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ЛЕКСИКОЛОГИЯ АНГЛИЙСКОГО ЯЗЫКА

ENGLISH LEXICOLOGY

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Р е ц е н з е н т ы: кафедра романо-германской филологии Могилевского государственного университета им. А. А. Кулешова; доктор педагогических наук, профессор *Л. В. Хведченя* (БГУ)

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Цель издания – обеспечение студентов основными сведениями о системно-функциональной организации словарного состава английского языка, а также формирование их умений, навыков и компетенций самостоятельного научного анализа лексических единиц.

Учебник содержит материал по всем разделам университетского курса лексикологии английского языка. Включает 10 глав, в которых описываются особенности лексической номинации в этом языке; происхождение английских слов, их морфологическая, деривационная и семантическая структура и комбинаторный потенциал; особенности организации англоязычной лексической системы и ее вариативность; проблемы англоязычной лексикографии, а также вопросы овладения словарным составом английского языка и организации ментального лексикона.

Адресуется студентам, обучающимся по специальностям «Современные иностранные языки (по направлениям)» и «Иностранный язык (с указанием языка)», а также магистрантам и аспирантам филологических специальностей и всем, кого интересуют структура и функционирование лексической системы языка в целом и английского языка в частности.

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PREFACE

The book *Лексикология английского языка = English Lexicology* is a corrected edition of the textbook *Лексикология английского языка* (2016), which is, in its turn, is an updated and expanded edition of the textbooks *Слова в английском языке* and *Лексикология современного английского языка* published at the beginning of the current century [Лещёва 2001, 2002]. At that time the idea for still another English lexicology textbook grew out of several concerns.

The 1950–1970s were a golden age for the Soviet lexicology when the interest for word study, traditionally quite high in Russia, gave birth to the publication in the Soviet Union of quite a number of textbooks in English Lexicology which became well-known and even classical. These are the textbooks by Prof. N. N. Amosova [Амосова 1955], Prof. A. I. Smirnitsky [Смирницкий 1956], Prof. I. R. Galperin and Y. B. Cherkasskaya [Гальперин, Черкасская 1956], Prof. O. S. Akhmanova [Ахманова 1957], Prof. I. V. Arnold [Арнольд 1959] that were written in Russian and the textbooks written in English by Prof. I. V. Arnold [Арнольд 1966] and Assoc. Prof. R. Z. Ginzburg et al. [Лексикология английского языка 1966].

The set of textbooks in English Lexicology as an academic discipline was completed by *Seminars in English Lexicology* [Медникова 1978]. To compensate for the unavailability of foreign papers and monographs on the crucial lexicological problems (though not textbooks!) a special selection of texts by British and American scholars of that time was done in *Readings in Modern English Lexicology* [Хидекель 1969].

These textbooks laid the foundations of English Lexicology as a well-established academic discipline recognized by all educational establishments of higher education of the country. Their influence extended on to all the English Lexicology textbooks that appeared later in the last decade of the 20th century [Харитончик 1992; Antrushina 1999] and later in the new millennium.

In the last quarter of the past century lexicology also became a fully-fledged university linguistic discipline in Germany and many English-speaking countries – the countries where the study of words had been traditionally divided between semi-independent linguistic disciplines of morphology, semantics, etymology, phraseology, and lexicography. Consequently, a number of interesting textbooks appeared there, for example, *An outline of English lexicology: lexical structure, word semantics, and word-formation* by Leonhard Lipka (1992, 2002), *Words, Meaning and Vocabulary: An Introduction to Modern English Lexicology* by Howard Jackson and Etienne Ze Amyela (2000), and others.

At the turn of the century with the growing need for professional foreign language instruction in the Republic of Belarus the place of lexicology has radically changed. Many Belarusian universities and colleges training future foreign language teachers, interpreters, and specialists in cross-cultural communication have introduced the English Lexicology course into their study plans. Hence, there appeared a special need for a new textbook.

The previous editions of this textbook aimed at meeting that need. They were viewed as a synoptic, updated overview of lexicology and as a chance for sharing the experience and knowledge that the author had accumulated while carrying out her personal research.

However, English Lexicology since that time has become still more complex and more informative.

The available data have been reconsidered and re-valuated in new fundamental publications. For example, the six-volume collection of papers *Lexicology: Critical Concepts in Linguistics* with Patrick Hanks as editor (2007) includes nearly one hundred papers, articles, and extracts covering every aspect of lexicology: philosophy of language, prototype theory, artificial intelligence, cognitive linguistics, systemic linguistics, structuralism (European and American), generative lexicon theory, meaning-text theory, natural semantic metalanguage theory, computational linguistics, corpus linguistics, and child language acquisition. English translation of extracts from classical writings on the lexicon by Aristotle, G. Leibniz, L. Wittgenstein, J. Trier, W. Porzig, E. Coseriu, and others became available to the reader.

Recently many coursebooks on English Lexicology have been revised and new ones have appeared in Russia [Дубенец 2002; Минаева 2003; Бабич 2006, 2010; Гвишиани 2007; Лаврова 2012] and others.

Lexical studies have also achieved good progress. Numerous new articles, monographs and conference proceedings on diverse issues have been published, including those on the use of corpora in lexical investigations that the modern stage of lexicological research is characterized by [Halliday 2004, 2007; Fisher 1998; Mühleisen 2010] and others.

A good example of the recent important contribution to lexicology is a book of 15 chapters by Patrick Hanks, a well-known lexicographer and a phraseologist, *Lexical Analysis: Norms and Exploitations* (2013). In this book he develops the lexicon theory by Firth, Sinclair, Fillmore, Wierzbicka and Apresjan, who paid special attention to the use of the word and the context, sums up the known ideas, tests them on the corpus data and puts forward the so-called *theory of norms and exploitations* (TNE), 'lexically-based, corpus driven, bottom-up and pattern based'. P. Hanks argues that language users have a double competence: a competence *to use words according to the norm* and a competence *to play with the norm* to exploit it. That is why alongside with a list of *normal patterns*, P. Hanks presents a list of creative "abnormal patterns" and he ranges the patterns to the degree of abnormality. The change of meaning, tropes and phraseology are viewed from the point of view of patterned alternations with the help of a large corpus.

Naturally, to make the textbook in line with the recent research and current lexicological trends, we updated the text and references, supplemented the text with some new data, revised and replenished the list of suggestions for further reading, corrected minor errors in the previous texts, and wrote completely new Preface and Conclusion.

The textbook *English Lexicology* addresses all the traditional issues of the English Lexicology academic course as etymology of English words, their semantics, morphological and derivational structure, semantic relations within the language system, etc. Some space is devoted to more recent psychological, cultural and social aspects of the English vocabulary study such as political correctness and word selection in speech, vocabulary acquisition, and mental lexicon.

The author gave special attention to logical organization of the textbook and integration of the material within it. Each of the ten chapters begins with a list of basic issues discussed there, further down in the text these issues are numbered and labeled. The points for discussion are illustrated with numerous verbal examples. New concepts and terms are provided with detailed definitions. At the end of each chapter in the section *Further reading* there is a list of recommended literature for independent study. The full list of references is presented at the end of the book.

The textbook is intended to be used as an essential introduction to the English Lexicology academic course for undergraduate students. It may also be used by postgraduates who specialize in lexical semantics and wish to refresh their knowledge as well as to get a list of literature on the topic to start their intensive reading. The textbook may also be a study-guide for self-directed learners who are interested in the science of words.

Along with the given textbook, students may also use other textbooks that through the years have proved their validity. This textbook is recommended to be used parallel with practical assignments presented in numerous work books and study-guides [Суша 2001; Практикум по лексикологии английского языка 2009; Голикова 2006; Середа 2010; Катермина 2010] and others.

I would like to thank all who over more than two decades have provided me with suggestions for improving the text and helped me with this version of the book.

I express my gratitude for the authorities of Minsk State Linguistic University who always support me in my publishing activities and for the opportunity to publish this version of the Lexicology textbook.

Special recognition goes to Colette Morrow, Professor of English at Purdue University, Indiana, who in the most gracious way added “Englishness” to my English by editing the first edition of the textbook in 2001.

I also wish to express my sincere appreciation to O. S. Zabrodskaya, the editor of the textbook 2016, and K. I. Kavaliova, the editor of the present 2023 book, for their scrupulous proofreading and expertise in editing the manuscript and typesetting the book.

I heartily thank my reviewers, Dr of Sc., Prof. L. V. Khvedchenya (Belarusian State University); Cand. of Sc., Assoc. Prof. Y. V. Rubanova (Mogilev State A. Kuleshov University), for their valuable comments.

The shortcomings and flaws of the book remain, of course, entirely my responsibility.

Ludmila Leshchova

ABBREVIATIONS

abbr	abbreviation
adj	adjective
adv	adverb
AmE	American English
arch	archaic
BCE	before the Common Era (= BC)
BrE	British English
CE	the Common Era (= AD)
cf.	*confer* ‘compare’
e.g.	*exempli gratia* ‘for example’
esp.	especially
et al.	*et alia* ‘and others’
E	English
G	German
Goth	Gothic
Gk	Greek
fr.	from
Fr	French
i.e.	*id est* ‘which is to say, in other words’
(in)fml	(in)formal
interj	interjection
IC	Immediate Constituents
It	Italian
L	Latin
ME	Middle English
ModE	Modern English
n	noun
obs	obsolete
OE	Old English
OFr	Old French
ON	Old Norse
pl.	plural
pref	prefix
pp	past participle
prn	pronoun
prp	preposition
RL	recipient language of borrowing
Russ	Russian
Sc	Scandinavian
sing	singular

SL	source language of borrowing
suf	suffix
TEFL	Teaching English as Foreign Language
UC	Ultimate Constituents
usu.	usually
v	verb
vi	verb intransitive
vs.	*versus* ‘against’
vt	verb transitive
LDCE	The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English
NND	The New National Dictionary
LLCE	The Longman Lexicon of Contemporary English by Tom McArthur
OALDCE	The Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English by A. S. Hornby
WNCD	The Webster’s New Collegiate Dictionary
OED	The Oxford English Dictionary

Introduction
WHAT'S IN A WORD?

While without grammar little can be conveyed,
without vocabulary nothing can be conveyed.
David A. Wilkins

Why need I volumes, if one word suffice?
Ralph Waldo Emerson

Words are the most natural and economic means of naming the concepts and expressing oneself.

They are also bricks that make up a language. Though there is not a straightforward and complete definition of the term *word*, everyone may agree that it is a language unit of supreme importance. Without words there is no language, without language there is no human life.

All speakers of a native language acquire a huge lexicon. "The average English speaker knows about 50,000 words; nearly 25 times more words than there are individual stars visible to the naked eye in the night sky"[1]. They acquire it at an early age and still add to it over time learning new words and expressions, word meanings, word usage, and word interrelation.

But learning or knowing lexicon as a language user and describing it as an object of scientific investigation are absolutely different activities. The purpose of word studies is to give an insight into the most effective natural system of human communication the mechanism of which is hidden from direct observation. Modeling this system, mapping it requires great efforts of daring minds, most elaborate theories, and application of various methods of investigation. However, no one can even hope to present an effective and exhaustive model of the lexical system. As S. I. Hayakawa mentioned in his book *Language in Thought and Action*, "a map does not represent ALL of a territory; words never say ALL about anything" [Hayakawa 1964, p. 314].

A word is *a multi-sided phenomenon*, there is much linguistic and extralinguistic information encoded in it. For example, by the form of a word we recognize the language it belongs to or originates from. Then, the semantic and grammatical

[1] *Pritchard St.* How the English language still confuses and enrages [Electronic resource] // The Observer. – 25 Aug. 2013. – Mode of access: https://www.theguardian.com/theobserver/2013/aug/25/readers-editor-english-language-misuse. – Date of access: 10.05.2015.

information that a word has enables us to use it properly in speech; a wrong use of a word tells us a lot about the speaker, his/her education and origin, physical and psychological state. A word reflects the development of a language as well as the history and culture of the nation. It also talks much about the cultural and cognitive development of its user. A word stands for a concept – a unit of man's thought, and it is viewed as a window into mental processes. A motivated word may also reflect some characteristic features of the concept it stands for.

Therefore, *word studies* are also *various and multilateral*. Words are the subject of investigation by various scholars: philosophers, psychologists, neurologists, ethnographers, teologists, archeologists, philologists, and certainly linguists.

But whatever their interests and approaches to word studies are, they should take into account that a word is, first of all, the most important block of the *language structure*. It is a unit of all its constituent levels: phonemic, morphemic, lexical and syntactic, so it is an object of study in all branches of linguistics: phonetics, morphology, lexicology, and syntax. Each of these branches of linguistics has its own definition of the term *word*, and each of them examines particular aspects of words. *Phonology* views a word as a string of phonemes that conforms to rules of syllable formation, *Morphology* investigates derivation of words, word-formation rules and properties of newly derived words, and *Syntax* studies words as units that are inserted in syntactic structures.

This book will discuss the basic structural characteristics of the word stock in English, its innovation and growth. It will focus on the ways that naming units are borrowed from other languages or created in English, on interrelations of individual English words in the system, on presentation of English words in dictionaries and in the mental lexicon, on shortcomings of a dictionary book, and some other word related information.

And finally, one more important thing: each language has its own system and structure of words, and systematic description of the English lexicon may help to assess the similarities and differences in the structure of the vocabulary of some other language, and thus be of great use in translation, foreign language teaching, contrastive linguistics, etc.

Chapter 1
ENGLISH LEXICOLOGY: GENERAL OVERVIEW

> The 20th century European lexicology is a reality whose vitality and diversity cannot be questioned.
>
> *Bernard Quemada*

- *Lexicology and lexicon*
- *English Lexicology as an academic discipline*
- *Lexical units*

1. Lexicology and lexicon

L e x i c o l o g y is a branch of linguistics that studies *a word* and *a system of words* in a language (*lexis*, *lexicon*, or *vocabulary*). This term *lexicology* comes from two Greek words – *lexis* 'word, speech', or *lexicos* 'relating to a word', and *logos* 'learning'.

Though *a word* as a basic language unit is studied by all linguistic disciplines (Phonetics, Grammar, Stylistics, Sociolinguistics, Pragmatics, etc.), lexicology has its own object of word investigation – it studies semantics and structure of words and word equivalents, their organization in a language system and their use in speech.

Word and vocabulary studies go back to the very first reflections on language, but their scientific study within lexicology is relatively new: the term *lexicology* was first mentioned only in 1765 in the French encyclopedia edited by *D. Diderot* and *J. d'Alembert.*

In the entry *Grammaire* the word *lexicology* is described there as a study of isolated words which is dealing with explanation of three aspects of knowledge about them: their *Material* (syllables, pronunciation), their *Value* which is divided into three parts: the fundamental sense (proper or figurative), the specific sense (now called the part-of-speech), and the accidental sense (morphological variants of the word), and their *Etymology* (the historical sources of a word and the rules by which new words are formed)[1].

Today this definition of lexicology still remains largely relevant.

[1] *Grefenstette, G.* The future of Linguistics and Lexicographers: Will there be lexicographers in the year 3000? // Proc. of the 8th EURALEX Congr. – Liege: Univ. of Liege, 1998. – P. 25.

However, lexicology as a separate branch of linguistics is more characteristic of the European linguistic tradition. In the American linguistic school, going back mainly to Bloomfield and later to Chomsky, scholars were looking for regular language laws and rules, and could hardly find them in lexicon which was believed to have no integrated theory but a list of irregularities that have to be learned and memorized and which was viewed mostly as an additional part of grammar. "The lexicon is really an appendix of the grammar, a list of basic irregularities", wrote L. Bloomfield in *Language* (1933) trying to eliminate lexical-semantic studies from linguistic analysis.

However, this unfriendly view of the lexicon posing it "stating that "like a prison – it contains only the lawless, and the only thing that its inmates have in common is lawlessness" [Di Sciullo 1987, p. 3] by and large changed in the USA in the second part of the last century, and this change can be traced to the influential view of Jackendoff (1975)" [Ibid.]. Many American linguists began to view the lexicon as a central component of grammar, a "highly structured repository of rules and principles that give it status and prominence previously accorded only to syntax" [Fellbaum 1998, p. 3].

But even now, when the American linguistic school is developing an integral model of language, when the study of words there is not any more divided between morphology, semantics, syntax, etymology and other linguistic subdisciplines, the major emphasis there is still paid mostly on syntax, and problems of vocabulary are usually treated there within Generative Grammar Theory.

The current research within lexicology is diverse, and different subdivisions of lexicology are of practical use. Thus, lexicology may be *general* when it studies general problems of lexicon in any human language or *special* when its subject is lexicon of a given language like English, Russian, or Swahili. *Contrastive lexicology* compares and describes the vocabulary systems of two or more languages. The use of computers in the study of lexicon and in the study of machine-readable dictionaries is done by *Computational Lexicology*, a branch of computational linguistics. There are also some other subdivisions of lexicology depending on the aspect of lexicon studies. For example, *synchronic lexicology* studies vocabulary at a certain historic level of language development (e.g., *Modern English Lexicology* or *Old English Lexicology*). The evolution, development of words through the time is studied by *diachronic*/*historical lexicology*.

Defining lexicology, one should also be aware that there are three major understandings of the term *lexicon*: lexicological, lexicographic and cognitological.

In *lexicology* the term *lexicon* is viewed as the nucleus of language, as a synonym to *lexical system and structure*, or *lexis*, *word-stock*, or *vocabulary* of a language. Lexicon is one of the three language components alongside with grammatical and phonetic ones but lexical properties of a word determine to a great extent its grammatical ones. We may study these three components separately paying special attention to their organization and development, though this separateness is to a great extent conventional, as none of them can exist independently and all of them deal with a word. Composition of these three components is of great interest for modern scholars trying to understand the nature of human language. *Lexicon* understood *as a specific semiotic structure and system used for communication, as a vocabulary component of language* studied by *lexicology*.

In *lexicography* the term *lexicon* is often used to denote all the words of a particular language with their meanings presented in a dictionary, usually in an alphabetical order. The word *lexicon* may be used to denote *a dictionary* itself, especially that of an ancient language (e.g., *Lexicon of Greek*, *Lexicon of Hebrew*, or *Old English Lexicon*). So, *lexicon as a list of words with their parts and their equivalents* is the major concern of *lexicography* – the science and practice of compiling dictionaries.

Cognitive science views *lexicon* not as a mere physically visible or in some other way perceptible list of words and their relations that one should learn and memorize. Lexicon there is primarily a psychological reality, a very complicated, diversely and specifically organized part of a language structure, special language knowledge that we keep in our mind. It is also called *mental lexicon* – a part of our language competence – that is not equivalent to the alphabetical list of words. In cognitive literature lexicon is viewed as knowledge that a native speaker has about his/her mother tongue vocabulary constituents, their relations, and their use. The mental lexicon is believed to have a generative character and to include not only a list of vovabulary units but also *a list of rules* according to which they are created. “There are two tricks, words and rules. They work by different principles, are learned and used in different ways, and may even reside in different parts of the brain” [Pinker 1999, p. 2]. So, *lexicon as individual, internal mental capacity* of human beings is studied by *psycholinguistics*, *cognitive sciences*, and namely by quite a new branch of lexicology which is called *Cognitive Lexicology.*

It should also be mentioned that division between special and general, descriptive and historical, traditional, computational or cognitive lexicology, and even between lexicology and lexicography is to a certain extent *arbitrary*.

One cannot describe and explain the current organization of vocabulary in a language without the list of lexical units presented in dictionaries or without taking into account its evolutionary development studied by historical linguistics. It is not possible to fulfill the tasks of specialized lexicology without knowledge of lexical universals and major lexical regularities discovered by general lexicology. It is hardly possible to study word meaning not making reference to general conceptual knowledge. And vice versa, general lexicology searching for lexical universals and major regularities cannot do without data on vocabulary organization of particular languages. Similarly, historical lexicology investigating changes cannot do without studying lexicon at certain or several synchronic periods; cognitive lexicology makes a wide use of knowledge of exteriorized vocabulary system gained by traditional lexicology and lexicography, etc.

Lexicology as a branch of linguistics has great *theoretical* and *practical significance*. It is fundamental for other branches of linguistics and cognitive sciences related to lexicon study like psychology, computer science, neuroscience, anthropology, ethology, etc. Scholars in all these sciences widely use the data obtained by lexicology as well as its methods of vocabulary analysis and modeling. The data are also important for methodology of teaching, lexicography, translation theory, and other branches of applied linguistics.

2. English Lexicology as an academic discipline

Like any other science, English Lexicology has its own **object** of investigation: *lexicon*, or *word-stock in English* – one of the youngest world languages, the language spoken by more than 20 % of the world's population as their native or additional language, and the most frequent in the world foreign language taught as a compulsory subject at school.

English lexicology has also its own aims, a set of theoretical concepts, laws and regularities, various methods of analysis and spheres of application. The major **aim** of English Lexicology as an academic subject is systematic description of the word-stock, or vocabulary in English. It describes the *origin* of English words, their specific *morphological structure*, the most important *word-building means* and major *ways of replenishing the English vocabulary*, peculiarities of *meaning*

of English words, the rules of their *relation* to one another in a language system and their *combination* with one another in speech, major *standard variants of English*, and *traditions of British and American lexicography*.

Some general theoretical problems concerning word and lexicon will also be discussed here in order to understand the nature of concrete specific features of an English word more deeply. Different theories and points of view are presented, though left to open criticism. Being written by and for a Russian speaking person, English Lexicology inevitably contains elements of *contrastive lexicology* based on comparing English and Russian words.

English Lexicology is of special importance for those who study English as a foreign language: it makes them more aware about the English language system, and they become more sophisticated learners and more proficient English language users, interpreters, translators, and teachers.

3. Lexical units

Lexicon, no matter if it is understood as external or internal system, reconstructed as a major language component, presented in a regular word-book or stored in our mental lexicon, is made up of **lexemes** – abstract units called so on analogy with *morphemes* and *phonemes*. The forms of lexemes are *lexical units* (*lexical items*). The types of lexical units and their characteristics, however, are still a matter of theoretical disputes.

The following facts about l e x i c a l u n i t s are acceptable by most linguists. They are:

- **ready-made** ‘готовые’, i.e., they are registered in a dictionary/mental lexicon and are reproducible in speech;
- **two-faceted** ‘двусторонние’, i.e., they are diadic, or two-part linguistic signs and have both meaning and form: ***pen*** (n), ***rewrite*** (v), ***penal*** (adj).

Thus, lexical units differ from other language units like one-faceted *phonetic units* (the smallest language units that do not have meaning of their own) and also from two-faceted *syntactic units* (the largest language units – free word combinations or sentences which are created according to syntax rules for every occasion in speech and thus cannot be listed in a dictionary).

The types of lexical units that meet these two requirements are **morpheme***s*, **words** and **set/lexical phrases** like ***by the way***; ***get out***; ***the devil is in the details*** – all of them are two-faceted and ready-made. Let us consider them in more detail.

M o r p h e m e is *the smallest* two-faceted and ready-made lexical unit.

Lexicology studies mainly **word-building**, or *derivational morphemes* (for example, ***pre-***, ***work-***, ***-er***) but not *form-building* (or *grammatical*) *morphemes*, which are the subject matter of Grammar. (Form-building morphemes, or inflections expressing number, gender, person, tense, etc., are added later to stems, when all derivative processes have already taken place there. For example, the form-building morpheme ***-s*** expressing plurality is added to the stem ***work-er*** and after that in speech it demands the plural form of the following verb, e.g., *The worker**s** **are** not there*.)

D e r i v a t i o n a l m o r p h e m e s (morphemes, for short) have a great constituative capacity: they build up words and, in this way, contribute to the generative character of lexicon. A word may consist of only one morpheme as ***bag*** or of several of them as ***anti-de-mobil-iz-ing***.

W o r d is the most typical, central lexical unit. A word, unlike a morpheme, performs a *nominative function* while a morpheme does not. And then, it is an *autonomous* two-faceted ready-made lexical unit because it can be used in isolation.

The question, however, is what is understood by the term *word*?

On the one hand, we single out words from speech quite easily. Edward Sapir, studying languages of Native Americans, pointed out that even an illiterate person who is not familiar with the idea of a written word can easily dictate a text *word by word*. F. de Saussure also underlined the fact that a word corresponds to *a deeply rooted intuition*.

But the question remains what makes boundaries for a word, how it happens that we intuitively realize their presence?

There are several ways of defining a word though no adequate definition of it is available so far.

Orthographic definition of a word is *any sequence of letters between spaces*. But it is not enough because spelling just registers what is understood but understanding may have varieties (***toothpaste***, ***tooth-paste*** or ***tooth paste***). And then, in many non-alphabetical languages, like Chinese, characters usually give no clue as to where a word starts and ends.

Phonological definition of a word is according to some criteria, for example, stress, *a unit of speech,* a unit of pronunciation. Then in the utterance: ***I'll have to go there*** it should be admitted that there are, maximum, three stressed phonological words: [aɪlˊhæv | təˊgoʊ | ðɛə] – which, however, does not correspond to other criteria of a word.

Morphological definition of a word as *a minimal free morpheme* may also be criticized, as it is not always clear what a morpheme is and what morpheme should be called free, especially in some English compounds and derivatives as in ***cranberry*** (n) or ***blackout*** (n). Sometimes segmenting a word into morphemes is not easy because there are no clearly perceived word boundaries (***more ice*** or ***more rice***?) or because several categories are fused in one form (the monomorphic word ***has***, for example, incorporates two grammatical meanings: those of simple present tense and third person singular).

Conceptual definition of a word as *a linguistic counterpart of a single concept* is not enough either, as one and the same concept may be expressed by one or two words (cf.: ***to die*** and ***to join the majority***), and vice versa, one word, when it is polysemous, may express different concepts (cf. the verb ***die*** 1) 'to stop living' as in *A year later my dog* ***died***; 2) 'to break down' as in *The engine coughed, spluttered and* ***died***).

It is hardly possible to give any single definition of such a complicated phenomenon as *a word* because, as George Miller put it, "definitions always leak at the margins" [Miller 1991, p. 31]. Segmentation of an utterance into words includes many strategies, phonetic and semantic, morphological, and syntactic, and the use of only one of them may lead to mistakes.

Still another problem with a word is that it may have different *grammatical forms*, like ***go*** and ***went*** that are also often referred to as 'words', especially in computer linguistics: they may speak about the word ***go*** and the word ***went***. That is why instead of the ambiguous term *word* it is more convenient and preferable in many situations to use the term *lexeme* that unites different grammatical forms of a word having the same lexical meaning: the lexeme ***find*** unites such forms as ***finds***, ***found***, ***finding***. When we look up words in a dictionary, we are looking up *lexemes* rather than words. And yet in lexicology the term *word* traditionally is used there to name a central lexical unit.

So, contemporary linguistic theories distinguish three types of units that correspond to the notion of 'word': *phonological word* which is a sequence of phonemes (in the phrase ***he's written*** there is one phonological word [hɪz′rɪt(ə)n]); *grammatical word* the presence of which is morphosyntactically grounded (***write***, ***wrote***, ***has written*** are three different grammatical words), and *lexical word* (lexeme) which is the headword in a dictionary entry (e.g., ***write***).

The position of a word as a central lexical unit, however, is often disputed. In some languages, like English, with limited system of inflectional morphemes and abundance of monomorphic words (***work***, ***desk***, ***sing***) derivational morphemes,

for example, roots, very often look like autonomous units coinciding with words that an utterance may be segmented into (***I – like – fruit***), and many linguists, predominantly, English-speaking ones, believe *morphemes* to be *central lexical units*.

However, in inflectional and agglutinating languages morphemes enjoy far less central and independent status. Thus, in the Russian sentence ***Дев-очк-а чит-а-ет книг-у*** all the root morphemes are not independent and are used together with word-forming (grammatical) affixes. Another example is the declension of the Turkish word ***adam*** 'a man': being used in Nominative Singular it does not have perceptible affixes but in other cases it has different affixes, including interfixes: ***adam-a*** (Dative Singular), ***adam-lar*** (Nominative Plural) and ***adam-lar-a*** (Dative Plural).

That is why most linguists believe that *morphemes* in any language have their true significance only in relations *to the words they appear in*, and accordingly it is a *word*, not a morpheme, that is *the central unit of lexicon.*

The largest ready-made two-faceted lexical unit is a lexical phrase. However, it is called many other semisynonymic names like a **phraseological unit** (**idiom**, **polyword** or **set expression**). This type of a lexical unit is made up of at least two words, the meaning of each being different from the meaning of the complex unit (***red tape***, ***catch up***). Functionally they may be a word or a sentence equivalent (***watch out*** 'beware'; ***look before you leap*** 'think of the consequences before you act').

So, *word-building morphemes* are the *smallest* lexical units; *phraseological units*, or *idioms*, are the *largest* ones; and *words* are the most *typical* and *central* lexical units.

Lexical units are generally understood to convey a single meaning but in reality they *may be polysemous* and have more than one meaning. That is why some scholars believe that different conventional meanings of a lexical unit enter the lexicon as *separate naming units*, and accordingly, these *conventional meanings* are also *lexical units*.

All the lexical units have fuzzy margins and the difference between them (e.g., between a morpheme and a word, a word and an idiom, an idiom and a free word combination) is not always clear-cut (cf.: *clever-**er*** and ***more** clever*; *make-**up*** and *make **up***; ***upper**most* and ***upper** class*), and so far there are no technical tests that would be accurate enough to distinguish them.

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Chapter 2
NAMING INSTINCT

> The word makes men free. Whoever cannot express himself is a slave. Speaking is an act of freedom; the word is freedom itself.
>
> *Ludwig Feuerbach*

> Whatever name you give to a thing is its right name; and if you give up that name and change it for another, the later name is no less correct than the earlier; for I think no name belongs to a particular thing by nature.
>
> *Plato*

- *Categorization and naming* • *Lexical naming units. Lexicalization*
- *Types of lexical naming* • *Motivation and demotivation*
- *Remotivation. Folk etymology*

Before we procede to the major issue of the book and describe the characteristics of the Modern English vocabulary, we shall discuss some general issues of lexicon emergence: we shall see how we, human beings, create names, no matter what languages we speak.

1. Categorization and naming

All living beings are classifying creatures: we all classify, or *categorize*, the information into classes, or *categories.* C a t e g o r i z a t i o n is matching sense data and other information with *conceptual prototypes* – the most typical representatives of the category that are already stored in mind. For example, buying a cup in a store, we categorize an unusual item as *a cup* or *a bowl*, etc. Your dog may easily categorize a comer as a friend or a stranger. Without categorization survival of an organism is not possible.

But human beings go still further. We **name** conceptual categories to operate with them more effectively, to store them into a memory slot and retreat from there while thinking or speaking. **Name-giving** to conceptual categories, or just n a m i n g, is a purely human activity. Only people give names to concepts of people, objects, events, and qualities. Danger calls of animals are not names yet: these calls are used “on-line” only, they are not used by animals to communicate

about the past or future, but as in humans they are also closely connected with their emotions and desires. Some animals, like chimps, *can* but do not *want* to name things [Aitchison 1996, p. 96–97], and all this makes them different from even small human children.

Stephen R. Anderson in his book *A-Morphous Morphology* recollects the following episode from the time of his studying at the Linguistic Department at MIT: "One day one of the graduate students was talking with the Chairman, Morris Halle, and asked him "What must I do to become rich and famous?". Morris's reply: "Go forth and name things!" [Anderson 1992, p. 1]. This joke incorporates an important idea: giving a thing a memorable and appropriate name that other people will later approve and use in their speech is one of the most important and fruitful human activities.

We cannot restore the moment when humans acquired the habit of naming. We can neither say what the first names looked like. But we can say how many modern words come from other words in the same or different languages. We can also enumerate the basic ways of naming that humans use these days.

2. Lexical naming units. Lexicalization

We may express the content of a concept by different language units in *propositional* and *discursive naming* such as *free word combination* (***a nice girl***) or *sentences* (***She is a nice girl***). Even if we have some knowledge and skills in a certain domain, we need to know how people talk about it. These language units are not quite ready-made, they are created in discourse by phrase forming rules and they do not enter lexicon as its fundamental lexical units. Such naming units may be studied in syntax, discourse analysis and other linguistic disciplines.

Lexicology studies only l e x i c a l n a m i n g which is done by such **naming units** as a **word** (***girl***, ***nice***), **multiverbal ready-made phrase**s (e.g., ***in fact***, ***Civil Service***) or by their **lexical-semantic variants** (often referred as **senses**) (e.g., ***discipline*** 1**)** training mind and body to produce self-control and habits of obedience (*school* ~); 2) the result of such training, order kept (*there was no ~ in the school*); 3) subject of instruction (*You are not good at history, you'd better choose another* ~).

Creation, or derivation of such lexical naming units in accordance with language rules and storing them as *ready-made units* in order to retrieve them later from memory when needed is called l e x i c a l i z a t i o n of a concept. Psychologists proved that lexicalized concepts are processed by our mind quicker than non-lexicalized ones, so naming helps us think.

