entitled "How Men Really Feel About *Fat* Women". The reader writes as follows: "While finding it a great comfort that many men like *fat* women I am still upset that *fat* women do not like themselves. (...) So I stay in and nibble, and get *fatter*."

While recognizing the limited value of definitions found in current monolingual dictionaries, which mostly try to give a more or less pertinent semantic paraphrase, we could not dispense with them. The quotations and patterns of usage helped us to gain insight into possible collocations of the class of spatial adjectives examined and, last but not least, to establish existing

connotations (see above). *Roget's Thesaurus of English words and phrases* (ed. S.M. Lloyd 1982) merely served as a starting point, as did *Der deutsche Wortschatz nach Sachgruppen* (ed. F. Dornseiff, 7th edition 1970). On the other hand, reference works such as *Webster's New Dictionary of Synonyms* (ed. P.B. Gove 1973) proved to be most helpful because this dictionary makes semantic relations between the lexemes of a given lexical field explicit and provides illustrations and patterns.

We are, of course, fully aware of the fact that all the quotations – either from dictionaries or from the corpus of English and German literature – illustrate possible collocations of the adjectives under discussion with single nouns as subjects, and not with whole classes of nouns. Thus, if “A *squat* little horse was his best friend” (sentence no. 3 of the questionnaire) is still possible, this does not mean that *squat* will collocate with all nouns denoting quadrupeds. Some adjectives are restricted as to the class of their subjects: thus, *a full face* is acceptable, while *full legs* is unacceptable (see below *full*₁); “with a very *full skirt*” is equally acceptable, while “wearing a *full blouse*” is clearly unacceptable (see below *full*₂); compare, however G “eine gebückte Frau in *weiten Röcken*”, “die Frauen hatten lange Röcke an mit *weiten Blusen*” (see below s.v. *full*₂).

Commenting on the following sentence pairs in the questionnaire – He saw a *wide* expanse of livid colour/He saw a *broad* expanse of livid colour and Behind the house is a *wide* shadowy garden/ Behind the house is a *broad* shadowy garden – one of our informants remarked that in both contexts *broad* sounded more abstract than *wide*. This may explain the preference for *wide* in phrases which give the distance between two opposite sides/ends, etc. (see above p. 107; and see below the discussion of *broad*₁ and *wide*₁). Yet, the OALD quotes “the *broad* expanse of the Pacific” (OALD: 298, s.v. *expanse*). The word *broad* seems to show more figurative (non-spatial) sememes than *wide*, e.g. *a man of broad* (i.e. liberal) *views*, a *broad* (i.e. strongly marked) *accent* (see OALD: 107, s.v. *broad*).

Referring to the body build or stature of humans we find an additional meaning of this adjective, which is represented by *broad*₃: “He was a short *broad man*”. (Murdoch 1957:90). “His body was *broad* beyond squareness.” (Lessing, *Martha Quest*, 96). It may also denote bodily parts: “onto her *broad square* rather masculine face came a look of patient regret”. (Lessing, *Martha Quest*, 70). The same is true of G *breit*₂, the equivalent of E *broad*₃: “Auch er hatte die *breite* Gestalt des Vaters, doch hatte sie sich ins Behäbige gedehnt.” (Feuchtwanger 1983:16). “Abijam sah den empörten jungen Menschen, das *breite*, massige Gesicht, dem die flache Nase etwas Löwenhaftes gab.” (Feuchtwanger 1983:40).

*Broad*₂ denoting the distance between two opposite sides of an object rivals

with *wide*₁, its synonym, which, however, seems to be more frequently used than *broad*₂ (see the discussion on p. 109).

Our first lexical subfield to be discussed contains adjectives like E *fat*₁, *thick*₂, *obese*, *stout*₁ etc. – G *dick*₂, *fett*, *korpulent*, *beleibt*, *kräftig* etc., which denote the shape of human beings, of animals, and of body parts of humans and animals. The semantic component which is crucial in the lexical reading of this subclass of dimensional adjectives is CIRCUMFERENCE. Circumference of physical objects (which it itself determined by two horizontal dimensions) clearly exceeds an *implicit norm* (or *parameter*) which is to be derived from the proportion of the *length* (or *height*) and *breadth* of the average individual, i.e. “Proportionsnorm”. Thus, a *short* person will be more easily called *fat* than a tall one (Leisi 1975:102). While E *fat* roughly corresponds to G *dick*, a tall *fat person* will be referred to as *big* which in German must be rendered by *groß und dick* (Leisi 1975:86).

A further semantic component which is necessary for the lexical reading of the adjectives concerned is FATNESS (i.e. the amount of *fatty tissue* on the bodies of the creatures referred to. We take CIRCUMFERENCE to imply (+FATNESS). The main dimension is clearly the horizontal dimension of *breadth* (or *width*) (see Lyons 1977:702). We regard DIAMETER as a semantic component in this subfield. It will appear in the semantic description of adjectives like *fat*₂, which can modify subjects standing for round(ed) objects, e.g. *a long fat pencil*.

The second subset of adjectives to be examined comprises lexemes like E *thick-set*, *burly*, *stout*₁, *squat*₁, *square* – G *untersetzt*, *gedrungen*, *kräftig*, *stämmig*, which have the semantic feature STATURE (i.e. body build) in common. They refer mostly to human beings. Thus, the semantic reading of the adjectives of this subfield also takes into account the relation between the vertical and horizontal extension (i.e. length vs. breadth) which presupposes a so-called “Proportionsnorm” (Leisi 1975:102f). Yet, unlike the semantic description of the preceding lexical field E *fat* – G *dick* the feature FATNESS does not belong to the denotational reading of adjectives characterizing the bodily build of both humans and animals. Again the main dimension will be the horizontal one. More precisely, length (or height) must be regarded as the maximal dimension, while breadth must be considered the main (non-maximal) dimension which is contained in the denotational reading of the adjective lexemes quoted above (see Bierwisch 1967:18f.).

The difference between (+MAX) and (+MAIN) may become obvious through the definition which the COD gives for *square*: “having the *breadth* more nearly equal to the *length* or *height* than is usual, e.g. *a man of square frame* (COD: 1030a). In the case of inanimate objects referred to a so-called “Speziesnorm” is implied, e.g. “pours whisky (...) into two *squat, thick*, Swedish glasses (Bradbury, *History Man*, 184).

