3. 61. twi-/twai/

meaning 'two' is a weak prf. Although it goes back to OE as the same element we have in twifold and arch. twibill 'axe', most of the cbs which are in (chiefly occasional) use today are 19th c. and later. Exs of parasynthetic adjs, the main type, are twi-coloured, twi-faced, twi-forked, twi-formed, twi-gated (the oldest cb rec. in OED, 1573), twi-pointed, twi-shaped. Minor types are illustrated by twilight 1420, arch. twibill 'axe' OE, twi-reason (Ben Jonson), twi-prong (Browning), twi-streaming ptc (Coleridge), twi-top hill.

In present-day usage such cbs are infrequent and have a literary tinge.

3. 62. 1. ultra- /'Altrə/

is a prf both in scientific and general use. It is ultimately L ultra 'beyond'. Classical Latin does not use the particle for wf. In Late Latin we find ultramundanus, in ML ultramontanus and ultramarinus. These words were adopted in English as ultramarine 1598, ultramontane 1592, ultramundane 1656. But it is only in the 19th c. that ultra- becomes a formative in English, thanks to the extensive use of ultra- in NL scientific nomenclature. The meaning conveyed by the LL and ML adjs was 'situated beyond . . . '. With it we have a few English adjs of the type

ultramundane, as ultra-terrestrial, -zodiacal, -Gangetic and a few more. On the other hand there are several scientific adjs, terms of physics, as ultra-red 'lying beyond ...', ultra-violet, ultra-microscopic 'lying beyond the range of the microscope'; with the meaning 'more than, exceeding the ...' we have ultra-brachycephalic, -dolichocephalic, -basic, -elliptic. A few cbs of a more general character, such as ultra-pecuniary, -human, -natural, -phenomenal 'transcending the limits of the ...', all 19th c., are hardly more than noncewords. To express this shade of meaning, super- and trans- words are more common.

3. 62. 2. The most productive type, however, is the adjectival type

ultra-revolutionary '... to the extreme' which has formed such words as ultra-royalist, -radical, -religious, -orthodox, -liberal, -loyal, -confident, -credulous, -exclusive, -ambitious, -modest, -fashionable, -critical, -modern. The OED (s.v. ultra-) assumes that the type is due to the loans ultra-revolutionary and ultra-royalist, taken from French. Ultra-revolutionary 1793 is app. the first word of the group in English, while ultra-royalist is not quoted before 1818. Ultra-fashionable 1802 and ultra-affected 1819 can, however, hardly be due to the political term ultra-revolutionary. The origin of the English type is explainable without French influence on the basis of 'going beyond the ...'. But French usage has doubtless influenced the growth of the English type. Ultra- cbs become very frequent after 1830, i.e. after the adaptation of F ultra-révolutionnaire, -radical, -royalist. The shade of 'extremism' in the English cbs would also testify to French influence.

Several of the preceding cbs may be used as primaries; we also have derivative sbs such as ultra-educationist, -papist | -dandyism, -radicalism, -remuneration, -Pluralism.

3. 62. 3. A few words were coined on Latin ultra- phrases: ultracrepidarian 'one who goes ultra crepidam, i.e. beyond his last' 1819, ultrafidian 'one who goes ultra fidem, beyond mere faith', 'one who is blindly credulous' 1825. Semantically these words belong to the same group as the preceding cbs. So does, to a certain extent, the word ultramontane. From the point of view of Italian catholics it had acquired the meaning 'the catholics north of the Alps', whereas from the standpoint of Gallican and Protestant countries the implication 'those extremists and zealots of papal hegemony' developed. The first quotation for this sense in the OED is from 1728.

3. 63. 1. un-/An/ (type unfair)

is a nominal prf with the basic meaning 'not'. It goes back to the same Indo-European root as OGr a-, an-, L in-, G un-. As far back as OE, the prf was very productive, chiefly with adjs. There are about 1250 words recorded in OE, but most of them had disappeared by 1250, and only a few have survived into PE. Of the exceedingly numerous coinages I give a small list of exs only.

