A NOTE ON SEMANTIC REPRESENTATION OF LEXICAL ITEMS AND LEXICAL GAPS

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Each lexical entry (a lexical entry is characterized by a one-to-one correspondence of form and meaning) is described in the lexicon in terms of four types of features: phonological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic. The distinction of semantic and pragmatic features is such that semantic features characterize the cognitive meaning of a given word (denotation), whereas pragmatic features are used to mark differences of style, register, emotive associations, etc. In this paper we deal in a sketchy way with some aspects of the semantic representation of lexical items and on this basis we discuss briefly some problems connected with intra- and inter-language lexical gaps.

A. SEMANTIC REPRESENTATION

There are two assumptions underlying the use of semantic representations such as those discussed below:

- 1. Meanings of lexical items are decomposable into semantically simpler elements,
- 2. Meanings of lexical items can be classified in groups (lexico-semantic fields).

¹ It is not clear whether the features such as style, register, etc., form a uniform class. The term 'pragmatic features' is used here in an arbitrary way. Moreover it is not clear where the boundary between cognitive meaning and pragmatic meaning can be drawn. So far we do not know not only how to represent meanings of words but also what constitutes the meaning of a given word. See for instance Lakoff's discussion on fuzziness of meaning in Lakoff (1972).

Lexical decomposition is obtained by means of a paraphrase of a given word. The result of decomposition is represented as a set of semantic features (sememes) and relations between them according to which complex semantic structures are formed from simple sememes. (These relations are of various types, for instance predication, higher level predication, conjunction, disjunction, etc.). A typical example of lexical decomposition is for instance Katz's representation of the meaning of the English verb chase (Katz 1966:168). The semantic representation of this verb consists of two complex semantic markers: ACTIVITY and INTENTION.

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chase (((Activity of x) (Nature: (Physical)) ((Motion) (Rate: fast) (Character: following y)), (Intention of x: (Trying to catch y) (motion))
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The semantic representation of any lexical item has to provide sufficient information in order to deduce from it at least the following relations of a given item to other items in the same lexicon:

- a. possible paraphrases of a given lexical item
- b. synonyms of a given lexical item
- c. semantic collocability of a given lexical item
- d. the semantic fields of a given lexical item and relationship to other members of the same semantic field.

Paraphrases

Lexical items x and y constitute a natural paraphrase of some lexical item z if:

- I. the semantic representation of x corresponds to some (simple or complex) semantic marker A in the semantic representation of z,
- 2. The semantic representation of y corresponds to some other (simple or complex) semantic marker B in the semantic representation of z,
- 3. A and B stand in some relation R one to another in the semantic representation of z,
- 4. A and B are the only two semantic markers on some level of decomposition of the meaning of z.

Suppose for instance that the semantic representation of the English verb stink consists of two semantic markers: PROPERTY and EVALUATION.

Since in the English lexicon there is a word which has the semantic representation identical to the first semantic marker, i.e. smell and a word whose semantic representation corresponds to the second complex semantic marker, i.e. bad, stink can be paraphrased as to smell bad. On the text level the two words which constitute the paraphrase occur in a specific syntagmatic relationship determined by the relation R in the semantic representation of the word which is paraphrased. Very often it is a modification structure. In our example Evaluation is a higher predicate than Property. The corresponding syntagmatic relationship is a modification structure whose head (a verb) corresponds to the lower predicate and the modifier (an adjective) to the higher predicate.

If two words x and y in a specific syntagmatic relationship are not normally used as a paraphrase of the word z by native speakers of the language to whose lexicon x, y and z belong, in spite of the same meaning being expressed by these two expressions, then x and y form an artificial paraphrase of z.

If it is accepted that there are synonymous expressions in language then these lexical items are synonymous by definition which have the same semantic representations. (It has to be kept in mind that semantic representation corresponds to the cognitive meaning of words only). As is well known even these words are not exchangeable in all contexts. Especially they cannot replace one another in the cases of fixed collocations such as idioms, proverbs, metaphors, compounds. For instance, with reference to seasons (spring, summer, etc.) one uses in Polish the word *pora* rather than *okres*, although these two words ought to have the same semantic representations.

$${ pora \atop ? okres }$$
 roku

smell₁=action of x

Synonyms

(John was smelling flowers when I left him)

smoll₂=cognition of x

(We smelled garlic in the whole flat)

smell_s=perceptual property of x

(Her hair smelled of shampoo)

bad, = negative moral evaluation of men

(John is a bad man)

bad₂=negative functional evaluation of objects, persons ...