The third lexical field comprises spatial adjectives which involve the distance between two opposite sides or surfaces: they usually refer to the extensions of inanimate objects. Two of the adjectives examined can also denote the openings of things (e.g. door), of natural phenomena (e.g. cave, valley, etc.), e.g. "A *wide* door with a stone pediment faced the avenue (...)" (Murdoch 1957:24). A phrase like 'a *wide* cave' implies a three-dimensional extension, while "the tube is *two inches wide*" denotes the diameter of that object and only describes two dimensions. In these contexts E *wide*₁ corresponds to G *breit*₁, collocated with *eyes* it will be rendered by G *weit*₂.

Thus G *breit* and E *wide*₁ may characterize an *opening* (e.g. an entrance or a passage): "(...) wo schon unterem *breiten* Tor Arbeiter in riesigen steifen Schürzen warteten." (Walser, *Halbzeit*, 529), Both E *wide*₁ and G *weit*₂ may have *eyes* as their subject: "She looked at him with *wide* and delighted eyes." (Lessing, *Martha Quest*, 238). — "Unvermutet blieb sie stehen, ihre Augen wurden *weit* und wild." (Feuchtwanger 1983:49). G *weit*₂ is less frequently used than *breit*₁ to denote *openings*, e.g. *eine weites* (...) *Tor/Tal* (see Leisi 1975:88). Yet *weit* is obligatory to render E *wide* referring to the *width* of a tube, etc.: G *ein weites Rohr, ein weites Loch* (see Leisi 1975:88).

The *extension* of a street, a piece of furniture indicated by *broad*₁ and *wide*₁, which have G *breit*₁ as their only counterpart: "Gwenda looked across the *broad* mahagoni desk (...)" (Christie, *Sleeping Murder*, 107). "Marsington was an old village with a fine *broad* main street (...)" (Murdoch, 58). However, *wide* is usually preferred if the object referred to serves a certain purpose (see Leisi 1975:104: "Tauglichkeitsnorm"), e.g.: "Along the back wall this shelf is (...) *wide* enough for a man to walk along it." (Friel, *Volunteers*, 11). Unlike G *weit*, E *wide* denotes the *extension* of solid bodies (giving the *width* as their main dimension), e.g. *a wide plank* (Leisi 1975:88). G *breit*₁ occurs in contexts like the following: "Er sprach nicht vom Krieg, sondern erzählte von kleinen Dörfern mit *breiten* Lehmstraßen in der Ukraine." (von Staden 1983:333). — "Ich setzte dem Fuß auf die erste Stufe der *breiten* hellen Holztreppe." (Walser, *Halbzeit*, 201).

E *thick*₁ and *fat*₂ and their German counterpart *dick*₂ describe the distance between opposite sides of three-dimensional bodies: "the airport grass is notably *thick* and coarse," (Bradbury, *Rates of Exchange*, 15). — "er (...) habe schließlich nach einem *dicken* Buch gegriffen." (Walser 1982:217). — "und warum sollen die Leute acht Stunden lang im Januar arbeiten, wenn *dicker* Schnee liegt?" (Brückner, *Jauche*, 110). All three adjectives may refer to the *extension* of round objects (thus denoting the *diameter* as their main dimension): "Do they (sc. the pillars) seem *thick* and strong to you, father?" (Golding 1967:41). "Behind the rockery were loganberries: *thick*, coarse, inedible fruit, nexer fully ripe." (Trevor 1982:302). "we lit *fat* Turkish cigarettes." (Waugh 1945:24). "To talk to him in this vein was the equivalent of

throwing a *fat* wad of Treasury notes into the fire." (Wain 1962:169). — "im Baumstück wurden die Goldparmänen und *dicken* Boskopäpfel reif." (von Staden 1983:341). "Josef-Heinrich beugte sich zu der *dicken* roten Kerze." (Walser 1982:313).

Finally, E *thick*₁ and G *dick*₂ may denote the consistency of various materials (e.g. cloth) and even of liquids, e.g. *a thick soup* — *eine dicke Suppe*. "For indeed, Miss Marple it was, nicely wrapped up in a *thick* fleecy coat." (Christie, *Sleeping Murder*, 60). "Because of his very *thick* glasses he thrusts his face right up to people when he is speaking to them." (Friel, *Volunteers*, 16). — "Überall lagen Gewehre und *dicke* Filzmäntel herum." (von Staden 1983:361). "Sie webte Schafwollteppiche, neuerdings auch *dicke* Westen aus Schafwolle." (Brückner, *Jauche*, 62). However, *thick* and *dick*, if used to refer to spectacle lenses, etc., may also denote the distance between the two opposite surfaces (i.e. *thickness*), which obviously exceeds an *implicit norm*, e.g. G sie trug eine Brille mit ausgesprochen *dicken* Gläsern. — Only E *thick* if used figuratively may refer to human speech, e.g. *a thick French accent* (LNUD: 1019, s.v. *thick*, 4b).

To the adjectives of the lexical field under review may be added E *stout*₂ and *squat*₂, and G *stark*₂: the latter roughly corresponds to *dick*₂, e.g. *das Brett ist 20 Millimeter stark* (or *dick*). E *squat* characterizes three-dimensional objects: "Within the *squat* glass-topped tables especially, ropes of beads were tangled together into a solid mass of multicoloured stuff." (Murdoch 1957:60).

The objects referred to by *squat*₂ are mostly 'disproportionately short or low and broad' (LNUD: 951a, s.v. *squat* adj.) They seem to violate a certain 'proportional norm' (Leisi 1975:102f.: "Proportionsnorm") and may be *unattractive*. This is clearly true of *squat*₁, which refers to the *stature* or build of human beings (see above p. 111). E *stout*₂ shows the additional sememe STRENGTH, which may be gathered from the following definition: "Of a material object or substance: So *thick* as to be strong or rigid." (OED: 1048, s.v. *stout* adj., 13). G *stark*₂ therefore, seems to be its closest equivalent (see Klappenbach/Steinitz, vol. 5, 1976, s.v. *stark*, 4.).