Not all the concepts in the mind are lexicalized, or named, but only those that are especially important for communication. For many concepts there are no names in a language, there are **lexical gaps** for them, though people may discover them only in the process of translation from one language into another. For example, the word ***caboose*** denoting in American English 'a small carriage at the back of a goods train for people who work on the train' has a lexical gap in Russian because there is no equivalent lexeme there. Its meaning is rendered in *Большой англо-русский словарь* (1987) descriptively as '*амер., ж.-д.* служебный вагон в товарном поезде'.

For many concepts there *are* names in a language but common people may not know them. For example, we may have a clear-cut concept of a tag covering the ends of a lace but not all English speakers know that its name is ***aglet***. But in Russian there is even a lexical gap for the concept, that is why according to *Англо-русский словарь* by Prof. V. K. Muller (1977) this concept is rather described than lexicalized: 'металлический наконечник шнурка'.

The most important conceptual categories may have more than one name. For example, in English there are hundreds of words for DRUNK (***drunk***, ***boozy***, ***intoxicated***, ***foxed***, ***jolly***, ***tight***, ***D and D*** 'drunk and disorderly', ***balmy***, ***loaded***, etc.) or for MONEY *(**money**, **bucks**, **bread**, **bread and honey**, **beans**, **dough**, **cash**, **change**, **clam**, **gravy**, **jack**, **paper**, **scratch**, **shekel***, etc.).

It was underlined above that lexicology deals only with conventional lexical naming units that enter a lexicon, with those that are approved of by the language community.

Naturally, different societies have different values and needs for concept lexicalization, and this may lead to differences in their lexical systems and translation problems. For example, Belarusian people can easily classify mushrooms into tens of categories and give each of them a special name while in English there are usually no equivalent names for them. Another example may be given with the help of adjectives. The work of a teacher may be called in English ***rewarding***, ***challenging*** or ***demanding*** but neither of these adjectives is easy to translate into Russian. It is difficult to find equivalent Russian words for them though Russian speakers have these concepts, too.

Another important reason for lexical differences in different languages is connected with *categorization.*

Though our senses are structured similarly, results of categorization may not be the same in the minds of different people (cf. the proverb ***What is trash for one man is treasure for the other***). Even in the mind of the same person categorization

of the same object, property or event may be different due to new experiences though it may remain unnoticed because "we are constructed so as normally to be unaware of our own contribution to our experiences" [Jackendoff 1993, p. 27].

But personal discrepancies in categorization become especially obvious if we compare the results of categorization and naming done by different language communities because individuals speaking different languages categorize information about objects, properties and events in a slightly different way depending on the focus of their attention determined by their culture, language structure or just deliberateness.

Different colour categorization and naming by different language communities provides proof that preference for choosing the focus and attributes critical for categorization may be quite deliberate (cf.: ***blue*** in English and ***синий*** и ***голубой*** in Russian; ***red*** in English and ***красный*** и ***рыжий*** in Russian). Another example may be found within the conceptual sphere of actions, expressed by one verb (e.g., ***чистить***) in Russian and a number of different verbs (***clean***, ***scour***, ***brush***, ***scrub***, ***peel***, ***scale***) in English.

As a result, even the most common words in different languages, like ***house***, ***door***, ***window***, ***table***, ***red***, ***blue***, ***hot***, or ***to close*** may stand for conceptual categories that differ in boundaries and prototypes. A ***house*** for English speakers is typically a two-storeyed building for dwelling while for Russian speakers the number of storeys does not matter for the category named by the word ***дом*** (cf. *шестнадцатиэтажный дом*).

To close or open the entrance to a room you may one or two pieces of wood or metal which are moved, accordingly you may say in English ***Use the other door, please***. But in Russian a door of any construction is still one door, and that is why this English sentence should be translated into Russin as ***Используйте, пожалуйста, вторую створку двери***.

And then, the reference of the English verb ***to close*** is narrower than that of its correlative Russian verb ***закры(ва)ть***. That is why in some situations, for example, talking about a carr door, the Russian verb ***закры(ва)ть*** ('fasten with a lock') should be translated with another English verb ***to lock*** (cf.: ***Ты закрыл двери?*** and ***Did you lock the door?***).

Conceptual space may be categorized and further lexicalized with different degrees of detail, the discriminative ability being governed to a great extent by practical needs. Thus, due to differences in culture and ways of life, Greeks, for example, distinguish more than one category, and accordingly, words for STONE, Eskimos – for SNOW, Australian aborigines – for HOLE, Arabs – for HORSE and CAMEL, and Belarusians – for MUSHROOM.

So, though the capacity to name is an inherent feature of man, the number of lexical names and their semantic boundaries usually do not coincide in different languages. One of the major reasons for lexicon differences between languages lies at the conceptual level – *in categorization differences*. Still another major reason for lexical differences is related to *different naming strategies* which will be discussed further down.

3. Types of lexical naming

There are many hypotheses of how humans started inventing words. Among them is *onomatopoeic* (or *Bow-wow*) theory suggesting that the initial human vocabulary was made up of words imitating natural sounds and animal calls. *Cries of emotion* (or *Pooh-pooh*) *theory* supports the idea that the first words came from involuntary closing and opening vocal cords in emotionally affected ape-like animals, and interjections and exclamations being the first words. *Primitive song* (or *Ding-dong*) *theory* highlights the importance of tune and rhythm, an echoed vibrating natural resonance for an emerging human language.

While emergence of first words remains a mystery, **the major two modern types** of lexical naming of concepts seem to be obvious and *universal.* They are:

1) **borrowing** from another language;
2) **creation** of a new name by available language means.

Both these types of naming take place in any human language though their role and subtypes may be different in different languages.

B o r r o w i n g s (l o a n s) from an alien source, or donor language enter the lexical system of a target, or recipient language for several reasons. One of them is *novelty of a concept* and the absence of a name for it in the target language community while in the source language community the concept is well established and has a name (cf. the words ***ваучер***, ***приватизация***, ***риелтор***, ***сейл***, ***шопинг*** that entered the Russian lexicon in the period of social changes in the 90-ies). Another reason is a lexical gap, the absence of a name for quite a familiar concept (cf. ***харизма***). Still another reason for borrowing may be a high social prestige of a donor language (nowadays it is English: ***регион***, ***саммит***, ***тендер***, ***ритейл***, ***офшор***, ***ньюсмейкер***, ***гаджит***, ***драйв***) and a shorter form of a foreign name that saves speech efforts, especially in the professional sphere (***юзабилити*** instead of ‘возможность использования’ or ***фидбэк*** instead of ‘обратная связь’).

The process of borrowing may become easier if the phonetic structure of the borrowed word is quite imitable or when other words with similar elements have already been borrowed. We may say that the noun ***рэкетир*** 'racketeer' entered the Russian vocabulary easily because there were already borrowed words there with the same ending element: ***командир***, ***бригадир***, ***бомбардир***.

Borrowing is **complete** when both the form and meaning of a nominative unit is loaned (cf. ***sushi*** borrowed fr. Japanese).

Borrowing is **partial** (**loan translation/calque**) if they borrow either *a word-building pattern* of a name, as in ***superman*** [fr. G ***Übermensch*** 'superman'] or just *meaning* of a word (**semantic loan**), as in ***comrade*** where a new meaning 'communist' is borrowed from Russian (fr. its use as a form of address in the Soviet Union).

Borrowings bring both profits and losses for the recepient language as they, on the one hand, enrich its vocabulary system and, on the other hand, may radically change the natural character of its development.

Yet no matter how important borrowings may be in the lexicon **most of names** in any language **are created** out of means available there according to some patterns and rules of name-creation.

There are 3 main types of name creation in a language:

1. A newly created / formed, or **derived name** may be **a new word**[1]. **Word-derivation**, or **word-formation,** which involves derivational affixes and results in a new word, is called m o r p h o l o g i c a l n a m i n g.

   In English there are **three major types** of morphological naming:

- **affixation** (**prefixing** and **suffixing**; infixing – inserting of affixes within a stem like ***-blooming-*** in emphatic ***abso-blooming-lutely awful*** – is not characteristic of English);
- **conversion** (**zero derivation**);
- **composition** (**compounding**) of usually two free or combining forms.

[1] A branch of lexicology that studies exlusively **neologisms** – names in a language that appeared recently (new words, like *netiquette* 'network etiquette', *IT* 'Internet Technology' or new meanings of words and phrases *to work out* 'to exercise in order to improve health, strength, or physical appearance') – is called n e o l o g y (fr. Gk *néo-* 'new' and *lógos* 'word, speech, utterance, science').

Less productive ways of forming new words in English out of the available in the language system are connected *with changing morphological characteristics of their predecessors*. These include *clipping*, *blending*, *acronyms*, *abbreviations*, *back derivation*, *lexicalization* and some others.

2. Besides word-formation, a new name may be **a new sense** of a lexical unit created by **lexical-semantic derivation** – secondary use of a word or its equivalent to denote a different though related category.

3. The function of a new name may also be performed by **a multiword expression** that becomes fixed (*lexicalized*) and semantically different from the meanings of its constituent units (*idiomatized*). This type of naming may be called **lexicalization of a syntactic form/a word-group**, or **lexical-syntactic derivation**.

All these four types of universal naming – **borrowing**, **word-formation**, **lexical-semantic** and **lexical-syntactic derivations** – take place in Modern English. They are the subject matter of this course and will be discussed in detail in the chapters below.

It is important to note that different languages use *different types of naming for the same or similar concept*, and in this way, they contribute to cross-language lexical differences. Thus, a borrowed Russian word, ***колибри***, for example, correlates with the English morphologically derived word ***humming-bird***. The English borrowed word ***roqual*** correlates with two Russian words ***кит-полосатик*** and ***роквал***, the first one being morphologically derived and the second one – borrowing.

Still another source of cross-language lexical differences related to naming is *motivation* which is the subject matter of the next section.

4. Motivation and demotivation

As F. de Saussure pointed out that there is no apparent reason why a specific concept should have a specific name, i.e., there is certain arbitrariness in a way a referent gets its name. This idea long before him was poetically expressed by W. Shakespeare: ‘What’s in a name? that which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet’ (*Romeo and Juliet.* Act II, Scene 2). One and the same referent, for example, ROSE may be called differently in different languages: ***роза***, ***ружа***, ***rose***, ***gül***, etc. Even in one and the same language it may be referred to by different words: ***rose***, ***Great Maiden’s Blush***, ***flower*** or ***plant***.

This idea of arbitrariness in choosing naming means is well expressed by D. Bolinger: "Words are not coined in order to extract the meaning of their elements and compile a new meaning from them. The new meaning is there *first*, and the coiner is looking for the best way to express it without going to too much trouble. If parts can be found whose meanings suggest the one in mind, so much the better, but that is not essential" [Bolinger 1981, p. 109].

Yet the relationship between a name and a referent is *not totally arbitrary*. Very often there is a certain connection between them.

First of all, names need stability in their reference to concepts and referents in order the speech should perform its communicative function. We know that a purposed distortion of a person's proper name, for example, is generally intended to harm the owner, to hurt his/her feelings.

Common names are not arbitrary either. Besides the fact that they are conventional and accepted by all members of a certain language community that makes their change undesirable, their forms may also be *suggestive of their meanings*. That is why names are not just labels, they are *organizers of the information* in our minds and make the lexical system manageable. Let us see how it happens.

Names do not appear out of thin air. They usually arise from preexisting names created in the language community for different, though somehow related concepts, and maintain relationships with them for a long time.

When a name is not borrowed but created in a language, it has **a motive**, or **a motivational link**: its phonetic, morphological or semantic structure usually serves to point to some salient features of the newly lexicalized concept (cf.: *motif* 'a recurring form or shape in a design or pattern'). We may say that such names are *justified*, or **motivated**. Thus, m o t i v a t i o n refers to transparency, analyzability, inner form of a word or verbal expression structure.

Stephen Ullmann sets up **three types** of motivation:

- **phonetic motivation** takes place in the so called *imitation*, or *onomatopoeic* words: ***owl*** ('a bird that howls'), ***a cuckoo***, ***buzz***, ***clatter***, ***crash***, ***click***, ***giggle***, ***hum***, ***titter***, ***boom***, ***sputter***, ***gargle***, ***chirp***, ***clap***, ***bang***, ***gulp***, ***whine***, ***growl***, ***mutter***, and ***mumble***;
- **morphological motivation**, the most obvious one, takes place in morphologically derived words which structurally and semantically are close to the motivating words: ***a teacher*** '***a person*** *who* ***teaches***', ***a sunflower*** '*a plant with* ***a flower*** *looking like* ***the sun***';
- **semantic motivation** takes place in names derived by lexical-semantic means of metaphor or metonymy: ***fox*** 'a cunning person (like a *fox*)'; ***chicken*** 'meat of a *chicken*' [Ульман 1970, с. 255].

Some scholars also distinguish **graphic motivation**, e.g., ***be4*** ‘before’, ***2gether*** ‘together’.

Sometimes a combination of different types of motivation may be observed. Thus, the abbreviation ***PIN*** ‘**p**ersonal **i**ndentification **n**umber’ may also be regarded as a morphologically, semantically and graphically motivated word because it arouses a number of associations with other lexical units (capitalization refers to personal and abbreviated names – graphic motivation, abbreviation stands for a certrain meaningful phrase – a kind of morphological motivation, association with a common noun ***pin*** may be viewed as a kind of semantic motivation).

Motivation registers some feature of a concept believed to be its most distinguishing (cf.: ***wagtail***, ***redbreast***, ***cardinal*** (a bird), ***cupboard***, ***blackboard***, ***летучая мышь***), and thus the form of a motivated word says a lot about its meaning and preserves for many generations the reason why the concept was named in a particular way.

The motivated character of new names reflects a generative character of lexicon and unites lexical units into a system.

Naming is also a tool of **secondary categorization** of information by linguistic means which weave a verbal net for the conceptual system, and thus creating a certain “lexical map” for the world vision.

The results of this verbal categorization differ from language to language because different language communities may single out different features of a concept as the basis for correlative motivated names (cf.: ***Ferris wheel*** and ***колесо обозрения***; ***цветная бумага*** (для уроков труда) and ***construction paper***; ***первый взнос*** (за квартиру) and ***down payment***; ***nobleman*** and ***дворянин***; ***bird house*** and ***скворечник***; ***hand*** and ***стрелка часов***, ***bedroom*** and ***спальня***, ***horse-fly*** and ***слепень***).

In the course of time an object or knowledge about it may change, and the motivated word in this case may happen to be misleading.

Thus, a ***blackboard*** in a classroom is not black any more but usually green. **A*tom*** turned out to be divisible and discrete which is counter to its etymological meaning [fr. Gk *atomos* ‘nondivisable’]. The ***Canary Islands***, or the ***Canaries***, are called so not after ***canaries*** ‘small yellow birds noted for their singing’, but vice versa, the birds got their name after the original place of their habitation. And the name of the Canary Islands is derived from Latin ***Insularia Canaria***, meaning

‘Islands of Dogs’. The relation between the Islands’ name and dogs is retained in the Islands’ coat-of-arms. (However, it is not certain if the animals that stuck the imagination of the ancient Romans were really a breed of local dogs, or they were a kind of seals now extinct.)

The changes of word meaning may be followed by changes in the phonetic or orthographic structures of the word (as ***poke*** ‘small sack’ in ***pocket*** or ***eage*** ‘eye’ in ***window*** [wind + eage]). Finally, the connection between the form of the word and its meaning may grow opaquer and the word may become partially or completely demotivated.

So, the degree of semantic transparency of a word may be different, and they distinguish **completely motivated** lexical units (as ***teacher***), **partially motivated** (e.g., a ***cupboard*** is not any more exclusively used as a board for cups; a ***blackboard*** should not necessarily be black) and **demotivated** ones (***garlic*** is an Anglo-Saxon name that originally meant ‘spear leek’).

D e m o t i v a t i o n is a gradual process. It occurs when in the course of time the concept of an entity may change, and a feature formerly believed to be the leading one and chosen as motivating the name, may become loosely associated with its current content (as in ***breakfast*** [fr. *break the fast*] or ***cranberry*** [fr. *crane + berry*]).

The word may also become demotivated when the motivating word becomes obsolete and disappears from the language system as ***ham*** ‘village’ in ***hamlet*** ‘a small village’ [fr. OFr *hamelet*, diminutive of *hamel*, fr. *ham*, of Germanic origin; cf.: OE *hamm* ‘plot of pasture’, Low German *hamm* ‘enclosed land’; related to *home*]. (The element *-ham* retained in some proper English names like *Notting**ham***, *Birming**ham***.)

The results of demotivation are quite subjective and dependent on a person’s education, age, social standing, etc., and what seems to be quite transparent and motivated to one person may seem to be partially or non-motivated to another.

According to St. Ullmann, Modern English is far less motivated than Old English, and one of the reasons for that is the abundance of *non-motivated borrowings* in modern English. As for the degree of motivation of lexical names in English as compared with other languages, no reliable contrastive data is available so far.

A word motivated in one language may correlate with a nonmotivated word in the other, thus adding to differences in naming strategies and finally in cross-language lexical differences. For example, a simple non-motivated Modern English

word ***molar*** [fr. L *molere* ‘to grind’] correlates with a fully motivated Russian ***коренной зуб***. (Cf. also: ***bat*** and ***летучая мышь***.) Or, vice versa, a motivated English word may correlate with a demotivated word in Russian as in ***horse-cover*** and ***попона***, ***mountain ash*** and ***рябина***, ***merry-go-round*** and ***карусель***.

So, concluding the discussion on cross-language differences in naming techniques and lexicon structure we may state that different choice of concepts for lexicalization in different language communities, arbitrary borderlines of correlative lexicalized concepts, different choice of naming strategies and different degree of motivation are the major lines along which the lexical systems of different languages diverge. They are also major causes for lexical interference in bilinguals and the sources for their speech mistakes.

5. Remotivation. Folk etymology

Different social and age groups have different attitudes towards demotivated and non-motivated words. Small children and old people, not educated enough, or on the contrary, linguistically gifted people very often slightly change the form and make nonmotivated words to be motivated again, or **remotivated**.

The current pronunciation of some demotivated or partially motivated words such as ***forehead*** [ˊfɔːhed] instead of [ˊfɔrɪd] and ***waistcoat*** [ˊweɪstkəut] instead of [ˊweɪskəut] spotlights their original compound nature as the spelling of these words still signals. This process of reviving the connection between a word’s form and meaning that makes a demotivated word become motivated again is called r e m o t i v a t i o n.

Remotivation may be an unconscious or conscious process of giving back a motive to a word by replacing an unfamiliar form by a more familiar one, by pairing incorrect words and concepts, not by a thorough linguistic analysis. In this case it is called f o l k (or f a l s e e t y m o l o g y).

Folk etymologies reveal how speakers view the relations between words. Many words that common people do not understand properly, especialy borrowings, may undergo the process of folk etymology.

Thus, the word ***cockroach*** is a borrowing from Spanish but the original form *cucaracha* was folk-etymologized as ***cock*** + ***roach***. The word ***female*** came from OF *femelle*, diminutive of *femme* ‘woman’ but it became associated and assimilated by the noun ***male*** [OFr *masle*, fr. L *masculus*]. The word *pease* originally had only mass noun meaning, and later the sound [s] at the end of the word was perceived by people as the ending for the plural form, so the word

pea appeared. ***An apron*** came into ME from MFr ***a naperon*** (diminutive of ***nape*** 'cloth') by incorrect division of the word. The word ***an adder*** in ME from OE ***a nædre*** appeared exactly in the same way. ***So long***, for example, came from the Arabic ***salaam*** 'peace'. Then, ***shamefaced*** appeared from ***shamefast*** 'fast (fixed) in shame, constantly modest' but the last element of the word became associated with the more familiar ***face***, and ***a nickname*** is a result of misdivision in the 14th century of ***an eke name*** 'an additional name'.

An interesting example of folk etymology may present the word ***turkey*** which etymologists trace to Hebrew ***tukki*** 'peacock': when Spaniards in America sent Hebrew merchants the fowl, they mistook it for peacocks. So, ***a turkey*** does not have any connection with Turkey. In Turkey, by the way, this bird is called 'American bird'; this name reflects its original habitat and is fully motivated. (See also the English words ***crawfish***, ***dormouse***, ***wormwood***, etc. or the Russian words ***спинджак***, ***полуклиника*** or ***вармишель***. For more examples see *remotivation* in *Minor Types of Word-formation.*)

One should be careful not to fall into folk etymology: ***impale*** (v) is not related to ***pale*** (adj). It means 'to pierce or transfix with a sharp instrument': *his head was impaled on a pike and exhibited for all to see* [fr. Fr *empaler* or ML *impalare*, fr. L *in-* 'in' + *palus* 'a stake'].

Remotivation is not very common in a language but it is a good proof that a word does not rush to get rid of its motivation. Motivation helps a person to enjoy the inner form of a word and, which is more important, it aids memory in word and information storing, learning, and retrieving. When a foreign language learner realizes the motivational links between the words, he/she has a feeling of discovery and satisfaction that stimulates the name memorizing.

The processes of motivation and remotivation have often been neglected and only recently they have become the subject of intense lexicological and lexicographical research.

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Chapter 3
ETYMOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE ENGLISH VOCABULARY. NAMING BY BORROWING

> The English language may be described from one point of view as one chain of borrowings.
>
> *O. Jespersen*

> A word never – well, hardly ever – shakes off its etymology and its formation. Inspite of all changes in and extension of and addition to its meaning, and indeed pervaiding and governing these, there will persist the old idea.
>
> *J. Austin*

- *Naming by borrowing. Types, origin and source of borrowing*
- *English as a Germanic language*
- *Native English words*
- *Borrowings in English*
- *Loan and native words relation in English*
- *Assimilation of English borrowings*
- *Etymological doublets*
- *International words. "Translator's false friends"*

1. Naming by borrowing. Types, origin and source of borrowing

It was stated in the previous chapter that *the major universal types of lexical naming* are *borrowing* and *name creation* (*derivation*) by available linguistic means.

Lexical borrowing is a process of adoption, copying a word from another language which may be called **donor**, or **source language** (**SL**), and adaption, incorporating it into a native, or **recipient language** (**RL**). The result of this process is *a loanword*, or *a loan* – a lexeme which is borrowed. Loanwords are opposed *to native words* going back to the earliest known stages of a language history.

Typology of lexical borrowings is diverse. They distingwish **direct borrowings** from an SL into an RL which retain some elements of SL and do not undergo major phonological or orthographic changes (**loan words proper** as the Russian words ***бутерброд***, ***коллцентр***, ***чизбургер***, ***мониторинг***, ***папарацци***).

There are also direct borrowings which are not so evident because the form or meaning of words is represented by some native elements from an RL as in **translation** and **semantic loans**. The term *loanword* itself is a translation loan from the German *Lehnwort*. (Cf. also the Russian word ***громкоговоритель***

borrowed fr. E *loudspeaker*; Russ ***материнская плата*** fr. E *motherboard*; Russ ***мышь*** 'устройство, позволяющее вводить команды в компьютер помимо клавиатуры' fr. E ***mouse*** 'a small handheld device which is moved across a mat or flat surface to move the cursor on a computer screen', etc.)

They call the borrowing **indirect** when it is passed on from the original language to another language, and then again to still another one, etc., each time being adjusted phonologically and orthographically to the RL. For this reason, it is important not confuse the terms **the origin of the word** and **the source of its borrowing**.

A good example that illustrates the difference between these two terms is a word ***coffee***. According to the *Online Etymology Dictionary* the source of borrowing of this word into English is *Italia* but its origin goes to *Ethiopia*, from where it came to Arabic and then to Turkish: ***coffee*** (n) – c. 1600, fr. Italian *caffe*, fr. Turkish *kahveh*, fr. Arabic *qahwah* 'coffee', said originally to have meant 'wine', but perhaps rather fr. *Kaffa*, region of Ethiopia, a home for this plant.

So, speaking of borrowings, one should not confuse the terms *source of borrowing* and *origin of the word*. The source of borrowing is more important for understanding the form and meaning of the word than its origin because the borrowed word usually bears the sound and graphic form and semantic properties characteristic of the language from which it was borrowed. The word ***school***, for example, is borrowed into English from Latin *schola* and it basically retains its meaning and spelling, but the word is of Greek origin, it was derived from the word *schole*, which had a rather different meaning, that of 'rest ease; idleness; that in which leisure is employed; learned discussion; also 'a place for lectures, school'.

Though it is not always clear why a receiving language borrows a word, we may speak about **two major reasons** for borrowings:

- **sociolinguistic**, external reasons for borrowing from a SL (its prestige, high economic and scientific status of the SL community, domineering religion, etc.). The prestige of a source language is perhaps the main reason for borrowing;
- **linguistic**, internal reasons for borrowing into RL (lack of a name for a concept there, homonymy avoidance, similarity of languages and existence of cognate words, bilingualism, etc.).

The process of borrowing is facilitated when other words with similar phonetic structures have already been borrowed. Thus, on analogy with the word ***митинг*** earlier borrowed into Russian, there are plenty ***-ing*** words in Russian nowadays such as ***пирсинг***, ***скрининг***, ***дайвинг***, ***роуминг***.

Borrowings in all languages, including English, as the Loanword Typology project states, are predominantly nouns [Loanwords in the World's Languages 2009, p. 8]. The probable reason for that is a special importance of concepts for things and entities for communication. And then, nouns seem to be the easiest category to be adjusted to the RL lexical and grammatical system, and thus their borrowing is quite efficient.

In the past English borrowed a lot. David Crystal in his *The Cambridge encyclopaedia of the English language* points out: "English, perhaps more than any other language, is an insatiable borrower. Whereas the speakers of some languages take pains to exclude foreign words from their lexicons, English seems always to have welcomed them. Over 120 languages are on record as source for its present-day vocabulary and the locations of contact are found all over the world" [Crystal 2003, p. 126].

Let us take a closer look at the reasons for this former insatiability of borrowings in English by examining etymological characteristics of English words and the history of the English language. It is the easiest, quickest and most dynamic way to survey a lexicon. Moreover, knowledge of vocabulary development history, especially in a foreign language, makes a person a more sophisticated learner, saves his/her time, energy and efforts in the second language acquisition, extends his/her philological horizons and explains unusual spelling, pronunciation or usage of words.

2. English as a Germanic language

It is a well-known fact that etymologically English is a Germanic language, the language of Western Germanic tribes of the Jutes, the Angles and the Saxons who in the 5th century CE migrated across the English Channel and by about 700 CE gradually occupied most of what now is called England.

The first groups of Western Germanic tribes, mainly **the Jutes**, arrived at the request of the Celtic leader Vortigern. Vortigern appealed to them to help repel attacks by *the Picts and Scots* – early inhabitants of the British Isles who lived mainly in Ireland and the mountains of Scotland.

He needed help. The Roman Emperor Claudius in 43 CE sent the expedition to Britain which established the Roman rule there, though Celts were known as wonderful warriors. But after a 400-year presence of the Roman legions on the British Isles the Roman army was called home from England to defend Rome from attacks by barbarians. They were preoccupied with their own problems, and native Celts were left without protection.

The Jutes came, defeated the Picts and Scots but then killed Vortigern and established their own rule. Later other Germanic tribes came from across the Channel, **the Saxons** and **the Angles**. Gradually the Angles became the dominant tribe and by the year 700 CE, the island was called **Angleland**. By that time the Anglo-Saxon language became known as **Englisck** and later, by the year 1,000, as **Anglish**.

Since grammar is the most conservative component of language, Modern English reveals many common features with grammars of other Germanic languages. But the English vocabulary vividly demonstrates its Anglo-Saxon roots, too.

3. Native English words

The core of Englisck that had been formed by the 7th century CE is made up of the words used in Anglo-Saxon, and they constitute a **native** layer of Modern English.

However, etymologically Anglo-Saxon words used by the conquering tribes of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes are not homogeneous: several layers may be distinguished within them.

Many Anglo-Saxon words can be traced to their *common Indo-European roots* (***father***, ***mother***, ***brother***, ***son***, ***daughter***, ***heart***, ***ear***, ***nose***, ***brow***, ***foot***, ***birch***, ***cat***, ***cold***, ***water***, ***one***, ***two***, and ***three***).

Quite a lot of Anglo-Saxon words have *Common Germanic roots* (***arm***, ***finger***, ***hand***, ***head***, ***eye***, ***blood***, ***bear***, ***boat***, ***say***, ***see***, ***white***, ***winter***).

Some words found in the conquering Germanic tribes' languages cannot be traced to any sources (e.g., ***dog***).

There are also borrowings, primarily **continental Latin borrowings** that the tribes of the Jutes, Angles and Saxons acquired from contacts with a higher civilization of the Roman Empire when they still lived on the continent (***cup***, ***cheese***, ***butter***, ***mill***, ***line***, ***ounce***, ***pipe***, ***pound***, ***wine***).

In Modern English the words of Anglo-Saxon origin include most auxiliary and modal verbs (***can***, ***may***, ***must***, ***shall***, ***will***, etc.), pronouns (***I***, ***you***, ***he***, ***my***, and ***his***), prepositions (***in***, ***out***, ***on***, and ***under***), numerals (***one***, ***two***, ***three***, ***four***, and ***hundred***), conjunctions (***and***, ***but***, and ***till***), and many important notional words denoting *parts of the body* (***head***, ***hand***, ***arm***, ***back***, ***foot***, and ***heart***), *animals* (***cow***, ***fish***, ***goat***, ***hen***, ***horse***, ***sheep***, and ***swine***), *domestic life* (***door***, ***floor***, ***home***, and ***house***), *natural phenomena* (***storm***, ***summer***, and ***winter***, etc.), *qualities* (***old***, ***young***, ***light***, ***dark***, ***silly***, and ***nice***), *actions* (***come***, ***see***, ***hear***, ***eat***, ***buy***, ***sell***, etc.).

The first **borrowings into the Anglo-Saxon language** were the words from the local **Britons**, or as they call them today, **Celtic** people – the first migrants to England from central Europe, the wandering tribes who arrived there in about 500 BCE. Though the Britons, or Celts, were not all killed or driven out of their lands, they were a defeated people and their language had no prestige. Few of their words remain in English today: ***bog***, ***glen***, ***whiskey***, ***bug***, ***kick***, ***creak***, ***basket***, ***dagger***, ***lad*** and some others. But many Celtic names for geographical places, like rivers (***the Avon***, ***the Esk***, ***the Usk***, ***the Thames***, and ***the Severn***), mountains and hills (***Ben Nevis***, from ***pen*** 'a hill') are still used in Modern English. Celtic names are also preserved as the first elements in many city names (***Win****chester*, ***Ciren****chester*, ***Clou****chester*, ***Salis****bury*, ***Lich****field*, and ***Ik****ley*) or the second elements in many villages (***-cumb*** meaning 'deep valley' still survives in *Dun**combe*** or *Winch**combe***).

The other group of borrowings in this early period of Old English is from **Latin**. Though the barbaric invaders – tribes of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes – tried to annihilate all the remnants of the Roman culture, they borrowed into their language via Celtic about 450 Latin words that were already in wide use in England. Thus, the 400-year occupation of Britain by Roman legions retained in many words and names of towns (***port***, ***street***, ***mile***, ***mountain***, the element ***-chester*** [fr. L *castra* 'camp'], etc.).

On the whole in the 7th century CE the vocabulary of Engelisck, or Early Old English, was typically Germanic, though there were already some insular borrowings (only about 3 %) from Celtic and Latin.

Not all the words of that period have survived. About 85 % of them are no longer in use. Yet, according to some estimates, about **50,000 Anglo-Saxon words** remain in Modern English [Hughes 1988, p. 4]. Most of them have undergone fundamental changes in meaning (OE ***wif***, for example, is close to ME ***wife***, but in OE it referred to any woman, married or not). Nevertheless, they still make up a great portion of the core of Modern English vocabulary. These words are most communicatively important, most frequently used (80 % of the 500 most frequent words, according to *Thorndike and Lodge's Dictionary* are Anglo-Saxon), usually are monosyllabic, and are among the most important functional and semantic groups in the Modern English vocabulary.

So, the 7th century CE Early Old English consisted of words of common Indo-European and Germanic roots, as well as of borrowings from Celtic, continental and early insular borrowings from Latin. All these words may be regarded as **native**.

One should also be aware that there are different interpretations of the term *native*. In its narrow sense it refers exclusively to Anglo-Saxon words, e.g., ***head***, ***arm***, ***heart***. In its wider sense the term refers also to the words coined later on the basis of the ancient Anglo-Saxon words by means of various derivational processes operative in English with the help of native elements (***-er***, ***-ness***, ***-dom***, ***-hood***, ***ache***, ***-th***, ***-ship***, etc.), e.g., ***headache***, ***arm-saw***, ***heartily***.

