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THE EURYSEMANTIC CHARACTER OF THE GERMAN LEXEME SANKTION IN COLLOCATIONS

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Abstract. This paper intends to analyze the use of a special type of phraseological unit – collocations formed by the lexeme *Sanktion* in plural and by a collocator in the modern German. For that purpose, some introductory remarks will first be given regarding the eurysemantic character and the origin of the lexeme *Sanktion*. Since this is a corpus-based study, details on the compilation of the digitized corpus will be outlined, and it will be shown which collocational potential *Sanktion* has developed in the German political discourse. In the meaning of "veto, restriction" the lexeme acts as a part of collocations. Collocations have an asymmetrical syntactic structure: the basis in collocations is the lexeme *Sanktion*, the collocators are adjective and genitive attribute, prepositional groups, comparison words etc. The main task of the study is to examine the development of the collocation potential of *Sanktion* using examples from the modern German DWDS corpus, using the corpus parameter LogDice and the frequency measure. The combinations of frequency measure and LogDice allow to present collocations as formulaic patterns in political language.

Key words: *Sanktion*, collocations, linguistic secularization, eurysemanticity, corpora studies, formulaic language.

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ЭВРИСЕМАНТИЯ НЕМЕЦКОЙ ЛЕКСЕМЫ SANKTION В КОЛЛОКАЦИЯХ

Аннотация. В данной статье предполагается проанализировать использование особого типа немецких фразеологических единиц – коллокаций, образованных с лексемой *Sanktion* во множественном числе и коллокатором. Рассмотрены пути заимствования в немецкий язык лексемы *Sanktion*, а также ее эврисемантический характер в шести возможных значениях. Установлено, что в значении «вето, рестрикция» лексема выступает в составе многочисленных коллокаций. Коллокация – соединение двух или более слов (лексема А + лексема В), которые часто встречаются друг с другом в устойчивых комбинациях без идиоматического переосмысления. Коллокации имеют ассиметричную

синтаксическую структуру: основой в коллокациях является лексема *Sanktion*, коллокаторм выступают падежные и предложные дополнения, генитивные определения, прилагательные в роли определения, предикативные атрибуты и эталоны сравнения. Использование коллокаций является показателем формульности немецкого языка в политическом дискурсе. Основная задача исследования состоит в изучении развития коллокационного потенциала *Sanktion* на примерах из современного немецкого корпуса DWDS с использованием корпусного параметра LogDice и показателя частотности. Комбинации измерения частотности и LogDice позволяют представить коллокации как формульные паттерны в политическом языке.

Ключевые слова: коллокации, лексема *Sanktion*, эврисемантия, формульность языка, корпусное исследование.

Introduction (Введение)

Since the early 21st century German political and legal texts devoted to coverage of various global events have demonstrated frequent usage of the lexeme *Sanktion*. Having been borrowed from Latin, the German lexeme *Sanktion* originated in the religious discourse. Yet, its etymologically conditioned meaning of sacredness has been lost as a result of linguistic secularization. By means of a linguo-discursive analysis we have demonstrated the eurysemanticity and usualization of *Sanktion* in the opposite meanings. In Modern German the collocation and the so called ideological banner phrases are key marker of the political and legal discourse, ideological contexts of power [Bock et al., 2019; Reproduction..., 2020; Burkhardt, 1998]. The discourse determines the meaning of words: «What linguistic signs, words, phrases, text segments, and even entire texts we learn from discourse» [Teubert, 2016]. *Sanktion* in collocations has become a new discourse marker.

A primary analysis of various contextual examples of using the noun *Sanktion* made it possible to reveal that this lexeme has been used quite ambiguously. In particular cases its usage does not entirely terminologically correspond to the meaning adopted by the international legal norm.