Simple adjs with a native basis are unclean, uneven, unfair, unmeet, unripe, unwise (all OE), unafraid, unfit, unfree, unsmooth, un-British, un-English, un-French.

The prf combines as freely with adjs of foreign origin: unable, uncertain, uncommon, unequal, unfirm, unsure, unsafe, unanxious, unartificial etc.

3.63.2. Derived adjs also take the prf. Denominal derivatives are chiefly characterized by the sfs -ed (possessive adjs), -y, -ly, -ful, -al, and the semi-sfs -worthy and -like. Other sfs are less common. Exs are:

unfathered, unhelmeted, unmannered, unprecedented, unprejudiced, unprincipled, unprivileged, unroofed, unshingled etc. (16th c. and later),

unguilty, unholy (OE), unthrifty, unwealthy, unworthy, uneasy, untidy, unhappy (ME), unbloody, unlucky, unhealthy etc.,

unfatherly, unmotherly, unwomanly, unprincely, unpriestly, unshapely (MoE),

unfruitful (1388), unarchitectural, unconditional, unconventional, uncircumstantial (MoE), unpraiseworthy, unseaworthy, untrustworthy (19th c.), ungentlemanlike, unsoldierlike, unladylike etc. (since c. 1550),

unwholesome, untoothsome, unadventurous, unceremonious, unselfish, unstylish, unpicturesque.

3. 63. 3. Deverbal derivatives are likewise common. They are all formed with the sf-able. Exs of this very productive type, which arose in the 14th c., are unbearable, unbelievable, unacceptable, unachievable, unadvisable etc. etc.

Of adjs derived from postpositional verbs (i.e. vbs followed by an unstressed pt), one group drops the pt, as unavailable, unaccountable, unappealable, unreliable, unswimmable, another treats the pt as a kind of infix, as in uncomeat-able, unget-at-able, with the main stress on the pt. Other coinages of this type have a jocular tinge, as unrelyuponable, untalkaboutable. Adjs derived from adverbial verbs (vbs followed by a stressed ptc) all have the character of individual formations, as undryupable, uncomoverable, unkeepoff-able etc.

3. 63. 4. The prf has always been freely attached to participial adjs (first and second ptc). Exs are unbecoming, unbefitting, unbending, unending, unerring, unfailing, unfeeling, unflagging, unrelenting, untiring etc. etc., unbegun, unborn, unbought, unbound, unburied, unwounded (all OE), unarmed, unbacked, unbraced, unmasked, unseen, untouched, unstressed etc etc.

Postpositional vbs form adjs with the second ptc only: uncared-for, uncalled-for, unwished-for, unheard-of, unthought-of, unslept-in (16th c. and later, chiefly 19th c.). Adverbial vbs do not follow this type. The OED has an example from Caxton, unborne-away, which is, however, isolated.