4. Borrowings in English

In contrast to native English words that were found in the language of Anglo-Saxons before the 7th century, later borrowings came there along with great changes in the life of Anglo-Saxon England. The first most important change is Christianization of the pagan Anglo-Saxons. It caused the first really extensive wave of borrowings from Latin into Englisck that made it a separate Germanic language (Old English). Then there were a number of other historical events that were followed by extensive lexical borrowings into the language that changed it radically. Let us look at those changes in more detail.

1. **The conversion of the English people (Angelcynns) to Christianity** began in about the year 600 CE and was completed in the 7th century. As a result of it the words of **Latin** and **Greek** origin related to Christianity such as ***abbot***, ***altar***, ***bishop***, ***church***, ***creed***, ***disciple***, ***devil***, ***hymn***, ***nun***, ***pope***, ***priest***, ***psalm***, ***school***, ***temple***, etc. appeared in Old English in a great abundance. It is interesting to note that native Anglo-Saxon words related to pre-Christian pagan beliefs like ***God***, ***godspell***, ***hlaford***, and ***synn*** demonstrated strong resistance to loan words and remained in English.

2. Another change occurred during the Old English period from the end of the 8th to the middle of the 11th centuries when the Swedes, Norwegians and Danes, known as **Vikings** invaded England. The word *viking* in Old Norse – their language related to the North Germanic group – meant ‘pirate’. This period is known as the **Danish invasion**.

The Vikings came as ruthless warriors but in their second generation in England they became craftsmen and farmers and intermarried with the Angelcynns. It is estimated that there are over 900 Scandinavian borrowings in Modern English. Examples of the words in these Scandinavians contributed to Modern English are: ***both***, ***call***, ***die***, ***egg***, ***fellow***, ***flat***, ***fog***, ***gap***, ***get***, ***give***, ***happy***, ***happen***, ***husband***, ***ill***, ***knife***, ***law***, ***leg***, ***loan***, ***low***, ***odd***, ***reindeer***, ***take***, ***they***, ***their***, ***them***, ***tidings***, ***ugly***, ***want***, ***weak***, ***window***, ***wrong***, and ***sale***.

A nice sentence was made up by O. Jespersen full of Norse loan words which are difficult to detect as foreign elements: “An Englishman cannot ***thrive*** or ***die*** or be ***ill*** without Scandinavian words; ***they*** are to the language what ***bread*** and ***eggs*** are to the daily fare” [Geipel 1971, p. 69].

Some of them are still easy to recognize as they begin with ***sk-***: ***ski***, ***skin***, ***sky***, ***skill***, ***skirt***, ***scrub***, etc.

At least 1,400 localities in England have Scandinavian names (names with Scandinavian elements ***-beck*** ‘brook’, ***-by*** ‘village’, ***toft*** ‘a site for a dwelling and additional land’ are found in ***Askby***, ***Selby***, ***Westby***, ***Brimtoft***, and ***Nortoft***).

3. **The Norman Conquest** started in 1066 when Anglo-Saxons lost the battle with the Norman-French army of Duke William II near Hastings. It lasted for two hundred years and brought an end to the Anglo-Saxon period. The native Anglo-Saxon aristocracy was largely destroyed; the language of the upper class in England and the official language of the country became French. (The rulers of Normandy had originally been Scandinavian Vikings who occupied parts of northern France. By the middle of the 11th century, however, they had lost their Scandinavian language and spoke French.) Common people were still speaking English but dialectal divergence caused by the feudal system was the greatest. This period is known as Early Middle English.

It is interesting to note, however, that up to 1250, *before* the official end of Norman invasion, *no more than about one thousand* French words had entered the language. Mostly they were words that lower classes acquired from the nobility (***baron***, ***noble***, ***servant***, ***messenger***, ***feast***, and ***story***). Cooking terms are largely French: ***sauce***, ***boil***, ***fry***, ***roast***, ***toast***, ***pastry***, ***soup***, and ***jelly***. The outward parts of the body, save for ***face***, and most of the better known inner organs were untouched by the Normans (***arm***, ***hand***, ***finger***, ***nose***, ***eye***, ***skin***, ***heart***, ***brain***, ***lung***, ***kidney***, ***liver***, ***bone***). But ***vein***, ***nerve***, ***stomach***, ***artery***, ***tendon*** attest the foreign influence.

But the heaviest borrowing from French took place not immediately *after* the Conquest but between 1250 and 1400, during the period when English was reborn and French was felt a foreign language. “As the free tongue of independent men, English was more than willing to embrace French and take it to its heart” [Pei 1967, p. 41]. On the whole many hundreds of words from French related to government, social and military order, arts, fashion, cuisine entered English: ***market***, ***demand***, ***enemy***, ***arrest***, ***army***, ***soldier***, ***navy***, ***spy***, ***battle***, ***peace***, ***royal***, ***state***, ***court***, ***false***, ***judge***, ***justice***, ***verdict***, ***prison***, ***parliament***, ***government***, ***art***, ***painting***, ***poet***, ***chamber***, ***labour***, ***mansion***, ***diamond***, ***salon***, ***mirror***, ***scent***, ***jewel***, ***robe***, ***coat***, ***collar***, ***curtain***, and ***beef***.

4. **The Renaissance period** (1500–1650) was marked by significant developments in science, art and culture, especially a revival of interest in ancient civilization. Many texts were translated into English from **Latin**, **Greek**, **Italian** and lots of words from these languages were introduced to English (***allegro***, ***anachronism***, ***capacity***, ***catastrophe***, ***celebrate***, ***chronology***, ***confidence***, ***contract***, ***criterion***, ***dogma***, ***epic***, ***expend***, ***fertile***, ***granite***, ***laconic***, ***museum***, ***native***, ***opera***, ***piano***, ***portico***, ***soprano***, ***sarcasm***, and ***system***).

5. **More recent extensive cultural contacts** between Great Britain and other English-speaking countries, many European and other states have contributed much to borrowings, though the frequency of borrowings into English considerably reduced. Many words are borrowed from *French*: ***flambeau***, ***marmot***, and ***parquet***; from *German*: ***waltz***, ***rucksack***, ***kindergarten***, ***Nazi***, ***wolfram***, and ***nickel***; from *Spanish* (especially from American Spanish via American English): ***Hidalgo***, ***parade***, ***macho***, ***domino***, ***buffalo***, ***veranda***; from *Danish*: ***deck***, ***skipper***, ***dock***, ***yacht***; from *Hungarian*: ***goulash***; from *Russian*: ***kopeck***, ***babushka***, ***troika***, ***perestroika***, ***glasnost***, ***intelligentsia***, ***pogrom***, ***tsar***, ***samovar***, ***mammoth***, ***sable***, ***ruble***, and ***steppe***; from many other countries (fr. *Chinese*: ***tea***, ***tycoon***, ***fan tan***; *West Indies*: ***barbeque***, ***hurricane***, ***cannibal***; *Swedish*: ***ombudsman***; *Eskimos*: ***anorak***; *Persian*: ***shawl***; *Hindi*: ***bandana***, and others).

As in the case with native words, there are *different interpretations* of the term borrowing (loan) in English. It may be understood as:

1) the process and the result of the process of *adopting* and *adapting* by Old English of words, word combinations or morphemes from other languages (***-able***, ***-ment***, ***parliament***, ***coup d'etat*** 'overthrow of the government', ***déjà vu*** 'a feeling of having already experienced the present situation');

2) any words or word combinations *created* in English on the basis of a foreign form, like:

a) **translation loans** (also known as **calques** [fr. Fr. *lit.* 'copies'] – words and expressions created from the material available in the language after the patterns characteristic of the given language but under the influence of foreign lexical units. Many of English translation loans have a German origin (***superman*** [fr. G. *Übermensch*], ***lightning-war*** [fr. G *Blitzkrieg*], ***masterpiece*** [fr. G *Meisterstück*], ***homesickness*** [fr. G. *Heimweh*], ***standpoint*** [fr. G. *Standpunkt*]), ***summit conference*** [fr. G. *Gipfel Conference*]. Other languages contributed to this process too, for example, ***mother tongue*** [fr. L. *lingua materna*], ***first dancer*** [fr. L. *prima balerina*]; ***wall-paper*** [fr. Russ. *стенная газета*]; ***the moment of truth*** [fr. Sp. *el momento de la verdad*], ***marriage of convenience*** [fr. Fr. *Marriage de convenance*];

b) **semantic loans** (semantic borrowings) – the appearance of a new word meaning due to the influence of the related word in a foreign language. This kind of borrowing is common but rarely noticed. For example, the meaning ‘a subdivision of an executive department’ appeared in the English word ***bureau*** under the influence of the related Russian word ***бюро*** as in ‘политбюро’. Or another example: on analogy with the Russian word ***товарищ*** used as a form of address in the former USSR and some other socialist countries, the related English word ***comrade*** acquired a new meaning ‘communist’;

c) **new words coined of Greek or Latin roots** – in this specific group of English borrowings alongside with well familiar words like ***photograph***, ***telephone***, etc., there are also many terms like ***otorhinolaryngology***, ***sphygmomanometer*** and the longest word registered in English ***nocalcalinocetaceoaluminosocupreovitriolic***.

The English vocabulary is considered to have *a mixed character* because of the great number of borrowings from more than 80 languages all over the world. Due to specific conditions of the English language development, up to 70 % of Modern English vocabulary consists of *loans*, or borrowed words and only 30 % of the words are *native*.

Native lexical elements and borrowings in English may be summed up in the following table:

Native Lexical Units	**Borrowed Lexical Units**
1. Anglo-Saxon words: a) Indo-European element; b) common-Germanic element; c) continental borrowings	1. From Latin and Greek a) 7th cent. CE due to Christianity; b) during Renaissance (15–17th cent.)
2. Celtic borrowings (5–6th cent. CE)	2. From Old Norse due to the Danish Invasion (8 –11th cent.)
3. Latin borrowings via Celtic (due to the Roman Invasion 55–56 BCE – the 5th cent. CE)	3. From French a) due to the Norman conquest (11–13th cent.); b) during Renaissance (15–17th cent.)
4. English proper elements not traced to any other language (not earlier than 5th cent. CE)	4. From other modern languages due to cultural and economic contacts
5. Words created later in English on the basis of native elements	5. Words created later in English on the basis of borrowed elements

Today English being an important international language is lending more than it is taking; it is more a lender than a borrower. English is a major source, or donor language because it is *a lingua franca* worldwide, many people are proficient in it and they intensively promote borrowings from English, especially in domains of science and technology. Some scholars, for example, Robert Phillipson, even speak about "English linguistic/ language imperialism" which is defined as linguistic and cultural dominanceof English over other languages.

The degree of borrowing into Modern English from other languages despite the processes of globalization is not so high. "We still borrow, but today only about five percent of our new words are taken from other languages. They are especially prevalent in the names of foods: ***focaccia***, ***salsa***, ***vindaloo***, ***ramen***" [Metcalf 2002, p. 110]. Other examples of foreign words that have entered English recently are ***tarka dal***, an Indian dish; ***izakaya***, a type of Japanese bar serving food; ***affogato***, an Italian dessert made of ice cream and coffee.

5. Loan and native words relation in English

Through centuries of borrowing words from other languages, English has acquired a larger and more varied vocabulary. Scholars estimate that in Modern English there are about **one million words**, and they are diverse in their origin. Yet, because of borrowings there are some losses, too.

Borrowings not only *extended* the Anglo-Saxon vocabulary; they also *replaced and pushed many native words into oblivion.* About two-thirds of all original Anglo-Saxon words died out. "It seems extraordinary, for example, that the Old English words for ***uncle***, ***nephew***, ***body***, ***skin***, ***face***, ***take***, ***breakfast***, ***vegetables***, ***fruit***, ***money***, ***number***, ***war***, ***touch***, ***window*** and ***furniture*** should have been ousted from the vocabulary entirely, or survive only in remote, recondite catches" [Hughes 1988, p. 4–5].

First to disappear and to be replaced by borrowed words were many compounds and derivatives that were characteristic of Old English (***witanagemot*** 'council-meeting', ***wergild*** 'man-money' – the financial penalty for killing a man; a verb ***settan*** came into ME, but in OE it was used with lots of suffixes and prefixes: ***asettan*** 'to place', ***forsettan*** 'obstruct', ***foresettan*** 'to place before', ***gesettan*** 'to populate', ***tosettan*** 'to dispose', ***unsettan*** 'to put down'). Only some derived words survived (***friendship***, ***kingdom***, and ***childhood***) [Pei 1967, p. 21]. Many other Old English useful words with complex structure and meaning like ***uhtceare*** (pronounced *oot-key-are-a*) 'lying awake before dawn and worrying' [fr. OE *uht* 'the restless hour before dawn' and *ceare* 'care and sorrow'] disappeared, too.

Borrowings (except Scandinavian loans) made another radical change in the Old English lexicon – *they shifted many native words to a lower stylistic register*, to the layer of words spoken mainly by common people (cf.: ***veil*** and ***calf***, ***beef*** and ***cow***, ***pork*** and ***pig***).

And then, lots of borrowed words influenced not only the lexical but even the *grammatical system* of English. The abundance of borrowings led to the loss of inflection. Under the influence of French some construction typical of that language became in use in English, too. For example, the preposition ***of*** before a noun phrase became more widely used in Modern English than it had been in Old English to express possession (***the leg*** *of* ***the table***).

Yet, surviving words belonging to the native word-stock are characterized by a high frequency of usage, especially good ability to combine with other words and developed polysemy; they also have a great word-building potential and enter a number of set-expressions.

Thus, in spite of their relatively small number, native words make up a core of the English vocabulary without which the Modern English language cannot function.

6. Assimilation of English borrowings

The life of loanword, word-immigrants, is not easy in English. They have always been considered alien unless they were borrowings from a kindred language like Old Norse, a North Germanic language of Scandinavia during the Viking Age.

Usually the borrowed words go through a long-lasting process of assimilation: they change to fit the recipient language pronunciation patterns and grammar forms and to become indistinguishable from native words. The accent in French words is usually transferred to the first syllable as in ***`honour***. Changes are still taking place in the way words are stressed: in two syllable words the stress has a tendency to be moved from the second syllable to the first (***`adult***, ***`garage***, ***`alloy***). Some unconventional sounds and sound combinations are replaced (cf.: ***Bach*** [bah] in German and [ba:k] in English (esp. AmE); ***diabolos*** in Latin and ***devil*** in English; ***episcopos*** in Latin and ***bishop*** in English). They also lose their former grammatical paradigm (e.g., the Russian borrowing ***sputnik*** acquired in English the regular plural form ***sputniks***).

So, gradually the borderline between loan and native words becomes less rigid. Some lexemes, completely or partially assimilated, are able to form **hybrids** – words of foreign origin but with a native affix (***artless***, ***falsehood***, and ***uninteresting***) or vice versa, words of native origin but with a borrowed affix (***dislike***, ***eatable***, ***lovable***, ***leakage***).

The recent loans that came into English through written speech may still retain their peculiarities in pronunciation, spelling, morphology and meaning (***phenomenon***, ***charisma***, and ***coup d'etate***). They also have a very low derivational potential and low frequency of occurrence.

Today very few words are being borrowed into English from foreign languages compared with previous periods (***absurd***, ***ivory tower***, and ***paparazzo***). But the number of **internal loans** – words borrowed from other dialects and variants of the same language – is constantly increasing (***gas*** from American English for ***petrol***, ***movie*** for ***film***, ***radio*** for 'wireless' some specific words like ***OK*** and ***Uncle Sam***). Some people believe that these internal loans may endanger the British variant of the English language.

7. Etymological doublets

Etymological doublets are words with the same etymological origin but which have different phonemic structure and meaning because they were borrowed from different sources or during different periods or as the result of specific historical development of a word in a language.

Three such words make up an **etymological triplet** (***cattle*** – ***chattel*** – ***capital*** [fr. L *caput* 'head']. There may be even more than three words of the same origin as in the case of ***host***, ***hostel***, ***hotel***, ***hospital***, ***hospice***, ***hostile***, ***hostage*** [fr. L *hospes* 'stranger, guest']. These are not as common as etymological doublets.

English is especially rich in etymological doublets due to the great influx of words through borrowing. Walter W. Skeat in *A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (first published in 1882) lists 543 pairs of doublets [Skeat 2012].

The major source for etymological doublets in English is words of Latin origin that came into English in two ways: directly from Latin and via French (***fragile*** [L] – ***frail*** [Fr], ***canal*** [L] – ***channel*** [Fr.], ***cavalry*** [L] – ***chivalry*** [Fr]), ***grammar*** [L] – ***glamour*** [Fr], ***liquor*** [L] – ***liqueur*** [Fr], ***major*** [L]) – ***mayor*** [Fr]; ***senior*** [L] – ***sir*** [Fr]).

Some etymological doublets came into English from different dialects of a language (like ***assay*** and ***essay*** from different French dialects), or from the same language at different periods of its development (like ***dish*** and ***disc/disk***) are both borrowings from Latin [OE *disc* 'plate'; akin to OHG *tisk* 'plate, table']; the word ***dish***, however, is an *early* continental Latin borrowing but the word ***disc*** is a *new* English borrowing from Latin.

The Scandinavian influence is also responsible for many doublets in English, like ***bathe*** [OE] – ***bask*** [Sc], ***no*** [OE] – ***nay*** [Sc], ***rear*** [OE] – ***raise*** [Sc], ***from*** [OE] – ***fro*** [Sc], ***shatter*** [OE] – ***scatter*** [Sc], ***shirt*** [OE] – ***skirt*** [Sc], ***shift*** [OE] – ***skip*** [Sc], ***whole*** [OE] – ***hale*** [Sc].

Some doublets may be traced to common Indo-European roots. Thus, ***guest*** 'enemy, stranger' and ***host*** 'army; multitude' (the same root is in ***hostile***) both go back to Indo-European ***ghosti-s***, but ***guest*** is a native English word that was registered in common Germanic (***gasti-z***) and ***host*** is a Latin borrowing.

The loss of associations between meanings in polysemous words (**split of polysemy**) supported by further divergence in spelling and sound form may also create etymological doublets as is the case with ***person*** and ***parson***: the meaning 'a non-resident clergyman, who has the function of a parish priest' in the word ***personne*** is of Latin origin but because of the Old French source of borrowing it came to be spelled differently.

8. International words. "Translator's false friends"

International words – differ from other borrowings in that they reflect relationships among a *number* of countries and not relations between *two* countries as in the case with borrowed words. International words are the result of simultaneous or successive borrowings in many languages (***sputnik***, ***perestroika***, ***killer***, ***aria*** and ***opera***).

International and regular loan words may be tricky for learning and translating as they are similar in form but may be radically different in meaning.

For example, the central meaning of the noun ***magazine*** is not 'магазин', as a Russian speaker may assume, but 'периодический журнал, обычно с иллюстрациями'; the central meaning of the word ***routine*** is not only 'рутина' but 'заведенный порядок', though in some contexts the word may be translated in this way; ***adventure*** may not necessarily be 'авантюра'.

The adjective ***Caucasian*** means not only 'кавказский' but 'относящийся к белой расе'.

When the adjective ***eclectic*** is translated as 'эклектический', 'эклектичный' as it is in this dictionary, a native Russian speaker would never guess the neutral or even positive connotations of this English word (as in 'eclectic and thorough introduction'), because in Russian it has only negative connotations: 'относящийся к эклектизму, проникнутый эклектизмом' (***эклектизм*** 'отсутствие единства, целостности, последовательности в убеждениях, теориях; бесприн-

ципное сочетание разнородных, противоположных воззрений, например, идеализма с материализмом; в искусстве – формальное, механическое соединение различных стилей' [Словарь иностранных слов, 1985]).

The English word ***invalid*** is not fully equivalent to the Russian word ***инвалид*** because it is used most frequently as an adjective meaning 'not valid', retaining its etymological meaning from the borrowed Latin word.

The words that have similar forms in different languages but different meanings are referred to as "t r a n s l a t o r ' s f a l s e f r i e n d s". The difference in meaning between correlative words with similar forms ("translator's false friends") is not always presented well enough even in the best English-Russian dictionaries.

Thus, the main meaning of the word ***angina*** in Modern English is not 'ангина' as it is stated in *Англо-русском словаре* by V. K. Muller (1977) but 'a condition marked by severe pain in the chest, often also spreading to the shoulders, arms, and neck, owing to an inadequate blood supply to the heart' ('грудная жаба'). Originally both the English words ***angina*** and the Russian word ***ангина*** had the meaning 'a severe inflammatory or ulcerated condition of the mouth or throat' because these two words had the same origin [fr. L *angina* literally 'strangling, choking', from *angere* 'to strangle, choke' for 'quinsy, infection of the throat']. Later in the 18th century the English word ***angina*** acquired one more meaning – 'a sudden intense pain in the chest, often accompanied by feelings of suffocation'. It was derived from a compound name of a disease ***angina pectoris*** [L *pectoris*, gen. of *pectus* 'chest'] commonly known as ***angina***. The original meaning of the word ***angina*** became outdated in Modern English; it is usually expressed by the French borrowing ***quinsy***. But the Russian word ***ангина*** did not change its primary meaning, and thus the two words having the same origin semantically went apart.

If words are borrowed from a less prestigious language, their positive connotations may change into negative ones in the recipient language. And it is another example of "translator's false friends" (cf.: ***uroda*** 'a beauty' in Polish and ***урод***, ***уродина*** 'ugly person' in Russian, ***saray*** 'palace, mansion' in Turkish and ***сарай*** 'shed, barn' in Russian).

International words and borrowings should not be mixed with **words of common Indo-European stock** like ***cat***, ***mother*** or ***father*** because they have always been in the genetically related languages.

Though the number of loan names in English is great, borrowing has never been the major means of naming and replenishing the English vocabulary. *Word-formation* and *semantic derivation* of a name have been much more productive in English through all the periods of its historical development.

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Chapter 4
WORD MEANING. LEXICAL-SEMANTIC NAMING

It is meaning that makes language useful.
George A. Miller

It is impossible to study any aspect of word without taking into account its meaning that is why the study of meaning is the main part of word study. However, the term *meaning* is the most difficult term to define. Everybody seems to understand it but nobody so far has defined it satisfactory enough. C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards in their famous book *The Meaning of Meaning* (1923) gave about 20 possible definitions of this term, and they were not quite satisfied with any of them. The number of definitions of meaning nowadays is still greater, and any short overview of the rich variety of approaches to defining only *linguistic meaning* will be rather simplistic and even to a certain extent misleading.

This chapter deals with most general issues related to the study of meaning of words such as the major approaches to the study of word meaning, structure and change of meaning, and major types of word meaning ambiguity which are the key issues of lexical semantics.

4.1. LEXICAL SEMANTICS

- *Semantics/Semasiology. Lexical semantics*
- *Word meaning: different approaches*
- *Aspects and types of word meaning*
- *Methods of word meaning analysis*

1. Semantics / Semasiology. Lexical semantics

Linguistic meaning is studied by the branch of linguistics called s e m a n t i c s (Gk *semanticos* ‘significant’). The necessity for this particular linguistic study was pointed out in 1897 by M. Breal who also coined the name for it [Breal 1964]. Semantics is close to *philosophy of language* and *semiotics* and makes a wide use of their complex notions and terminology.

A synonymous term for *semantics* is s e m a s i o l o g y (Gk *semasia* ‘meaning’ + *logos* ‘learning’). It was coined some time earlier in Germany by Ch. K. Reisig (his works were published posthumously in 1839), who added a third component to the prevailing then studies of etymology and syntax – the study of word meaning. Later on the term *semasiology* was to a great extent replaced by the term *semantics.* Nevertheless, *semasiology* is still used and most commonly understood as a branch of lexicology, the study of meaning of lexical units independent

of their phonetic expression, and is opposed to *onomasiology* – the study of words concerned with the question "How do you verbally express the concept X?", thus having a narrower meaning than *semantics* that also studies meaning of sentences or even entire discourses and the essence of meaning itself.

Different theories were proposed within linguistic semantics to understand meaning of the human language units: morphemes, words, phrases, sentences and discourses.

The **ideational theory**, for example, may be considered the earliest theory of meaning. It states that meaning originates in the mind in the form of ideas, and words are just symbols of them. This tradition goes to Aristotle and even further back in history.

The British empiricist philosopher John Locke in his "Essay Concerning Human Understanding" (1690) echoes Aristotle. He was sure that words stand for nothing but Ideas in the Mind, and that individual ideas preexist their linguistic expression. He also pointed out that the largest components of meaning are derived from common perceptions of the world and from our abilities to reason.

A difficulty with the ideational theory that John Locke proposed is that it leaves unclear why communication and understanding are possible if linguistic expressions stand for individual personal ideas. Neither it is satisfactory (from a linguist's point of view) to define meaning in terms of unstructured *ideas*.

The proponents of the **logical semantics theory** understand meaning as **conditions of truth**. They work out formulae for conditions in which sentences describing unreal situations like ***The present king of France is bald*** (France is a republic country, and there is no king) may be considered true and thus meaningful.

Within the **behaviorist theory** meaning is understood as **intention** – what the hearer (H) rationally determines the speaker (S) intends her/his meaning to convey, or, as Leonard Bloomfield suggested in 1933, as *the situation with the speaker's* **s***timulus and the hearer's* ***r****esponse* (**the S – R theory**) [Bloomfield 1933, p. 139]. This theory, however, is more relevant to *psychology* and *pragmatics* than to semantics.

The **ostensive theory** states that meaning is **ostension** because people teach and learn the meaning of objects *ostensively* – by pointing to something and uttering the name. However, though ostension plays an important role in teaching and learning a language, it is not crucial in language acquisition. And then, we cannot point to many entities that language has names for. The ostensive theory works better when the referent is a physical object or its physical property, but it is much

more problematic for explaining learning of abstract entities, events or processes, like ***idea***, ***war***, or ***think***. It also fails to answer the question why the same object may be called totally different names which do not have the same meaning. For example, an apple on the table may be referred to as ***apple***, ***fruit***, ***thing***, or ***it*** which is a clear proof that words with the same ostension to the same referent may have totally different meanings. And then, *teaching* or *learning* meaning ostensively is not identical to *defining* meaning. Ostension tells us nothing about *what meaning is*, it explains nothing about the nature of meaning.

Other semantic schools are **conceptual semantics**, **computational semantics**, **model theoretic semantics**, etc.

Semantics has different branches depending on the type of investigated linguistic units there: **syntactical semantics**, **semantics of text**, and **lexical semantics**, so meaning may also be defined differently in all these branches of linguistic semantics.

Here we shall mention only some of the approaches to meaning most relevant to **lexical semantics** – a branch of lexicology and linguistic semantics that study meaning of words and other lexical units: morphemes and phraseological units as well as their relationship in the lexicon.

2. Word meaning: different approaches

In *descriptive linguistics* w o r d m e a n i n g is understood as an inner part of a word associated with the physical phonetic or/and spelled form of a word. This inner part of a word being externalized by a dictionary definition becomes in descriptive linguistics its object of study.

Such an approach to word meaning is useful for many important practical goals such as describing a given language, teaching or contrastive studies. But it is rather useless in attempts to understand what meaning is, what the essence of human language ability is, and some other theoretical endeavors.

At present the most important theoretical approaches to defining word meaning are *representational*, *referential* and *functional*.

R e p r e s e n t a t i o n a l (c o n c e p t u a l) t h e o r y may be regarded as a modern and better designed *ideational theory* (see above). It views meaning of a lexical unit as **mental representation** (in the form of a concept/conceptual category/a bundle of semantic features/image/mental experience, etc.) which may not necessarily be directly linked with the outside world.

Understanding word meaning as a lexicalized concept seems to be quite promising because only the direct association of a word with the ever changing and active concept gives the former its generative character, provides and explaines its use variation in different contexts. Many modern linguists, especially those interested in the study of language as a human cognitive ability view *meaning* mainly as a psychological entity that exists in our minds, as *a concept* with a specific structure (see, for example, the works on *conceptual semantics* by R. Jackendoff, *semantic primitives* by A. Wierzbicka, et al.).

However, some important questions remain unanswered within the conceptual framework, too. If meaning of a word is a concept, then do people speaking different languages have different conceptual systems? Or, vice versa, if people speaking different languages have the same conceptual systems how does it happen that identical concepts are expressed by correlative words with slightly different lexical meanings?

Some scholars within this conceptual approach distinguish between *word meaning* and *concept*.

In this case, *word meaning* is to a great extent determined by a position of a word in a language system (compare the semantic value of the Russian word ***палец*** ‘подвижная конечная часть кисти руки, стопы ноги или лапы животного’ and the English word ***finger*** ‘one of 10 movable parts of joints at the end of each human hand, or one of 8 such parts as opposed to the thumbs’) while concept seems to be free from such dependence.

Further more, *not all the features of a concept* concentrate in a word meaning *at once* but only *the prototypical* ones. Let us consider, for example, the meaning of the word ***bicycle*** in the definition *in the Oxford Dictionary of English* in the *ABBYY Lingvo x5*: “vehicle consisting of two wheels held in a frame one behind the other, propelled by pedals and steered with handlebars attached to the front wheel”.

We see that it does not include lots of conceptual information we have about the bicycle: the manner the bicycle is propelled by pedals, the structure of the wheels, additional devices a bicycle may have and their major functions, etc. Yet much additional information may appear when the word ***bicycle*** is used in different communicative situations (Where from? Magic!?). Other conceptual features of a bicycle may on the contrary become salient, and then we observe “the change of the word meaning” as in the following newspaper story extract where the information about the potential ability of a bicycle to change the face

expression of its rider comes to the fore: "Over-exertion, the upright position on the wheel, and the unconscious effort to maintain one's balance tend to produce a wearied and exhausted '**bicycle face**', noted the *Literary Digest* in 1895"[1].

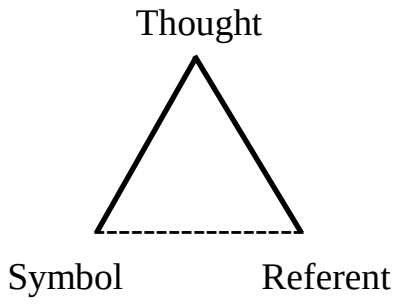
So, in such conceptual theories a distinction is made between *lexical knowledge* and *encyclopedic* (general) *knowledge*, between *semantic* and *conceptual* levels of information, between *word meaning* and *concept*.

There are, however, lots of arguments both for and against this distinction and it is a matter of hot linguistic debate. Some scholars note that such a disctinction is a matter of degree: meanings of some words, especially of verbs denoting such actions as ***want***, ***give***, ***take*** or ***go*** do not include encyclopedic knowledge while meanings of other words, especially nouns denoting scientific terms like ***calorie*** or ***confirmation*** are predominantly based on encyclopedic knowledge. Some scholars remind that only a lexicalized concept may correlate with word meaning; there is no any correlation between a concept and a word if a concept is not lexicalized (and we already stated above that not all concepts are expressed in words).

But if a word's meaning is something different from the concept, then what is it and how is it related to the concept and the referent in the real world? An answer to this question may be found in another influential theory of a word meaning which is known as r e f e r e n t i a l t h e o r y.

An early referential theory developed by Plato equated word meaning with *physical objects*. This theory is rejected nowadays. Referential word meaning theory of our days is more sophisticated, and it defines word meaning as *relationships* between things, their concepts and names.

This theory started with a famous "triangle of reference" presented by the German mathematician and philosopher Gottlob Frege (1848–1925).



[1] "Bicycle face": a 19th-century health problem made up to scare women away from biking [Electronic resource] // Vox Almanac. – March 24, 2015. – Mode of access: http://www.vox.com/2014/7/8/5880931/the-19th-century-health-scare-that-told-women-to-worry-about-bicycle. – Date of access: 10.06.2015.

The term *referent* in this theory is a philosophically neutral word understood as something to which a word refers to. This term is used for any physical object, quality, state, or action in the material world.

However, *referent is not meaning*, and semantics, according to the modern referential theory, should not be concentrated on description of referents. It is rather the subject matter of natural sciences.

Within this theory, meaning is not identical to concept, or *thought*, either, though is very closely associated with it. Many different lexical units having different meaning may be used to express the same concept, as it is, for example, the case with lexicalizing the concept of dying by means of the following lexical units: ***die***, ***pass away***, ***kick the bucket*** or ***join the majority***.

Neither word meaning is identical to a *physical form* of a word (*symbol* here) used to convey the meaning, as many theories of sound symbolism may suggest.

For example, Morris Swadesh [1934], an American linguist, drew attention to the use of [**i**]-type sound in many languages to express *nearness*: ***this***, ***it***, ***here***, ***near*** (cf.: Russ ***близко, низко***) and [**a**], [**u**]-type sounds to express *distance*: ***that***, ***there***, ***far*** (cf.: Russ ***далеко***, ***глубоко***). A specific relationship can also be observed between close sounds, like [**i**], and the concept of *smallness*: ***teeny***, ***little***, ***slim***, ***bit*** or ***мелкий*** and open sounds, like [**a**], [**o**], and the concept of *largeness*: ***large***, ***broad***, ***vast***, ***grand*** or ***большой***, ***огромный***. Yet there are many other examples, too, that may ruin this hypothesis (cf.: ***big***, ***маленький***, etc.).