The fourth and last lexical field examined contains spatial adjectives which describe the *extension* of spaces (either two- or three-dimensional) and of hollow bodies. Two dimensions are involved in phrases like *a broad field*, or *the broad ocean/sea* (see the discussion above, concerning the rivalry of *broad* and *wide*). *Broad* occurring in this context will be termed *broad*₁ and its rival *wide* will be termed *wide*₂ — the latter being more frequently used than the former. A surface is denoted as *wide*₂ in the following sentences: "So she went forward with Marnie, on to the *wide* veranda, (...)" (Lessing, *Martha Quest*, 82). "Why should they notice the speck of a raft on the *wide* sea?" (Lessing, *Briefing*, 26). A *cavity* (or hollow body) is described as *wide* in the following contexts: "(The rope) fell through the tower, through the *wide*

ouvre above the crossways, (...)" (Golding, *The Spire*, 142). "A more or less *wide* mouth gives rapid access to a chamber of varying capacity". (Beckett 1972:11).

The only counterpart of E *wide*₂ is G *weit*₁ "Der Wind wehte über die einsamen *weiten* Felder." (von Staden 1983:333). "Am Rande des Steinbruchs stehend, sahen wir in das *weite*, sechzig oder mehr Meter tiefe Loch." (von Staden 1983:336). Discussing G *weit* and its antonym *eng*, Leisi speaks of their subjects as *empty spaces* or hollow bodies which include the *openings* characterized by these adjectives and their English counterparts *wide* and *narrow* (Leisi (1975:88); see (Leisi 1985:55). For *wide* describing *openings*, see above p. 105. Less frequently used are *ample*₂ as a synonym of *wide*₂: "The house had an *ample*, though rather undistinguished garden." (Christie, *Pricking*, 13). — "there would be *ample* room at the base of the spire." (Golding 1967:124). The difference between *wide* and *ample* seems to be a matter of ± DEGREE: "*Ample* means considerably more than adequate or sufficient" (*Webster's Third*, s.v. *ample*). *Full*₂ with its sememe CAVITY, can only have garments as subjects (namely skirts): "Under her *full* skirts were suspended parcels of bread, meat, sausage, even eggs." (Lessing, *Briefing*, 217). E *full*₂ must be rendered by G *weit*: "Wieder hockt Maximiliane in ihrem *weiten* blauen Rock am Rande eines Kornfeldes." (Brückner, *Jauche*, 263).

As was already pointed out above adjective lexemes such as E *thick*, *fat*, *thick-set*, *broad*, *wide*, etc. — G *dick*, *fett*, *untersetzt*, *breit*, *weit*, etc. — are semantically described in relation to their referents, whose dimensions they denote (see the relational character of spatial adjectives mentioned above on p. 105). The referents may be (± HUMAN) and (± ANIMATE). It is essential to find out whether these adjectives refer to the whole shape or figure of the body or only parts of it. As a consequence the semantic feature (± PART OF) comes into play (see Bierwisch 1965:38ff.). As was already mentioned above (p. 105) E *thick*₂ can only refer to body parts, e.g. *a thick neck/waist*, while G *dick*₁ refers to both the whole shape of the body and to parts of it, e.g. *ein dicker junger Mann*, *ein dicker Arm*, *dicke Lippen*. This is equally true for E *fat*₁: "A *fat* jolly woman smiled in response and waved a cheery hand." (Wilson, *Setting*, 135). — "He settled the ungainly body back in his chair, lifted a pencil with that *fat*, protuberant hand." (Lessing, *Martha Quest*, 106). — With animals and parts of their bodies we have: "You have dined us on *fat* capons and wild boar" (Wilson, 24). — "But will you (sc. porpoise) come with me, splitting your soft *fat* black shining tail to make legs to walk on (...)" (Lessing, *Briefing*, 67). On the other hand, E *corpulent*, *obese*, *rotund* — G *beleibt*, *korpulent*, E *thick-set* — G *untersetzt*, *gedrungen* only refer to the whole shape or stature of persons — see above lexical (sub)fields nos. 1 (+ CIRCUMFERENCE) and 2 (+ STATURE).

On the following pages a word-for-word comparison — in alphabetical order — of the English spatial adjectives belonging to the lexical subfields

discussed above with their German equivalents will be undertaken. The essential semantic components and features will be given in order to clarify the differences between the adjectives examined.

*ample*₁: + CIRCUMFERENCE; + MELIORATIVE, + HUMAN, + PART OF

Burgschmidt and Götz (1974:241) quote G *füllig* as an equivalent; both G *stattlich* and *voll* may be considered. However, G *stattlich* has the additional sememe + DIGNITY, which is not part of the meaning of *ample*. The adjective lexemes *voll* and *füllig* lack the connotation + MELIORATIVE. *Voll* refers to both whole persons and to some parts of the body, whereas *ample* only refers to certain parts of the body. — "When he bent to retrieve the books his head threatened for a moment contact with her *ample* breasts." (Wilson, 78). — "*füllige* englische Layds (...) nehmen vom 'Shopping' in Paris mal eben ein Abendkleid für 50 000 Mark mit." (*Brigitte* 21/1984, 91). "Eine Russin machte uns auf, eine *stattliche* Person mit (...) einem *vollen* Mund." (von Staden, 343). — Thus G *füllig* may be regarded as the closest equivalent of E *ample*₁ because *füllig* is not subject to any restrictions on the parts of the body it refers to. G *üppig*, as in "Zwei Wandgemälde in der Art der Nazarener eigten eine *üppige* blonde Diana auf der Jagd und eine *üppige* blonde Susanne im Bade." (Herbst 1985:182). — "Ein *üppiger* Busen (...)" (*Brigitte*, 7/1984, 68) differs from E *ample*₁ in having the component + ROUNDNESS.

*ample*₂: + SURFACES; + DEGREE, — ANIMATE

Unlike G *weit*₁, E *ample* stands for a higher degree of *extension* of surfaces than its synonym *wide*₁. Thus, both E *wide*₁ and G *weit*₁ are not marked for DEGREE. G *ausgedehnt* renders the meaning of E *ample* more closely, as it seems to contain the component DEGREE. However, G *ausgedehnt* belongs to a neighbouring field of adjectives denoting EXTENSION, in which no deviation from an implicit norm is implied. Consequently, in most contexts the equivalent of E *ample*₂ will be G *weit*₁ (for examples see above p. 114).

*broad*₁: + DISTANCE (BETWEEN TWO OPPOSITE) SIDES; objects being + TWO- and THREE-DIMENSIONAL, + PART OF

Both adjectives — E *broad*₁ and G *breit*₁ (see the discussion above on p. 112) — have a nearly identical configuration of semantic components, G *breit*₁ can show + OPENING for + SIDES. Translators of modern English literature mostly use G *breit*₁ for *broad*₁: "She led them up the *broad* staircase" (Christie, *Pricking*, 14) — "die *breite* Treppe hinauf" (l.c., 12). "the *broad* ditch" (Wells, 59) — "den *breiten* Graben". (l.c., 81). "the *broad* sunlit roadway" (Wells, 205). — "Die *breiten* sonnenhellen Straßen." (l.c., 160).