Although the xenolexeme *Sanktion* originated in the religious discourse, it is neither an original religious term nor a biblicism. The semes of this lexeme include a (quasi)religious connotation: the German noun *Sanktion* was borrowed from French in the 16th century (Fr. *sanction*). The French language, in its turn, had borrowed it from Latin: the New Latin *sānctio* with the primary meaning of 'sanctification, declaration of sanctity' is a deverbative noun derived from the Latin verb *sancio*, *sancīre* «to sanctify», which is etymologically related to the adjective *sacer* «sacred» and adverb *sancte*, *sant(e)* «sacredly». Through semantic derivation, the primary meaning of sacredness developed some special meanings of *Sanktion* as a result of expansion of the noun meaning. These new meanings became usualized. Germanic linguistics has the term «linguistic secularization» (Ger. sprachliche Säkularisierung) denoting the phenomena of lexis losing its religious connotations and becoming profanized. The linguistic nature of secularization includes loss of stylistic, connotative and collocational limitations in using such lexemes, as well as their more frequent usage in non-sacred contexts. As a type of the semantic shift, linguistic secularization stimulates expansion of the lexeme's meaning. Such «deconsecration» of lexis leads to the development of contradictory meanings: due to linguistic

secularization, the German lexeme *Sanktion* started being used in the legal discourse in the contrasting meanings «approval, prescription» and «fines, penalty», «veto». The phenomenon of one lexeme having different meanings can be explained by the primary sacred source for semantic derivation: both the permission and the punishment are related to sacredness in the Roman law. The verb *sancio* 'to sanctify' itself had developed contradictory meanings of 'legitimate' and 'prohibit' in the Roman law (the period of the Quiritarian law, since the 8th century BC). These special meanings of the legal discourse had been usualized in German by the 18th century, which is confirmed by modern and historical dictionaries, a corpus-based analysis using the DWDS dictionary [DWDS, s.a.], as a discourse marker. Such development led to the enantiosemy, eurysemanticity of the lexeme that originated due to the combination of opposite semes in its meaning.

Materials and methods (Материалы и методы)

The eurysemanticity of the German lexeme *Sanktion* is studied as a factor exerting influence on the linguistic inconsistency in its usage, diffusion of its meanings, including contradictory ones. The qualitative research design includes the following steps and sub-objectives: (1) identifying meaning as a result of linguistic secularization and (2) exploring the German lexeme *Sanktion* in its eurysemantic character and specific functionality (to regulate modern political and legal discourse), (3) tracing their development of collocational potential of *Sanktion* in modern corpus DWDS with feature Wortprofil (on material of 2000 collocation with *Sanktionen* in political discourse) [DWDS, s.a.]. Methods, used in the analysis of the collocations include corpus analysis and analysis of compatibility.

Discussion (Дискуссия)

The contradictory meanings of the German lexeme *Sanktion* as the manifestation of its eurysemantic character. For German, the non-sacred meanings of this lexeme related to the legal discourse only are specified in Zedler's Encyclopedia: «Sanction→ Sanctio heist in denen Rechten überhaupt eine jedwede Obrigkeitliche Verordnung, insbesondere aber ein Gesetze mit einer Straffe» [Zedler, 1732-1750, Bd.33, p. 976]. The linguistic secularization has not weakened the semantic and derivational potential of the lexeme *Sanktion*. It became a stimulus for the development of its polysemy instead: several special meanings appeared in the 17th–18th centuries. They were frequent derivatives determined by law. The following meanings, developed to nominate secular, social rituals and legal practices, are added to the primary sacred meaning [Манерова, 2018]:

1. Prescription. In this meaning the lexeme *Sanktion* is co-occurent with the lexeme *Vertrag* (agreement).

2. Pragmatic sanction as an enactment. Combined with the adjective *pragmatisch*, the lexeme *Sanktion* has developed a collocational potential and became an established term of medieval law. It denotes any prescription of a sovereign in response to an earlier submitted request or petition concerning consideration of administrative or clerical issues.

3. An act of official approval, acknowledgement.

4. A part of a legislative or contractual document containing the conditions of its execution or enforcement actions in case of its violation.

5. Prohibition, violation. In this meaning the lexeme *Sanktion* in contextual examples from texts is co-occurent with the lexeme *Strafe* (punishment).