(This knife is bad. Mary is a bad teacher.)

bad₃=negative evaluation of perceptural properties

(These plants smell bad)

Only matching of smell, and bad, can form a paraphrase of stink.

² Obviously there is more than one entry for the verb *smell* and more than one lexical entry for the adjective *bad*, e.g.

³ For instance "cause to, come about, to intend" is not used by native speakers of English to replace *persuade* although such a paraphrase may be used by linguists or philosophers for explication of meaning of the verb *persuade*.

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It is hardly ever possible to replace a word in an idiom with its synonym or near synonym and retain the meaning of the idiom. 4 e.g.

to kick the bucket

* to sock the bucket

* to kick the pail

In the case of many pairs of nominal synonyms only one member of such a pair can be used mataphorically or is more likely to occur with abstract nouns. For instance English way seems to be more abstract than road, as the example below proves:

He has made his way in life (=He has succeeded in life)
* He has made his road in life.

Road, however, not way is used in the expression peace road, in spite of the metaphorical meaning of this expression. This shows the indeterminacy of occurrence of lexical items in fixed collocations. In Polish kres and koniec have the same meaning (—the end), yet they are rarely exchangeable in the same contexts. Usually kres is collocated with abstract nouns, whereas koniec can be used with either abstract or concrete nouns, but no rule can be established. e.g.

$$być \begin{cases} u \ kresu \\ *na \ końcu \end{cases} sil \text{ (come to the end of one's strength)}$$

$$\begin{cases} koniec \\ * \ kres \end{cases} ulicy \begin{cases} kres \\ koniec \end{cases} wędrówki$$

$$\text{(end of the road)} \text{ (end of wandering)}$$

$$\begin{cases} * \ kres \\ koniec \end{cases} opowiadania \begin{cases} koniec \\ kres \end{cases} przyjaźni$$

$$\text{(end of the story)} \text{ (end of the friendship)}$$

The problem is how, if at all, should these differences in use of synonyms be marked in lexical entries.

A similar problem arises in connection with near synonyms — for instance words whose meaning is basically the same, the differences concern the degree

keep up one's end hold up one's end build castles in the air ?build castles in the clouds (Lehrer 1974:185) of intensity of a given action, state of property. Consider the following Polish examples:

Krzyczeć	prosić	gniew	brzydki
(shout)	(ask)	(anger)	(ugly)
wrzeszczeć	$blaga\acute{c}$	wściekłość	szpetny
(yell)	(implore)	(rage)	(hideous)
		furia	szkaradny
		(fury)	(execrable)

If such words have different semantic representations, then some mechanism has to relate these words as similar in meaning and to establish the degree of intensity for each particular item with reference to the item which is unmarked for intensity. Defining similar meanings in terms of the number of the semantic markers they share (i.e. the more semantic markers two items have in common the more similar are their meanings) doesn't work if we consider, for instance, such cases as adjectival antonyms whose semantic representations may differ in one feature only, yet they are by no means near synonyms, e.g. good-bad, beautiful-ugly.

One of the ways of handling near synonyms of this type would be to introduce rules of unilateral implication relating items with higher degree of intensity to items with lower degree of intensity, e.g. blagać implies prosić — but not vice versa.

Semantic collocability

The semantic representation of each lexical item must provide the information necessary for establishing the proper cooccurrence relations of this item with other lexical items in sentences and larger pieces of text. Not only the selectional restrictions which determine the cooccurrence of verbs with their subject and objects, but also the restrictions on cooccurrence of distant elements of text must be deducible from semantic representations.

Consider the following examples:

- 1. * John was sitting at the table and chasing Bill.
- 2. * John chased Bill but tried to catch Bill.