*broad*₂: + SURFACES: – ANIMATE

Broad may be rendered by G *weit*₁ or *ausgedehnt*. Both E *broad* and G *weit* share the same semantic components (see the discussion above on p. 110). In addition *weit* shows the component CAVITY, as was pointed out above.

*broad*₃: + STATURE: ± HUMAN, + PART OF

Both the English adjective and its German counterpart *breit*₂ have the same semantic components in common (see the discussion on pp. 109 and 111).

burly: + STATURE; + STRENGTH, + HUMAN, + MELIORATIVE

G *stämmig* which roughly corresponds to E *burly* can, unlike the latter, refer to animals and to the parts of the body of human beings: ("eine stämmige kleine Frau mit runden Brillengläsern" (*Brigitte* 5/1985, 125). – "O'Brien was a large *burly* man." (Orwell, 13). – ein stämmiges Pony, "Stämmig und gedrunge(n), (...) ist der Alpensteinbock." (quoted from Klappenbach and Steinitz 1976, vol. 3542b, s.v. *stämmig*).

buxom: + CIRCUMFERENCE; + MELIORATIVE, + STRENGTH, + HEALTHY LOOK, + HUMAN, + FEMALE, + ADULT

Kastovsky (1982a:148) gives G *drall* as a translation equivalent for E *buxom*. Yet only the class of subjects modified by the two adjectives is identical, having the feature + FEMALE in common. The connotations and additional sememes of G *drall* are clearly different: + CONVEX SURFACE, + PART OF, e.g. *eine kleine dralle Person, dralle Hüften*. In any case, *buxom* is now becoming obsolete – see the almost proverbial *buxom country lass* (see also above p. 108 for a quotation from modern English literature). G *stramm* like *buxom* contains the additional sememes + STRENGTH, + HEALTHY LOOK in its semantic reading. The contexts in which it occurs are less restricted than with *buxom*: *eine stramme Person, ein strammer Bursche* (Klappenbach and Steinitz 1976, vol. 5:3616b, s.v. *stramm*, 3).

G *kräftig*₂ could also be regarded as a translation equivalent of E *buxom*, with which it shares the additional sememe + STRENGTH, although the subjects are not restricted to + FEMALE, e.g. *ein kräftiger Mann/Bursche* (Klappenbach and Steinitz 1976, vol. 3:2214b). The semantic feature + HEALTHY LOOK in the lexical reading of E *buxom* is counterbalanced by the fact that bodies and parts of the body characterized by G *kräftig*₂ are usually well developed, e.g. *er hat ein kräftiges Kinn; das Mädchen ist recht kräftig* (Klappenbach and Steinitz 1976, vol. 3:2214b). This is the starting-point for the use of *kräftig* as a euphemism for *dick*₁ referring to persons who are just a little fat. Thus the sentence *Sie ist kräftig* – speaking of a female person would be identical in meaning with *Sie ist ein wenig dick*. (– See also G *kräftig*₃ discussed s.v. *stout*₂ below.) – If we assign the feature + STATU-

RE to G *kräftig*₁ it will become a member of a different lexical field and could be translated either by E *burly* (q.v.) or *sturdy*. "Sie war groß und *kräftig*, aber nicht *dick*." (Böll, "Dr. Murke", 25). This example shows that *kräftig* is not used as a euphemistic equivalent for *slightly fat*. "wie dieser war er nicht groß, doch *breit* und *kräftig*." (Feuchtwanger, 130). – "Ein zarter junger Mann. (...) Nur seine Arme waren *kräftiger* als er." (Welser, 279).

chubby: + CIRCUMFERENCE: – DEGREE; – FORMAL, + HEALTHY LOOK, + ROUNDNESS, ± HUMAN, ± PART OF

G *rundlich* and *mollig* as lexical equivalents also show – DEGREE (i.e. a smaller deviation from the norm) and + ROUNDNESS in their semantic reading. Unlike *roundlich*, its synonym *mollig* is marked + INFORMAL. However, they cannot have animals as their subjects, and *rundlich* can only characterize certain parts of the body. Still, *roundlich* is closer in meaning to *chubby*, which can refer to parts of the anatomy like *face* and *cheeks* (and, of course, to whole persons). "Deborah Spungen (...) had to turn away from any baby in the street because its *chubby* arms reminded her of her infant Nancy's". (*Company* 5/1984, 15). – "that fatuous and *chubby* young person seated on the arm of his chair was myself." (Sommerville and Ross, 68). – "Inzwischen field meine Tante zusammen: Ihr *rundliches* Gesicht wurde hart und eckig." (Böll, "Weihnachtszeit", 72). – "bei unserem *molligen* Fotomodel" (*Brigitte* 6/1984, 9). E *chubby* is often complimentary, so that an optional feature + MELIORATIVE could be added.

chunky: + STATURE: + SMALLNESS, + STRENGTH, ± HUMAN, ± PART OF

G *stämmig* occurs in the same contexts as *chunky*, but it does not have the component SMALLNESS. G *untersetzt* lacks the component STRENGTH and it can only be used with humans. Depending on the overall context, either STRENGTH (if *chunky* is rendered by *stämmig*) or SMALLNESS (if *untersetzt* is selected) we emphasized. "she (...) pulled to his feet from a crouching position (...) a short *chunky* young man." (Wilson, 114). – "der *kräftige*, etwas *untersetzte* Par stützte den runden Kopf in die Hände." (Feuchtwanger, 51). – G *stämmig* is exemplified s.v. *burly*.

corpulent: + CIRCUMFERENCE; – ATTRACTIVENESS, + HUMAN
G *corpulent* contains the additional sememe CLUMSINESS and possesses a euphemistic connotation. G *beleibt* does not show this additional sememe but it does have the connotation + FORMAL. Furthermore the class of subjects modified by the German adjectives is more restricted than that of E *corpulent*. Consequently, there is no direct equivalent in German for the English adjective. Thus the referents of G *corpulent* must have the semantic

feature + ADULT: ein *korpulenter*, aber noch rüstiger Herr, E *corpulent*, which could be paraphrased "showing a *bulky* excess of flesh" clearly possesses a pejorative connotation, which is expressed by the component - ATTRACTIVENESS.

dummy: + STATURE; - FORMAL, - ATTRACTIVENESS, + HUMAN

G *untersetzt* und *rundlich* only reflect the meaning of E *dummy* very imperfectly. - "a *dummy* housewife wistfully unfolding an exotic and negligée from its box;" (*Company* 5/1984, 9). Neither connotation nor additional sememe of *dummy* (- FORMAL, - ATTRACTIVE) can be found in the lexical reading of G *untersetzt* (see above s.v. *chunky*). G *rundlich* is negatively marked for STATURE, as it belongs to the subfield of adjectives marked + CIRCUMFERENCE. Thus it cannot be regarded as a lexical equivalent of E *dummy*.