6. Veto, isolation measures. The lexeme *Sanktion* in the meaning of 'veto, isolation measures' is used in the 20th century mostly in the plural under the influence of its French analogue found in the documents of the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations: *Sanktionen*. In this meaning the lexeme can be attributed to the special lexis of international law. The lexeme acquires ideological significance and becomes a discursive marker of the political and legal discourse in the light of considering it in critical discourse analysis. Interpretation of the lexeme *Sanktion* makes it possible to define it as a marker undergoing particular development stages [Манерова, 2018]. The high frequency of *Sanktionen* usage, revealed during simultaneous linguo-discursive and corpus-based analysis, shows its conceptual significance (the lexeme's entry at the DWDS web portal demonstrates an increase in frequency: 2.61 → 27.51 in 1946–2022, 17.57–27.51 per one million token in the period since 2014 [DWDS, s.a.]).

Results (Результаты)

The lexeme *Sanktion* and its plural form *Sanktionen* are the key words in German modern political discourse. The mention of collocation «*Sanktionen gegen Russland*» (sactions against Russia) on webpage of the magazine Der Spiegel online results 6762 topics since 2005, e.g.:

*Als größte EU-Volkswirtschaft hat Deutschland die Auswirkungen der Inflation, die vor allem auf **die US-Sanktionen gegen Russland** zurückgeht, am härtesten zu spüren bekommen¹.*

The use of collocations in the media is a feature of formulaic language. The collocation is a connection of two or more words (lex A+lex B) that occur frequently and typically with each other. The term collocation was created by Harold Palmer:

«All these successions of words have one common characteristic, viz. that (for various, different and overlapping reasons) each one of them must or should be learnt, or is best or most conveniently learnt as an integral whole or independent entity, rather than by the process of piecing together their component parts» [Palmer, 1933, p. 4].

Dmitri Dobrovol'skiy und Elisabeth Piirainen mean that the term “collocation” is used to refer to word combinations that co-occur habitually but are fully transparent. One element of the collocation has a specialised meaning that occurs only in combination with the other element. «In several studies, collocation is primarily understood as the occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in a text; i.e. the term is equated with the co-occurrence of words in

¹ URL: <https://www.spiegel.de/ausland/olaf-scholz-in-bei-xi-jinping-wie-china-auf-den-kanzlerbesuch-blickt-a-1a1c4ab8-ab14-4798-8eda-00a7043a9ceb> (date of access 05.11.2022)

general» [Dobrovol'skij et al., 2021, p. 63]. In such word combinations (lex A+lex B) the one word operates as base, the other as collocator [Hausmann, 2004, p. 312].

The dominant part, the so called base, is the part that is to be described in more detail by the other part (sometimes referred to as the collocator). For this reason, the search for the most accurate description always starts from the base, all collocations in the dictionary are therefore dictionary under the base cf. [Quasthoff, 2011]. Morphological and syntactic means are used to indicate the placement of the objects in the overall proposition. Both words in the collocation, lex A and lex B, used unseparate, form an ontological concept in their combination [Belica et al., 2015, p. 202-204], e.g. *to read a book*, *to impose sanctions*.

Collocations always have an asymmetrical structure. The structure of the collocations shall be determined as an usage-based model, with lex A as lemma in the dictionaries [Steyer, 2008]. Once one is the ontological relations between the objects, e.g. in the form of frames or in descriptions of frames (descriptions of entities and their role relations to each other) the collocations can be derived from them [Meřčuk, 1998].

The usualization of *Sanktionen* is related to the development of its collocational potential considering following syntactic positions. The base in collocations is *Sanktionen*:

1. With adjective attribute: *scharfe* (sharp), *verschärfte* (aggravated), *harte* (harsh), *wirtschaftliche* (economic), *automatische* (automatic) *Sanktionen*; [*gegen ein Land*] *verhängte Sanktionen* (sanctions imposed [on a country]).

2. With genitive attribute: *Sanktionen des UN-Sicherheitsrats* (sanctions of the UN Security Council), *des Westens* (West), *der EU-Staaten* (EU countries).

3. With prepositional group as object: *Sanktionen gegen ein Land* (sanctions against a country), *gegen Regime* (against regime), *gegen eine Regierung* (against government), *gegen Firmen* (against companies), *Unternehmen* (enterprises), *Personen* (persons), *Oligarchen* (oligarchs).

4. With comparative word or nominal group: *Sanktionen wie der Ausschluss* [aus einem Gremium] (sanctions such as expulsion [from a body]), *wie Einreiseverbote* (such as entry bans), *wie Kontensperrungen* (such as account freezes), *wie Einfrierung* [von Vermögen]: (such as freezing [of assets]).