Example 1 is ungrammatical because some semantic features of chase (Physical activity of x, motion—change of place by x) do not agree with comparable features of sit (Physical state of x, no change of place by x). The agreement of these features is necessary in this context — and in 1 is the 'simultaneous and'.

Part of the meaning of chase is try to catch. Sentence 2 is ungrammatical because but requires that the second clause asserts something which is not implied by the first clause.

⁴ Lehrer (1974) observed that idioms differ in the possibility of lexical substitution. In some idioms it is possible to substitute one term with a near synonym and retain the meaning.

o. g.

The semantic representation of a given lexical item must also make it possible to determine the set of possible modifiers for each item. Consider for instance the lexical entry for the noun ball.

ball: Solid physical object. Shape: round,

Redundancy rules such as RR1 and RR2 specify the terms in which a solid physical object can be described. 5

RR1: solid physical object -property weight, looks, (taste) (smell)

RR2: looks - kind of - color, shape, size ...

According to these rules the noun ball can be collocated with any adjective which has in its semantic representation features such as weight description (e.g. heavy, light), color description e.g. green, yellow, or size description e.g. big, small. The 'shape' adjectives (square, round, flat, etc.) are not used as modifiers of the noun ball because the feature shape is already specified in the semantic representation of this noun, i.e. (shape: round). Repetition of the same feature which is included in the semantic representation of a given lexical entry in its modifier results in information redundancy, e.g. a round ball, edible food, etc.⁶

Semantic representation of adjectives has to provide information whether they can enter some scales or not. For instance, among antonyms gradable and nongradable antonyms can be distinguished.

type 1 — gradable antonyms, e.g. small, big; hot, cold

type 2 — nongradable antonyms, e.g. dead, alive; male, female

The relevant differences between adjectives belonging to scales (type 1) and those which do not belong to scales (type 2) are:

- 1. Adjective of type I can be modified by adverbs such as very, extremely, slightly, partially, etc. whereas adjectives of type 2 cannot.
- 2. Negation of an adjective of type 2 forms a paraphrase of its antonym (e.g. dead=not alive), whereas negation of an adjective of type 1 does not even imply its antonym, e.g. This water is not cold, does not imply This water is hot.

⁵ Redundancy rules will be discussed in the next section.

- 1. This ball is round.
- This food is edible.
- la. This ball is square.
- 2a. This food is inedible.

The meanings of some nouns have two (or more) aspects but it is problematic whether we should postulate two different lexical entries. Consider for instance nouns such as book and eye. At least two different senses can be distinguished for these nouns:

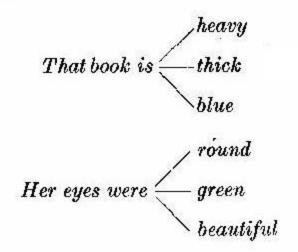
book 1. a physical object ...

2. recorded story (poem, lecture, etc.) ...

eye 1. part of human face

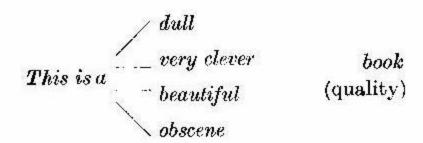
2. man's organ of sight

Book and eye in the first sense can be collocated with any of the adjectives describing physical objects.



Book in the second sense (mental contents) can be described for instance in terms of quantity and quality.

This book is long. (quantity)
This is a three volume book.



Body organs are primarily described in terms of their function and health condition.

Some nouns do not require the distinction of several senses but their semantic representations have to specify the types of possible evaluation measures. For instance the noun *soup* can be collocated with adjectives describing taste, color, smell, consistence, etc. (but not shape, height, length, etc.). The primary

^{*} Sentences 1 and 2 are tautologies (analytic). Sentences 1a and 2a may be interpreted either as anomalous or as synthetic

For gradable and ungradable antonyms see Lyons (1971).

⁸ The necessity of incorporating an evaluation semantic marker into the description of meaning of some nouns was discussed in Katz (1966).

evaluation measure, however, is taste, as it is for any food product. This statement explains why a sentence:

3. This soup is good.

is interpreted as 3a:

3a. This soup tastes good.

and not as 3b:

3b. This soup smells good.

whereas sentence 4, for instance, is interpreted as 4a because [smell] is the primary evaluation measure for perfume.