*fat*₁: + CIRCUMFERENCE; ± HUMAN, ± PART OF, optional features: + DEGREE, + PEJORATIVE

G *dick*₁, *plump*, *korpulent*, *fett*, *feist* can be considered translation equivalents for E *fat*. In fact, *fett* and *feist* never have a pejorative connotation when referring to animals and when translating E *fat* with reference to the same class of subjects. E *fat*₁ shows the features + DEGREE and + PEJORATIVE in certain contexts and refers to humans. In these cases both *fett* and *feist* are fairly close equivalents. - "Husband was a *fat*, rather lazy man." (Christie, *Sleeping Murder*, 50). - "Ihr Mann war faul und *fett*" (l.c., 43). One of the persons in Greene's novel *Our Man in Havana* is referred to as *the fat woman*, which appears as *fette Frau* in the German edition (pp. 105-108). This is certainly inadequate, as the context does not justify either + DEGREE (being *excessively fat*) or + PEJORATIVE. *Fat woman* occurring repeatedly in Capote's *Breakfast at Tiffany's* (pp. 228, 232, 236) is correctly translated as G *fettes Weib* (l.c., 79, 83, 88), as this expression is used as a metonymy for death: "No fooling, *the fat woman* almost had me" (Capote, *Tiffany's*, 228) - "*das fette Weib* hätte mich beinahe gekriegt." (l.c., 79). In most cases, however, E *fat*₁ does not have any such optional features as those quoted above and is consequently translated by G *dick*₁, as the following quotations show: "Audience much amused at the shots of a great huge *fat* man" (Orwell, 11). - "von einem großen, *dicken* Mann" (l.c., 11). - "He was a good-looking man in his way. Run into *fat* a bit though." (Christie, *Pricking*, 80). - "Aber ein bißchen zu *dick* war er." (l.c., 74). - The last quotations indicate that the quality expressed by *fat* and *dick* respectively is not regarded as an advantage (or as complimentary).

G *plump* as a translation equivalent for E *fat*₁, is out of the question, because G *plump* contains too many divergent semantic components in its

lexical reading (see the discussion of E *plump* as compared to G *plump* below). G *korpulent* is not a very close equivalent either, as it has a euphemistic connotation and shows the component + CLUMSINESS (see E *corpulent* as compared to G *korpulent* above).

Translating E *fat*₁ into German, both *fett* and *feist* make most sense, provided that the components + DEGREE and + PEJORATIVE are there. In all other cases G *dick*₁ is obviously the best translation equivalent (see also above p. 111).

*fat*₂: + DISTANCE (between two opposite) SIDES/+ DIAMETER; -ANIMATE, + THREE-DIMENSIONAL

E *fat*₁ is best rendered by G *dick*₂. In fact, the two adjectives show the same inherent semantic components, as the following quotation reveals: "The handpiece resembled a long *fat* pencil." (*Reader's Digest* 1/1984, 255). - "Der Handapparat sah aus wie ein langer, *dicker* Bleistift." (*Das Beste aus "Reader's Digest"* 3/1984, 220). From a contextual point of view, however, E *fat*₂ is more restricted than G *dick*₂ (see above p. 111).

fleshy: + CIRCUMFERENCE; + HUMAN, + PART OF

G *fleischig*, which is etymologically related to E *fleshy*, corresponds fairly closely to the latter. However, unlike E *fleshy* the German adjective shows the semantic component + SOFTNESS. We do not think that a component + SUBSTANCE in the case of *fleshy/fleischig* (i.e. *flesh*) and *fat*₁/*fett* (i.e. *fat* n.) should be postulated. G *fett* cannot be regarded as an equivalent for E *fleshy*, because it contains the features + DEGREE and + PEJORATIVE. Webster's *New Dictionary of Synonyms* states: "when a derogatory connotation is intended *fat* is usually preferred (WNDS: 342a, s.v. *fleshy*). *Fleshy* characterizes both parts of the body and whole persons: "Mrs. Gunn's pale and *fleshy* face was glistening with sweat." (Lessing, *Martha Quest*, 158). - "And Lord Marchmain, well, a little *fleshy* perhaps, but very handsome" (Waugh, 54). - "Aus dem *fleischigen* Gesicht schauten ruhige, wägende, etwas schlärrige Augen." (Feuchtwanger, 16). The adjective may also refer to whole persons.

*full*₁: + CIRCUMFERENCE: + MELIORATIVE/or EUPHEMISTIC,

+ ROUNDNESS, + HUMAN, + PART OF

The English adjective may have G *voll*, *rund*, *rundlich* as its counterparts. G *voll* lacks the semantic component + ROUNDNESS and is negatively marked for DEGREE. G *rund* does not have any connotations, while *rundlich* may be EUPHEMISTIC and is marked - DEGREE. "this shop sells dresses for the *fuller* figure." (DCE, s.v. *full*). - "Flattering disguise for a *thick* waist, *full* bust or flat derrière." (*Woman's Day* 13/11/1984, 141). - "Nun (...) traten die

starken, entschiedenen Züge noch deutlicher ins Licht, die harten Backenknochen, (...), die *vollen*, fröhlichen Lippen." (Feuchtwanger, 21). — "Über Jahrzehnte wird sie diesen festen *runden* Körper behalten." (Brückner, *Jauche*, 113). "Schwanger, *dick*, *rund* und kuhäugig will ich werden." (Grass, 31). — G *rundlich* occurs only with nouns referring to certain parts of the anatomy: *ein rundliches Gesicht/Kinn*. It can also denote the whole figure of both adults and children: "neben, über und unter dem *rundlichen* Josef-Heinrich" (Walser, 307). "(...) ein kleines *rundliches* Mädchen mit einer großen weißen Schleife im Haar." (Brückner, *Jauche*, 66).