Then, in all languages there are *onomatopoeic* words, restricted to naturally produced sounds such as ***whisper*** '***шептать***', ***whistle*** '***свистеть***' or ***roar*** '***реветь***', etc., that seem to portray the underlying concept. But even these words obey language rules, and 'the phonetic portrait' of the concept turns out to be different in different language systems (cf.: ***cock-a-doodle-do*** and ***кукареку***).

So, the evidence for direct relationships between symbol and referent is limited and not well justified. The relation between them is *arbitrary*. The arbitrary, conventional relationship between a symbol and a referent is also proved by the fact that different languages use different forms to denote the same concept (***table***, ***стол***). This arbitrariness is expressed in the "triangle of reference" by the broken base line.

Then, what is meaning?

According to F. de Saussure, in order to answer the question of what meaning of a linguistic sign is, linguists should view *the relation between a concept and a symbol*.

But within the referential frame word meaning is understood as the *interrelation of all the three components* of the semantic triangle: symbol, concept and referent, though meaning is not equivalent to any of them.

The referential theory makes important observations about the nature of word meaning and it is valid in many respects. Yet, it is not sufficient to account for specific features within word meaning itself.

To improve the referential theory, some linguists include there one more component, a systemic one – the *relation of the word to other conceptually related words.* To understand the meaning of the word ***cup***, for example, one should know its relation to other semantically related words in the English language, for example, ***glass*** and ***mug***. Thus, the semantic triangle changes into a semantic square.

The third, most well-known *theory of meaning* is f u n c t i o n a l. Functionalists (V. Mathesius, R. Jacobson, J. Firth, and others) believe that "the phonological, grammatical and semantic structures of a language are determined by the functions they have to perform in the societies in which they operate" [Lyons 1981, p. 224]. It is the usage that will determine whether the definition that previously has been formulated stands or falls. Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951), a philosopher and a linguist, stressed that the meaning of a word *is its use* in language [Wittgenstein 1953, p. 43].

Thus, instead of trying to answer the question what word meaning is, functionalists study how words are used in specific contexts in order to determine their semantic properties. In this way functionalism turned out to be a fruitful theory that contributed a lot to systematic description of a language.

3. Aspects and types of word meaning

Word meaning typologies are very diverse.

Taking into account the relation of a word as a linguistic sign *to the components of the situation where it is used*, scholars distinguish the following aspects of word meaning:

- its **referential meaning** (reference) which is determined by the relation of a linguistic sign to the referent in the material world;
- **significative meaning** (sense) which is determined by the relation of a linguistic sign to a referent or a class of referents;
- **pragmatic meaning** which is determined by the relation of a linguistic sign to its user, to the speaker's intention and values;

- **differential**, or **systemic meaning**, which is determined by the relation of the given linguistic sign to other signs in the language system or speech.

Another typology is based on the conception of *word meaning as a specific structure.* It is assumed that word includes such components, or types of word meaning as:

- **part-of-speech**, or **functional meaning** – the most abstract type of word meaning (nouns, for example, usually denote "thingness", adjectives – qualities and states, etc.);
- **grammatical** which is recurrent in identical sets of different words (***she goes/works/reads***, etc.);
- **lexical**, which is highly individual and recurs in all the grammatical forms of words (for example, the meaning of the verb ***to work*** 'to engage in physical or mental activity' that reveals in all its forms: ***works***, ***work***, ***worked***, ***working***, ***will work***).

These types of word meaning, however, are related. For example, *the grammatical meaning of plurality* may be expressed not only by means of *grammatical suffixes* as in ***chicken*** – ***chickens***, but *lexically*, too (cf. such collective nouns as ***poultry***, ***people***, ***police***). And vice versa, *lexical meaning* of a word, for example, ***chicken*** may be supported by its *grammatical forms*: one of the senses of this word is *countable noun* (*I see two* ***chickens*** *in the yard*) and the other is *uncountable* when it is used in the meaning of 'its flesh as food'.

Lexical meaning which is most important for our lexicological goals, is not homogenous either. It includes *denotational* and *connotational* types.

D e n o t a t i o n a l meaning provides reference of a word or any other lexical unit to its denotatum – an individual object or a concept. Denotational meaning of a word renders the most important (prototypical) part of the related conceptual content and thus makes communication possible. Denotational meaning is explicitly revealed in the explanatory dictionary definition (e.g., ***chair*** 'a seat for one person typically having four legs and a back').

C o n n o t a t i o n a l meaning includes ideas or emotions than tend to be aroused in a person by a linguistic term. Some connotations are very personal and easily changeable, characteristic of a person's individual experience (for example, your personal associations with the term *lexicology*) – they are **emotional implications** and are studied mainly by pragmatics. But some connotations are stable and common to all members of a specific language community, like *emotive charge* and *stylistic reference*, and thus they are systemic, related to the language system, and are the subject matter of lexicology.

E m o t i v e c h a r g e, both positive and negative, may be inherent in the word meaning itself (like in ***attractive*** 'pleasing or appealing to the senses', ***ugly*** 'unpleasant or repulsive') or may be created by prefixes and suffixes (like in ***piggy***, ***useful***, ***useless***). Dictionaries express this component of meaning by special remarks like *diminutive*, *endearing* preceding definitions, or by highly evaluative words used in definitions like in ***repulsive*** 'arousing *aversion* or *disgust*'.

S t y l i s t i c r e f e r e n c e is a component of word meaning that relates the word to a certain **style register** which, in its turn, provides **stylistic stratification** of the vocabulary into **neutral** (***begin/start***), **colloquial** (***Come on!***) and **formal**, or **bookish/literary** (***commence***) **layers** (see Chapter VII).

4. Methods of word meaning analysis

The denotational component of word meaning may be seen as a complex cluster of smaller units – **semantic components**, or **semes**; some authors also speak about **semantic features**, or **semantic markers**. The difference between these terms is that *semantic components* single out atoms of meaning in actual lexical items, while *semantic features* do that from the point of view of the overall structure of language in abstraction. So, a particular word meaning may be divided into semantic components and the semantic structure of a whole language may be spoken of as having a pattern of semantic features.

The structure of any language, for example, contains the semantic feature [ANIMATE]. This semantic feature, like any other, may have a positive or negative "value". The word ***table***, for example, has a negative value of this feature and is presented graphically for this word as [–ANIMATE] but the word ***cat*** has a positive value of that feature and pressented as [+ANIMATE].

The procedure of "atomization" of meaning into semantic features, or components, is known as c o m p o n e n t i a l a n a l y s i s. This very important method of linguistic investigation which appeared in the middle of the 50-ies and was developed in the 60's and 70's can be illustrated by words denoting human beings – ***man***, ***woman***, ***boy*** and ***girl***. All these words may be described with help of a positive value of the semantic feature [+HUMAN]. The words have also semantic features MALE and ADULT each one having different values. The word ***man*** can be described as [+HUMAN] [+ADULT] [+MALE], the word ***boy*** as [+HUMAN] [–ADULT] [+MALE], ***woman*** as [+HUMAN] [+ADULT] [–MALE] and ***girl*** as [+HUMAN] [–ADULT] and [–MALE].

Some other features may be singled out in these words, for example, [ANIMATE] or [ORGANIC] which are more general and abstract than the ones mentioned above. But in the componential analysis they take into consideration only the *lowest components* of the hierarchy with one common component for all of the words under study, and this principle is known as the **redundancy rule**.

Componential analysis in many varieties turned out to be very efficient in studies of word meaning even though separating word meaning into semantic components so far *does not allow* us to sort out the smallest universal semantic building blocks (**semantic universals**) whose different assembling is believed to develop a multithousand vocabulary, though different research into such linguistic universals has taken place for a long time beginning with Leibnitz.

Neither can it explain many things about word meaning such as instability, change of meaning, polysemy, typical and non-typical representatives of a class. Modern scholars have proved that semantic components, as they are presented in the above examples, form only a small part of meaning that words possess.

Nowadays, within such a new frame of **linguistics as a cognitive science**, many scholars believe that word meaning is not fixed in our mind as a set of semantic components. They prefer to speak about **semantic properties** of a word that merge into one another rather than about fixed semantic components. What is called, for example, ***a bowl*** in one situation may be called ***a dish*** in another one. Humans understand each other not by learning a structure of semantic components in the form of definitions or any other form, but by working with typical examples, **prototypes**. Those entities that have sufficient common semantic properties with the prototype can be regarded as members of the same category. A prototypical ***bird***, for example, like ***a robin***, has wings, legs, a tail, a beak, and can fly. An ***ostrich*** also has feathers, wings and a beak**,** and though it is good at running but cannot fly, it may still qualify as a bird though not a prototypical one. A ***kiwi*** which does not even have visible wings still less qualifies for being called a bird though due to some other its properties we call it a bird.

Understanding meaning as a fuzzy set of semantic properties (a p r o t o t y p e a p p r o a c h) has its merits, especially in explaning cross-language differences in meanings of correlative words. Various language communities choose different samples as prototypes and this may lead to discrepancies in meaning among correlative words that may be explicated in the definitions (though not always), or may be revealed in variations of frequency of their usage. A typical ***bird*** for Englishmen is ***a robin***, while for Russians it is ***a sparrow*** or ***a dove***, so ***a robin*** is far more frequently used in English than in Russian. Another example:

according to dictionary definitions a typical ***house*** for English speaking people is ‘a building that serves as living quarters for *one or a few families*’, a typical house in Russian does not include semantic property ‘for one or a few families’, it is ‘a building for living (or institution) and people living in it’ (‘жилое [или для учреждения] здание, а также люди, живущие в нем’).

This *prototype approach* to word meaning besides its merits has its *limitations*, too. For some words, such as ***bachelor*** or ***bird***, there is a high level of agreement on which prototypical properties constitute the essential part of their meaning. For many others, like ***idea***, ***small*** or ***sing***, there is no such agreement, and linguistic description of them on the basis of prototypes becomes as problematic as on the basis of componential analysis. And then, though the view of word meaning as a fuzzy set of semantic properties seems to be more adequate, it loses a lot in the heuristic power of the rigid methods used in structural approaches to word meaning.

The functional approach to word meaning has developed a fruitful **contextual method** of its analysis. Word meaning is observed in certain contexts and environments, not in dictionaries. A large corpus of recorded material with a certain word, for example, ***make***, is analyzed. The **contexts** of this word are subdivided into **grammatical** contexts that demonstrate different syntactic patterns of the word under consideration (***make* + n** as in ***make shoes***; ***make* + n/prn + v** as in ***make somebody do something***) and **lexical** ones that show combinability of the word with other lexical items within the same grammatical pattern (cf.: ***make shoes, make decisions***, ***make mistakes***).

The analysis of lexical and grammatical contexts is especially widely used to determine individual meanings of a polysemous word. The results of this method cannot be overestimated for lexicography.

So, there are different approaches to the study of *denotational* meaning of a word.

Some special methods are worked out to study *connotational* meaning, too. In 1957 C. Osgood and his collegues proposed a method of measuring *meaning affections*, a pragmatic evaluative component of word meaning, that they called the method of semantic differential.

Studying reactions of subjects to a certain word, for example, ***a plant***, by asking them a number of questions containing any adjectives like *Is it good or bad? Small or large? Wet or dry?* and registering the answers by **X** on a seven-point scale between the two bipolar adjectives like in the following example:

good – – – **X** – – – bad,
small – **X** – – – – – large,
wet – – – **X** – – – dry,

C. Osgood tried to locate these meaning affections of a word on paper and in semantic space, and different people, especially from different language communities gave different schemes of reactions that were later carefully studied.

This simple but illuminating method can hardly be used to study denotational meaning of a word but may widely be applied to investigate pragmatic emotional associations with the word. It is of special value in contrastive studies of correlative words because different language communities have different affective word associations.

4.2. CHANGE OF WORD MEANING IN ENGLISH

- *Causes for change of meaning* • *Nature and results of change of meaning*

The whole stock of words and each facet of a word – its form and meaning, change with time.

Meanings of lexical units, especially words, are the most unstable of all language components that go through modification. They are far more unstable than sounds, grammatical forms, or syntactic arrangements. Very often semantic changes are accompanied by changes in their sound/written or grammatical form.

One should distinguish between *causes*, *nature* and *results* of change of meaning.

1. Causes for change of meaning

The c a u s e s for word meaning changes may be either *linguistic*, i.e., induced by the language system itself, or *extralinguistic*.

An e x t r a l i n g u i s t i c cause is at work when word meaning changes due to change in the nature of the related object or in concepts about it. The meaning of the word ***paper*** nowadays is not connected anymore with ***papirus*** 'the plant from which it formerly was made', and this disconnection is reflected in the modern definition of this word: 'substance manufactured from wood fiber, rags, etc., used for writing, printing, drawing, wrapping, packing, etc.'. Achievements in physics and changes in the concept of ***atom*** changed the meaning of this word, too. The atom is no longer believed to be indivisible as it was when Greeks named it. The same can be said about practically all the words denoting artifacts or people's understanding of the world structures that can be traced to ancient times or even more recent days (***car***, ***pen***, ***window***, and ***table***).

Language change may come about through the social phenomena of **taboos** [fr. Polynesian *tabu* 'sacred, forbidden to general use'] and **euphemisms** [fr. Gk *eu-* 'good' and *phēmē* 'speech'] – avoiding particular words and using others instead, like ***senior*** for ***elderly***.

According to P. Hanks, language changes also because **language users have** "**a double competence**, *a competence to use words according to the norm* and a *competence to play with the norm*, to exploit it; and that **every meaning corresponds to a specific context that can be more or less frozen**" [Béjoint 2000, p. 630].

L i n g u i s t i c causes for meaning change related to the essence of language as a system (*differention of synonyms, linguistic analogy* and *ellipsis*) are also of great importance.

Let us consider d i f f e r e n t i a t i o n o f s y n o n y m s first. When a new word is borrowed it may become a perfect synonym for the existing one. Brought into competition with a foreign word the native word or both of them may change their meaning. They have to be differentiated; otherwise one of them will die. Thus, the word ***land*** in Old English meant both 'solid part of earth's surface' and 'the territory of nation'. When the word ***country*** was borrowed from Old French and became its synonym, the meaning of the native word ***land*** was narrowed to 'solid part of earth'; its second meaning remained mainly in compound geographical names, like ***Scotland***, ***England***, and ***Finland***.

L i n g u i s t i c a n a l o g y is another linguistic cause that is often responsible for changes in word meaning. Analogical patterns regularize not only grammar (like forms in the Past Indefinite with ***-ed***, or forms for plural nouns with ***-s***), they are also active in regularizing *meaning development*. For example, words similar in their primary meanings usually exhibit similar semantic development, similar directionality of semantic change.

Thus, all basic colour adjectives, for example, ***white***, ***black***, ***blue***, ***red***, and ***yellow*** regularly develop such meanings as:

- 'emotional state': ***white*** 'notably ardent: PASSIONATE' ***fury***; ***black*** 'very sad, gloomy, or calamitous' ***despair***; ***blue*** 'low in spirits: MELANCHOLY'; ***red*** 'flushed with anger or embarrassment';
- 'ethical evaluation': ***white*** 'free from moral impurity': INNOCENT; ***a black*** 'thoroughly sinister or evil: WICKED' ***deed***; ***blue*** 'PURITANICAL; PROFANE, INDECENT' ***jokes***; ***a red*** 'failing to show a profit' ***statement***; ***yellow*** 'MEAN, COWARDLY';

- ‘relating to’: ***white***, e.g., *wearing* ***white***/***black***/***blue***/***red*** or ***yellow***, though individual semantic development of a word is never excluded.

Still another linguistic cause for change of meaning is a process of e l l i p s i s (Gr *élleipsis* ‘omission’) – when the meaning of one word may be transferred to the meaning of another one contextually associated with it, and thus causing a change of meaning. An example of ellipsis is the noun ***elastic*** in *She wrapped an* ***elastic*** *around the cards* which is a result of *nominalization* of the correspondent adjective ***elastic*** used to name any *material* that can be stretched.

2. Nature and results of change of meaning

Change of word meaning is of p s y c h o l o g i c a l and c o g n i t i v e n a t u r e. Social and cultural changes, dynamics of a lexicalized concept, fuzziness of concept boundaries, similarities of conceptual structures, a net of different semantic and pragmatic associations between lexicalized concepts based on temporal, spatial, structural relations, logical inferences, subjective appraisal, etc., make up a steady foundation for gradual changes in conventional meaning of words when people use them in new types of contexts.

R e s u l t s of word meaning (semantic) changes are diverse and numerous. Semantic changes may take place in the denotational component of word meaning. They are various and of a complex nature and here we shall speak about the most wide-spread ones: **restriction / narrowing** of meaning, or **specialization**; **extension / widening** of meaning, or **generalization**, and a **semantic shift**, including *the shift to the opposite*.

R e s t r i c t i o n (or n a r r o w i n g) of meaning occurs when a word in the course of time happens to denote a more restricted number of referents. For example, the noun ***mare*** in Modern English denotes ‘a female horse’ though in Old English it was applied both to female and male horses. It meant just ‘a horse’ and had a slightly different sound and written form [*mearh*]. Restriction, or narrowing of word meaning parallels its s p e c i a l i z a t i o n when the newer meaning of the word is less general, more detailed in character, more specialized. Many scholars use these three terms synonymously.

It is usually *native words* that became more *restricted* and *specialized* in the course of the English language development. Their broad, general sense was very often lost and replaced by loan words. The words, however, survived because they changed their meaning by narrowing it (cf.: semantic development of the words ***deor*** from ‘animal’ to ‘dear’, ***fugol*** from ‘bird’ to ‘fowl’, ***mete*** from ‘food’ to ‘meet’, and ***sellan*** from ‘give’ to ‘sell’). The native word could also pass from

general into special use. The word ***seduce***, for example, used nowadays mostly as a term, meant originally in the Middle Ages, when it first appeared in English, ‘to poach, or illegally take labour from another man’s service’, and this practice was widely used by feudals.

The opposite kind of change in word meaning, when the word becomes applicable to a greater number of referents, is called e x t e n s i o n (or w i d e n i n g) of meaning: ***guy*** and ***cook***, for example, were not applied to women until the 16th century but now they are; ***hoover***, ***MacIntosh, zerox***, ***sandwich***, ***boycott***, ***lynch*** were primarily used only to name certain persons but now they are applied to whole classes of objects or events.

The extended meanings may become abstract, less detailed, more general than the original ones, hence the term for this process is g e n e r a l i z a t i o n. The meaning of the word ***ready***, for example, underwent the process of extension (widening) and generalization because in Old English the word ***rāde*** ‘ready’ meant just ‘prepared for a ride’. The majority of Modern English **generic terms** like ***person*** [ME, fr. OFr *persone*, fr. L *persona* ‘actor’s mask, character in a play’], ***animal*** [fr. L *anima* ‘soul’], ***way*** [ME, fr. OE *weg*; akin to OHG *weg* ‘way’, OE *wegan* ‘to move’, L *vehere* ‘to carry’], etc. passed through the process of *generalization* either in English or earlier in the language of borrowing.

In some cases, a word undergoes semantic changes that cannot be termed generalization or specialization because the word radically changes its meaning. Such a process may be called a s e m a n t i c s h i f t. Thus, change of meaning in the word ***fair*** from the original ‘beautiful’ to modern ‘not dark: BLOND’ may be qualified as a semantic shift. The word ***silly*** has also undergone a semantic shift because originally it meant ‘happy, blessed’. Since the Middle Ages the word ***meal*** has undergone a process of narrowing, but before that a semantic shift took place there [ME *meel* ‘appointed time, meal’, fr. OE *mAl*: akin to OHG *m-a-l* ‘time’, L *mettri* ‘to measure’].

The word may change its meaning to the o p p o s i t e. The shift to the opposite is observed, for example, in the adjective ***fast*** that originally meant ‘fixed’ and now it also means ‘quick’; in the adjective ***wan*** was originally used for the notion ‘dark’ and now it is used also for ‘pale’.

Alongside changes of *denotational meaning* some changes of **connotational meaning** may take place, too. Scholars speak of:

- **ameliorative development**, or **amelioration**, when a word not only changes its denotational meaning but also acquires favourable connotations. Thus, the word ***nice*** that came into English in the 12th century from Old French

originally meant ‘careless, clumsy; weak; poor, needy; simple, stupid, silly, foolish’; then it came to mean ‘timid’; by the late 14th it meant ‘fussy, fastidious’; by 1400 it meant ‘dainty, delicate’; in the 1500s ***nice*** came already to mean ‘precise, careful’; by 1769 it meant ‘agreeable, delightful’ and by 1830 it already had positive connotations and meant ‘kind, thoughtful’ (cf.: also the modern meaning of the noun ***minister*** ‘a person in charge of a particular government department’ and its former meaning ‘a servant’; the adjective ***noble*** ‘belonging to a high social class and having a title’ that meant in Latin just ‘well known’);

- **pejorative development**, or **pejoration**, when a word finally takes on pejorative associations (***rude*** ‘lacking refinement, coarse, vulgar, robust’ meant ‘crude’ and later ‘uneducated’; ***accident*** ‘an unexpectant happening causing loss or injury’ came from more neutral ‘something that happened’; ***silly*** meant ‘happy’; ***villain*** ‘a low-born, base-minded rustic’ in 1303 came to mean just ‘one of the serfs of the feudal system’; ***slave*** originally meant ‘of Slav origin’; *awful* as the structure of the word prompts, originally meant ‘worthy of awe’ but by 1809 it comes to mean ‘very bad’ and then by 1818 it comes to mean ‘exceedingly bad’).

The number of words with pejorative development is greater than the number of words with ameliorative development. That prompts many scholars to explain this process by invoking traits of human nature, our readiness to point out and speak about the worst in anybody or anything, and to remain silent about good things and take them for granted. But this hypothesis does not explain why words with positive meaning still exist and appear in the language.

There is also purely linguistic explanation of connotational development of word meaning: *native words usually underwent pejorative development* because of the inferior position of Engelisk in early ME period, for example, the modern unpretencious word ***stool*** ‘a seat with legs but no support for arms or back’ came from the lofty Gothic ***stol*** ‘high seat, throne’.

Fewest changes of meaning are observed in the words that have not been seriously influenced by external factors because of their conceptual and communicative significance, like primary terms of kinship (***father***, ***mother***, ***daughter***, ***son***, ***brother***, ***sister***, and so on) or basic names of colours (***red***, ***blue***, and ***green***).

So, lexical meaning is not a stable category. It changes constantly though not quickly and radically to prevent people from misunderstanding each other. Semantic changes in a word become evident when we view them diachronically.

4.3. LEXICAL-SEMANTIC NAMING AND POLYSEMY IN ENGLISH. SEMANTIC STRUCTURE OF A WORD

- *Lexical-semantic naming* • *The use of lexical-semantic naming in English* • *Definition and sources of polysemy* • *Reasons for high polysemy in English* • *Model of polysemy* • *Ways of meaning differentiation* • *Semantic structure of a word and approaches to its study* • *Semantic structures of correlated words in different languages*

1. Lexical-semantic naming

It was mentioned above in Chapter II that one of the universal and the most economical way of lexicalization is *lexical-semantic naming* which just reuses nominative means available in a language.

The psychological basis for lexical-semantic naming is an overwhelming psychological process of conceptual association of *similarity* and *contiguity*.

Lexical semantic naming which is based on hidden comparison and association of s i m i l a r i t y between the concepts is called **metaphorical** (***bookworm*** 'the larva of a wood-boring beetle which feeds on the paper and glue in books' and 'a person who enjoys reading' (*informal*); ***face*** *of a person* and ***face*** *of a clock*; ***neck*** *of a body* and ***neck*** *of a bottle*; *She is a* ***fox***; He *is a* ***shark***).

Similarity is usually established between such perceptible qualities as SHAPE, SIZE, STRUCTURE, COLOUR and more abstract qualities like FUNCTION, ORIGIN and even EVALUATION of entities (*something is as bad as a* ***beast***, *a* ***dog*** or ***weed***). Sometimes several features or the whole situation may serve as the basis for metaphoric transference of a name, as it is, for example, in the case of ***autumn*** for 'a period of maturity or incipient decline'.

In English as well as in any other language there are numerous cases of **synesthesia** – a specific kind of lexical-semantic naming of a concept viewed as similar to another due to activation of another sensation biologically related to it, like VISION – TOUCHING, that makes possible such word combination as ***hot colours***; VISION – HEARING realized in the word combination ***high sound***; TASTE – SMELL as it seen in ***sour smell***.

When lexical-semantic naming is based on the associations of c o n t i g u i t y between the salient features of two concepts, their coexistence in the same space and time parameters or some logical relations, it is usually referred to as *metonymic* (the ***Crown*** for 'the reigning monarch who was *crowned* by placing *a crown* on his/her head as part of a ceremony in which they were officially made king or queen'; the ***bench*** for 'judiciary').

The regular types of concept relations at the basis of m e t o n y m i c n a m i n g are:

- whole – part (*We have 10* ***heads*** *here*);
- count – mass (*We ate* ***rabbit***);
- material – object of it (*She is wearing a* ***fox*****)**;
- container – containee (*I ate three* ***plates***);
- object – a unit of measure (*This horse came one* ***neck*** *ahead*);
- figure – ground (*The boy broke the* ***window***);
- place – people (*The* ***city*** *is asleep*);
- producer – product (*We bought a* ***hoover***).

Metaphor and metonymy are observed in words of all parts of speech, for example, in *verbs*: ***to fly*** 1) to move in or pass through the air with wings (*birds* ***fly***); 2) to move through the air or before the wind (*flags* ***fly***); 3) to move or pass swiftly (*vacations* ***fly***) or in *adjectives*: ***black*** 1) of the colour black (*a* ***black*** *dress*); 2) having dark skin, hair and eyes (*a* ***black*** *Irishman*); 3) *dressed in* ***black***; and even in functional words. But they are most easily recognized in polysemous nouns naming concepts of similar or contiguous concrete objects, for example: ***neck*** 1) the part of the body that joins the head to the shoulders; 2) the part of a piece of clothing that fits around your neck; 3) a long and narrow part of something: a part that is shaped like a neck (*a neck of a bottle*).

Lexical-semantic naming may be based not only on similarity and contiguity established between the concepts. It may also be based on **hierarchical relations** between concepts. Thus, the word ***cat*** in English is not only a name for a certain kind of *domesticated animal*, but also the term for its *hyperonym* – a whole class including ***tiger***, ***lion***, ***panther***, etc. Another example is the word ***dog*** which is used in English not only as a general name for a certain domesticated animal irrespective of its sex (*They have a* ***dog***) but also as a name for a male canine.

2. The use of lexical-semantic naming in English

Lexical-semantic naming in English is used for different purposes.

It is widely used *to give figurative* (usually *derogatory*) *names* to a person (***tail*** ‘one, as a detective, who follows or keeps watch on someone’; ***monkey*** ‘(fig.) a person resembling a monkey; a ludicrous figure; DUPE’).

Lexical-semantic naming is also used for *creating direct names*. Thus, in nouns it is used for naming the concepts of:

- geographical places and objects of the universe (***mouth*** 'the place where a stream enters a larger body of water');
- instruments (***hand*** 'an indicator on a dial'; ***head*** 'the striking part of a weapon'; ***worm*** 'the thread of a crew, a short revolving crew');
- parts of any structure including body (***leg*** 'a pole or a bar serving as a support'; ***foot*** 'a piece of a sawing machine that presses the cloth'; ***lid*** 'EYELID'; ***bag*** 'UDDER');
- actions, events and their results (***bed*** 'sleep; marital relationship'; chair 'employment, a position of employment');
- different abstract concepts (***lid*** 'RESTRAIN, CURB'; ***net*** 'an entrapping situation'; ***bone*** 'ESSENCE').

Any word may be used for secondary naming but names of most familiar and important concepts, like *body parts, animals, plants, instruments, clothes, movement, existence, possession, colour, shape, size, temperatur*e, and some others are especially widely used for this purpose.

3. Definition and sources of polysemy

In the course of semantic development of a word its original sense may become archaic, obsolete or may even drop out of the language system altogether. In these instances, the term *change of meaning* is adequate for taking into account the relation of the former and the new senses of the word.

But in the majority of cases the original meaning of a lexeme and a new one derived in the course of lexical-semantic naming (they are usually referred to as different 'senses' of a lexeme) happily coexist, making the word *polysemous*. Thus, the word is p o l y s e m o u s when it refers to more than one conceptual category (cf.: ***warm water*** and ***warm reception***) and has two or more interrelated senses.

The major source for p o l y s e m y , the coexistence of many possible meanings for a lexical unit, is a derived name or names that appear as a result of a *lexical semantic naming.* But besides lexical-semantic naming there is another, though rarer, source of polysemy, which is called *convergence of homonyms.*

C o n v e r g e n c e o f h o m o n y m s takes place when two words that had different origin and were developing independently begin to converge, to be perceived by people as semantically related. Lexicographers (if they do not compile historical dictionaries) may place such words in one entry with their

homonyms as meanings of one word. For example, the word ***fresh*** in the *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* treats its primary meaning 'not salty' [OE *fresc*] and etymologically different and unrelated meaning 'disposed to take liberties: IMPUDENT' [fr. G *frech*] as one polysemantic word. The same situation occurs in the noun ***cat*** combining two homonyms 'a small domesticated carnivorous mammal' and 'catboat' (cat here is short for CATAMARAN) and others.

Whatever the source of polysemy is, it registers the results of people's cognitive activity in classifying and lexicalizing concepts.

4. Reasons for high polysemy in English

Lexical-semantic naming and polysemy are language universals. They take place in all human languages, yet the roles of lexical-semantic naming and the degrees of polysemy in different languages are different.

Words in spoken Chinese, for example, are much more polysemous than in English [Miller 1991, p. 187]. But the degree of polysemy of words in English is higher, for example, than in Russian: the usual number of meanings in an English word range from 3 to 8, while in Russian it is 2 to 5.

The reasons for relatively high polysemy of English words are not clear yet. However, we may state the factors that contribute to polysemy, and all these factors take place in English.

According to **G. K. Zipf's principle of least effort** (1948) there is a direct correlation between the length of a word and *its frequency*, and between the frequency of usage and the degree of polysemy. Zipf even described the number of meanings in a word mathematically: $\mathbf{m = \sqrt{F}}$ [Хидекель 1969, с. 40].

So, communicatively the most important words are usually short, and shorter words are more frequently used in speech, and the more frequently the word is used in speech the greater number of meanings it has.

Thus, English words, being short, provide the ideal material for both frequent usage and lexical-semantic naming leading to polysemy. The average number of meanings of the most frequent English words is **25**.

Another factor stimulating polysemy is *its period of existence*. The longer the word exists in a language the greater number of meanings it usually acquires. So, native words in a language, including English, are usually the most polysemous.

Special terms are supposed to be unambiguous, but with time even they become very often polysemous. For example, ***morphology*** means ‘1) the study of the morphemes of a language, and of the way they are joined together to make words, 2) the scientific study of the formation of animals, plants and their parts’.

The role of lexical-semantic naming in a language leading to polysemy is determined by other means of lexicalization like affixation, composition, and conversion, and the loss of many native derivational affixes in Middle English could have contributed to the increase of lexical-semantic naming. This way of naming is especially important for languages with a limited system of derivational affixes, like Pidgin English or Chinese, too.

Among the major notional classes of English words the most polysemous are verbs, followed by adjectives and nouns, though the data obtained may be connected, to a large extent, with different methods of sense determination for these classes of words.

5. Model of polysemy

There are certain **regularities** in using lexical-semantic means of naming because it is based on regular relations between certain types of concepts and norms of naming accepted by language community.

The total list of regular derived meanings that words with similar major meanings may possess makes up their *model of polysemy*.

Thus, the m o d e l o f p o l y s e m y for the English words with major meaning ‘**animal**’ include (though not obligatorily) senses of:

- some other animal (***cat*** ‘1) domesticated animal, 2) a species of animals including a tiger, a panther, a lion, a domesticated cat’);
- their flesh (*to eat* ***chicken***, ***goose***, ***rabbit***), or objects made of parts of their bodies (*to wear* ***fox*** ‘fur-coat made of fox’);
- an instrument or appliance (***cat*** ‘a strong tackle used to hoist an anchor to the cathead of a ship’);
- a sign in the Zodiac (***Dog*** ‘either of the constellations Canis Major or Canis Minor’), or to characterize a person (*she is a* ***cat*** ‘a malicious woman’).

Such models of polysemy make semantic development of a word predictable. They provide efficient storing and retrieving of lexical-semantic names from mental lexicon, their easy recognition, and wide use in speech. But to list and explain regularities as well as restrictions in polysemy for all groups of words is still one of the major problems of English lexicology.

One should also be aware that these models are not cross-language universal. In many African languages, for example, names of animals are never used for negative personal qualities.