- 4. This is a good perfume.
- 4a. This perfume smells good.

Relation to other members of the field

Semantic representation of lexical items has to provide the information about the hierarchy relations among lexical items belonging to the same lexicosemantic field. These hierarchies are of various types. The most obvious ones are two types of relations:

1. general versus specific (the 'kind of' relation)

e.g. color red, blue, green ...
furniture chair, bed, sofa, ...
fruit apple, pear, orange, ...

2. whole versus part (the 'part of' relation)

e.g. body leg, arm, head ...
car wheel, engine, brake ...

Such relations among lexical items are represented in the lexicon by means of redundancy rules of the form a and b:

R.R.a.

 $a \wedge b \wedge c \ \dots \ d \ \stackrel{kind\ of}{\longrightarrow} \ X$

RRb:

 $a \wedge b \wedge e \dots d \xrightarrow{part \ of} X$

Thus part of the semantic representation of a lexical item consists in referring to some hierarchy-redundancy rules which define its place in semantic fields of which this lexical item is a member. If the semantic representations of two lexical items make reference to the same hierarchy-redundancy rule (or rules) then these two items belong to the same semantic field. Obviously, some prin-

ciples relating semantic fields to their sub-fields have to belong to the lexicon too, for instance the principle of transitivity for the 'part of' hierarchy:

if
$$\begin{array}{ccc} & & & \underbrace{\text{part of}} & X \\ & & X & \xrightarrow{\text{part of}} & Z \end{array}$$
 then
$$\begin{array}{ccc} & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & \\ & & & \\ & & \\ & & & \\ & \\ & \\ & & \\ & \\ & \\ & & \\ & \\ & \\ & \\ & \\ & \\ & \\ & \\ & \\ & \\ & \\ & \\ & \\ & \\ & \\$$

Due to the information about the membership of lexical items to various semantic fields repetition of some selectional restrictions for each particular item can be avoided. For instance, hyponyms share selectional restrictions with their hyperonyms.

e.g.
$$My \left\{\begin{array}{c} body \\ arm \\ finger \end{array}\right\}$$
 aches

Hierarchy-redundancy rules also account for collocations of distant lexical items. For instance they explain why sequences 5 and 6 are grammatical and 5a and 6a are not.

5. Maybe that coat was blue. I never remember the color of anything.

5a. * Maybe that coat was blue. I never remember the ${shape \atop location}$ of anything.

6. His face looked strange, especially the eyes.

6a. * His face looked strange, especially $\begin{cases} the \ buttons \\ the \ legs \end{cases}$.

B. LEXICAL GAPS

Phonological and semantic representation can be paired in order to function as a lexical item of a given language L if they are both well formed representations according to the rules of the grammar of L. Phonological rules of the grammar of L determine possible sequence of phonemes in L, whereas semantic rules determine possible semantic structures of lexical items in L. Rules matching semantic representations with phonological representations are called lexicalization rules. Lexicalization rules which operate after some other lexicalization rule has applied are traditionally called word-formation rules (or rules of derivational morphology). If some possible semantic representation of L is not matched with some possible phonological representation of L, an accidental lexical gap arises. The three basic types of accidental lexical gaps are the following ones:

1. A phonological gap.

There is a phonological representation X (well-formed sequence of phonemes of L) but there is no semantic representation Y paired with it.

e.g.

$$\begin{bmatrix} X = /blik/ \\ Y = \emptyset \end{bmatrix}$$

* Blik is an accidental gap in English because this sequence of phonemes has no meaning. 9

2. A semantic gap

There is a semantic representation Y (a possible combination of semantic markers in L) but there is no phonological representation X paired with it.

e.g.

$$\begin{bmatrix} X = \emptyset \\ Y = a \text{ dead plant} \end{bmatrix}$$

A dead plant is an accidental gap in English because there is no lexical item which expresses this meaning, although an appropriate lexicalization rule exists in English as the table below proves: 10

3. A word formation gap

Due to the existence of some word formation rule, there is some semantic representation Y and some phonological representation X corresponding to Y, but a lexical item with the semantic representation Y and phonological representation X does not exist in L (or at least is not used by the speakers of L)

e.g.

$$\begin{bmatrix} X = similar + ize \\ Y = to make similar \end{bmatrix}$$

* Similarize is an accidental gap in English because this word is not used by native speakers although there is a word formation rule which permits the semantic structure Y and the phonological combination X. This rule operates for instance in the derivation of popularize from popular.