*full*₂: + THREE-DIMENSIONAL, + CAVITY, -ANIMATE

G *weit*₂ is its closest equivalent, although the latter may describe all sorts of cavities (see below *wide*₂), while E *full*₂ only co-occurs with the names for certain garments, e.g. *under her full skirts; with a very full skirt* (restricted collocation). — *ein weiter Rock; eine weite Bluse* — "Der stand auf seinen Stock gestützt, (...) die erbärmliche Gestalt verbergend unter *weiten* Hüllen." (Feuchtwanger, 42). — see above on p. 110 and 114: E *full*/G *weit*.

obese: + CIRCUMFERENCE; + DEGREE, + PEJORATIVE, + FORMAL, — ATTRACTIVENESS, + HUMAN

G *fettleibig* und *beleibt* correspond more or less closely to E *obese*. The subjects of the three adjectives must have the feature + HUMAN. G *fettleibig* carries no pejorative connotation, apart from this it is the closest equivalent of E *obese*. G *beleibt*, on the other hand, does not possess the components + DEGREE, + PEJORATIVE, — ATTRACTIVENESS. — "Ob mir diese braunen Striemen bleiben würden, die in der Haut *beleibter* Frauen für alle Zeit als geschmacklose Intarsien zurückbleiben (...)" (Walser, 26). — E *obese* is defined as *exceedingly fat* or *exceedingly corpulent* in some dictionaries (see above s.v. *corpulent* and *fat*₁). It may denote a pathological state of *fatness* which is also true of G *fettleibig* (see *Webster's Third*, s.v. *fat* adj.).

plump: + CIRCUMFERENCE; + MELIORATIVE, + ROUNDNESS; ± HUMAN, ± PART OF

E *plump* can by no means be translated as G *plump*, which shows almost contradictory semantic components: + PEJORATIVE, + DEFORMITY. G *prall*, *drall*, *mollig*, *rundlich* and *pummelig* are eligible candidates. Both *drall* and *prall* should be excluded because they have no connotations and, unlike E *plump*, contain the additional sememes + CONVEX SURFACE, + WELL-FILLED (only *prall*). Like E *buxom* (see above) G *drall* can only have female referents. G *mollig* and *rundlich* share the component + ROUNDNESS with E *plump*, yet they are not complimentary (i.e. — MELIORATIVE). *Mollig* is stylistically marked (— FORMAL) and shows the component (+ SOFTNESS)

In some contexts E *plump* may be translated by G *pummelig*: "There were seven people in the picture, (...) and all children, except for the man himself, who had his arm around the waist of a *plump* blond little girl." (Capote, *Breakfast at Tiffany's*, 206). — "um die Taille eines *pummeligen* blonden kleinen Mädchens." (l.c., 54). According to *Webster's New Dictionary of Synonyms*, s.v. *fleshy*, *plump* "implies a pleasing fullness of figure" (WNDS: 342b). — "he was not *fat* or *plump*, but the flesh lay close and even over the small bones." (Lessing, *Martha Quest*, 203). — None of the German adjectives quoted above seems to correspond closely enough to E *plump*.

G *vollschlank*, which has a euphemistic connotation (see *Duden*, s.v. *dick*) and thus comes close to + MELIORATIVE, a component to be found in the semantic description of E *plump*. Like E *buxom* (q.v.) the German adjective refers only to adult female persons: "Das neusprachliche Bemühen der Werbung (...), das heute zwar (...) aus einer *dicken* Kundin eine *vollschlanke* (...) machen kann," (Schwenger, 77). — "Weil also Lambert ein solcher Kerl ist und auch noch einer, der manchmal (...) zwei *vollschlanke* Damen auf seine Arme nimmt" (Walser, 414).

portly: + CIRCUMFERENCE; + DIGNITY, + HUMAN, + ADULT

Neither G *beleibt* nor *wohlbeleibt* have the semantic component + DIGNITY, which is, however, found in the lexical reading of G *stattlich*. The latter belongs to a different lexical field, as its meaning does not contain any indication of *fatness*. The former German adjectives are marked + FORMAL. — "A *portly* middle-aged man was standing wedged between me and the banisters." (Wain, 65). "Albert (...) removed his now *portly* form from the room." (Christie, *Pricking*, 44). The DCE, s.v. *portly*, states that it has a euphemistic or humorous connotation, often referring to older persons. Thus, the corresponding feature should be added.

rotund: + CIRCUMFERENCE; + FORMAL, + ROUNDNESS, + SMALLNESS, + HUMAN

G *rundlich* and *rund* can hardly be regarded as close equivalents of E *rotund*. All three adjectives denote roundness of human bodies due to fat. *Rotund* refers to whole persons, while the two German adjectives can also refer to parts of the body. G *rundlich* and *rund* do not show the component + SMALLNESS.

round: + CIRCUMFERENCE; + ROUNDNESS, ± HUMAN, ± PART OF

Unlike E *round*, which is mostly translated by G *rund* in literature, the latter can never refer to animals. "Baby was like a wheel, *round*, rolling", (Capote, *House of Flowers*, 132). — "Baby war *rund* und kam angerollt wie ein

Rad". (l.c., 91). "His *round* rubicund face beamed with pleasure." (Christie, *Sleeping Murder*, 170). — "Sein *rundes* Gesicht." (l.c., 156). G *rundlich* may also render E *round*: "Mrs. Mountford, née Pagett, was short and *round* and dark-haired" (Christie, *Sleeping Murder*, 113). — "war *untersetzt* und *rundlich*." (l.c., 102). The last translation contains two adjectives, which indicates that *stature* and *circumference* of the person described fall short of an *implicit norm*, while the English original has only one such adjective.

square: + STATURE: + ANGULARITY OF OUTLINE, + HUMAN, ± PART OF

G *breit*, *stämmig* und *vierschrotig* may translate E *square* (see above p. 111).

Like *square* G *vierschrotig* shows the additional sememe + ANGULARITY OF OUTLINE. However, it has additional components which are not part of the lexical reading of E *square*, e.g. + STRENGTH, + PEJORATIVE. G *stämmig* differs from *square* in showing the semantic component + STRENGTH. It can also describe the shape of animals, e.g. *eine kleines stämmiges Pony* (see above s.v. *burly* and *chunky*). Both whole persons and parts of the body may be termed *square*: "He must have been an imposing figure in the uniform, with (...) his powerful *square* figure." (*Reader's Digest* 1/1984, 150). "in a *square*, burnt, determined face were blue and direct eyes." (Lessing, *Martha Quest*, 166). — G *breit* is rather unspecific as a translation equivalent for E *square* (see *breit* used in this sense to render E *broad*₃).