A model of polysemy is an *abstraction* even for one language and it needs learning. The reason for it is that not all concepts are named in a certain language, there are many lexical gaps there (cf.: the word ***chicken*** is used for 'animal' and 'its flesh' but the words ***pig*** and ***cow*** are used only for 'animal', to denote their flesh borrowed names ***pork*** and ***beef*** are used).

And then, even correlated names in different languages may be used for the same type of secondary naming, refer to the same semantic domain, they may name *different qualities, events* or *objects*. For example, though in different languages the name of a bird of prey and nocturnal habits with a large head and eyes and a short hooked bill may be used in figurative naming of a person, the name of this bird denotes different human qualities in different languages: in Russian the word ***сова*** stands for 'a person sleeping late in the morning but not late at night', the English correlated word ***owl*** denotes 'a clever person', while in Italian the correlated noun ***civetta*** characterizes 'a woman who attracts the attention of men'.

6. Ways of meaning differentiation

It is extremely difficult to say how many meanings a given word has. Different dictionaries state different numbers of meanings for the same word because it is usually matter of the dictionary compilers' policy to decide the degree of detail they will use to present the semantics of a word. However, lexicologists use specific criteria to determine how many meanings a word has.

The major criterion is *semantic* – referring the word to more than one conceptual category. Scholars also use many other criteria to determine the number of meanings in a word such as different *syntactic distribution* of potentially ambiguous items (the adjective ***ill***, for example, has different senses when used attributively ***ill deeds*** or predicatively ***is ill***); their different *morphological characteristics*, as in the case of the noun ***glass*** that may be countable (***a glass of water***) and uncountable (***made of glass***); their *different derivational potential* (the lexical-semantic variant ***glass*** as 'a container' has a derivative ***glassful***, while the lexical-semantic variant ***glass*** as 'substance' does not have it).

Some scholars and lexicographers use the criterion of *translation* to determine the number of meanings in a word: if for the target word, like the English noun ***face***, there are more than one equivalent names in a foreign language. For example, according to the translation *English-Russian dictionary* by V. K. Muller (1977), this English word may be translated as: '1) лицо; 2) выражение лица; 3) гримаса; 4) внешний вид; 5) передняя, лицевая сторона, лицо; 6) циферблат, и т.д.'), thus, the English word ***face*** is polysemous.

This criterion, however, should be handled with caution. Very often it merely signals different categorization and naming of categories by different language means rather than polysemy in a language. Thus, the conceptual space of the English noun ***flask*** presented as one meaning in the *The Merriam–Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* (2014) 'a container somewhat narrowed toward the outlet and often fitted with a closure; *esp.* a broad flattened necked vessel used esp. to carry alcoholic beverages on the person', is presented in *The English-Russian Dictionary* by V. K. Muller (1977) by several Russian words: ***flask*** 'фляжка; фляга; бутыль; колба, флакон; склянка', yet we can hardly call the English word ***flask*** being polysemous as all of the shades of meaning refer to the concept CONTAINER which in Russian is more thoroughly divided into categories that are in addition differently named.

The meanings of a polysemous word are usually mutually exclusive, and that proves existence of polysemy. People usually experience no problem in choosing the proper sense of a polysemous word when it is used in a sentence such as ***She gave them a*** *warm* ***reception***. **Ambiguity**, or uncertainty, caused by polysemy easily vanishes when a person interpretes the context. But for machine translation polysemy is one of the trickiest and, so far, unresolved problems.

7. Semantic structure of a word and approaches to its study

The established senses of a polysemous word, which are *minimal nominative lexical units*, may coexist happily, though they are not equal in their status. Some of them appeared earlier and some appeared later, some meanings are frequently used and some are not, some senses are contextually or phraseologically bound and some of them are contextually and phraseologically free, some of them are stylistically marked and limited in use and some are neutral and widely used, some easily occur to our minds and some do not.

So, meanings of a polysemous word, or its *lexical-semantic variants* (the term was offered by Professor A. I. Smirnitsky), are believed to have a s e m a n t i c s t r u c t u r e, where each of them takes a certain place in the semantic place and in

the dictionary entry, as in ***go*** ‘1) to move on a course: PROCEED – compare STOP, 2) to move out of or away from a place, 3) to take place: HAPPEN, etc.’. Each of these lexical-semantic variants though having the same form, has a different meaning, derivational potential, lexical and grammatical combinability and frequency of usage. In fact, they are different nominative units, and each of them should be enlisted in lexicon.

It should also be noticed that the term *semantic structure* has become polysemous itself, and nowadays it may be used to denote a semic, or componential structure of word meaning, as well as a conceptual structure.

Semantic structure of a word is not stable and may be different at different periods of language development. Over time new meanings may appear and some meanings may become archaic and finally disappear from the lexical system when denoted by them certain objects or concepts cease to exist (***bier*** ‘*arch* a framework for carrying’) or when the name of a concept happens to be replaced by some other name (as the primary meaning of the adjective ***candid*** ‘white, glistening’ or two derived meanings of the noun ***hearse*** ‘*arch* COFFIN’ and ‘*obs* BIER’). Semantic structure may also change due to divergence or convergence of meaning development, as were the cases with ***flower*** or ***fresh*** described above.

That is why it is studied either *synchronically*, at a certain, usually current, period of time, or *diachronically*, in the process of its historical development.

The s y n c h r o n i c a p p r o a c h to semantic structure aims to register various meanings of polysemous words, their value and character of their relations. The meaning that first occurs to our mind, or is understood without a special context, the one that can be representative of the whole semantic structure of a word, is called the **basic**, **central**, or **major** meaning. It is placed first in synchronical dictionaries. Other meanings are called **peripheral**, or **minor**.
It should be mentioned, however, that an individual does not know all the meanings of a word that exist in a language or registered by dictionaries. And then, in the mental lexicons of didderent people meanings may have different structures. That is why, to establish the average norms of meanings organization into structures in a certain time period special experiments should be carried out or more objective principles of frequency of word usage should be applied.

If semantic structure is viewed d i a c h r o n i c a l l y, then its historical development, change of meaning becomes central.

The meaning first registered in the language is called **primary**, and it is placed in historical dictionaries first. Other meanings are **secondary**, or **derived**. Due to historical changeability of semantic structure, the primary meaning of a word may disappear in the course of time or may not be perceived as the most

representative for the whole structure, and one of the secondary, or derived meanings, may become major, or central. For example, the primary meaning of the adjective ***sweet*** was ‘pleasant to the taste’ and the meaning ‘one of the four basic sensations, like that of sugar’ was its derivative, while in Modern English the latter has become central and is placed first in dictionaries of current English. (See also ***nice***, ***fair***.)

To reveal the semantic structure of a word is one of the biggest preoccupations of lexicographers as well as lexicologists trying to describe the lexicon as part of an either external or mental language system.

8. Semantic structures of correlated words in different languages

In different languages semantic structures of correlative polysemous words (words with similar primary or central meanings), their actual number of meanings, character and value, usually do not coincide, so we may speak about **arbitrariness** of semantic structure in different languages.

It is natural that cases of coincidence of semantic structures in correlative words are extremely rare because semantic structure, as was mentioned before, is either a set of names derived by lexical-semantic naming or (rarely) the result of accidental cases of meaning divergence.

People in different language communities may use different naming means to lexicalize a similar concept. Thus, for ‘the lower part of the mountain’ they use affixation in in Russian (***подножие***) and lexical-semantic naming in English (***foot***); for ‘escort-ship’ they use borrowing in English (***frigate***) and syntactic naming in Russian (***сторожевой корабль***).

Even if they use the same type of naming, for example, lexical-semantic one, people in different language communities may choose different features of a concept as its most prototypical, and accordingly, different words would be used as motivating ones (cf.: ***eye*** *of the window –* ***глазок*** *двери*; ***eye*** *of a needle –* ***ушко*** *иголки*; ***сумка*** *кенгуру – a kangaroo* ***poach***; ***шумы*** *в сердце – heart* ***murmurs***; *глухой как* ***пень*** *– as deaf as a* ***post pole***; *wet as a* ***fish*** *–* *мокрый как* ***курица***).

Thus, differences in categorization and naming lead to differences in semantic structures of correlated words in different languages. Compare the semantic structure of the English word ***brush*** and the correlative Russian word ***щетка***:

brush	***щетка***
1) a device composed of bristles and used for sweeping, scrubbing;	**1)** изделие для чистки, мытья в виде колодки с насаженными на нее пучками жесткой короткой шерсти, волоса, волокон;
2) something resembling a brush, like a) a bushy tail; b) a further tuft worn on a hat;	**2)** у лошадей: часть ноги над копытом и пучок волос на этом месте;
3 a) an electrical conductor, b) BRUSH DISCHARGE;	**3)** приспособление в динамо-машине для проводки тока.
4) a) an act of brushing; b) a quick light touch or momentary contact in passing.	

Only two meanings of these two correlative words may be considered as similar: their central meanings and one of their peripheral meanings: 3 a) in the English word and 3) in the Russian word.

Semantic structure differences lead to translation problems, and peripheral senses of a word in a source language may be rendered by a totally different word in the target language, for example:

СЫРОЙ

1) (влажный) – ***damp***: сырое дерево, сырые дрова – *damp wood*; сырая погода – *damp weather*; but (!) сырое лето – ***wet*** *summer*;
2) (невареный, некипяченый) – ***raw***, ***uncooked***: сырое мясо – *raw meat*; but сырое молоко – ***unboiled*** *milk*;
3) (недоварившийся, недожарившийся, недопекшийся) – ***half-done***, ***soggy***; but (о хлебе и т.д.) ***sodden*** *bread*;
4) (необработанный) – ***raw***: сырые материалы – *raw materials*;
5) (незрелый) – ***unripe***, ***green***;
   ◊ **(мать) сыра земля** – ***mother earth***, и др. [Электронный словарь ABBYY Lingvo x6, 2014].

So, the semantic structures of correlative polysemous words usually are not identical, and these differences should be given special attention to when learning English as a foreign language.

4.4. Homonymy

- *The sources of homonyms* • *Classification of homonyms*

1. The sources of homonyms

H o m o n y m s are lexical units, which have the same form but different unrelated meanings. The classical examples of homonyms are ***bank* I** 'raised part of the river' and ***bank* II** 'office where we keep our money for a certain interest'.

Homonymy is similar to polysemy in form though is not connected with lexical-semantic naming and homonyms, in contrast to polysems, *do not appear* in a language according to regular patterns. The only exceptions in this respect are homonyms derived by zero derivation, or conversion, e.g., ***water*** (n) – ***water*** (v), which is very common in English. But this kind of homonymy is on the borderline between polysemy and homonymy because lexical units in this case unlike the classical examples above are *semantically related*.

English is very rich in homonyms. There are 1542 entries in the dictionary of English homonyms by I. S. Tyshler [Тышлер 1975].

The degree of homonymy in English is very high also due to numerous *borrowings* from different languages: ***bank* I** 'shore' [Sc] – ***bank* II** 'financial institution' [It]; ***race* I** 'nation' [Fr] – ***race* II** 'running' [ON]; ***scar* I** 'rock' [ON] – ***scar* II** 'mark on the skin' [MF, fr. L, fr. Gk].

The appearance of homonyms in a language is rather accidental. Besides borrowing they arise from *a change in pronunciation and/or spelling.* In English these changes were very active creating a great number of homonyms Thus, the homonyms ***sea*** and ***see*** were in Old English respectively [sæ] and [see] before the time of the Great English Vowel Shift that made them sound similarly.

The *loss of endings* is also an important source for lexical-grammatical homonyms in English. Thus, the homonyms ***love*** and ***to love*** appeared there out the OE noun [***lufu***] and the verb [***luvian***].

Still another important source of homonyms is *diverging meaning development* of a polysemous word, which we have mentioned above – the so-called **split polysemy**, or **disintegration of polysemy**. The meanings of some words can hardly be perceived as related nowadays, e.g., ***bachelor*** 1) a young night who follows the banner of another; 2) the lowest university degree; 3) a male of a seal not having a mate during a breeding time. The words ***flower*** and ***flour*** once were one word with the meaning 'the finest part of the wheat, flower'.

Shortening may also become a source of homonyms (***fan* I** [fr. *fanatic*] and ***fan* II** [ME fr. OE *fann* fr. L *vannus*] 'any devices for winnowing grain; an implement to produce a cool current of air'; ***flue* I** [fr. *influenza*] and ***flue* II** [origin unknown] 'an enclosed passageway for directing a current: as a) a channel in a chimney for conveying flame and smoke b) a pipe in a steam boiler').

Euphemisms also contribute to homonyms (***shoot*** – *interj* used to express annoyance [euphemism for 'sh--']; ***ass*** [euphemism for 'ar--']).

A very special type of homonyms arises *across different dialects and variants* of the language, where the same form of a word does not have the same meaning. Thus, the American word ***biscuit*** 'hard or crisp dry baked products' and British ***biscuit*** 'CRACKER or COOKIE' may be regarded as homonyms, because they are not the result of a regular semantic development of a word within the same language system.

2. Classification of homonyms

Homonyms are very diverse in character and their classification is a traditional lexicological problem. One of their classifications is according to **the type of form coincidence**:

- if coincidence is present only in the spoken form of semantically unrelated words we may talk about different **homophones** (***tail*** and ***tale***);
- when coincidence takes place only in the written form of semantically unrelated words we refer to such words as **homographs** (***live*** [liv] and ***live*** [laiv]; ***lead*** [li:d] and ***lead*** [led]; ***minute*** [minit] and ***minute*** [maɪ'n(j)uːt]);
- the case of the words ***bank* I** and ***bank* II** discussed above may be classified as an example of **perfect homonyms** where words are identical both in sound form and spelling but remain totally different in meaning.

Homonyms may differ in **the type of meaning**, and we may distinguish:

- **lexical homonyms**, which differ only in lexical type of meaning (***seal*** (n) 'a sea animal'; ***seal*** (n) 'design on a piece of paper, stamp');
- **grammatical homonyms**, that differ only in grammatical meaning (***seals*** pl. of 'sea animal' and ***seal's*** sing. Possessive Case of 'sea animal');
- **lexical-grammatical homonyms**, that differ both in lexical, part of speech and grammatical meaning but coincide in a sound and/or written form: ***seal*** (n) 'a sea animal' and ***seal*** (v) 'to close tightly'; the same can be said about the words ***court*** (n) and ***caught*** (v); ***sea*** (n) and ***see*** (v).

Though polysemy and homonymy both refer to words that are capable of more than one interpretation, they are semantically and psychologically different phenomena, and this is proved by psychological tests showing that they are stored in mental lexicon differently: polysemes stay together while homonyms do not.

For lexicography it is also important *to differentiate between polysemous words and homonyms* to make correct decisions in using one or several entries for them. The **two major criteria** for differentiating between polysemy and homonymy are *etymological* and *psychological*.

The e t y m o l o g i c a l criterion uses history of word origin. It, however, is not quite applicable to the modern state of a language. The p s y c h o g i c a l criterion is based on decisions of subjects in psychological experiments or dictionary compilers' intuition while answering the question whether they perceive any similarity between two names with a common form. Its major drawback is its subjectivity.

Though homonyms are not patterned and are to a great extent accidental, their presence in all human languages is the foundation for viewing it not as the result of the destructive powers in the language but as a semantic universal which is an inherent and integral part of a language whose role and meaning are not clear yet.

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Chapter 5
MORPHEMIC AND DERIVATIVE STRUCTURES OF ENGLISH WORDS. NAMING BY WORD-FORMATION

> Vocabulary is a matter of word-building as well as word-using. Most words in English are built up by using prefixes and suffixes, by combining elements from different languages, or by abbreviating and compounding. And we readily make words from the names of people, places, and things. English is a playful and innovative language, whose speakers love to use their imaginations in creating new vocabulary. They delight in bending and breaking the rules when it comes to word creation.
>
> *David Crystal*

In English as in any other language, the process of naming concepts has always been accomplished by borrowing and by secondary uses of naming units. But like in any other language, the most important contribution to the English vocabulary extension has been achieved by **creating new words** out of available language means by combining or changing certain morphological means after certain regular patterns. This method of name creation, usually referred to as **morphological**, is the most obvious and the most productive way of replenishing the English vocabulary nowadays, too.

Before speaking about peculiarities of morphological ways of word-derivation in English, it is necessary to clearify first what morphological means and derivation are.

5.1. MORPHOLOGY. MORPHOLOGICAL AND DERIVATIONAL ANALYSES OF A WORD STRUCTURE

- *Morphology. Morpheme. Morphology vs. Lexicology*
- *Types of meaning in morphemes*
- *Classification of morphemes*
- *Variants of forms in morphemes (allomorphs)*
- *Procedure of morphological analysis*
- *Types of word-segmentability*
- *Morphemic structure and morphemic types of words*
- *Derivational analysis. Derivative structure*
- *Derivational types of words*
- *Degree of derivation*

1. Morphology. Morpheme. Morphology vs. Lexicology

M o r p h o l o g y is a branch of linguistics that studies m o r p h e m e s – the smallest meaningful non-segmentable parts of words.

Lexicology is closely connected with morphology. Moreover, it includes part of morphology as its integral part because one of its objects is investigating all meaningful units in a language.

As mentioned above, lexicology studies only part of the morphemes that morphology is interested in. It *does not* study *form building, or inflectional morphemes* (there are only eight of them in English (*-s, -ed, -ing, -en, -s, -'s, -er, -es*), as in *smil**ed**, smile**s**, is smil**ing***).

But it studies only *derivational morphemes* that are the smallest meaningful *stem building* or *word building lexical* units as in ***reason-able***, ***un-reason-able***.

American linguist L. Bloomfield referred to *inflections as the outer layer of morphology*, and to *derivation as its inner layer*, because inflections are added when all derivational and compositional processes have already been completed as in (***motor*** + ***bike***) + ***-s***, not ******(***motor*** + ***-s***) + ***bike*** or (***motor*** + ***-s***) + (***bike*** + ***-s***) [Bloomfield 1933, p. 222].

So, lexicology is very closely connected with morphology but it studies derivational morphemes that make up the inner layer of morphology.

2. Types of meaning in morphemes

Linguists have used the term *morpheme* for over a century[1]. However, the question what part of a word can be called a morpheme, remains not clear enough even today.

On purely formal grounds a morpheme is identified as a segment regularly recurring in other lexemes. But are the segments ***cat-*** in ***cat****tle*, or ***-able*** in *t**able*** morphemes? Rather not because the recurring segments to be called a morpheme must have the same meaning. And vice versa, semantically identical segments *may not* have identical forms in different distribution as in ***price*** – ***preci****ous*. Are these segments the same morpheme?

In modern linguistics meaningful morphemes are identified by a combination of structural, distributional and semantic criteria. But what does it mean for a morpheme to be meaningful?

Meaning in morphemes has a different character in comparison with other lexical units, and namely words.

It is assumed, that like words, word building morphemes (further *morphemes* for short) may have **lexical meaning**: **denotational** (especially revealed in root-morphemes, like in ***girl-***) and **connotational** (the suffixes in *pig**let*** and *hors**y***

[1] The term was coined in 1895 by J. Baudouin de Courtenay, Professor at the universities of Kazan, Tartu, Cracow, Saint Petersburg and Warsaw.

have diminutive and endearing meaning; connotational meaning may range from positive to derogative as in the suffixes with similar denotational meaning of similarity in the words *woman-**ly**, woman-**like**, woman-**ish***).

Besides lexical meaning many morphemes (except roots) may possess **part-of-speech** (or **functional**) **meaning** as in *govern-**ment**, teach-**er*** where suffixes ***-ment*** and ***-er*** are noun-building suffixes added to verbal stems.

But some word building morphemes, in contrast to words and to inflectional endings like ***-ed*** for the Past Indefinite, d o n o t possess either **grammatical** or part-of-speech **meaning** as it is the case with the root morpheme ***-man-*** which in contrast to the words **a *man*, *man-ly*, *un-man-ly*** possesses only lexical meaning.

But in addition to the types of meaning observed in a word, morphemes *possess specific meanings of their own*. They are **differential meaning** that serves to distinguish one word from another (***over-cook***, ***under-cook***, ***pre-cook***) and **distributional meaning** – the meaning of morpheme arrangement in a word (certain morphemes follow or precede the root as in ***un**effect**ive***, some morphemes may occupy different positions like in ***ring-finger*** and ***finger-ring***, ***piano-player*** and ***player-piano***, ***billboard*** and ***board bill***, and difference in their arrangement provides differences in lexical meanings of the nominative units they form).

There are also specific segments that recur in many words and vaguely suggest of their lexical meaning, like [**fl**] in the words denoting movement ***flash***, ***flicker***, ***flame***, and ***flare***. Yet they can hardly be called morphemes. L. Bloomfield calls them **phonetic-semantic resemblances** [Bloomfield 1933, p. 244].

3. Classification of morphemes

Semantically English *derivational morphemes* (which are called here *morphemes* for short) are divided into **roots** – lexical-semantic centres of words without which they do not exist, and **affixes** – prefixes and suffixes with modifying meaning.

Both roots and affixes may have definite lexical (denotational and connotational) types of meaning (***-let***, ***-y***, ***dad-***).

Some morphemes may have all four major types of meaning characteristics, like ***-ist*** in ***philologist***, while some of them have predominantly lexical (***over-***, ***under-***) or predominantly functional meanings (***-ment***, ***-dom***).

But some of the *stem building morphemes* which are called **pseudo-morphemes** are semantically deficient. Here are some examples of them.

Word segments like ***re-*** in ***receive*** or ***con-*** in ***contain*** bear no meaningful relation to the morphemes ***re-*** in ***rewrite*** and ***con-*** in ***confirm***.

They can hardly be ascribed definite lexical or functional meaning in Modern English, though diachronically they were usually full morphemes in the language of origin (usually Latin or Greek). Only differential and distributional types of meanings are presented there. They may be observed in combinations with other segments forming meaningful words (cf.: ***re-*** in ***re****tain*, ***re****main*; ***con-*** in ***con****clude*, ***con****ceive*), and thus may be regarded as units similar to prefixes (pseudo-prefixes). The remaining segments of these words like ***-ceive*** in *re****ceive*** and ***-tain*** in *con****tain*** are also observed in many other words (for example, *per****ceive***, *de****tain***) but as radical elements they are also problematic for the same semantic reason.

While a word is defined by L. Bloomfield as a minimal *free* form, **structural** characteristics of morphemes are more diverse because they fall into three groups: free, *bound* and *semi-free* (*semi-bound*).

A f r e e m o r p h e m e coincides with a word form (as ***friend*** in ***friendship***). The majority of English roots are free morphemes.

A b o u n d m o r p h e m e is always a part of a word (as ***-ship*** in ***friendship***). The major part of affixes and some roots, especially in loan words such as ***histor-*** in ***history***, ***cor-*** in ***cordial***, or ***not-*** in ***notion***, are bound.

Some bound morphemes seldom or never occur in other words. They are **unique morphemes** (***ham****-let*, *Notting-****ham***, *Prince-****ton***). They are mostly observed in native words that became partially or fully demotivated.

Some linguists single out **semi-bound morphemes** (or **semi-affixes**) that may occur both in free and bound forms (cf.: *to do* ***well*** and ***well****-done*, *take a* ***half*** *of it* and ***half****-eaten*; the formations with ***-man***, ***under-*** or ***-like*** in *post****man***; ***unde****rstand*; *human****like***). The words with semi-bound morphemes (***well****-done*, ***half****-eaten*) may be treated either as compounds or affixational derivatives.

One more specific group of word segments is made up by the so-called **combining forms** that originally were Latin or Greek words or parts of words. These combining forms are observed in **neoclassical compounds** (***phonology***, ***photographic***, ***telephone***, ***telegram***) that never existed in the language of borrowing. Their status in English is not quite clear yet. Some of the combining forms used as the first elements in complexes never occur as free words and thus look more like prefixes as in ***granul-*** in ***granulomatous***, ***granulocytic***, ***granuloma***. Some of them are predominantly used as the second elements in complexes and look more like suffixes as ***-graphy*** in ***stenography***, ***photography***, ***biography***). The majority of them may be used both as the first and the second elements of complexes as ***graph-*** and ***log-*** in ***graphology*** and ***logograph***, ***phonogram*** and ***gramophone***. These elements in complexes do not have part-of-speech meaning but they have explicit lexical meaning and may be regarded as roots.

Yet they are not free roots as in ***finger-ring*** and ***ring-finger***. They also differ in derivational potential, semantics and structural independence from bound roots like ***anx***- in ***anxious***, ***anxiety***, and hence their special status of combining forms.

4. Variants of forms in morphemes (allomorphs)

In different contexts morphemes may have different phonemic shapes (cf.: ***please*** – ***pleasure*** – ***pleasant***; ***fuse*** – ***fusion***; ***school*** – ***scholar***; ***number*** – ***numerous***; ***compel*** – ***compulsory***; ***part*** – ***partial***, etc.). However, these differently sounding parts may be recognized as morphophonemic variants of the same morphemes due to semantic and distributional criteria. These representations, alternates of morphemes, are called a l l o m o r p h s. Allomorphs may involve vowel and consonantal morphophonemic alternations as demonstrated in the given above examples.

The conditions under which the same morpheme derives two or more differently sounding forms are still not quite clear. Many morphophonemic alternations and allophones as their results may be accounted for etymological reasons (***peace*** [L fr. OFr] – ***pacifist*** [L]), phonological (sound change and the Great Vowel Shift as in ***divine*** – ***divinity***), analogical (****metricity*** will be pronounced as ***electricity***), and even exceptional factors (as in ***equate*** – ***equation*** where we observe **t – ʒ** alternation instead of the more productive alternation **t – ʃ** (as in ***relate*** – ***relation***).

It is necessary to be aware of this fact and to recognize a morpheme in its different phonemic shapes in different words while making morphological and derivational analyses of words.

5. Procedure of morphological analysis

In order to know how many meaningful parts there are in a word, scholars employ a procedure called **the method of Immediate and Ultimate constituents** (or **the IC and UC method**).

This method is based on the identification of two meaningful and recurring components in other words that the word under analysis falls into (*immediate constituents*) until it is broken into the smallest meaningful parts (*ultimate constituents*). For example, ***friendliness*** may be divided into the component ***friendly-***, occurring in such words as ***friendly***, ***friendly****-looking*, and the component ***-ness*** (cf.: *dark-**ness***, *happy-**ness***). Then ***friendly-*** is finally divided into ***friend-*** and ***-ly*** (cf. *wife-**ly***) which are ultimate constituents of the word ***friendliness***.

The IC and UC method is of special value in morphological analysis of a word in an unexplored language.

6. Types of word-segmentability

There are *three main types* of word-segmentability.

1. C o m p l e t e word-segmentability takes place when segmentation into morphemes (free or bound) *does not cause any doubt for structural or semantic reasons,* when the constituent morphemes recur with the same meaning in a number of other words: ***teach-er*** (cf. other words with the same constituents: the free root morpheme ***-teach-*** is observed in the verb ***to teach*** and noun ***teach-ing***, and the suffix ***-er*** is a productive and active suffix that takes place in many English words like ***work-er***, ***paint-er***).

Segmentation into morphemes of such words as ***stud-ent*** and ***nat-ive*** may also be considered as complete though here the roots are bound morphemes, but all of them possess a clear lexical meaning and are recurrent in other words: ***study***, ***studio*** and ***nature***, ***native***, ***natural***.

2. C o n d i t i o n a l word-segmentability is observed when segmentation is doubtful for *semantic* reasons, as the segments (pseudo-morphemes) regularly occurring in other words can hardly be ascribed any definite lexical meaning (***re-tain***, ***de-tain***; ***con-ceive***, ***de-ceive***, ***per-ceive***, ***re-ceive***; ***accept***, ***except***, ***concept***, ***percept***, ***precept***).

3. D e f e c t i v e word-segmentability takes place in cases when segmentation is doubtful for structural reasons because one of the components (*a unique morpheme*) has a specific lexical meaning but seldom or never occurs in other words in the same meaning (***ham***-*let*, ***pock***-*et*, *dis*-***may***, ***straw***-*berry*).

7. Morphemic structure and morphemic types of words

All words can be classified as *monomorphic* or *polymorphic* according to the number of their morphemes.

P o l y m o r p h i c words can be subdivided into *monoradical* and *polyradical*.

M o n o r a d i c a l words can be:

- *monoradical suffixal* (***teacher***, ***student***);
- *monoradical prefixal* (***overteach***, ***overstudy***);
- *prefixal-radical suffixal* (***superteacher***, ***superstudent***, ***beheaded***).

P o l y r a d i c a l words can also be subdivided into:

- *polyradical proper* (***head-master***, ***blackboard***);
- *polyradical suffixal* (***head-teacher***, ***graduate-student***, ***boarding-school***, ***bee-keeper***);
- *polyradical prefixal* (***super-headmaster***, ***post-graduate-student***);
- *polyradical prefixal-suffixal* (***super-headteacher***, ***super-light mindedness***).

Care should be taken with regard to synchronic and diachronic approaches to morphological analysis. Some words like ***disease*** and ***away*** seem to be monomorphic to the vast majority of contemporary English speakers, though historically they are not.

8. Derivational analysis. Derivative structure

Morphological analysis reveals the number of meaningful constituents in a word and their usual sequence. But it does not answer the question how the word is constructed.

So, it is important alongside with a morphological analysis of a word to carry out its d e r i v a t i o n a l (or w o r d - f o r m a t i o n) a n a l y s i s in order to determine the type and arrangement of IC there, i.e., to establish a word's d e r i v a t i v e (d e r i v a t i o n a l) s t r u c t u r e. Restoring a derivative structure in a word helps to answer the question how new words are formed, or derived.

In some simple cases like ***singer*** the results of morphological analysis (the word may be classified as a monoradical-suffixal word) and derivational analysis (the word is a suffixational derivative) are very similar. But in many cases, they are not.

Thus, words having the same morphological structure like ***do-gooder*** and ***dress-maker*** which are polyradical suffixal words, may be results of completely different derivational processes: by means of *suffixation* (**v + adv**) + ***-er*** in ***do-gooder***: (*do good*) + ***-er*** but by means of *word composition* **n + n** in ***dress-maker***: *dress* + (*make* + *-er*).

Compare also prefixal-radical-suffixal words ***unmanly*** and ***discouragement*** where, however, the first word is derived by means of prefixation ***un-*** + (*man* + *-ly*) but the second one – by means of suffixation (*dis-* + *courage*) + ***-ment***).

The difference between morphological and derivational analysis is not only in the aims and results of the procedure but also in *the units* they operate with. While the basic elements in morphological analysis are morphemes (the ultimate

meaningful units in a word), the basic elements of a derivative structure of a word are immediate constituents: *a derivational base* and *a derivational affix* as well as *a derivational pattern* of their arrangement.

A derivational base is the word constituent to which a rule of word-formation is applied.

Structurally, derivational bases fall into three classes:

1) bases that coincide with **morphological stems** of different degrees of complexity. A derivational base which is the starting point for new words may coincide with a simple morphological stem as ***father*** in the verb ***to father***; ***compute*** in the words ***comput****er*, ***computer****ize* and ***computer****ization*; ***week-end*** in the word ***weekend****er*; this class of bases is the biggest one;

2) bases that coincide with **word forms** as the base ***known*** in *un****known*** or ***dancing*** in *a* ***dancing****-girl*;

3) bases that coincide with **word-groups** of different degrees of stability as the derivational base ***narrow mind*** in ***narrow-mind****ed*, *blue eye* in ***blue-eye****d* or ***second rate*** in ***second-rate****ness*.

The important peculiarity of a derivational base in contrast to a morphological stem is that it is monosemantic. Rules of word-formation are applied to a derivational base representing only one meaning of a polysemous stem. For example, the derivational base ***bed*** in the compound word ***a flower-bed*** has only one meaning: 'a flat or level surface as in a plot of ground prepared for plants' while the word ***bed*** is highly polysemous.

Another component of a derivational structure is a derivational affix which is added to a derivational base.

Derivational affixes (prefixes and suffixes) are *highly selective* to the etymological, phonological, structural-semantic properties of derivational bases. For example, the suffix ***-ance/-ence*** never occurs after ***s*** or ***z*** (cf.: *distur****b-ance*** but *organi****ze-ation***). The prefix ***in-*** has limitations, too: they say ***in****secure*, ***in****convenience* but ***non-****conformist*, ***dis****obedience*. Or, even though the combining abilities of the adjectival suffix ***-ish*** are vast they are not unlimited: it is possible to say, for example, ***boyish***, ***bookish***, even ***monkeyish*** and ***sevenish*** for cocktails, but not, for example, ****enemish***.

The conditions under which affixes of a certain type may be attached to a certain derivational base and the limits of possible use of affixes are still not clear and are being actively investigated.