- 3. 63. 5. There is a small group of derivatives from prefixed vbs. Almost all of them are second ptcs, a few are formed with the sf-able. The prfs occurring are be-, dis-, em- | en- | im-, fore-, mis-, pre-, over-. All are MoE. Exs are unbeknown, unbeloved, unbespoken, undisbanded, undischarged, undiscouraged, undishonored, undisquieted, unembittered, unembodied, unenclosed, unendangered, unenriched, unmisguided, unpremeditated, unprepossessed, unprepossessing, unforeseeable, unforeseeing, unforeseen, unovercome, unoverthrown. The corresponding German type is much stronger: unerziehbar, unverzeihlich etc etc.
- 3. 63. 6. Many adjs are synthetic formations, i.e. their unprefixed counterparts do not exist. Many participial adjs are formed this way, as unassuming, unflinching, unwincing, unbending, unrelenting, untiring (tiring is not the opposition), unending a.o. | unabashed, unseen, untouched etc. Possessive adjs with un- are likewise more frequent than unprefixed ones. We have unexampled, unparalleled, unprecedented, unprincipled, unmannered, unpriced etc., but not the positive counterparts as real adjs.
- 3. 63. 7. The positive counterparts of some words have become archaic, obsolete or unrecognizable: unkempt (kempt 'combed' is now dial.), uncouth (couth is orig. the second ptc of OE cunnan 'know'), untoward (toward is arch. now) are instances of such a development. Unruly 1400 is perh. a synthetic formation, though the word ruly is also recorded from 1400.
- 3. 63. 8. There are adjs to which un- is not prefixed, as good, bad, broad, narrow, strong, weak, deep, shallow a.o. The OED restricts the non-application of the prf to short adjs of native origin, but it is neither a question of shortness nor of native or foreign origin that explains this phenomenon. The above adjs stand for primary qualities which are not expressed by relational words. A cb like ungood would imply that the speaker saw 'bad' as the contradictory opposite of 'good' which he does not. The contrast is one of contrary opposition, and the words expressing the respective notions are coined as individual, non-relational words. We observe the same phenomenon in the name-giving for male and female sex, to mention an exact parallel. As for shortness, we do in fact use unfair, unsmooth, unfit, unfree, unkind, unwise, unripe, unclean, untresh (in Somerset Maugham's short story Rain, used of linen), so shortness does not hold good as an explanation. And with certain pair notions, contradictory opposition appears to be the only way of expression. In English, French, German, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Turkish, the words just and ripe (and the resp. words in the other languages), for instance, are not matched by

terms of contrary opposition, but by words which are contradictory opposites. Other notions that seem to call for contradictory opposition are those underlying the words *able*, *apt*, *capable*, *practical*. Contrastive instinct plays an important part here. The word *unjust* describes a judge more clearly than any contrary opposite might do. On the other hand, contradictory opposition leaves many possibilities open which a contrary term would not.

According to the OED un- was more frequently prefixed to short adjs in the EMoE period where we find unbroad, undeep, unbold, unglad, ungood, unstrong, unwhole, unwide. The character of these cbs would, however, have to be investigated.

On the other hand, no contradictory opposites, i.e. no un-words, are formed from such adjs as in themselves denote the absence of something, as bad, evil, wicked, naughty, bare, naked, empty, silly, foolish. Natural linguistic instinct would not make the sophisticated detour of negativing a negative to obtain a positive. That adjs denoting colors should not take the prf either is likewise self-evident, as colors denote concrete qualities for the eye. We could not describe or qualify a thing by negatively saying that it is not white or red.

- 3.63.9. As for the competition of un- and in- see in-. On the whole, un- has proved the stronger prf, but there are also cases where the un- words have passed out of use: uncredible, uneffable, unexcusable, unexpert, unperfect, unpiteous, unpossible, unformal, unglorious, undubitable, unfirm have been replaced by in- forms, but dishonest has taken the place of unhonest.
- 3. 63. 10. Derivation from compound or parasynthetic adjs is uncommon. A few have general currency, as unself-conscious 1866, un-commonplace 1873, but others are more or less nonce-words, as un-booklearned, un-cross-examined, un-cross-examinable, un-mouse-eaten | un-birdlimed, un-landmarked, un-padlocked or technical terms like unequal-lengthed, unequal-sided | unbusiness methods, unsociety people, un-birthday present (= un- prefixed to a sb used as preadjunct).
- 3. 63. 11. Prefixed sbs have always been less numerous than adjs (the corresponding German type is much stronger). With a very few exceptions, only abstract sbs occur. The prf conveys the meaning lack of ..., absence of Exs are unhealth, untruth, unwisdom OE, unlaw OE-1609, rev. 19th c., unpeace arch., unscience ME. But other words which are used today, were coined in the MoE period, many of them in the 19th c.: uncircumcision, unsuccess (16th c.), unculture, unintelligence, uninterruption, unobservant, unsatisfaction (17th c.), unacceptance, uncandor, unharmony, unheroism, unluck, unpatriotism a.o. (19th c.).

There are countless sbs in -ity and -ness, as unaccountability, unamiability, unreadability, unworkability etc., unaccountableness, unacquaintedness, unaffectedness, uncheerfulness etc. (the latter group is usually older) which must, however, be analysed as derivatives from negative adjs.