*squat*₁: + STATURE: + SMALLNESS, — ATTRACTIVENESS, ± HUMAN, + PART OF

G *gedrungen* and *untersetzt* lack the additional sememe — ATTRACTIVENESS. Furthermore, they only refer to whole persons. If *squat* denotes the shape of animals and parts of the body G *stämmig* should be selected. This adjective, however, is not marked for SMALLNESS or ATTRACTIVENESS like *squat*₁. The persons called *squat* are mostly disproportionately small, which makes them unattractive. This is illustrated by a quotation from Iris Murdoch, who describes the result of a boy's attempt to draw a *slim* woman: "He had produced a *squat* figure, the drapery drawn tight about the body, the breasts crudely exaggerated." (Murdoch, *The Sandcastle*, 156).

*squat*₂: + DISTANCE SIDES, + THREE-DIMENSIONAL, — ATTRACTIVENESS, — ANIMATE, + PART OF

This variant of E *squat* has no precise German equivalent (for examples see p. 113 and above). G *gedrungen* co-occurring with subjects (— ANIMATE) may be the closest possible equivalent. G *zusammengedrückt* only indicates the disproportion between *length* and *breadth*. It cannot reflect the full meaning of *squat*₂.

stocky: + STATURE: + SMALLNESS, + STRENGTH, ± HUMAN

G *stämmig* lacks the additional sememe + SMALLNESS, G *untersetzt* lacks the component + STRENGTH. Moreover it cannot co-occur with subjects (— HUMAN, i.e. animals). "he was a *stocky*, middle-aged, genial Glasgow-Irishman" — (Waugh, 326). See the discussion of *stocky* and its equivalent G *stämmig* above on p. 108 (with additional quotations).

*stout*₁: + CIRCUMFERENCE: + STATURE; + EUPHEMISTIC, + HUMAN

Judging from the equivalents G *beleibt*, *korpulent*, *dick* (+ FATTY TISSUE) and G *gedrungen*, *untersetzt* (+ STATURE), which are found in the dictionaries, E *stout* seems to belong to both lexical fields. However, quotations from modern English literature merely illustrate the component + STATURE: "a *stout* member of the tourist police" (Greene, 22) — "den *stämmigen* Angehörigen der Fremdenpolizei". (l.c., 23). "a *stout*, ruddy, middle-aged man, well dressed" (Wells, 166). — "ein *stämmiger*, blühend aussehender gutgekleideter Mann in mittleren Jahren." (l.c., 129). Unlike *stout* the German adjective shows the additional component + STRENGTH and can refer to animals. — G *gedrungen* and *untersetzt* are less apt translations of E *stout* because of their semantic component + SMALLNESS. G *korpulent* and *beleibt* are rather good translation equivalents, yet they have an additional component + CLUMSINESS and belong to the formal register. Like E *stout*₁ G *korpulent* has a euphemistic connotation. Their contexts are identical. — G *dick*₁ also represents a less precise equivalent. G *stark*₁ would reflect the meaning of the English adjective better as it also has the component + EUPHEMISTIC, e.g. *sie ist stark geworden* instead of saying *sie ist dick geworden*. "eine *stämmige* kleine Frau mit runden Brillengläsern und einem jener kleingemusterten Jersey-Jackenkleider, die offenbar in Amerika genau wie bei uns eigens hergestellt werden, die 'starke Dame' unnötig zu entstellen." (*Brigitte*, 5/1985, 125).

As there is no German adjective which contains both + FATTY TISSUE and STATURE in its semantic description, all the proposed translation equivalents for E *stout*₁ are rather inexact.

*stout*₂: + DISTANCE (BETWEEN TWO OPPOSITE) SURFACES or SIDES/+ DIAMETER, + STRENGTH; objects being — ANIMATE, + THREE-DIMENSIONAL, + PART OF

G *stark*₂ is the most suitable equivalent, it has the additional semantic component + DEGREE (see also above p. 113). The OED gives the following definition: "Of a material object: So *thick* as to be strong or rigid" (OED, s.v. *stout*, 13). — "This almanack (...) is pasted on very *stout* cardboard (1981)" and "Strips of *stout* paper (1907)" (quoted from OED, s.v.

stout, 13). — Because of its thickness the object described as *stout* is “too solid to break” (DCE, s.v. *stout*). — “He cut a *stout* stick to help him walk” (DCE, s.v. *stout*). — see also above p. 113, lexical field no. 3: E *stout*₂ — G *stark*₂.

stubby: + STATURE: + SMALLNESS, ± HUMAN, + PART OF G *untersetzt* can only modify subjects (+ HUMAN). If animals or parts of the body are referred to G *stämmig* must be selected. The latter contains the additional component + STRENGTH, as we saw above s.v. *square* and *stout*₁.

*thick*₁: + DISTANCE SIDES: + DIAMETER, — ANIMATE, + THREE-DIMENSIONAL, + PART-OF

E *thick*₁ and *dick*₂ have identical semantic components (see above p. 000), as is confirmed by the quotations from modern English and German literature: “Tuppence ate bacon and eggs and had slices of *thick* bread and butter.” (Christie, *Pricking*, 76). — “dicke Scheiben Butterbrot.” (l.c., 70). “there exists a *thick* layer of warmer surface water” (*Reader's Digest* 1/1984, 116) — “eine dicke Schicht wärmeren Oberflächenwassers”. (*Das Beste aus "Reader's Digest"*, 1/1984, 62). “In came Madame Sapphia Spanella, trailed by a pair of civilian-clothed detectives, one of them a lady with *thick* yellow braids roped round her head.” (Capote, *Tiffany's*, 225). — “eine Frau mit dicken, gelbblonden, um den Kopf geschlungenen Zöpfen.” (l.c., 75). — G *stark*₂ is less suited to translate E *thick*₁ because it shows the components + STRENGTH and + DEGREE (see above s.v. *stout*₂).