A d e r i v a t i o n a l p a t t e r n is a regular meaningful arrangement of IC, which can be expressed by a formula denoting their part-of-speech, lexical-semantic class and individual semantics. For example:

pref- **+ adj → Adj** (**adj + n**) **+** ***-ed*** **→ Adj**

or being written in a more abstract way not taking into account the final results:

pref- **+ adj** (**adj + n**) **+** ***-suf***

or vice versa, taking into account the final results and with individualization of some of the IC, like in:

re- **+ v → V** or ***pref-*** **+ read → V**.

Like derivational affixes derivational patterns may be *productive* and *nonproductive*. For example, a number of patterns of different p r o d u c t i v i t y are used to lexicalize concepts denoting a doer of an action:

v + ***-er*** **→ N** is a highly productive derivational pattern (***teach → teacher***, ***build → builder***, ***sing → singer***);

n + ***-ist*** **→ N** is quite a productive pattern (***piano → pianist***, ***art → artist***),

but

n + ***-ian*** **→ N** (as in ***Christ → Christian***; ***politics/policy → politician***; ***comedy → comedian***) is active though not a productive pattern because a limited number of words are derived according to it.

One should also be aware that meaning of a derived word is usually not a mere sum of meanings of all the constituents mentioned above, though it sometimes is, as in ***doer*** 'one who does'. Derived words usually have an *additional idiomatic component* of their own (**word-formation meaning**) that is not observed in either of the constituent components.

Compare the meanings of such derived words like ***undo*** '*infml* to loosen or unfasten as in *Can you* ***undo*** *my dress at the back for me*?' or ***a builder*** which is not just 'one that builds' but also '*esp*. one that contracts to build and supervises building operations'; ***a teacher*** is not just the 'one that teachers' but '*esp*. one whose occupation is to instruct'; ***a dancing girl*** 'a girl, *esp*. in the East, who dances to entertain especially men'.

This idiomatic component makes derived words semantically special and demands their memorization. That is why derived words enter the lexicons, both lexicographical and mental, which also provide their easy retrieval from memory and quick recognition in speech.

9. Derivative types of words

Derivationally all the words in a language are subdivided into **simplexes** and **complexes**, or **derivatives**. The majority of the word-stock in any language is made up of derived words.

The most common source lexemes for a derived word in English are *nouns*: ***child*** (n) – ***childhood*** (n) – ***childless*** (adj). Adjectives and verbs are also quite active in deriving new words: ***childless*** (adj) – ***childlessness*** (n); ***write*** (v) – ***writer*** (n). The least likely sources for a derived word are *adverbs* and the lexemes of minor word classes *like articles* and *pronouns*.

In English there are **three major types of word-formation**:

1) *zero derivation*, or *conversion*;
2) *affixation*;
3) *composition*, or *compounding*.

Some scholars single out a special type of word-formation *by composition of bound morphemes* (***stud- + -ent***, ***lexic- + -o- + -logy***).

There are also some **minor types of word-formation**:
shortening; *back-formation*; *blending*; *extension of proper names*, and some others.

10. Degree of derivation

Derivatives are qualified according to *the latest type* of word-formation process and *the total number of derivational acts* that were necessary for their formation. The total number of derivational processes acts that took place in a word determines its d e g r e e o f d e r i v a t i o n.

The monomorphic words ***read***, ***dead***, ***table*** and even polymorphic words of conditional and defective types of segmentability like ***deceive*** or ***hamlet*** are **simplexes**. They are **non-derived** from the point of view of Modern English because their derivational processes have either been forgotten and are no longer perceived, or their derivation has never taken place in English but in language of borrowing. The number and character of borrowed words with similar segments is not yet ground for perceiving them as derived.

The nouns ***reader*** (**v + -*er* → N**) and ***reading*** (**v + -*ing* → N**) as well as the adjective ***readable*** (**v + -*able* → Adj**) are **complexes.** They may be qualified as **suffixational derivatives of the first degree** of derivation (**v + -*suf***). The verb ***reread*** (***prf-* + v → V**) is **a prefixational derivative of the first degree** of derivation.

The noun ***reading-lamp*** ‘a lamp to give light for reading by’ is a **compound of the second degree of derivation**. There are two derivational processes – *suffixation* and *composition*, composition being the last one, and it can be seen in the derivational pattern of the word: (**v + -*ing***) **+ n → N**.

Special attention here should be paid that the word ***reading*** which in dictionaries is marked as a noun, and that means that a suffixational word-formation process took place here. In contrast to the word ***reading-lamp***, the noun ***dancing-girl*** is a *derivative of the first degree* (**v_{ing} + n → N**) because ***dancing*** is just a form of the verb ***to dance***, it is *not* a noun and is *not* registered in the dictionary as a special entry or with a part-of-speech label (n).

The adjective ***unpredictable*** has a derivational pattern **un- +** (**v +** ***-able***) **→ Adj** and it is **a prefixational derivative of the second degree**.

Though the number of affixes is greater in the word ***unpredictable*** (***un-***, ***pre-***, **-dict-**, ***-able***) than in the word ***reading-lamp*** (***read***, ***-ing***, ***lamp***) discussed above, on the derivational level of analysis these two words may be regarded to be equal in degrees of derivation because the derivational base ***predict-*** is a simplex in modern English, it is not derived.

The noun ***aircraft-carrier*** is **a compound derivative of the third degree** with a pattern (**n + n**) **+** (**v +** ***-er***) **→ N**, where the last derivational process is composition, and the previous two derivational processes are composition and suffixation accordingly.

The noun ***denationalization*** appeared as the result of four acts of derivational processes: {***de-*** + [(**n** + ***-al***) + ***-ize***]} + ***-tion*** **→ N**, and it may be qualified as **a suffixational derivative of the fourth degree of derivation** where the suffix ***-tion*** on the last stage of derivation is attached to the *verbal base* ***denationalize***.

However, since the prefix ***de-*** in English may also be attached to the *nominal base* with the suffix ***-tion*** (***nationalization***), this word may also be qualified as a **prefixational derivative of the fourth degree of derivation** with a derivational pattern ***de-*** + {[(**n** + ***-al***) + ***-ize***] + ***-tion***} **→ N**. (The morphemic structure of this word includes six derivational morphemes, all of them being bound: *de-*, *nat-*, *-ion*, *-al*, *-ize* and *-tion*; the status of the latter one is also viewed by some scholars as complex consisting of two bound morphemes.)

Theoretically, any derived word may become a basis for a new derivative. But in practice there are many restrictions on further derivation. With each act of derivation the word loses its derivational potential. Some English affixes, for example, ***-ness***, ***-ship***, ***-ity*** usually close the derivational process: they do not allow other affixes to be added to the derivational bases.

As the result of these restrictions, the most common derivatives in English are derivatives of the first and second degree.

5.2. MAJOR TYPES OF WORD-FORMATION IN MODERN ENGLISH

5.2.1. Affixation

- *Definition of affixation and general classification of affixes*
- *Prefixation* • *Suffixation*

1. Definition of affixation and general classification of affixes

As was mentioned above, all lexical affixes may be divided into *word building*, or *derivational* (as ***-er*** in ***worker***), and *stem building* affixes (as ***ham-*** in ***hamlet***), though the borderline between them is not always clear (cf.: ***-ant*** as a word building suffix in ***assistant*** and as a stem building affix in ***arrogant***).

This section concerns only word building, or derivational affixes.

A f f i x a t i o n (L *affigere* 'to attach to') is the formation of new words by adding derivational affixes to derivational bases.

Since the Old English period affixation has always been one of the most important resources of vocabulary replenishment, though affixes may differ greatly in the number of the words they derive.

According to the number of words they create all affixes may be classified into **productive**, as ***un-***, ***re-***, ***-er***, ***-ish*** and **non-productive**, as, for example, the affixes ***demi-***, ***ig-***, ***-ard***, ***-hood***.

From the point of view of their current participation in word-formation processes the derivational affixes are divided into **active** and **non-active**, or even **dead affixes** as ***for-*** in ***forgive***, ***forbid***, ***forget*** or ***-d*** in ***dead***, ***seed*** and ***-t*** in ***gift***.

Other classifications of affixes may be made from the point of view of their:

- *origin* into **native** as ***-dom***, ***-hood***, ***-ship***; ***under-***, ***over-***, ***out-*** and **borrowed** as ***-able***, ***-ist***, ***-ism***; ***dis-***, ***inter-***, ***re-***, ***non-***;
- *motivation* into **motivated** as ***-like***, ***-some***, ***under-*** and **non-motivated**, e.g., ***-er***, ***-ish***, ***a-***;
- *functional characteristics* into **convertive**, or **class-changing**, i.e., affixes that change the words they are added to into another part of speech as in ***horse*** (n) → ***unhorse*** (v); ***bark*** (n) → ***debark*** (v); and **nonconvertive**, or **class-maintaining** affixes (***moral*** (adj) → ***amoral*** (adj); ***president*** (n) → ***ex-president*** (n).

From the point of view of the *number of concepts* standing behind them, affixes may be divided into **monosemantic** as the suffix ***-al*** 'of relating to, or characterized by' and **polysemantic** ones as the suffix ***-ist*** '1) one that performs

a specified action as in ***cyclist***, one that makes or produces a specified thing as in ***novelist***; 2) one that specializes in a specified art or science or skill as in ***geologist***; 3) one that adheres to or advocates a specified doctrine or system or code of behaviour as in ***royalist***'.

One should be aware that the meaning of an affix should be studied alongside the character of the derivational pattern of a derived word with which the affix is used. Thus the general meaning of the suffix ***-er*** 'doer' acquires a more specific meaning 'person, animal or instrument that does smth' when it is added to the verbal derivational base like ***work*** in ***worker***, or the meaning 'the person belonging t o a place' when it is added to the nominal base like ***London*** in ***Londoner***. (Cf. also the cases of ***Britisher***, ***sixth-former***, etc.).

Like any other lexical units, affixes may be **homonymous** like ***-al*** as an adjective-forming suffix as in ***fictional*** and as a noun-forming suffix as in ***rehearsal***, ***arrival***.

As mentioned above, there are two major types of affixes in English that take into account their structural position in relation to the base they are added to: *prefixes* and *suffixes*. Prefixation and suffixation are similar yet specific word-formation processes that need separate analyses.

2. Prefixation

All p r e f i x e s (fr. *pre-* 'before' + *fix* 'to attach') in English as well as in other languages may be traced back to originally *free roots* (this is especially clear in the observable process of prefix formation in Creole languages).

In Modern English the number of prefixes is estimated to be from **50** to **80** (for example, Hans Marchand lists nearly 80 prefixes modern English [Marchand 1969]; M. M. Poluzhin also points to 79 prefixal lexical units there [Полюжин 1992, с. 247]).

The number of prefixes is approximate because the status of some of them is still not clear.

The elements ***over-*** and ***under-*** are treated by some scholars as *roots*, and complexes with them are regarded as *compound words* and some view them as *prefixes*. *Combining forms* like ***hyper-***, ***tele-***, ***mini-*** may also be treated as *prefixes.* Then, some scholars differentiate between *proper derivational* and *non-derivational*, or *stem-building prefixes* that were borrowed as parts of certain words like ***dis-*** 'apart, away' in ***dissuade***, ***distinguish***, or ***apo-*** 'away from', 'separate' in ***apocalypse***, ***apocope***, ***apochromatic***, ***apogee***, and some do not and just view

them all as prefixes. Some scholars also distinguish in Modern English between *active* prefixes and *dead*, or non-active prefixes, though they were quite productive in the past, such as ***a-*** in ***away***, ***aback***, ***aside***, and some scholars do not.

From *etymological* point of view, one may distinguish between **native** and **borrowed prefixes**.

Old English was quite rich in prefixes, 53 prefixes were registered there, the majority of them denoting location [Полюжин 1992, с. 77]. But gradually many of them dropped out of the system and were replaced by loans. Today only about a quarter of all English prefixes are n a t i v e. In Modern English the relation of native prefixes to free roots can still be observed because they remain to be motivated by, for example, prepositions or adverbs (the most common sources for prefixes) as the prefixes ***over-*** or ***under-***.

B o r r o w e d prefixes usually cannot be traced back to their original free roots im Old English, like, for example, the prefix ***ante-*** 'before, preceding' as in ***ante-room***, ***antenatal*** which came from Latin where it was used as an adverb. The majority of prefixes in Modern English are borrowings.

From the *functional* point of view prefixes may be classified as *convertive* and *non-convertive*. Half of the 50 prefixes mentioned above are c o n v e r t i v e – they convert, or convey a word into another part of speech (e.g., ***pref-*** **+ n** $\rightarrow$ **V** as in ***to embody***, ***to encourage***, ***to behead***). The rest of them only change, modify lexical meaning of a word without changing its part-of-speech meaning, i.e., they are n o n - c o n v e r t i v e (e.g., ***pref-*** **+ n** $\rightarrow$ **N** as in ***president – vice-president***; ***pref-*** **+ v** $\rightarrow$ **V** as in ***to agree – to disagree***, ***calculate – miscalculate***; ***pref-*** **+ adj** $\rightarrow$ **Adj** as in ***kind – unkind***, ***normal – abnormal***).

Prefixes can be used to form new words of all parts of speech. According to the part-of-speech meaning the new word belongs to, they may be classified into **noun-forming** (***ex-husband***, ***co-pilot***), **adjective-forming** (***international***, ***co-educational***, ***counter-revolutionary***) or **verb-forming** (***reconsider***, ***demobilize***).

Yet, most prefixation takes and has always taken place in English *verbs* attaching new meanings to them or forming new verbs from other parts of speech (***to enrich***, ***to enable***, ***to reread***, ***to disapprove***, ***to unload***, and ***to demobilize***). The most productive prefixes used in the verbal system are: ***be-*** (***behead***), ***en-*** (***enable***), ***dis-*** (***discourage***), ***over-*** (***overdo***), ***out-*** (***outgrow***), ***re-*** (***rewrite***), ***un-*** (***uncover***), and ***under-*** (***underestimate***). More than 20 prefixes are involved in the process of new verb formation, forming 42 % of all prefixal derivatives in the language.

But only 5 % of these verb-forming prefixes are exclusively verb-forming (***en-***, ***be-***, ***un-***, etc.), the rest may be used to create words of other grammatical classes as in ***co-operate*** (v) and ***co-pilot*** (n).

Like any affixes, English prefixes may be added to derivational bases of a certain type, and classification of prefixes may be done according to *the part-of-speech meaning of the derivational base* to which they are added. Thus, prefixes may be **verbal** if they are attached to the verbal derivational bases (***pref-*** **+ v**): ***dis-***, ***re-***, ***under-***, ***over-***, ***de-***, ***fore-***, ***mis-***, etc. In the group of **adjectival** prefixes (***pref-*** **+ adj**) the following elements are enlisted: ***a-***, ***an-***, ***anti-***, ***be-***, ***extra-***, ***re-***, ***in-***, ***post-***, ***pre-***, etc. The list of **nominal** prefixes (***pref-*** **+ n**) include ***anti-***, ***non-***, ***pre-***, ***post-***, ***sub-***, ***dis-***, ***a-***, and ***hemi-***.

But the main feature of English prefixes is their mixed character – there is no strict borderline between verbal, adjectival and nominal prefixes and the same prefix can be attached to derivational bases with different part-of-speech meaning (***pref-*** **+ v/adj/n**): ***disagree***, ***disloyal***, ***disadvantage***.

Prefixes are used to add the following seven major types of meaning to the derivational base, and thus may be classified **semantically**:

- *negation, reversal, contrary* (***unemployment***, ***incorrect***, ***inequality***, ***disloyal***, ***amoral***, ***non-scientific***, ***undress***, ***antifreeze***, ***decentralize***, ***disconnect***);
- *sequence and order in time* (***pre-war***, ***post-war***, ***foresee***, ***ex-president***, ***co-exist***);
- *different space location* (***inter-continental***, ***trans-Atlantic***, ***subway***, ***superstructure***);
- *repetition* (***rewrite***, ***anabaptize*** ‘to baptize again’);
- *quantity and intensity* (***unisex***, ***bilingual***, ***polytechnical***, ***multilateral***).

They may also be used to denote:

- *pejoration* (***abnormal***, ***miscalculate***, ***maltreat***, ***pseudo-morpheme***);
- *amelioration* (***super-reliable***, ***supermarket***, ***ultramodern***).

Some prefixes are polysemous and thus may be observed in several semantic classes. For example, the prefix ***over-*** denotes both location (***oversea***, ***overhill***) and intensity (***overcareful***, ***overdo***).

English prefixes, in this case both stem building and word building, as well as combining forms, may also be classified according to their ability to achieve **morphophonemic** (or **spelling**) **variation** in different contexts.

Some of them, and they are in the majority (more than 20), make up **the group of unchanged forms** that remain the same in all contexts. They are:

a- (*asleep*);
ambi- (*ambidexterous*);
auto- (*autobiography*);
be- (*behead*);
circum- (*circumference*);
counter- (*counter-clock*);
de- (*decentralize*);
ex- (*ex-president*);
hemi- (*hemisphere*);
neo- (*neo-fascism*);
non- (*non-interference*);
mis- (*misunderstand*);
out- (*outcome*);
over- (*overflow*);
para- (*parapsychology*);
poly- (*polylingual*);
post- (*postscript*);
semi- (*semicircle*);
super- (*superstructure*);
trans- (*transaction*);
ultra- (*ultraviolet*);
un- (*unintelligible*);
uni- (*unilateral*).

The second group includes **changeable prefixes** which exhibit their allomorphs or spelling variations in different contexts. Most of these allomorphs are stem-building morphemes that were borrowed along with the words in which they occurred, and they reflect regular phonemic variations in the language of borrowing:

a-*/*an- 'not, without' (***ahistoric, anastigmatic***);
a-*/*ab-*/*abs- 'from, away' (***avert***, ***abstract***);
ad-*/*ac-*/*af-*/*ag-*/*al-*/*ap-*/*as-*/*at- 'to, toward' (***appear***, ***administer***);
bi-*/*bin- 'two' (***bicycle***, ***binoculars***);
co-*/*com-*/*cor- 'with' (***compassion***, ***coequal***, ***correspondence***);
dis-*/*dif- 'reverse' (***disarm***, ***difference***);
ir-*/*il-*/*im- 'non' (***illegal***, ***impure***, ***irregular***);
mal-*/*male- 'bad' (***maltreat***, ***malevolent***);
sub-*/*sup- 'under' (***subordinate***, ***suppress***);
syn-*/*sym- 'with' (***synchronical***, ***symmetrical***).

A special group of prefixes that should be considered carefully is made up of forms that are **alike in spelling** and/or **pronunciation** but have **different meanings**:

ante- 'before' (***antedate***) – ***anti-*** 'against' (***antifreeze***);
for- 'away, off' (***forgo***, ***forsake***) – ***fore-*** 'ahead, before' (***foresee***);
en- 'to cover or surround with' (***encircle***, ***endanger***) – ***in-*** 'in, toward' (***inject***, ***income***) – ***in-*/*il-*/*im-*** 'not, without' (***invalid***, ***illegal***, ***immodest***);
in-*/*il-*/*im-*/*ir-*/*em-*/*en- 'into' (used in verbs ***inject***, ***illustrate***, ***import***, ***irrigate***, ***embrace***, ***encourage***) – ***in-*/*ig-*/*il-*/*im-*/*ir-*** 'not' (used in adjectives ***invisible***, ***ignoble***, ***illegal***, ***impossible***, ***irrational***);
inter- 'between' (***international***) – ***intra-*** 'inside' (***intravenous***, ***intramural***) – ***intro-*** 'in, into' (***introvert***, ***introduce***);
hyper- 'over' (***hyperactive***) – ***hypo-*** 'under, less than' (***hypoactive***);
per- 'through' (***persuade***) – ***pre-*** 'before' (***preschool***) – ***pro-*** 'forward, in place of' (***pronoun***).

3. Suffixation

S u f f i x a t i o n – is the formation of words with the help of *suffixes* [L *suffixum* fr. *suffigere* ‘to attach underneath’ from *sub-* ‘under’ + *figere* ‘to fasten’].

Otto Jespersen identifies 130 suffixes in English, H. Marschand lists 82 and P. M. Karashchuk mentions 64. Again, as in the case of prefixes, different numbers of suffixes emerge when different approaches are used to establish which should be called active and productive suffixes in Modern English. For example, the diachronically relevant suffix ***-le*** observed in such words as ***nettle***, ***knuckle***, and ***angle*** is not relevant synchronically: it is *a dead suffix*.

One *should not confuse* a real **derivational suffix** (as the suffix ***-er*** which may be added to different onomaseological bases to express ‘a doer of the action’ (*driv**er***), ‘instrument’: *cool**er***, ‘patient’: *foreign**er*** or ‘something or somebody related to an object’: *fores**ter***) with a **suffixoid** – a word-final sequence resembling a suffix (as ***-er*** in ***spider***, ***hammer***) but without its qualities.

The following anonymous comic poem first appeared in the anthology *Such Nonsense!* edited by Carolyn Wells (1918) is based on the *pseudo-relations* between words which in fact are not semantically or derivationally related:

False Relations

You cannot cure *hams* with a *hammer*,
You can’t weigh a *gram* with a *grammar*,
Mend *socks* with a *socket*,
Build *docks* with a *docket*,
Nor gather up *clams* with a *clamour*.
You can’t *pick* locks with
a *pickle*,
You can’t cure the *sick* with
a *sickle*,
Pluck *figs* from a *figment*,
Drive *pigs* with a *pigment*,
Nor make your watch *tick* with
a *tickle*.
You can’t make a *mate* of your *mater*,
You can’t get a *crate* from a *crater*,
Catch *moles* with a *molar*,
Bake *rolls* with a *roller*,
But you can get a *wait* from a *waiter*.

You cannot raise *crops* with a *cropper*,
You can’t shave your *chops* with a *chopper*,
Break *nags* with a *nagger*,
Shoot *stags* with a *stagger*,
Nor *pop* to a girl with a *popper*.
You can’t grow your *beeves* from the
beaver,
You can’t catch the *heaves* from a *heaver*,
Get *grains* from a *grainer*,
Draw *strains* from a *strainer*,
Nor *cleave* to your wife with
a *cleaver*.
A *bat* can’t be made out of
batter,
A *flat*’s not a thing that can *flatter*,
A *pond* does not *ponder*,
A *wand* will not *wander*,
And so that’s the end of our patter.

There are different **classifications** of derivational suffixes.

E t y m o l o g i c a l l y, like any other lexical units, English suffixes may be **native** which usually appear out of full words (***-fast***, ***-fold***, ***-er***, ***-ful***, ***-less***, ***-like***, ***-ed***) or **borrowed** (***-able***/***-ible***, ***-ist***, ***-ism***, ***-ant***/***-ent***). Borrowing suffixes is a good index of the cultural prestige of the language of borrowing.

They may also be classified according to *the part-of-speech meaning of the derivational base* to which they are added. In this case one may distinguish between **nominal suffixes** (**n + *-suf***): ***-dom***, ***-ess***, ***-ian***, ***-less***, etc., as in ***kingdom***, ***poetess***, ***Italian***, ***legless***, **verbal suffixes** (**v + *-suf***): ***-ee***, ***-er***, ***-ing***, ***-able*** as in ***employee***, ***teacher***, ***translating***, ***readable***, and **adjectival suffixes** (**adj + *-suf***): ***-ly***, ***-ish***, ***-ise***/***ize*** as in ***happily***, ***greenish***, ***materialize***.

A similar, though different method of classifying suffixes is by *the part-of-speech meaning of the new word* they form. Suffixation is used in forming words of all major parts of speech. There are **noun-forming** suffixes (***-er***/***-or***, ***-dom***, ***-tion***/***-ation***, ***-hood***, ***-ism***, ***-ment***, ***-ness***, etc.); **adjective-forming** (***-able***/***-ible***; ***-ate***/***-ite*** as in ***favourite***; ***-ful***, ***-ic***/***-ical*** as in ***angelic***, ***evangelical***; ***-ish***, ***-ive*** as in ***mass-ive***; ***-ly*** as in ***friend-ly***; ***-ous*** as in ***glorious***; ***-some*** as in ***mettlesome***; ***-y*** as in ***rainy***); **verb-forming** (***-en***, ***-fy***, ***-ize***, ***-ate***); **adverb-forming** suffixes (***-ly***, ***-ward*** as in ***coldly***, ***-upward***). There are even **numeral-forming** suffixes (***-th***, ***-teen***, ***-ty***, or ***-fold***).

From the point of view of their ability for *a functional shift*, suffixes in English (as well as prefixes) may be **convertive** as ***-ly*** or ***-ize***, and **non-convertive** as ***-dom***, ***-ie***, with no rigid boundary between them: the suffix ***-er***, for example, may be both convertive as in ***worker*** and non-convertive as in ***Londoner***.

S e m a n t i c a l l y suffixes are very diverse. They are used in creating names for different yet limited groups of concepts. They are the following:

In the *system of nouns*:

- agent or instrument: ***-er***, ***-ant***, ***-ee***, ***-ian***, and ***-ist*** (***worker***, ***assistant***, ***employee***, ***communist***; ***revolver***);
- feminine agent: ***-ess***, ***-ine***, ***-ette*** (***cosmonette***, ***heroine***, ***baroness***);
- result of an action: ***-tion*** (***creation***), ***-ing*** (***building***);
- collectivity: ***-age***, ***-dom***, ***-try***, and ***-ship*** (***herbage***, ***freedom***, ***peasantry***, ***membership***);
- relatedness to a proper name: ***-an***, ***-ese*** (***Indian***, ***Japanese***);
- abstract quality: ***-ness***, ***-th***, ***-ancy***/***-ency*** (***darkness***, ***truth***, ***fluency***);
- the one who has a quality (with derogation): ***-ard*** (***drunkard***), ***-ster*** (***youngster***, ***gangster***), ***-ton*** (***simpleton***);
- diminution and endearment: ***-ie***, ***-let***, ***-y***, ***-ling***, ***-ette*** (***booklet***, ***horsy***, ***duckling***, ***kitchenette***).

In the *system of adjectives*:

- permission, ability or favour for a certain action: ***-able***/***ible***, ***-ary***, ***-ent***, ***-ive*** (***readable***, ***permissive***);
- possession / deprivation of something: ***-ed***, ***-less*** (***tired***, ***brainless***);
- ampleness, abundance of something: ***-ful*** (***wonderful***);
- similarity: ***-ish***, ***-ic***, ***-like***, ***-some*** (***bluish***, ***troublesome***, etc.).

In the *system of verbs*:

- action of initiating something: ***-ate*** (***originate***);
- action with a certain (abstract) object: ***-fy*** (***glorify***);
- action towards a certain quality: ***-en*** (***shorten***), ***-ize*** (***equalize***).

No matter how productive some suffixes may be there are certain constraints on their productivity and ability to form a new word. The suffix ***-ant***, for example, is added predominantly to a foreign base that is why the word ****a buildant*** is hardly possible in English. Phonological factors prevent the adjective ***silly*** from forming the adverb ****sillily***, etc. Due to the prior existence of a word, a new suffixational derivative may hardly have a chance to survive: ***to steal*** but not ****a stealer***, as there is the noun ***a thief*** in the English language.

Hence, alongside with certain derivational rules in creating a new English word by suffixation, there are a lot of exceptions and memory work, too.

5.2.2. Conversion

- *Definition of conversion, its synonymous terms* • *Reasons for high productivity of conversion in modern English* • *Conversion of nouns and verbs* • *Relations within a conversion pair* • *Substantivation and other cases of transposition* • *Stress-interchange*

1. Definition of conversion, its synonymous terms

In linguistics the term c o n v e r s i o n [ME fr. MFr fr. L *conversio*, *conversion-*, fr. *converses*, pp. of *convertere* fr. *con* ‘with, together, thorougly’ + *vertere* ‘to turn around’] was first mentioned in 1900 by H. Sweet [Sweet 1900]. It refers to numerous cases of phonetic identity of two words (primarily in their initial forms) belonging to different parts of speech: ***round*** (adj, n, v, adv); ***back*** (n, adj, adv, v); ***idle*** (adj, v); ***water*** (n, v); ***eye*** (n, *v*); ***green*** (adj) – ***greens*** (n); ***up*** (prep, v); ***better*** (adj) – ***betters*** (n).

Some of the new names derived by conversion are used regularly in speech and become **lexicalized**, i.e., enter the lexicon. Some of the uses, however, remain **nonce words**, or occasional words.

The term *conversion* is not quite adequate because because nothing is converted or transformed in this type of word-formation as, for example, in substances: when water is converted into ice, water does not exist any more. And then it is polysemantic, it has at least 3 meanings in common English: ‘1) The act or process of changing something into a different state or form; 2) If someone changes their religion or beliefs, you can refer to their *conversion* to their new religion or beliefs; 3) *In rugby*, if a player makes or kicks a conversion, he scores points by kicking the ball over the goal after a try has been scored’.

To avoid polysemy of the term *conversion*, some other terms are coined to denote this specific process of naming.

For example, the term **affixless word-derivation** is used to underline the formation of a new word without a derivational affix (though this term does not permit us to distinguish it from sound- or stress-interchange that derived words without adding affixes, too).

The term **zero-derivation** stresses that a new word is derived by means of a special affix called *the zero affix* because its absence in a word is meaningful (but the existence of such an affix is still debatable).

The term **root-formation** is used to point out that root words participate in the process (but other complexes may participate in the process, too, as in ***to machine-gun***, ***to fire-gun***, ***to wireless***).

The term **functional change** stresses that it is a phenomenon of usage, not word-formation (but this view can hardly be accepted because in fact a new word *is* derived with its own paradigm and system of meanings).

Some linguists regard conversion as a kind of **polysemy** because it is regularly patterned and derived units are semantically related like the senses of a polysemous word. But in contrast to polysemy, the new naming units created by conversion belong to different parts of speech; they are different words and not just new senses. Conversion, therefore, is a kind of **homonymy**, though a very specific kind – a patterned lexical-grammatical homonymy where the old and new lexemes are semantically related.

So, conversion may be regarded as a lexical-semantic, or morphological, or even a syntactic means of word derivation by means of a functional change.

In any event, conversion is one of the most productive ways of extending the English vocabulary. Here, following the view of Prof. A. I. Smirnitsky [Смирницкий 1954, с. 24], conversion will be treated as *a morphological way* of word-formation where the only word building means is to change a word’s paradigm (cf. the morphological paradigms of the word ***eye*** as a noun: ***eye – eyes*** and of the the word ***eye*** as a verb: ***to eye***, ***eyes***, ***eyed***, ***will eye***).

2. Reasons for high productivity of conversion in Modern English

While affixation has always been a productive means of word-formation in English, conversion only became active in the Middle English period and it is widely used in Modern English.

There was no homonymy between initial forms of words belonging to different parts of speech in Old English having a complex system of inflections. Due to loss of inflections in Middle English many of these words became lexical-grammatical homonyms. Compare ***love*** (n) – ***love*** (v) in present-day English and their inflected equivalents ***lufu*** (n) and ***lufian*** (v) in Old English; see also different inflected forms of the word ***work*** (n, v) in OE: ***werc***, ***weorc*** (n) and ***wyrcan*** (v), or of the word ***answer*** (n, v) that in OE had the forms ***andsawru*** (n) and ***andswarian*** (v).

Another reason for conversion in Modern English is *assimilation of borrowings*: for example, the Modern English conversion pair ***cry*** (v, n) in Old French from which the words were borrowed had different forms: ***crier*** (v) and ***cri*** (n).

But the main reason for conversion pairs to be so widely spread in present-day English is *the word-forming process of conversion* itself. Since the number of morphological elements in English serving as classifying, marking signals of a certain part of speech is rather limited, word-formation executed by changing the morphological paradigm happened to be both economical and efficient (***knife*** – ***to knife***, ***eye – to eye***, ***water – to water***, ***to run – run***, etc.).

As studies show, the majority of conversion pairs (more than 60 %) are the result of the process of real conversion in Modern English. However, scholars usually distinguish between cases of real conversion as the word-forming process and other language phenomena leading to the same results only when they study conversion *diachronically*.

3. Conversion of nouns and verbs

Conversion seems to be active in any part of speech. Any lexeme seems to be able to undergo conversion into a different grammatical class (***to up*** *prices*, ***to down*** *his glass*, ***a daily***, etc.) unless there are already some other words in the language to denote the same concept (one may say ***sled*** 'a vehicle for coasting down snow-covered hills' but not ****to sled***, as there is a compound word for it – ***to sled-ride***). Modern linguistics often substitutes the term *transposition* for such cases of *conversion*.

The clearest cases of conversion are observed **between verbs** and **nouns**, and this term is now mostly used in this narrow sense. Conversion is very active both in nouns for verb formation (***age → to age***, ***doctor → to doctor***, ***shop → to shop***, ***gas → to gas***), and in verbs to form nouns (***to catch → a catch***, ***to smile → a smile***, ***to offer → an offer***).

Linguists have proven that most actively conversion in English is used in nouns for deriving new denominal verbs (**n → v**) though the reasons for this are still not studied enough. Hans Marchand admits that denominal verbs in English are much more numerous than denominal nouns [Marchand 1969, p. 373]. One can practically convert any noun into a verb if one has to communicate a particular message (***to knife***, ***to eye***, ***to fire-bomb***). One may even ***lamp*** *the room* 'to install lamps in the room', though dictionaries do not register such a verb.