Non-abstract are unbeliever (after unbelieving or unbelief), undeserver (after undeserving), unfriend, now chiefly 'a non-Quaker', unlady.

3. 63. 12. The prf is not attached to vbs. The OED has a few back-derived vbs which were in use in the 16—17th c., as unknow (f. unknowing), undeserve

(f. undeserving), unbecome (f. unbecoming), unbeseem (f. unbeseeming). In OE there were a few vbs derived from negatived adjs, as unclænsian (f. unclæne), untrumian (f. untrum). In ME some more were coined, as untrowen 'disbelieve' a 1200, untrust 'distrust' a 1225, unbe 1434, unbetide 'not happen' 1374 which have not survived.

For some time (chiefly 16th and 17th c.) un- was used with an intensifying function with adjs in -less, as unboundless, uncomfortless, undauntless, uneffectless, unhelpless etc. (see OED).

The prf has a heavy middle stress, with a growing tendency towards (emphatic) full stress. In attributive position, adjs take the main stress on the prf (as an únbòrn child).

3. 64. 1. un-/An/ (type unbind)

The prf is generally said to go back to OE and, ond which corresponds to G ent-, ultimately identical with OGr anti and L ante, orig. 'opposite'. This explanation cannot be entirely correct. It is certainly striking to observe that in OE the prf formed a great number of vbs, but that of the whole group only a few survived into ME, the PE vbs unbind, undo, unfold, unknit, untie, unyoke. In others the prf is no longer recognizable, as in abide (f. onbīdan) and answer (ondswarian). Before consonants the prf was generally reduced to onwhich was further weakened to a- and finally dropped. We note that only in a small number of OE vbs did the prf have the meaning of PE un-. Beside the reversative sense, it conveyed an inchoative nuance (as in onginnan 'begin', onslæpan 'fall asleep'), a perfective nuance (as in ongietan 'understand', onliesan 'redeem'), a separative nuance (as in onsendan 'send forth', onspringan 'spring forth'). The PE reversative shade is found in onwindan 'unwind' (unwind was coined anew in ME), onlūcan 'unlock' (unlock was coined anew in LME), unhlidan 'unlid' (unlid was coined anew in ME), ongierwan 'undress', the before-mentioned unfealdan, ungirdan, uncnyttan, ungeocian, unbindan, undön (andön, ondön), untigan (ontigan) 'unfold, ungird, unknit, unyoke, unbind, undo. untie'. We notice that on- had given way to un- as early as OE, which certainly does not mean a mere spelling variant. Possibly starting from second ptc forms, the prf on- had come to be felt connected with the negative prf un-. The idea of negativity is common to both (cp. for a parallel case the prf dis-). What distinguishes unbound 'not bound' from unbound 'loosened' is only the additional idea of an action preceding the state of being loosened, but the state itself is the same. It is therefore, I think, on account of this semantic connection that on- did not die out like so many other OE prefixes, but, on the contrary, became a productive verbal prf. Its semantic range is smaller than that of the corresponding G ent- which developed the various functions OE and, ond had (see above; for the use of ent see Wi 111/118).

3. 64. 2. The prf reverses the result of the action expressed by the simple vb. This explains why almost all prefixed vbs are transitive or transitively used. The phenomenon is parallel to the one we observe with re-, the latter expressing a double undoing, so to speak. Sometimes the grammatical object is not expressed but merely implied, as with uncoil, undress, unmarry which have

a zero object. The following is a short list of reversative verbs coined since the Middle English period.