*thick*₂: + CIRCUMFERENCE; + PART OF (HUMAN)

G *dick*₁ is contextually different from E *thick*₂, because it can refer to whole human beings. Consequently, it occurs more frequently than *thick*₂ being a kind of hyperonym and corresponding more closely to E *fat*₂ (q.v.) “she (...) took no notice that his *thick* lips were nuzzling the nape of her neck.” (Capote, *Tiffany's*, 169). — “seine dicken Lippen.” (l.c., 13). — See also the discussion of *thick*₂ within its lexical field (p. 107f.).

thick-set: + STATURE; + HUMAN

G *untersetzt* has the additional component + SMALLNESS (see above s.v. *chunky*). In addition to + STRENGTH G *stämmig* differs contextually from E *thick-set* (see above p. 111 for a short description of the respective lexical field). “a man of medium height, rather *thick-set* with thin brown hair.” (*The Times*, Sept. 27, 1984). “Robert was dark and *thick-set*.” (Wain, 14). — “Viel leicht braucht er so viele Frauen, weil er klein ist, widderhaft *untersetzt*.” (Walser, 307). “Der Jubel galt besonders dem István Mikó, dem etwas *untersetzten*, aber doch temperamentvollen Darsteller des Nero.” (WZ, Oct. 27, 1984).

*wide*₁: + DISTANCE SIDES: + OPENING, + TWO- and THREE-DIMENSIONAL; + PART OF (HUMAN); objects being — ANIMATE, + TWO- and THREE-DIMENSIONAL, + PART OF G *breit*₁ possesses the same semantic components (see above p. 112 for a short semantic description of E *wide*₁ and G *breit*₁). This assumption is confirmed by the following quotations: “his *wide* Panama hat” (Mitchell, 250). — “der breite Panamahut” (see Wandruszka 1969:59). “there was only one road (...) it was not *wide* enough (...) A new *wide* road was being finished.” (Hemingway, 23). — “nur eine Straße (...) sie war nicht *breit* genug (...) Eine neue *breite* Straße wurde fertiggestellt.” (l.c., see Wandruszka 1969:59). “tall delicate Negro man (...) displaying in his hands an odd wood sculpture, an elongated carving of a head, a girl's, (...) her mouth *wide*, overdrawn, not unlike clown-lips” (Capote, *Tiffany's*, 164). — “ihr Mund *breit*, überbetont, den Lippen eines Clowns nicht unähnlich.” (l.c., 8).

*wide*₂: + SURFACES: + CAVITIES; objects being — ANIMATE

Both E *wide*₁ and G *weit*₂ show the same semantic components in their lexical reading (see above p. 114 for a short description of the respective lexical field).

Our study of English and German spatial adjectives has proved the existence of four subfields:

- 1) adjectives like E *fat*₁, *thick*₂ — G *dick*₁, *fett*, which denote the shape of human beings and animals whose bodies and/or anatomical parts are covered with so much *fatty tissue*, that it gives them a *circumference* distinctly above the norm. This constitutes + CIRCUMFERENCE as a semantic component which differentiates the lexical field in question from the adjacent fields. Consequently, + CIRCUMFERENCE may be said to stand at the top of a hierarchy of semantic components. It was pointed out above that CIRCUMFERENCE can be broken down into two horizontal dimensions (i.e. mathematically speaking, diameters which make up the horizontal extension of the entities described). The vertical dimension comes in through the proportional norm (i.e. the proportion between a person's *height* and his/her *horizontal extension*), which is clearly violated at the top end of the scale.
- 2) Adjectives like E *thick-set*, *burly*, *stout*₁, *squat* — G *untersetzt*, *gedrungen*, *kräftig*₁, *stämmig* share the semantic component + STATURE (i.e. build). The lexical field in question may be negatively defined by the absence of the semantic marker + CIRCUMFERENCE. Yet some adjective lexemes like E *stout*₁ — G *stark*₁ and *kräftig*₁ seem to be marked both for + CIRCUMFERENCE (if used as euphemisms for *fat*₁ and *dick*₁ respectively) and + STATURE. It would, of course, be possible to postulate different meanings for one and the same lexeme, as we have repeatedly done.

3) Adjectives like *broad*₁, *wide*₁ – G *breit*₁, *weit*₁ give the distance between two opposite sides or surfaces or only the diameter of round objects as the main dimension of the entities referred to. Unlike the first two lexical fields, which share the contextual feature ± HUMAN, the relevant contextual feature of the subjects modified by adjectives of the third and fourth lexical subfield is – ANIMATE. This has become obvious from the examples and quotations given above.

4) Adjectives like E *broad*₁, *wide*₂, *ample*₂ – G *weit*₂ describe the extension of spaces or surfaces, i.e. of entities having three or two dimensions, and of hollow bodies. Examples and quotations were given above.

Some of the adjectives discussed showed additional sememes which are clearly non-dimensional, e.g. + SMALLNESS, + STRENGTH, – ATTRACTIVENESS; + CLUMSINESS, + HEALTHY LOOK. They are to be derived from the qualities of the objects referred to. The connotational meanings of the adjective lexemes under scrutiny are partly stylistic, e.g. ± FORMAL, partly dependent on the speaker's attitude towards the person or object which is being characterized by a spatial adjective.

In fact, the number of adjectives belonging to fields no. 1 (+ CIRCUMFERENCE) and no. 2 (+ STATURE) is much greater than that of the members of fields nos. 3 and 4. English has seven adjective lexemes altogether which occur in nine variants of meaning, while German has four different adjectives occurring in five variants. Obviously, the interest of the language community in describing the shape and build of human beings and animals seems to be greater than the interest in a detailed description of inanimate things. It comes as no surprise that English has a much greater number of adjectives for the first two semantic fields than German. However, we have excluded the following adjective lexemes: E *beefy*, *brawny*, *meaty*, *muscular*, *paunchy*, *podgy/pudgy*, *pussy*, *roly-poly*, *squab*, *stalwart*, *strapping*, *tubby* – G *bullig*, *dicklich*, *massig*, *muskulös*, *ungeschlacht*, *voluminös*, *wohlgenährt*. They have a rather low frequency and are rarely found in modern literature. Nor were E *spacious* and *stumpy* (a variant of *stubby*) taken into consideration.

There is no archilexeme for the four lexical subfields examined. E *fat*₁ and G *dick*₁ can possibly be regarded as archilexemes of subfield 1. The word-for-word comparison conducted above (pp. 115ff.) has yielded many differences in the semantic structure of individual items. However, there are many similarities between the two languages which may be due to the fact that they are – historically speaking – fairly closely related.

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