If some semantic or phonological representation is ill-formed then by defini-

tion a lexicalization rule cannot operate. In this case a systematic lexical gap occurs.

Examples:

1. A phonological rule is violated

2. A semantic rule is violated

This item is ill-formed because its placement on hierarchies of lexical items would require convergence of hierarchies which is against the principle that lexical hierarchies are nonconvergent.

Neologisms usually fill accidental gaps. Individual neologisms (as used in poetry, for instance), can also fill systematic gaps. Consider for instance Leśmian's najgorszość which violates the rule of de-adjectival noun formation because no noun in — ość can be based on the superlative degree of any adjective (Puzynina 1966) On the other hand najgorszość is also an accidental gap because there is a rule in Polish which says that nouns in -ość can be formed from adjectival stems.

Below we will concentrate on some problems connected with accidental semantic gaps. This type of lexical gap occurs if some well formed semantic structure is not lexicalized, although other semantic structures following the same pattern are lexicalized in a given language.

Two semantic structures follow the same pattern if they underlie two lexical items belonging to the same semantic field and if they differ only in the occurrence of one sememe. Consider for instance part of the semantic field of sensual data of taste and smell.

semantic field: sensual data subfields: sensual data of smell and taste relevant sememe: Esthetical Evaluation

SMELL			TASTE	
	Natural paraphrase	Loxical item	Natural paraphrase	Lexical item
Laudatory esthetical evaluation	a good smell	scent aroma fragrance	a good taste	Ø
Disapproving esthetical evaluation	a bad smell	stench odor fetor	a bad taste	Ø

¹¹ The example and the principle are from Bever and Rosenbaum (1970).

⁹ This example is taken from Chomsky (1964:64).

¹⁰ This example is taken from Lehrer (1970). Actually the word carcass refers only to bigger animals, not to flies, etc.

In the case of one language the term lexical gap corresponds to every non-existing form which by virtue of some lexicalization rule or word-formation rule could be a lexical item of that language. Consider, for instance, all lexical gaps which can be found in English as a consequence of the fact that the sememe 'with special attention' has been incorporated in the word scrutinize (scrutinize=look with special attention).

Semantic field: sensual activities Relevant sememe: 'with special attention'

	Activity+'with special attention'			
Activity	lexical item	paraphrase look intently (closely)		
look	scrutinize			
listen	Ø	listen with both ears		
smell	Ø	?? smell intently		
taste	Ø	?? taste intently		

As it turns out the meaning "do something with special attention" is lexicalized in only one case in the field of sensory activities. This meaning is not lexicalized either in the case of other lexical items, belonging to such fields as mental or physical activities.

ENGLISH AND POLISH VERBS OF SENSUAL PERCEPTION

	English	Polish
SMELL	1	1
active verb	smell	wąchać
cognitive verb	emell	ø (=ezuć zapach)
descriptive verb	ø (=smell nice)	pachnieć
positive evaluation	The last of the la	
negative evaluation	stink	śmierdzieć
TASTE		il de la companya de
active verb	taste	smakować, kosz-
	j	tować
cognitive verb	taste	ø (=czuć smak)
descriptive verb	ø (≂taste good)	smakować
positive evaluation	0000 400	
negative evaluation	ø (=taste bad)	nie smakować
SIGHT		
active verb	look	patrzeć
cognitive verb	see	widzieć
descriptive verb	look	wyglądać
HEARING		
active verb	listen	stuchać
eognitive verb	hear	słyszeć
descriptive verb	sound	brzmieć

Theoretically then, intra-language lexical gaps can be found in every such situation which some lexicalization rule applies to at least one member of a given lexical field. Practically, however, reservations have been made that at least two items of the field have to undergo the same lexicalization process in order to establish a lexicalization pattern (see Lehrer 1970).