Conversion of verbs into nouns (**v → n**) is less common because derivation of new nouns from verbs in English is often done by means of affixation: ***to arrive → arrival***, ***to open → opening***, ***to begin → beginning***, ***to read → reading***, ***to collect → collection***, etc.

Though conversion is very common between nouns and verbs and there are hardly any semantic constraints on them, there are still some semanyic preferences. Thus, **nouns** as the source for converted verbs typically denote *instruments* (***iron → to iron***), *parts of body* that are viewed as instruments (***eye → to eye***) and *substances* (***water → to water***). **Verbs** used as the source for nouns derived by conversion typically denote *movement* (***to jump → a jump***) and *speech activity* (***to talk → a talk***).

4. Relations within a conversion pair

From the *synchronical* point of view the biggest problem concerning conversion, besides determining its status within the system of similar morphological means of word-formation, is *establishing relations within a conversion pair*, determining which word is simple and which one is derived, and this is especially important for lexicography.

Linguists use a number of **different criteria** to determine *the direction of derivation,* though none of them is absolutely reliable.

S e m a n t i c c r i t e r i a

1. The criterion of non-correspondence between part-of-speech meaning of the stem and lexical meaning of the root morpheme

Stems of word-pairs related through conversion are phonetically identical but have different part of speech and denotational meanings: ***hand*** (n) 'the end part of a person's arm beyond the wrist, including the palm, fingers, and thumb' → ***hand*** (v) 'to give (something) to someone using your hands'. So, semantically they are not identical. The problem is to identify which of them is primary and which one is derived.

In the noun ***hand***, for example, the part-of-speech meaning of the stem ('an object') corresponds to the lexical meaning of the root morpheme ('the end of the arm beyond the wrist'). But in the case of the verb ***to hand*** the part-of-

speech meaning of the stem (‘an action’) does not correspond, or contrasts the lexical meaning of the root (‘the end of the arm beyond the wrist’). So, we may state that ***to hand*** is a derivative, as in simple words the lexical meaning of the stem corresponds to the lexical meaning of the root morpheme.

The same kind of non-correspondence of lexical meaning of the root and the part-of-speech meaning of the stem is observed in affixationally derived words, like ***teacher***, but in contrast to converted words, affixationally derived words retain signs of the derivation process both in its formal morphological and semantic structures.

2. The criterion of typical semantic relations between the words in a conversion pair

Semantic relations in a conversion pair are diverse.

Verbs converted from nouns, or **denominal verbs** (**n → v**) typically denote [Соболева 1959]:

a) *action characteristic of an object*: ***to monkey*** ‘to behave in a silly or playful way (like *a monkey*)’;

b) *instrumental use of an object*: ***to whip*** ‘to hit with *a whip* or something like a whip’;

c) *acquisition of an object*: ***to fish*** ‘to catch or try to catch *fish*, typically by using a net or hook and line’);

d) *deprivation of an object*: ***to dust*** ‘to remove dust from furniture, usually using a cloth’.

Nouns converted from verbs, or **deverbal nouns** (**v → n**), usually denote:

a) *instance of the action*: ***a jump*** ‘an act of *jumping* from a surface’;

b) *agent of the action* (mostly derogatory): ***a cheat*** ‘a person who *cheats*’; ***a bore*** ‘a person whose talk or behaviour is dull and uninteresting (who *bores* you)’; ***a help*** ‘a person or thing that helps’;

c) *place of the action*: ***a race*** (usu pl.) ‘a series of races for horses or dogs, held at a fixed time on a set course’;

d) *object or result of the action*: ***peel*** ‘the peel of a fruit such as a lemon or an apple is its skin’, ***help*** ‘help is action taken to rescue a person who is in danger’.

It should be noted, however, that though a type of meaning in a derived word, for example, ‘*instrumental use of an object*’, may be predictable, still a lot of memory work is necessary to remember the exact meaning of the converted word:

a knife → to knife ‘to stab or wound with a knife’;

a boot → to boot ‘to put boots on; to kick; to make an error on the ground’;

a cap → to cap ‘to provide or protect with a cap’.

3. The polysemy degree criterion

Derived words are usually less polysemous than the simple ones used as their sources (cf. a great number of meanings in the simple noun ***head***, for example, and much more limited their number in its prefixational derivative ***behead***).

Words derived by conversion are not exceptions to this rule, and derived lexical units in a conversion pair usually display a smaller degree of polysemy. Thus, the *simple noun* ***house***, for example, has such meanings as 1) a building as a living quarters for one or a few families; 2) a) a shelter for a wild animal, b) a shelter for something; 3) HOUSEHOLD; 4) a residence for a religious or other community, the community itself; 5) a legislative assembly; 6) a place of business or entertainment; 7) the audience of a theater, while *the verb* ***to house*** *derived* by conversion from the noun ***house*** has only three meanings: 1) to provide with living quarters; 2) to encase, enclose; 3) to serve as shelter.

The synonymity criterion

This criterion is based on a comparison of a conversion pair with a synonymic word-pair where the direction of derivation is clear, and analogical derivational relations are deduced. For example, the relations between the words in the conversion pair ***to chat – a chat*** is believed to be the same as in their synonymic pair where derivational relations are formally expressed: ***to converse*** → ***conversation***. Thus, ***to chat***, like ***to converse***, is belived to be a simple verb and ***a chat***, like ***a conversation***, is regarded a derived noun.

The derivational criterion

This criterion is based on the analysis of the derivatives of the first degree of derivation. If a derivational base in the majority of the first-degree derivatives (***handful***, ***handy***, ***handsome***) is nominal then the noun is simple in a conversion pair (***a hand*** → ***to hand***). Vice versa, if a derivational base in the majority of first-degree derivatives is verbal (***laugher***, ***laughingly***), then the verb is simple in a conversion pair and the noun is derived: ***to laugh*** → ***laugh*** (n).

The frequency criterion

Lower frequency value of a word in a conversion pair indicates its derived character (***to answer*** 65 % → ***answer*** 35 %; ***to joke*** 8 % ← ***joke*** 82 %).

The transformation criterion

When in a conversion pair (***race*** v – ***race*** n) the transformation of nominalization of the verb is possible (***the horse is racing → the race of a horse***), we are dealing with *a simple verb* and a noun derived by conversion.

In case when in a conversion pair (***mother*** v **–** ***mother*** n) such a transformation is not impossible (***he daily mothered*** ‘protected’ ***the pet → *the pet’s daily mother***), then *the noun* should be regarded as *simple* and the verb is derived by conversion.

5. Substantivation and other cases of transposition

As it mentioned above, some scholars extend the term *conversion* and include there instances of **transposition** of any word in any kind of speech, for example, of adjectives into verbs (***dirty → to dirty***, ***better → to better***, ***empty → to empty***).

Those who view *conversion* in a narrower sense, as a process of word-derivation limited to the formation of verbs from nouns and nouns from verbs, use a different terminology for cases of transposition of a word into a different part of speech. Thus, the process of forming of nouns from adjectives (***the blind***, ***the unemployed***) is usually called *substantivation.*

In contrast to conversion, s u b s t a n t i v a t i o n *is a gradual process*: adjectives are usually first only partially substantivized and for a long time can be modified by an adverb like regular adjectives but not nouns (*the* ***extravagantly jealous*** *man*). Scholars also point out that in contrast to conversion subtantivation is *limited to a certain class of words*: *human beings* (***the poor***, ***the black***, ***a creative***, ***a criminal***, ***a gay***) and some *abstract concepts* (***the impossible***, ***the Present***). Still another argument they give to prove that substantivation is a process different from conversion is that the former is mainly *the result of ellipsis* as in ***the elastic*** (***cord***) taking place only under certain circumstances. That is why not every adjective may be used as a noun.

Other cases involving using words in a different syntactic function, less frequent and less regular, can hardly be called conversion either, and they are often referred to as **adverbialization** – a limited number of English adjectives have adverbial uses (***he spoke loud/loudly***) and **adjectivization** as:

a) English nouns are commonly used in an attributive function (***a stone wall***) but not all of them are adjectives yet, as in the case of ***home affairs***. The nominal character of many premodifiers is proved by their correspondence to prepositional phrases with the noun as the compliment (***a love poem*** ‘a poem about love’) that can hardly be possible for real attributive adjectives like ***a long poem***;

b) many adjectives have the same form as participles (***surprising***, ***offended***), though only some of participles may be considered as converted into adjectives (****reading***, ****departed***). The impossibility of using the intensifier ‘very’ with these words (***very surprising*** but not ****very departed***) indicates that they are not adjectives [Quirk 1982, p. 131].

6. Stress-interchange

Some disyllabic nouns and verbs of Romance origin (***`compact*** – ***com`pact***, ***`transport*** – ***trans`port***, ***`import*** – ***im`port***, ***`object*** – ***ob`ject***, ***´insult*** – ***in`sult***, ***`record*** – ***re`cord***, ***`project*** – ***pro`ject***, ***`protest*** – ***`protest***, ***`progress*** – ***pro`gress***) as well as adjectives and verbs (***`frequent*** – ***fre`quent***, ***`moderate*** – ***mode`rate***, ***`abstract*** – ***abs`tract***) have a distinctive stress pattern, but otherwise they are homographic which makes them much similar to conversion pairs. These verbs retained their stress in English as it was in the source of borrowing (French) while the nouns and adjectives did not. The verbs did not assimilate the stress characteristic of English because many disyllabic verbs of native origin had a stress on the last syllable as in ***for`bid***, ***for`give***, ***be`come***, and ***be`lieve***.

5.2.3. Compounding

- *Definition. Structure and meaning*
- *Compounds and word-combinations*
- *Classifications of compounds*

1. Definition. Structure and meaning

Word compounding (word composition) is a universal way of deriving new words. It is also one of the most ancient, productive and active types of word-formation in English. About one-third of all derived words in Modern English are compounds.

W o r d c o m p o u n d i n g, or w o r d c o m p o s i t i o n, is a kind of word-formation based on combining two immediate constituents (IC) where each is a derivational base.

Derivational bases in compounds may have different degrees of complexity: one or each of them may be morphologically simple as in ***snow + man***, derived as in ***shoe*** + (***make*** + ***-er***) or even compound as in ***water*** + (***boat*** + ***man***) ‘a pond-bug’. But most English compounds have two simple bases, or, from the point of view of morphological analysis, two roots as in ***water-gun*** or ***snow-man***. In other Germanic languages the number of roots in a compound is very often more than two.

In many cases, lexical meaning of a compound may be derived from the *combined lexical meaning of its components* and *the structural meaning of its distributional pattern.*

Usually, the second derivational base is more important and determines lexical, grammatical and part-of-speech meanings of the whole compound: ***hall-mark*** is a noun meaning ‘an official *mark* stamped on gold and silver articles in England’, ***half-baked*** is an adjective meaning ‘imperfectly *baked*, underdone’.

Compounds that have the same elements but differ in their distribution are different in lexical meaning, too (cf.: ***ring finger*** 'the third finger on the left/right hand' and ***finger-ring*** 'a ring to wear on a finger'; ***piano-player*** 'a person who plays the piano' and ***player piano*** 'a piano containing a mechanical instrument', see also ***armchair*** and ***chair-arm***).

The types of semantic relations between the compound components are not formally expressed: they have to be deduced from the context and individually interpreted. The most frequent types, however, are:

in/*on* (***water-house***, ***garden-party***, ***summer-house***, ***oil-rich***);
for (***gun-powder***, ***tooth-brush***, ***baby-sitter***, ***space-craft***);
of (***house-keeper***, ***leather-boots***);
resemblance (***bell-flower***, ***egg-head***, ***snow-white***, ***golf-fish***);
be (***oak-tree***, ***black-board***, ***she-cat***);
do (***rattle-snake***, ***skyscraper***, ***cry-baby***).

There are also relations between the components that may be expressed by the words *have* (***sand-beach***), *cause* (***hay-fever***), *use* (***hand-writing***), and some others, and they still do not exhaust all possible relations of the compound constituents. Variations of their interpretations are diverse, and interpretation of compounds requires knowledge of their constituents' lexical meaning, of their structural pattern and general world knowledge. ***Water-bailiff***, for example, has the meaning 'a construction to prevent poaching *on* preserved stretch of river', but ***water-battery*** 'series of voltaic cells immersed *in* water', ***water-colour*** 'artist's colour ground *with* water', ***water-closet*** 'sanitary convenience flushed *by* water', ***water-fall*** 'fall *of* water of a river'.

From this point of view, restrictions on their interpretation seem to be more interesting than listing their possibilities, but this kind of study has not been carried out yet.

The meaning of many compounds is quite transparent and may be easily deduced from the lexical meaning of their constituent parts and common knowledge about the relations of the concepts they stand for, as in the examples above. Nevertheless, many compounds have specialized meaning because *along with morphological derivational processing of compounding the process of lexical-semantic derivation may take place there*.

As a result of these processes the idiomaticity and unpredictability of a new word derived in this way becomes greater which requires much memorizing on the part of the learner. A ***green-bug***, for example, is 'a green aphid very destructive to small grains', ***green dragon*** is 'an American arum with digitate leaves,

slender greenish yellow spathe, and elongated spandix', ***greenroom*** is 'a room in a theater or concert hall where actors or musicians relax before, between or after appearances', ***green-heart*** is a 'tropical South American evergreen tree with a hard somewhat greenish wood'. ***Apple-jack*** is 'brandy distilled from cider', ***apple-maggot*** 'a two-winged fly whose larva burrows in and feeds esp. on apples', and ***apple-polish*** 'to curry favour with (as by flattery) [fr. the traditional practice of schoolchildren bringing a shiny apple as a gift to their teacher].

A derivational base in a compound, like a derivational base in any other derived word, is always monosemantic. The basic meaning of a polysemous word is most actively used in one of the derivational bases of a compound but any sense of a polysemous word being a separate nominative unit may become a derivational base for a word. Thus, the derivational base ***green*** in the compound ***green finch*** 'a very common European finch having olive-green and yellow plumage' employs the central meaning of the adjective ***green*** – 'of the colour green'. But ***green*** in ***greenhorn*** 'an inexperienced or unsophisticated person' [fr. obs ***greenhorn*** 'an animal with young horns'] is used in its minor, less common meaning which, however, exists in the semantic structure of the word ***green***: 'fresh, new, as in ***a green wound***'. ***Green*** in ***greenhouse*** 'a glassed enclosure for the cultivation or protection of tender plants' uses its still another minor meaning, 'relating to green plants, and usually edible herbage, as in ***green salad***'.

The whole compound word, like any other lexical unit, simple or derived in any way, may be both mono- and polysemous. The compound word ***magpie***, for example, had only one meaning, 'any of numerous birds relating to the jays', but the word ***greenhouse*** has at least two of them '1) a glassed enclosure for the cultivation or protection of tender plants', 2) a clear plastic shell covering a section in an airplane'.

2. Compounds and word-combinations

Though structurally and semantically many English compounds look like word-groups, compounds are more "word-like" than free syntactic phrases.

Compounds, unlike free syntactic phrases, are *inseparable vocabulary units* that should be specially learned and presented in a dictionary as a special entry or sub-entry. This inseparability is usually established by *graphical*, *morphological*, *phonetic*, or *semantic criteria*.

Graphically a compound is usually written as one orthographic word and may be spelled with a hyphen between its parts (***grass-green***, ***dog-biscuit***, ***dog-collar***) or solidly (***Sunday***, ***handbook***, ***penman***, ***schoolmaster***).

But spelling does not provide an accurate guide to differentiation between compounds and word-groups because many compounds are written like word combinations with a space: ***bus stop***, ***post office***, ***jugular vein***, ***jam session***, ***freezing point***, ***plate glass***. There are few hardfast rules concerning spelling compound words in English. Compound words similar in meaning may be spelled differently in the same dictionary, as in ***tooth-paste*** but ***tooth powder***, ***baby carriage*** but ***baby-sitter*** [LDCE], ***penknife*** but ***pen-pocket*** [NND]. Futhermore, different authors may use different spellings of the same words (for example, ***word-formation*** and ***word-formation***). Even in different dictionaries one and the same word may be presented in a different way: ***grapefruit*** [LLCE] – ***grape-fruit*** [OALDCE; WNCD] **–** ***grape-fruit***, ***grapefruit*** [LDCE]; ***skateboard*** [LLCE] – ***skate-board*** [LDCE; WNCD; OALDCE]; ***grass roots*** [WNCD; LDCE] – ***grass-roots*** [OALDCE]; see also ***war-path*** and ***warpath***, ***dog-house*** and ***doghouse***, ***snow-man*** and ***snowman***, ***snow-flake*** and ***snowflake***. Solid orthography of compounds is especially characteristic of American English. So, graphic criteria are not always helpful in determining a compound word.

Many scholars suggest that **a particular stress pattern** should be taken into consideration as a criterion for compounds. **Phonetically** compounds acquire a new stress pattern that is different from the stress in motivating words. Their first component may have a high stress (***a ˋhot-house***, ***a ˋkey-hole***, ***a ˋdoorway***, ***ˋice-cream***, ***ˋcommon-wealth***, ***ˋcommon-place***, ***a ˋcommon-room***), or a double stress with a primary stress on the first syllable (***a ˋwashing-maˌchine***; ***a ˋdancing-ˌgirl***).

This criterion is not universal either because it is important only for pronunciation of forms in isolation. In a text there is a lot of variation in forms' pronunciation. Even when pronounced in isolation some compounds may have two level stresses (***ˊicy- ˊcold***; ***ˊgrass- ˊgreen***, ***in ˊapple-ˊpie ˋorder***) which may be observed in word combinations (cf.: ***ˊcommon ˊknowledge***, ***ˊcommon ˊsense***) or they may have a high stress on the last component (***ˊgrass-ˋroots***, ***ˊgrass-ˋwidow***, ***ˊapple-ˋsauce*** {***AmE = ˋapple-sauce***}) which is more characteristic of free word-groups. So, though there is a certain consistency in a speech community in stressing compounds, in some cases the general rules do not determine the "wordness" of a form.

Morphologically, compounds make up one inseparable unit with a strict order of components and a new or single paradigm (cf.: ***rich → richer → the richest*** and ***oil-rich → more oil-rich → the most oil-rich***; ***a shipwreck → shipwrecks***, ***a week-end → week-ends***). Elements within the compound cannot be reordered, neither additional items cannot be inserted between them.

However, this criterion is not always reliable, especially in **n + n** compounds (***paper-basket***) and similar structures with attributive noun use as in ***stone wall***. In both cases the order of components is strict and the first noun component in the singular form does not display its usual paradigmatic forms (e.g., in this construction it may not be used in plural).

S e m a n t i c c r i t e r i o n seems to be more valuable and has wider applicability. Semantically compounds differ from nominal phrases like ***peace years*** or ***stone wall*** because they usually carry additional idiomatic semantic component (***a player piano*** 'a piano that is played by machinery, the music being controlled by a piece of paper', ***laughing-gas*** 'gas which may cause laughter when breathed in, used for producing unconsciousness, esp. during short operations for removing teeth', ***fiddle-sticks*** *interj* 'Nonsense! How silly'). Such components are usually not found in free phrases.

When the additional idiomatic component is very important or prevails in the lexical meaning of a compound, the latter may be considered to be *partially motivated* as in ***handcuffs***, ***a flower-bed***, ***laughing-gas***, ***grass-roots*** or *completely demotivated* as in ***grass-widow***, ***wet-blanket***, ***fiddle-sticks***. These compounds are very close to idioms, can hardly be differentiated from them, and often are presented in dictionaries of idioms with such word-groups as ***red tape*** or ***small hours*** (see Chapter VI).

When this additional idiomatic component is minimal as in ***girl-friend*** or ***icy-cold***, the compound may be regarded as *fully motivated*. The meaning of the whole unit may be deduced from the meaning of its constituent parts and their arrangement. Such compounds are most closely related to free word combinations.

So, there is not a single criterion that will distinguish compounds and word-groups in English. This is especially the case with regards to fully motivated nominal compounds like ***girl-friend***, ***dish cloth*** and nominal phrases corresponding to an *of*-phrase that have developed some referential unity, as in ***stone wall*** or ***life story***. Yet, the phonological, syntactic and semantic features of compounds, especially when they work simultaneously, act like a binding force and make them distinct from phrases.

3. Classification of compounds

Classification of compounds may be done according to various principles.

1. First of all, **from the derivational point of view** one should distinguish between **compounds proper** that are made up of two derivational bases (***sauce + pan***) and **derivational compounds** (or **pseudo-compounds**), that look

like compounds only on the morphological level because they have more than one root but are derived by conversion, affixation, back-formation and other name derivational processes (***a break-down***, ***a pickpocket***, ***long-legged***).

D e r i v a t i o n a l c o m p o u n d s are further subdivided into three groups: *derivational compound nouns*, *derivational compound adjectives* and *derivational compound verbs*.

D e r i v a t i o n a l c o m p o u n d n o u n s are usually built by *conversion* on the basis of so-called phrasal verbs: ***cast-offs*** from ***to cast off***, ***a break-through*** from ***to break through***, by *substantivization* of a phrase often accompanied by productive *suffixation*: ***a*** (***six inch-***) **+** ***-er***, ***a*** (***two deck-***) **+** ***-er*** or by *prefixation* applied to a compound derivational base: ***ex-*** **+** ***housewife***. Many scholars believe that completely demotivated compounds like ***fiddle-sticks***, ***grass-widow***, ***scape-goat*** should also be referred to this group because their meaning is completely different from the lexical meanings of their constituents. They are believed to be the final results of *semantic derivation*.

D e r i v a t i o n a l c o m p o u n d a d j e c t i v e s are built by *suffixation* applied to a free word-group reduced to a stem: (***broad shoulder-***) **+** ***-ed***; (***heart shape-***) **+** ***-ed*** or *adjectivization*: ***cleanup*** (adj) from ***clean-up*** (n) from ***clean up*** (v); ***apple-pie*** (adj) '1) EXCELLENT, PERFECT, 2) of, relating to, or characterized by traditionally American values (as honesty or simplicity)' from ***apple-pie*** (n).

D e r i v a t i o n a l c o m p o u n d v e r b s are created by means of *conversion* applied to a compound derivational base: ***to weekend*** from ***a week-end*** or by means of *back-derivation* applied to a compound derivational base where one of the IC is a suffixational derivative: ***to babysit*** from ***a baby-sitter***, ***to dryclean*** from ***dry-cleaning***.

2. Classification of compounds may also be done **according to the part of speech they belong to**.

In Modern English word composition is mainly characteristic of **nouns** (***sunbeam***, ***Sunday***, ***sunshine***). The most common patterns for noun compounds are: **n + n → N** (***ice-cream***) and **adj + n → N** (***blackboard***, ***software***). Noun compounds may also be the result of compounding adverbial and nominal stems **adv + n → N** as in ***after-thought***, ***back-talk***. Compound nouns with a verb as the first or the second component (**v + n → N** as in ***searchlight***, or **n + v → N** as in ***sunshine*****)** take place in English, too, though it is not quite clear whether it is really a verb or a converted noun.

Word composition in Modern English is widespread among **adjectives**, too. The most common type of compound adjectives is the combination of two derivational bases: nominal and adjectival (**n + adj → Adj)**: ***airtight***, ***life-long***, ***stone-deaf***, ***foolproof***, ***sugarfree***, etc.

There are also many other different patterns according to which compound adjectives may be derived: composition of adjectival and adjectival bases (**adj + adj → Adj**) as in ***deaf-mute, bitter-sweet,*** nominal and participial bases (**n + V*ing/ed* → Adj)** as in ***peace-loving***, ***dog-tired***, ***man-made***, adjectival and participial (**adj + V*ing/ed* → Adj)** as in ***hard-working***, ***double-ended***, or even adverbial and participial (**adv + V*ing/ed* → Adj)** as in ***well-read***, ***over-qualified***. But verbs do not combine with adjectives in English compounds.

Composition is not characteristic of Modern English **pronouns**, though historical traces of former word composition processes are still observed there (***somebody***, ***anywhere***, ***nothing***, and ***oneself***).

Verb composition does not occur in Modern English, though in the past it was quite common in compounding adverbial and verbal stems: ***outgrow***, ***offset***, ***inlay***. Verbs that look like compounds are usually the result of other derivational processes like *conversion* (***to honeymoon***, ***to snowball***) and *back-derivation* (***to proofread***, ***to baby-sit***, ***to dry-clean***). Some verbs such as ***to apple-polish*** (vi) 'to attempt to ingratiate oneself' and (vt) 'to curry favour with (as by flattery)' are condensed and lexicalized expressions rather than derived words by composition. As with an idiom, we need to recall the verb's original usage to understand its contemporary meaning. As it is stated by the Merriam–Webster dictionary, the verb appeared from the traditional practice of school children bringing a shiny apple as a gift to their teacher[1]. So, in the case of verbs we usually deal with **pseudo-compounds**, or **derivational compounds**.

3. Semantically, compounds are divided into:

1) **endocentric**, or **subordinative** where the second element is the head and hyperonym for the compound: ***sunshine***, ***airtight***, ***blackboard*** (they make up the bulk of the Modern English compounds);

2) **exocentric** (or **bahuvrihi**) where neither the first nor the second element is the head or a hyperonym of a compound. This includes derivated compound nouns ***fiddle-sticks***, ***grass-widow***, ***scape-goat*** with the least degree of semantic motivation;

[1] To apple-polish [Electronic resource]. – 2000. – Mode of access: http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/apple%E2%80%93polish/. – Date of access: 07.02.2016.

3) **coordinative**, or **copulative** (**dvandva**) where both the derivational bases are equally important. They are subdivided into:

a) *reduplicative*: ***fifty-fifty***, ***hush-hush***;

b) *phonetically varied rhythmic twin forms*: ***chit-chat***, ***zig-zag***, ***a walkie-talkie***;

c) *additive*: ***girl-friend***, ***sofa-bed***, ***oak-tree***, ***Anglo-American***.

4. According to **the means of composition** compounds may be classified into:

1) **having linking elements *-o-*** (most characteristic of scientific terms), ***-i-***, or ***-s-*** (not productive in Modern English, they are former inflectional morphems): ***Angl*o*-Saxon***, ***soci*o*linguistics***, ***hand*i*craft***, ***sport*s*man***;

2) **without linking elements** that are formed by merely placing one base after another; they are subdivided into:

a) s y n t a c t i c compounds that do not violate syntax laws of word combining in English: ***house-dog***, ***day-time***, ***a red-breast***, ***a baby-sitter***;

b) a s y n t a c t i c compounds in which the order of constituents violates syntax laws in English: ***oil-rich***, ***power-driven***, ***early-riser***.

5. According to **the part-of-speech meaning of the derivational bases** compounds are classified into:

- **nominal** compounds derived on the patterns **n + n** or **n + (v + -er)** (***windmill***, ***bottle-opener***);
- **adjectival-nominal**, with the pattern **adj + n** (***blackboard***);
- **nominal-adjectival**, with the pattern **n + adj** (***snow-white***);
- **nominal-verbal**, built according to the patterns **n + v_{ing}**: ***police-making*** (though the second element in these compounds is seldom or never used in modern English as a free form);
- **adverbial-verbal**, with the pattern **adv + v** (***outgrow***, ***offset***, ***inlay***);
- **verbal-adverbial** compounds with the pattern (**v + adv**) + **conversion**: (***a break-down***), and some others.

6. Compounds may also be classified according to **the structure and semantics of free word-groups with which they correlate**. For example, the structural pattern of a compound noun **n + n** correlates with various verbal-nominal word-groups of the **V + N** type (subject + verb, or verb + object) (***to make image***): 'the one who makes image' is an ***image-maker*** or 'the result or process of making image' is ***image-making***.

7. A special type of compounds such as ***telegram***, ***telephone***, ***astronaut***, ***aerophones*** is called **neoclassical**. In these compounds different elements from classical languages Latin or Greek acting as roots and derivational bases combine with each other forming new words.

8. Many new words are created when elements that started out as segments in blends become combining forms making the new words look like compounds or at least a suffixal derivative: ***rice-a-rony***, ***sport-a-rama***, ***plant-o-rama***, ***porn-o-topia***, ***work-o-holic***. This is especially common in advertising and commerce.

Compounds should not be mixed up with *word-groups of phraseological character* like ***mother-in-law***, ***brother-in-arms***, ***bread-and-butter***, ***milk-and-water***, or *longer combinations of words in attributive function* that for stylistic purposes may be treated like unities and thus hyphenated: ***the-young-must-be-right attitude***, ***the nothing-buts of his statements***. These constructions are neither compounds nor phraseological units. They are usually treated as a result of lexicalization of syntactic structures.

5.3. MINOR TYPES OF WORD-FORMATION IN MODERN ENGLISH

• *Substantivation, adjectivalization, adverbialization* • *Shortening. Clipping. Acronymy* • *Blending* • *Back-formation* • *The extension of proper names* • *Classical myths* • *Rhyming slang* • *Composition of scientific terms* • *Echoic words* • *Reduplication* • *Lexicalization* • *Compression* • *Analogical word-formation* • *Reinterpretation of words* • *Word manufacturing*

1. Substantivation, adjectivalization, adverbialization

Besides *major types of word-formation* (affixation, composition and conversion) in English there are some other types which do not deal with derivational morphemes but random word segments, are not patterned or predictable and are less important for replenishment of the vocabulary. They are called **minor types of word-formation**.

Peculiarities of such minor types of word-formation as *substantivation of adjectives*: ***poor*** (adj) → ***the poor*** (n), ***rich*** → ***the rich***; *adjectivization of participles* and *nouns*: ***developed*** (v*ed*) → ***a developed*** (adj) ***country***; *adverbialization of adjectives*: ***late*** (adj) → ***she went to bed late*** (adv); non-active nowadays cases of *sound-interchange*: ***to sing*** → ***song***, ***blood*** → ***to bleed***); and *stress shift*: ***trans´port*** (v) → ***´transport*** (n) – were mentioned above when the problem of *conversion* was discussed.

Here some other most productive minor types of word-formation will be discussed. Some of them, like sound-interchange, stress shift and back-formation, were acting in the past and are more important for diachronic research of vocabulary. Some of them, like clipping, blending, and acronymy are very common in Modern English.

2. Shortening. Clipping. Acronymy

One of the most active and productive minor types of word-formation is s h o r t e n i n g – subtraction of the original word or word-group. The earliest shortenings in English are ***Mr*** and ***Mrs***, and according to *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* they go back to 1447 and 1582 respectively. They are just **graphical shortenings** used for familiar words only in written speech, not for new words.

In contrast to them, **lexical shortenings** are the subject matter of lexicology as *one of the ways of word-formation*, when words acquire not only specific sound forms but also new meanings. For example, when the adjective ***preparatory*** 'serving as or carrying out preparation for a task or undertaking' is shortened to ***prep***, a new word is derived with a new lexical ('preparatory school') and even part-of-speech (noun) meaning (which, however, is not compulsory for lexical shortening). (See also ***fan*** for 'fanatic' or finals for final examinations.) Cases of lexical shortening were also registered in the 15th century, though this process of forming new words has become really active only recently.

Lexical shortening are subdivided into **clipping** and **acronymy**.

Creation of new words by shortening a word of two or more syllables or segments is called c l i p p i n g. Clipping is mostly characteristic of derivation from nouns.

Clipping may be *initial*: ***bus*** (short for 'omniBUS', ***phone*** (short for 'telePHONE'); final: ***pop*** (short for 'POPular), ***exam*** (short for 'EXAMination'); *both initial and final*: ***flue*** (short for 'inFLUEnza', ***fridge*** (short for 'reFRIDGErator); *middle*: ***maths*** (short for 'MATHematicS'), ***pants*** (short for 'PANTaloonS').

Words derived by clipping are usually monosemantic (cf.: ***examination*** '1) the act or process of examining; 2) an exercise designed to examine progress or test qualification or knowledge; 3) a formal interrogation' and ***exam*** which is usually referred just to oral examination) but sometimes they may stand for several words with the same segment and thus become polysemous (cf.: ***nat*** *abbr* '1) national; 2) native, natural').

A c r o n y m s are usually defined as *commonly known words* formed from the *initial letters* of a fixed phrase or title as in ***PIN*** for '**P**ersonal **I**dentification **N**umber'). The name of the Asian country, ***Pakistan***, is an acronym, too. It was derived in 1933 by letter abbreviation of the constituent provinces (**P**unjab, **A**fghan Border States, **K**ashm**i**r, **S**ind, and the end of the name of Baluchis**tan**).

Some acronyms contain *only initial letters* pronounced either as:

- *a string of letters* (***BBC***, ***USSR***, ***VIP*** [ˊviːaɪˊpiː]) (they are similar to commonly used letter abbreviations), or
- *a word* (***NATO*** [ˊneɪtəu], ***UNO*** [ˊjuːnəu], ***FAQ*** [fæk], ***laser*** [ˊleɪzə]).