Before 1500 are recorded unbutton, unblindfold, unbolt, uncharge, unclench, unclothe, uncover, unfasten, unjoint, unlace, unlade, unlearn, unlid, unlock, unmake, unnail, unpin, unroll, unsay, unsheathe, untwine, unwind; from the 16th c. are recorded unbewitch, unbless, unblind, uncharm, unclasp, unconsecrate, uncross, undeceive, undress, unfreeze, unglue, ungum, unknow, unknot, unlive, unload, unmarry, unriddle, unsnarl, untackle, unteach, untwist, unveil, unwish. In the 17th c. we find unblock, unbeget, uncivilize, unclew (unclue), undraw, unfurl, unlatch, unlink, unmould, unmount, unravel, in the 18th c. uncoil, unlay 'untwist a rope'. Later are recorded unclamp 1809, unwrite 1820, ungear 1828, unhitch 1862, unstick 1913, unfreeze (capital, credits) 1947 (q. Za 115).

- 3. 64. 3. With denominal vbs the implication is 'remove, release from ...', or 'deprive of . . .'. Denominal vbs existed in OE (as in OHG), but the type was weak. We find ungeocian 'unyoke', unhādian 'deprive of ecclesiastical orders', unhlidian 'remove the lid', unscogian 'unshoe' (recoined in the 15th c.), uninseglian 'unseal' (unseal is 15th c.). Late Middle English are unhouse, unbrace, uncouple, unhorse, unearth, unroot, unship. The growing possibilities of derivation with a zero morpheme have obviously favored the development. From the 16th c. are recorded unbosom, unbody, unburden, unbreech, uncloak, uncloud, unbit 'free a horse from the bit', unperch, unhood, unkennel, unstock 'remove a ship from the stocks'. From the 17th c. we have unhand, unbag, uncage, ungrave, unhinge, unhook, unsphere (as stars), unpile. In this group the meaning is 'remove, release from . . . '. A variant ot this meaning is the sense 'deprive, strip of . . .'. Whether the analysis should be one or the other is not always clear; unhouse, unhorse, unharness, unsocket and others admit of either analysis. I will give a few instances in which the analysis is more or less clearly 'deprive, strip of ...': unhair, unhead, unshoe (15th c.), unboot, unbalance. unparadise 'expel from p.', ungirth, unharbor, unheart, unlead, unmantle, unmask (16th c.), unbed, uncurtain, unballast, undevil, unessence, unfrock, unnerve (17th c.), unguard (18th c.), unshawl, unbonnet (19th c.), unvizard 1911, unsight 1923, uncharter 1928.
- 3. 64. 4. The implication is sometimes 'deprive of the character or quality of ...', as in *unvoice* (in phonetic use), *unsin*, *unsex*, deadjectival *unquiet* (15th c.), *unround*, *unsmooth*, *uncalm* (all 17th c.), *untidy* (1891). The vbs with an adjectival root are perhaps partly converted negative adjs. *Undouble* is certainly the reversative of *double*, *unround* as a phonetic term the reversative of *round*. Derivatives from adjs are rare, anyhow.

Vbs having a personal sb for a basis often have the privative meaning of the last group, as unpriest 1550, unpope 1563, unking 1578, unbishop, unman 1598, unchild 1605, unknight 1623, unbrother 1634, uncardinal 1642, ungentleman 1671 with meaning 'deprive of the character, status, quality, or title of'. With the exception of unman, however, none of the verbs is in common use.

3. 64. 5. From about 1600 on we find parasynthetic vbs in -ize (also in -ify). Exs are uncivilize, uncanonize, unnaturalize, unbarbarize (first half of the 17th

c.), unchristianize, unhumanize (18th c.) | unsanctify 1594, undeify 1637, undignify 1707, unglorify 1740. OED (s.v. un²- 6 c) has many 19th c. formations (chiefly in -ize). But the number of dictionary entries is no proof of the frequency of these words which are all uncommon. The relevant derivational type is de-militarize. Second participles, as uncivilized, undignified, do occur, but they have to be analysed as adjectives of the type un-pleasant.

Occasionally un- redundantly intensifies vbs which have in themselves a privative meaning, as in unloose 1362, unpick 1377, unrip 1513, unbare 1530,

undecipher 1654. Cf. 3. 15. 6.