If we compare two languages, the number of semantic lexical gaps is limited because only the combinations of semems which are actually lexicalized in either of the two compared languages are taken into account. In order to find inter-language lexical gaps in a given semantic field we extend that field so that it comprises all members of this field in L₁ and all members of a comparable field in L₂. Consider for instance the table on p. 16 (for each gap a corresponding natural paraphrase is given).

The comparison of English and Polish verbs of sensual perception makes it necessary that we disitinguish more members of this field than the description of either English or Polish separately requires. Notice also that it is not necessary to distinguish two types of descriptive verbs in the case of verbs referring to sight and hearing because the sememes 'positive evaluation' and 'negative evaluation' are not lexicalized together with the descriptive verb in either language. Instead a natural paraphrase (look good, look bad, etc.) is used in both languages.

If a given lexical item of L_1 has no lexical counterpart in L_2 but is rendered by means of its natural paraphrase in L_2 , we are concerned with an *item gap*. Two other types of interlanguage lexical gaps will be mentioned in this paper: a synonym gap and a positional variant gap.

A synonym type of gap occurs if, in one language, some lexical item has more near synonyms than its counterpart in the other language. Consider for instance the English noun *taste* and its Polish translation equivalent *smak*.

	English	Polish
hyperonym:	taste	smak
near synonyms	flavour	Ø
(hyponyms)	savour	Ø
	relish	Ø
	smack	Ø
	tang	Ø

To render any of the near synonyms of taste the Polish speaker has to use either the word smak or an artificial paraphrase.

The positional variant type of lexical gap can be illustrated by the following lexical correspondence between English and Polish:

2 Paners and Studies

One of the meanings of the verb *like* is "to evaluate positively the sensual data": 12

- 1. I like (the smell of) this perfume.
- 2. I like (the looks of) your hair.
- 3. I like (the taste of) this soup.
- 4. I like (the sound of) this piece of music.

In Polish equivalents of these sentences either the verb *lubić* or the verb *podobać się* can be used.

- la. Lubie te perfumy (zapach tych perfum)
- b. Zapach tych perfum podoba mi się.
- 2a. ?Lubię twoje włosy (wygląd twoich włosów)
- b. Twoje włosy podobają mi się (wygląd twoich włosów podoba mi się).
- 3a. Lubię tę zupę (Lubię smak tej zupy)
- b. * Ta zupa podoba mi się (* Smak tej zupy podoba mi się)
 Ta zupa mi smakuje. 18
- 4a. Lubię ten utwór (Lubię brzmienie tego utworu)
- b. Ten utwór podoba mi się.

In Polish two verbs $lubi\acute{c}$ and $podoba\acute{c}$ się express the same meanings as the English verb like. The occurrence of either $lubi\acute{c}$ or $podoba\acute{c}$ się is syntactically conditioned: $lubi\acute{c}$ is used if the Perceiver NP (NP_x) is topicalized, $podoba\acute{c}$ się is used if the Sensual Data NP (NP_y) is topicalized. In English fronting NP_y in sentences with the meaning discussed above is blocked. Thus for the meaning 'positive evaluation of sensual data' English has only one lexical entry, whereas Polish has two:

E.

- 1. Lubilem tylko jedną kobietę.
- 2. Tylko jedna kobieta podobala mi się.

The comparison of these entries shows that there is a lexical gap in English in the sense that for the expression of the same meaning Polish has two words (whose use is syntactically conditioned) while English has only one.

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¹² Like and lubić have other meanings too, for instance they are used to denote someone's positive emotional attitude towards some person or some event. Lubić in this meaning is not exchangeable with podobać się. Sentences I and 2 are not synonymous:

¹⁸ The Polish sentences expressing evaluation of taste constitute a separate problem because not *podobać* but *smakować* is used as a counterpart of *lubić*. Also, sentences with *smakować* usually have instantaneous interpretation, whereas sentences with *lubić* refer to the perceiver's general attitude towards some food product.