5. As an object in accusative of transitive verbs: *Sanktionen androhen* (to threaten), *vorsehen* (to provide for), *verhängen* (to impose), *beschließen* (to decide), *erlassen* (to impose), *verschärfen* (to tighten), *lockern* (to relax), *aufheben* (to repeal).

6. In prepositional group or object: *mit Sanktionen drohen* (to threaten with sanctions), *reagieren* (to react with sanctions); [*ein Land, eine Personengruppe*] *mit Sanktionen belegen* (to impose sanctions on [a country, a group of people]), *bestrafen* (to punish); *unter den Sanktionen leiden* (to suffer from sanctions).

7. As subject for verbs: *drohen* (to threaten), *treffen* (to hit), *greifen* (to take effect), *schaden* (to harm).

8. In contradictoric phrase chain: *Sanktionen und Gegensanktionen* (sanctions and counter-sanctions).

9. With the predicative: *möglich* (possible), *Mittel* (mean), *nötig* (necessary), *wirksam* (effective).

The modern methods of linguo-discursive analysis, analysis of co-occurrence, collocational combinations and frequency make it possible to view this lexeme as a discursive marker used to nominate any enforcement actions in the field of politics and law, in the ideological contexts of power reflecting the evaluation of political and legal relations in the global world.

The quantitative data in DWDS Wortprofil, the word profile for measuring of collocational combinations presents following results on frequency and LogDice (that measures how often a pairing appears relative to either word appearing independently). The lexeme *Sanktionen* (lex A) has a collocator (lex B) in the following word combinations (Table 1):

Table 1 – Collocations with the lexeme *Sanktionen* in the DWDS

Collocation constructions with <i>Sanktionen</i> (lex A)	Lexeme of co- occurrence (collocator, lex B)	Frequen cy	LogDice
Sanktionen + adjective attribute	verhängt	2003	10.4
Sanktionen + genitive attribute	UN-Sicherheitsrat	140	7.1
Sanktionen + prepositional group as object	gegen Land	1363	10.5
Sanktionen + comparative word or nominal group	wie Ausschluß	11	12.2
Sanktionen as object in accusative of transitive verbs	verhängen	5534	10.1
Sanktionen in prepositional group or object	drohen mit	2653	8.8.
Sanktionen as subject	drohen	1601	7.0
Sanktionen in contradictoric phrase chain	und Gegensanktion	50	9.7
Sanktionen+ predicative	möglich	282	3.2

Therefore, the meaning of the collocation construction set in the chart is that possible sanctions like expulsion can be imposed against the country. As we can see from the chart, the most frequently used collocators for lexeme *Sanktion* in plural are verbs *verhängen* (to impose sanctions) and *drohen* (to threaten with sanctions, sanctions threaten). This is significant, because the original eurysemantic character of the lexeme *Sanktion* let form a line of collocations, but only one meaning of *Sanktionen* is relevant in the modern German. The analysis allows us to establish that out of all the contradictory meanings of *Sanktion* only one acts in the collocations: veto, isolation measures.

Conclusion (Заключение)

This paper has explored the challenges that emerge when the establish criteria for collocations are applied to constructions with the lexeme *Sanktion*. The eurysemantic character of the German lexeme *Sanktion* is a result of linguistic

secularization and a factor influencing the usualization of its contrasting meanings in the political and legal discourse. This circumstance fixes for the noun *Sanktion* the status of the lexeme of language for special purposes (LSP) of international law. The LogDice is the statistic measure for identifying collocations. The combinations of measuring frequency and LogDice let present the collocations as formulaic patterns in political und law language [Merten, 2020]. Frequencies of occurrence and changes of frequency serve as important indicators: They indicate which collocations are most likely to have constructional status. We identified collocations formed by the lexeme *Sanktion* und a collocator as a special type of formulaic pattern in the modern German political and legal discourse. The analysis of the collocations with the lexeme *Sanktion* in the conditions of its eurysemantic meaning shows that in modern speech the most frequent meaning of all is the meaning from the sphere of international law, used in the plural form *Sanktionen*: veto, isolation measures.

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