3. 65. uni- /'jumi/

is correlative with multi-, bi-, tri- and is the Latin counterpart of Gr mono-. As an English formative, it chiefly coins parasynthetic adjs as biological terms on NL patterns. Classical Latin had very few parasynthetic adjs, as unicolor, uniformis, unimanus | unanimus, unoculus (un- before a vowel, but from LL on the un- form passes out of use). For the modern words Pliny paved the way with unicalamus, unicornis, uniiugus, unistirpis. Subsequently these adjs were derived with adjectival endings (-alis, -aris, -inus, -atus), and it is these which NL uses and English imitates (with -ate also in the extended form -ated). From the 15th c. on we have adaptations of Latin adjs, as univocate 1432/50, univocal 1541 (recognizable as loans by their stress on the second syllable), uniform, unison (16th c.), unicornous, unireme (17th c.).

English coinages on the above NL patterns occur from the 18th c. on. But the majority of new formations are from the 19th c. Examples are uniangulate, unicapsular, unicellular, unilocular, uniglobular, unipolar, uninuclear, univalvular | uniangulate, uniarticulate, uniauriculate, unifagellate, unifoliate, unilabiate | uniaxial, unicameral, unidirectional, unilingual, unisexual, unipersonal, unispiral | unipetalous.

On the native pattern of possessive adjs are formed unilobed, univalved. English has formed a few bahuvrihi sbs (after the L type unimamma 'amazon') like univalve 'a mollusc' 1661, unicell, unicode, unicycle 'monocycle'. An early loan of this type is unicorn ME (= unicornis of the Vulgate).

Occasionally uni- is prefixed to preadjunctal sbs, as in unisoil farm 1778,

unirhyme stanzas 1859, unidirection current 1888 a.o.

In sbs and preadjunctal sbs the main stress is on the prf while the radical has a full middle stress. In parasynthetic adjs the main stress is on the radical, the prf receives a middle stress.

3. 66. 1. vice- /vais/

is a prf chiefly with words denoting the holder of an office and implies various shades of 'delegacy, deputyship' with respect to the real holder of the title of office. Etymologically, vice is a Latin ablative with meaning 'in the place, instead'. Parallel to pro- (to which it comes nearest semantically) and ex-, vice- has resulted from syntactical groups of the type vice quaestoris. The first instance of a Latin cpd seems to be vice-quaestor LL 'proquaestor'. Ecclesiastical Latin formed the term vicedominus, app. the title for one who

represented a dignitary of the Church as his judge. ML are viceconsul, vice-decanus, viceprinceps, vicerector, vicerex. In OF we find visdame 'vicedominus' (13th c.), vezcuntes 'vicecomes' (12th c.), visamiral 1339, vischancellier 15th c. which were respectively anglicized as viscount 1387, vischancellor 15th c. Under Latin influence the prf was in the 16th c. refashioned into vice- (the same process took place in French), and viceadmiral 1520 is only found with this spelling. On the other hand, viscount and viscountess, as fixed terms of nobility, kept their form, and their pronunciation shows that they are not analysed as prefix-formations.

3. 66. 2. From the close of the 15th c. on, the prf can be considered an English formative: vice-collector is recorded from 1497; from the 16th c. are recorded vice-consul, -dean, -master, -gerent, -agent, -roy, -regent, -lieutenant, -president (and other less common words such as vice-captain, -cardinal, -censor, -commissary, -abbot, -apostle, -architect, -governor, -king, -queen, -god, -legate, -chamberlain, -treasurer, -warden). Today the prf is in use only with words denoting high academic or state titles.

There are derivatives from the preceding cbs and also such cbs with non-personal words as are associated with the idea 'office', as vice-admiralty, -royalty, -gerency, -principalship, -papacy | vice-chair, -government, -throne. No instances occur before the close of the 16th c.: vice-papacy 1574 appears to be the earliest cb recorded. Modern is vice-county 'county area with regard to the distribution of species of plants etc.' 1859, the only cb that does not connote the idea 'office'.

Derived adjs do not make their appearance before the 17th c.: vice-ministerial 1617, -apostolical 1641, -royal, -regal 1839 a.o. A nonce-word is the derivative vb vice-reign 1889.