Some of them may include *non-initials* as ***Interpol***. Acronyms may also contain parts pronounced *both as initials and a word*, for example, a combination of spelling out and a word: ***CD-ROM*** [ˌsiːdiːˊrɔm] for '**C**ompact **D**isc **R**ead-**O**nly **M**emory'.

Abbreviation processes in acronyms may also combine with *graphical means* as in ***B2B*** meaning '*business-to-business* communication between two enterprises', ***3D*** '3-dimensional'.

Examples of more recent acronyms are ***oink*** (**O**ne **I**ncome **N**o **K**ids), ***dinky*** (**D**ual **I**ncome **N**o **Ki**ds), ***quango*** (**Q**uasi-**A**utonomous **N**on-**G**overnment **O**rganization), ***misty*** (**M**ore **I**deologically **S**ound **T**han **Y**ou), etc.

Examples of most established acronyms are ***UNO*** for '**U**nited **N**ations **O**rganization, ***TV*** for '**T**ele**V**ision', ***VIP*** for '**V**ery **I**mportant **P**erson', ***jeep*** for '**G**eneral **P**urpose vehicle', ***laser*** for '**L**ight **A**mplification by **S**timulated **E**mission of **R**adiation', ***V-day*** for '**V**ictory **day**', ***hi-fi*** for '**Hi**gh **Fi**delity', etc.

Some acronyms in order to aid their memorization are created to look like words that already exist in the language. Thus, they become their homonyms (***WASP*** for '**W**hite **A**nglo-**S**axon **P**rotestant'; ***ERASMUS*** for '**E**u**r**opean Community ***A***ction **S**cheme for the **M**obility of **U**niversity **S**tudents'; ***SMART*** for '**S**elf-**M**onitoring, **A**nalysis, and **R**eporting ***T***echnology (hard drive feature; warns of problems before total failure)'.

3. Blending

Many words in English are the result of a process of blending, or **telescoping**, where initial and terminal segments of two words are joined, compounded together to create a new word. They are also called **portmanteau words**. Blends are funny and quite popular words though usually they are not long-lived. Their role is especially remarkable in the vocabulary of sports, entertainment and politics.

Blending occurred in all periods of the English language but it became most active in the second half of the 20th century (***Brexit*** for '**Br**itain + **exit**; ***brunch*** for '**br**eakfast and l**unch**', ***cinematress*** for '**cinem**a + **actress**', ***fantabulous*** for '**fanta**stic + fa**bulous'**, ***smog*** for '**sm**oke + f**og**', ***electrocute*** for 'to exe**cute** by **electr**icity', ***laundromat*** for '**laundr**y aut**omat**', ***squash*** for '**squ**eeze and cr**ash**'.

4. Back-formation

B a c k - f o r m a t i o n is very close to shortening as it occurs when a suffix (or a morph perceived as a suffix) is *removed* from a word (***to edit*** from ***an editor***, ***to beg*** from ***a beggar***, ***to burgle*** from ***a burglar***, ***homesick*** from ***homesickness***). Words derived by means of back-formation look like simple words (***to edit***, ***to beg***) while related simple words in Modern English (***editor***, ***beggar***, ***burglar***) may be mistaken for derived words.

Nowadays back-formation is mainly characteristic of verbs derived of compound nouns (***baby-sit*** from ***baby-sitter***, ***stage-manage*** from ***stage-manager***, ***house-keep*** from ***house-keeper***).

5. The extension of proper names

The names of people and places are often generalized to name the products or things they are connected with: ***champagne*** for 'a white sparkling wine made in the old province of Champagne', ***hoover*** for 'vacuum cleaner' (trade mark), ***kleenex*** for 'paper tissue used instead of a handkerchief' (trade mark), ***coffee*** [fr. Arabic *qahwa* from the name of the Ethiopian province of Kaffa], and ***copper*** [an early continental borrowing fr. L *Cyprium* that meant 'Cyprian metal'].

6. Classical myths

A classical myth is a rich source of new English words by means of *proper name extension*, *affixation* and other name-building processes. The word ***Psychology*** developed from the name of the Greek goddess ***Psyche***, the beloved of Eros. In Roman folklore she was a maiden who, after undergoing many hardships due to Venus' jealousy of her beauty, is reunited with Cupid and made immortal by Jupiter. Someone with a ***mercurial*** disposition is unpredictably changeable, moving quickly from one mood to another. The word comes from Latin ***Mercury***, a god of trade and communication.

7. Rhyming slang

R h y m i n g s l a n g is said to have begun as a secret language among the 19th century Cockney navies to confuse Irish co-workers: ***apples'n'pears*** for 'stairs'; ***dirckie-bird*** 'word'; ***charring cross*** 'horse'; ***trouble and strife*** 'wife'; ***loaf and bread*** 'head'; ***Adam and Eve*** for 'believe'. These rhyming expressions may be shortened to one word, like ***loaf and bread*** for 'head' just to ***loaf*** thus causing a greater degree of lexical ambiguity.

8. Composition of scientific ferms

Scientific terms are very often derived by means of combining word segments, often of Latin and Greek origin (**combining forms**). In English they act as roots because there may be no other roots in a word: ***nanotechnology***, ***telephone***, ***physico-chemical***. This way of composing scientific terms may be accompanied by affixation, making long many-syllabled words.

The longest registered terms in English containing several affixes and word segments are ***pneumonoultramicroscopicsilicovolcanoconiosis*** (45 letters), ***nonalcalinocetaceoaluminosocupreovitriolic*** (42 letters). However, they are not characteristic of common English.

9. Echoic words

Creation of e c h o i c (or o n o m a t o p o e i c) w o r d s, sounding like the thing they represent, for example, ***tick-tock*** for 'the sound of a clock', is believed to be originally the first means of word-formation in language.

English is not as rich in the use of onomatopoeic words, as, for example, Japanese or Chinese. Nevertheless, in English there are many sets of onomatopoeic words whose constituent segments have a specific meaning, and they cause a problem in linguistics: should these segments be regarded as morphemes or are these simple onomatopoeic words? Examples of such sets are:

glace, ***glade***, ***glamour***, ***glance***, ***glare***, ***glass***, ***gleam***, ***glimmer***, ***glimpse***, ***glister***, ***gloss***, and ***glow*** – nouns or verbs involving something 'eye-catching' because of emission, reflection, or passage of light;

flack, ***flag flame***, ***flap***, ***flare***, ***flash***, ***flee***, ***flick***, ***fluent***, ***flood***, ***flourish***, ***flow***, ***flush***, and ***fly*** – mostly verbs that denote a sudden or violent movement;

bumble, ***grumble***, ***humble***, ***mumble***, ***rumble***, ***stumble***, ***tumble*** – mostly verbs signifying 'dull, heavy, untidy action'.

10. Reduplication

R e d u p l i c a t i o n – repetition of roots or syllables in immediate succession – is one of the oldest types of word-formation (cf. Russian ***шёл-шёл***, ***жили-были***).

Though reduplication in English is widespread (***bye-bye***, ***gee-gee***, ***hush-hush***, ***night-night***, ***walkie-talkie***), the meaning of the words derived in such a way is diverse and unpredictable, as it is in many languages, when reduplication is used to denote quantity, intensity or priority.

Identical constituents in reduplicatives are very scarce in Modern English, but there are more with slight changes in the vowels or consonants. There are rhyme motivated reduplicated compounds: ***walkie-talkie***, ***nitty-gritty***, ***nitwit*** and ablaut-motivated reduplicative compounds: ***ping-pong***, ***dilly-dally***, ***wishy-washy***, ***shilly-shally***, ***flip-flop***.

11. Lexicalization

The transformation of a grammatical form of a word into an individual lexeme with its own lexical meaning (***the colours*** 'the official flag of the country', ***customs*** 'a place where traveller's belongings are searched when leaving or entering a country', ***pictures*** 'the cinema', and ***arms*** 'weapon') is often referred to as l e x i c a l i z a t i o n (cf. two other interpretations of the term *lexicalization* discussed in Chapter II).

12. Compression

C o m p r e s s i o n is a way of forming holophrastic compound constructions by putting together a word combination or a sentence: ***man-at-arms***, ***mother-of-pearl***, ***free-for-all***, ***stay-at-home***, ***a take-it-away-it-stinks gesture***.

13. Analogical word-formation

The process of a n a l o g i c a l w o r d - f o r m a t i o n takes place when a certain element of a morphological structure of a word, like a root, bound, unique or pseudo-morpheme, changes into a regular two-faceted morpheme: ***hamburger*** – ***cheeseburger*** – ***fishburger***; ***England*** – ***Disneyland*** – ***acqualand***; ***kleptomania*** – ***nymphomania*** – ***acronymania***; ***geography*** – ***biography*** – ***alibiography***; ***Watergate*** – ***Irangate*** – ***zippergate*** – ***sexgate***.

An interesting case of complex naming processes in one word is observed in the neologism ***Teflon***, which was derived by shortening of the chemical name **(*poly*)te(*tra*)fl(*uoroethylene*)** and analogical word-formation with the help of the element ***-on***: ***electron*** – ***radon*** – ***Teflon*** which became a trademark for this kind of polymer with slippery, nonsticking properties; later by extension of the proper name to the objects using this polymer; and still later by means of metaphorization it started denoting the quality of a politician having the ability to evade blame: ***the Teflon president***.

14. Reinterpretation of sound and morphemic structure of words

R e i n t e r p r e t a t i o n of sound and morphemic structure of words is the basis of folk etymology leading to the appearance of a new word with a different phonemic and morphemic structure (OE ***a nadder*** → ModE ***an adder***; OE ***a napron*** → ModE ***an apron***, OE ***brŷdguma*** 'the man of a bride' → ModE ***bride-groom***).

It is also the basis of new, usually nonce words, created for specific purposes to produce certain stylistic effects: ***penicillin*** – ***pennycillin***; ***sunrise*** – ***son-rise***; ***hide-and-seek*** – ***hide and sick***; ***female*** – ***fee-male***. An example of literary reinterpretation of the word ***woman*** is presented in the poem *Women* by Bombaugh (see [Нухов 1997, с. 145]):

When Eve brought woe to all mankind,
Old Adam called her ***wo-man***;
But when she woo'd with love so kind,
He then pronounced her ***woo-man***.
But now with folly and with pride,
Their husbands' pockets trimming,
The ladies are so full of whims,
The people call them ***whim-men***.

15. Word manufacturing

Usually, words are not created out of thin air. Even the non-patterned coinage in the 17th century of the word ***gas*** by Jan Baptista van Helmont may be traced to Greek ***chaos***. An example of the invention of a completely new morph is ***Kodak***, which is the brainchild of the 20th century inventor George Eastman, who felt that *K* is a commanding sound.

5.4. DERIVED WORDS AS ITEMS OF THE ENGLISH LEXICON

While the meaning of an inflected word is predictable and may be computed from the meaning of its components (***he works***, ***worked***, ***is working***), the meaning of a derived word is not so predictable in many cases. A derived word, as it was mentioned above, includes a special component not observed in the meaning of its parts that makes it a special, separate lexical unit. That is why it is not sufficient to provide in a dictionary just a list of roots and derivational affixes to interpret a derivative.

In the lexical system derived words as well as simple words may be grouped into lexical-semantic groups and fields according to the concept they convey (see Chapter VII). But in addition to that, derived words may be classified into **word families** with their free root (roots) as their head. An example of such a word family is the noun ***sense*** which is the head for its derived words ***nonsense***, ***sensation***, ***sensational***, ***senseless***, ***senselessness***, ***sensibility***, ***sensitive***, ***sensitiveness***, ***sensory***, ***sensual***, ***sensible***, and ***insensible***.

Derivatives may also be grouped into **derivational chains** with the affix they are derived by as their head. For example, the derivational chain of adjectives with the suffix ***-ful***, includes such words as ***beautiful***, ***careful***, ***dreadful***, ***harmful***, ***joyful***, ***mournful***, ***pitiful***, ***peaceful***, ***sinful***, ***tearful***, ***wonderful***, and many others.

Both in the lexical system of the English language and in the mental lexicon of its speakers the connection between words with common bound roots having a vaguely defined meaning is very weak yet still exists. For example, the bound root ***-ject-*** [fr. L pp *jectus* fr. *jacere* 'to throw'] is common for such loosely related words as ***inject***, ***reject***, ***project***, ***trajectory***, ***abject***, ***adjective***, ***subject***, ***object***, and ***interjection***.

So, due to clearly defined derivational relations in derived words, they have stronger connections in lexicon than non-derived though morphologically related words or simple monomorphic words without any derivatives.

The fact that the majority of names in any language are derived and that the language system preserves their derived character for a very long time, suggests that the human mind has a very efficient way of storing large lexicon, and the relations of derivation play an important role in this system. Due to its motivated character a derived word is easier to understand despite its idiomatic component, easier to remember due to its connections in form and meaning to other lexicalized units, and easier to retrieve from memory because the pathways to them are often activated by simple words – their naming sources.

It should also be mentioned that the meaning of a *newly* derived word is usually determined by the meanings of its constituents and the wide original context it is used in for the first time. But a *lexicalized* derived word enlisted in the lexicon does not need reconstruction of the whole context that the word was originally used in. A lexicalized derived word is memorized as a lexical unit having a definite meaning, form and usage sufficient for its proper reproduction and interpretation. The problem, however, remains: which information is sufficient for its adequate representation both in a dictionary and the mental lexicon.

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Chapter 6
ENGLISH PHRASEOLOGY. NAMING BY WORD GROUPS

> In fact, the theory of fixed expressions must draw heavily on the theories of phonology, syntax, and semantics in just the way lexical theory does, and it must account for a body of material of roughly the same size as the word lexicon.
> ... Lexical items larger than words have always created a problem.
>
> *Ray Jackendoff*

> Following a steady growth of scholarly interest and activity over the last thirty years, phraseology has become a major field of pure and applied research for Western linguists that it had, much earlier, for scholars in the former Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe.
>
> *A. P. Cowie*

- *Phraseology: general characteristics*
- *Lexical and grammatical valency of words*
- *Structure of word-groups*
- *Free word-groups vs. collocation, clichés, set expressions, idioms, phraseological units*
- *Classification of phraseological units*

1. Phraseology: general characteristics

A concept may be named and then institutionalyzed/conventionalyzed, i.e., lexicalized, not only by a borrowed word, by a secondary use of the actual word or by a newly derived word but also by a *combination of words* arranged into phrases and even sentences according to the language rules. Thus, a lexeme may not only be univerbal but also *multiword*: ***to kick the bucket***, ***plain truth***, ***Fruits and Veggies***, ***let the cat out of the bag***.

Traditionally syntax is studying the laws governing the so-called *free phrase* and *sentence structures* (***a nice girl***; ***I love you***). But lexicology examines *preferences* and *restrictions* that words in every language undergo while forming grammatically and logically acceptable phrases. It singles out and describes such preferences and restrictions which are at the basis of lexicalization.

For example, the phrase ***to drink tea*** is acceptable in English though it is preferable to combine the noun ***tea*** with the verb ***to have*** and to say ***to have tea***. Or, there is mutual expectancy between the English verb ***to shrug*** and the noun ***shoulders***, and this restriction is of great interest to lexicology and lexicography. The adjective ***blond*** ‘light-coloured (usu. yellowish)’, according to the *Longman Dictionary*

of Contemporary English, is mostly collocated with the word 'hair' like ***blond hair***. Though other dictionaries may point to a wider use of this adjective, for example, its ability to apply to the word ***skin*** to denote 'of a pale white or rosy white colour', and even to some other words like in ***a table of blond walnut*** to denote 'made light-coloured by bleaching', the word ***blond*** still has severe restrictions on its application and a word combination such as ****a blond sweater*** is hardly possible.

The restrictions and preferences of words in their combining activity are different in various languages. They should be learned and memorized, and thus many word combinations become complex units of the lexicon.

Besides preferences and restrictions of multiword expressions, lexicology is interested in their meaning, too.

Some of the phrases and even sentences in a language, like derived and compound words, may mean more than their constituents suggest. The additional semantic component that can hardly be deduced from the meanings of constituent words is called *idiomatic meaning.* It turns word combinations and sentences into ready-made units that become a part of the lexicon. People should learn and memorize them in order to understand and use them correctly. Thus, ***Hobson's choice*** means 'no choice at all', ***in cold blood*** means 'deliberately, without passion', and ***an old bird is not to be caught with chaff*** stands for 'experienced people are not easily fooled or deceived'.

Such multiword expressions are lexical units alongside derivational affixes, lexemes and regularly used senses of lexemes, and are the objects of a special branch of lexicology – p h r a s e o l o g y. (Some scholars regard phraseology even as a special branch of linguitics due to its very specific object of investigation, implied complex methods of analysis and widespread research activity.)

Phraseological units are not peripheral naming units in lexicon as many scholars thought not long ago. They are specific lexical units where phonetics, semantics, morphology, syntax and pragmatics meet, and thus they tell us a lot about the core of a language. This type of word combinations also makes up a large part of our language knowledge. Underlining their communicative, cognitive, and linguistic importance, I. Mel'čuk claimed that "people do not speak in words, they speak in phrasemes" [Mel'čuk 1995, p. 168]. As a consequence of this new approach, phraseology is turning into important interdisciplinary research for scholars of different backgrounds. Theoretical linguists are interested in knowing which principles relate phraseological units to syntactic configurations. Computational

linguists work on processing systems that can easily recognize phraseological units in text. Psychologists are interested in production and comprehension of these conventionalized complex units and in speech errors that people make producing and processing them.

It should be underlined that the achievements of Soviet phraseology led by V. V. Vinogradov, A. V. Kunin, A. I. Smirnitsky, N. N. Amosova, A. S. Akhmanova and nowadays by V. N. Telia, N. L. Shadrin and others are widely recognized in the scientific world: "Classical Russian theory with its later extensions and modifications is probably the most pervasive influence at work in current phraseological studies and is unrivalled in its application to the design and compilation of dictionaries" [Cowie 2001, p. 2].

The scope of questions raised and discussed by phraseology is diverse. They range from classification of phraseological units to investigating their specific aspects including stylistic value, grammatical, semantic and etymological characteristics, pragmatics, contrastive analysis and problems of translation, their role in a language and their representation in the mind, etc.

In this chapter we shall limit ourselves to traditional problems of phraseology: the choice of units for inclusion into phraseology and their most well-known classifications. It is necessary to describe the features that **both types of word-groups have in common** before we start discussing criteria used to differentiate between *ready-made lexicalized word combinations*, investigated by phraseology and *free non-lexicalized word-groups*, which remain the object of syntax. All words in all types of word-groups have certain lexical and grammatical restrictions and a certain grammatical structure characteristic of a language.

2. Lexical and grammatical valency of words

All words in a language are to form word-groups (**collocations**[1]) and sentences if their grammatical characteristics are compatible and they do not violate syntax. ***A child smiles*** is a regular word combination in English but ****a smiles child*** would be an ill-formed phrase. *Yet, the correct syntax of a word-group is not enough yet for it to be correct and accepted.*

The sentence invented by N. Chomsky ***Green ideas sleep furiously*** is perfect from the point of view of syntax but the words do not come together because in this sentence immediate phrases do not make sense.

[1] The term *collocation* was coined by J. R. Firth in the 1950s to denote the common co-occurrence of particular words.

Our general knowledge of the world installs certain selectional restrictions on word usage. Words make word-groups in speech if their conceptual structures are compatible, too. Thus, a ***question*** can be **urgent**, **delicate**, **disputable** or **serious**, but not ****laughing***, ****soft***, or ****blue***, the adjective ***deep*** 'extending far from surface downward' comes together with a noun ***well*** 'a pit or hole sunk into the earth to reach a supply of water' as they both have a common semantic component of 'having measure from surface to bottom' but such sequences as ****a deep building*** or ****a deep tree*** sound odd.

Restrictions on sequences of words may also be determined by the language structure, by the individual meaning of a word and the language norms, as in the case with the adjective ***blond*** described above.

For stylistic purposes, however, in order to create special verbal effects, to communicate about some uncertain vaguely structured concepts and to cause unusual and rich associations of ideas, writers and poets often violate conventional selection restrictions on word usage (like in ***I know her sour humble hands***). But lexicology deals mainly with *word-groups that have a high degree of expectancy*.

The conventional mutual expectancy of words in all types of word-groups, irrespective of the degree of structural and semantic cohesion of their components, may be described, as in chemistry, by their **valency** (AmE **valence**; L *valentia* 'power') – the power of a word to combine with another one in speech.

The aptness of a word to appear in a certain grammatical (syntactic) pattern may be termed as g r a m m a t i c a l v a l e n c y.

Words are characterized by the ability to be used only in a definite *grammatical context*. The noun, for example, ***pencil***, forming noun phrases may be used with an adjective (in the **ADJ + N** pattern): a ***red pencil***, preposition and another noun (in the **N + Prep + N** pattern): ***a pencil for present***; in verb phrases this noun may be used in **V + N** patterns: ***to buy a pencil***. The adjective ***clever*** may be used in the pattern **Adj + Prep + N** like in ***clever at mathematics*** or in a word-group with a noun **Adj + N**: ***a clever boy***.

Though words' grammatical valency is predetermined to a large extent by grammar rules, it is may be different for each particular word. Even synonyms may differ in their grammatical valency (cf.: similar **V + N** pattern in both the synonymic verbs ***propose*** and ***suggest*** as in ***propose a stroll*** and ***to suggest a plan*** and different patterns in their collocation with other words ***propose* + infinitive**, and ***suggest* + *that* clause**, or ***suggest* + *-ing* form**).

The grammatical valency of correlative words in different languages may differ greatly, too, for example, **V + Prep + N/Pron** in English (*to explain **to** somebody*; *to smile **at** somebody*) but **V + N/Pron** (*объяснять кому-то*; *улыбаться кому-то*) in Russian; **V + N** in English (*to enter the room*) but **V + Prep + N** (*войти **в** комнату*) in Russian.

So, the differences in grammatical valency of correlative words are usually accounted for by their semantic differences and differences in the structure of the languages.

Even when used in an appropriate grammatical pattern prescribed by language laws, a word may not form a natural sounding combination because it also has certain *lexical restrictions* on collocations with other lexemes.

The aptness of a word to appear in certain combinations with other lexemes may be called l e x i c a l v a l e n c y.

Every word is restricted in use and has a capacity to appear only in a certain lexical context. Yet there are some words, like ***good***, ***bad***, which have a great, almost unlimited lexical valency because they appear in combinations with various words. But some words, like ***shrug***, ***blond*** are characterized by severe restrictions in combinability that should be memorized (***to shrug shoulders***; ***blond hair / skin / person***).

Individual words have individual lexical valency. Even close synonyms display difference in collocability. Thus, ***lift*** and ***raise*** are synonyms and they are interchangeable in the context of ***to lift/raise one's arms*** but you cannot ****lift a flag***, you ***raise it***, as you ***raise a question*** but do not ****lift it***. Likewise, you say you ***do not lift a finger to help somebody*** but you cannot say that you ****do not raise your finger*** to do it.

Lexical valency of correlative words in different languages is usually different. You cannot say, for example, ****room flowers*** in English but you may say ***комнатные цветы*** 'room flowers' in Russian. In English you have to say ***pot flowers*** or ***indoor/house plants*** because the word ***flower*** does not collocate with the word ***room*** there.

Another example: in Russian the word ***украшать*** can be used with the words ***стол***, ***салат***, ***торт***; in English the correlative word ***decorate*** can collocate with the word ***a cake*** but not with the words ***table*** (they ***dress tables***) or ***salad*** (they ***garnish salads***).

Some discrepancies in lexical valency are connected with differences in meaning of correlative words. Thus, the difference in combining ability of the English verb ***bury*** and the Russian verb ***хоронить*** (***to bury the trash*** but not ****хоронить мусор***) may be due to difference in lexical meaning of these verbs. The meaning of the English word ***bury*** is broader than the meaning of the Russian word ***хоронить*** (***bury*** 'to dispose of by depositing in the earth'; ***хоронить*** 'закапывать в землю, помещать в гробницу (тело умершего или его прах после кремации), обычно с соблюдением принятых обрядов').

Differences in the volume of word categories in different languages (cf. discussed above: ***украшать*** in Russian and ***decorate*** in English) may also account for some differences in lexical valency.

The impossibility of translating some word-groups word-for-word may be connected with differences in semantic structures of correlative words. Thus the correlative words ***heavy*** and ***тяжелый*** have different semantic structures and hence different lexical valency (cf.: ***heavy beard*** 'густая борода'; ***heavy eater*** 'любитель поесть'; ***heavy cold*** 'сильная простуда'; ***heavy bread*** 'плотный по структуре и обильный по калориям продукт').

So, all words may form word-groups. All of them are rule-governed and many of them have specific grammatical and lexical valency determined by language structure.

Lexicology and phraseology are especially keen on words with restricted lexical and grammatical valency that form special complexes needing memorizing.

3. Structure of word-groups

All word-groups are different in a grammatical structure; they may be **predicative** (***he went***) and **non-predicative** (***red flower***). Non-predicative word-groups can be classified into *subordinate* (***red flower***) and *coordinate* (***women and men***).

According to the part of speech to which words belong, there are **verbal-nominal** word-groups (***to see a boy***), **verbal-pronominal** (***to see him***), **verbal-prepositional-nominal** (***to see to somebody***), **verbal-adverbial** (***to put aside***), **adjectival-nominal** (***a red pen***) and others.

Some word-groups have a central member, like *pencil* in ***a red pencil*** – they are called **endocentric**. According to the central member all word-groups may be classified into *nominal* (***a red flower***), *verbal* (***to speak loudly***) or *adjectival* (***kind to people***).

Some of them do not have any central members, all the in such word-groups are equal and they are called **exocentric** (***side by side***).

These structural characteristics are observed in word-groups of all kinds, free and conventionalized, and thus both of these groups of word combinations may be classified on these principles.

4. Free word-groups vs. collocation, clichés, set expressions, idioms, phraseological units

There is no accepted terminology for complex conventionalized word combinations. They use various terms like *complex units*, *collocations*, *fixed expressions*, *fixed phrases*, *phrasemes*, *phrasal lexemes*, *phraseolexems*, *phraseologisms, polylexical expressions, multiword lexemes*, *full and partial idioms*, *conventional expressions*, *phraseological units*.

Different terminology is usually determined by different criteria that are used to distinguish between free and bound word combinations. The terms *collocations*, *set-expressions*, *idioms* and *phraseological units* are used especially often and that is why they need special attention.

Word-groups differ, first of all, from the point of view of *reproductivity* – their ability to be readily reproduced in speech.

Some of them are created spontaneously in speech and do not need memorizing because they are organized according to regular language rules: ***a clever machine***, ***a pretty girl***. They may have never been used before by anybody else, and probably will never be used in the future, like ***the cleverest hungry man***. They make up an open class of f r e e w o r d - g r o u p s, and are mainly studied in syntax.

Some word-groups, however, are regularly reproduced in speech by all adult members of the language community and they make up patterned complexes due to peculiarities in their combinability. These word-groups are called c o l l o c a t i o n s.

Some collocations – c l i c h é s – are just word-groups habitually used in speech, e.g., ***kind to people***, ***commit a suicide***, ***to launch a satellite***, ***ladies and gentlemen***, or ***Good morning*!**

Highly predictable collocations with limited lexical and grammatical valency that allow little or no change at all, like ***on the one hand***, ***hand in hand***, ***by the way***, ***so far so good***, ***How do you do?*** are usually referred to as s e t e x p r e s s i o n s.

Collocations may also include a polysemous word in one of its minor meanings, like ***heavy traffic***, ***monumental ignorance*** or ***green with envy***.

So, in contrast to free word combinations, the elements in collocations repeatedly co-occur and are specifically bound to each other. As well as morphemes and words they are ready-made, regularly reproducible meaningful lexical units.

Making a list of collocations characteristic of a language is a matter of extreme difficulty. One of the attempts in this field is *The BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English* by M. Benson, E. Benson and R. Ilson (1986, 1990) where alongside certain *types of grammatical patterns* (V + N; N + Prp; N + *Infinitive*; N + *that* clause; Prep + Noun combination; etc.) the authors single out seven major types of *lexical collocations*, for example, **creation** and/or **activation verbs + N/PRN** as in ***make an impression***, ***compose music***, ***fly a kite***, ***launch a missile***; **eradication** and/or **multification verbs** + **N** (***demolish a house***, ***reject an appeal***, ***ease tension***; ***override a veto***).

The word *collocation*, however, may also be used in a broader sense as 'any acceptable word-group except idioms'. Thus, according to *Англо-русский словарь глагольных словосочетаний = The English-Russian Dictionary of Verbal Collocations* (1986) the verb ***buy*** can form only six out of 24 grammatical models which are characteristic of English verbs and it enters such lexical types of collocations as ***to buy something*** (~ *a hat*, *flowers*, etc.) ***to buy somebody*** (~ *a public official*, *a witness*), ***to buy somebody something*** (~ *please*, *buy me a pair of new shoes*), ***to buy something for somebody/something*** (~ *to buy a new pair of shoes for me*), ***to buy something in some manner*** (~ *things cheaply/cheap*), ***to buy something in/at/some place*** (*I shall ~ it elsewhere*), ***to buy something from/of/somebody*** (~ *a book from him*), ***to buy something at some price*** (~ *a house at a reasonable price*), ***to buy something by something*** (~ *wool by weight*), ***to buy something with something*** (~ *his favours with flattery*), ***be bought for something*** (*it cannot be bought for gold*), ***be bought in some manner*** (*victory was dearly bought*), as well as in the expression ***the best that money can buy***.

Yet, the borderline between free and set word-groups is very vague. It is usually the *degree of reproductivity* that matters. *Free word-groups* are not absolutely free in combining with other words because all words in a language have limitations and preferences in usage. Free word-groups are relatively free as the words in them have restricted application determined by the language structure. For example, Russian speaking people may say ***земляные орехи***, ***лесные орехи***, ***грецкие орехи***. But what other words can be used with the word ***орехи*** to indicate their nature type? We may use the adjectives ***сырые***, ***жареные орехи***; ***орехи с солью***, ***орехи с сахаром*** to indicate their relatedness to being processed, but what else? And *set expressions* may not be necessarily absolutely set, or fixed, they may allow certain variation (cf.: ***not to care a fig / damn***).

Due to this vagueness of borderlines between free and set word-groups, the term *set-expression* or even *collocation* can hardly be used for units of phraseology though it is very clear and self-explanatory.

Another widely used term for a unit of phraseology is an i d i o m, though in this case attention is paid to its meaning rather than to restricted valency of words and easy reproductivity of the whole word-group.

The lexical meaning of a word-group may consist of the combined lexical meanings of the component words (***a blind man***). Such word-groups are called **completely motivated**, or **free**. The total meaning of free words-groups includes lexical, grammatical and structural meaning of their constituents.

But the lexical meaning in some word-groups may include an additional component that cannot be found in any of the constituent parts. Such word-groups are called *idiomatic* (**non-motivated**), or ***idioms***: ***to lead to the altar*** means 'to marry'; ***to build castles in the air*** is 'to day-dream'; ***the hill of Achilles*** means 'a weak point'; ***to beat about the bush*** means 'to approach a matter in an indirect and roundabout manner'; ***a blue stocking*** means '*derog*. a woman who is thought to be too highly educated' [LDCE] or 'woman having or affecting literary tastes and learning' [COED].

There are many cases of homonymy between motivated and non-motivated word-groups as ***apple sauce*** 'sauce made of apples' (a free word-group) and ***apple sauce*** 'nonsense' (an idiom).

Polysemous words in a word-group are used in one of their meanings, major or minor (cf.: ***a left hand*** and ***a factory hand***; ***a heavy bag*** and ***a heavy traffic***). The use of a word in one of its minor meanings makes the problem of recognizing an idiom (***with a heavy hand*** 'clumsily') among free word-groups (***a factory hand*** 'a factory worker') especially difficult.

Idioms like any other lexical units may have more than one idiomatic meaning. Thus, the idiom the ***Land of Nod*** refers either to 'the state of sleeping' (*humorously* from then verb ***to nod*** 'to have/to take a nap') or 'the place where Cain was exiled by God after he had murdered his brother Abel' where the name *Nod* comes from the verb נוד (*nud*) denoting a 'going back and forth'.

Idioms are very frequent in spoken English; they are less common in written English or even more formal situations. Idioms help to create a relaxed atmosphere. Someone whose English is very good, but who uses no idioms, can sound formal and rather impersonal and therefore, a little unfriendly. For this

reason, knowledge of idioms is important so that one's business meeting should not sound "cold". Due to their summarizing effect idioms are often used to terminate one topic in conversation and to make transition to another one.

At the same time, one should be quite careful with idioms. They are not always appropriate because many of them are very informal (***green fingers***, ***to have a bee in one's bonnet***) or too formal (***the compliments of the season***, ***a bone of contention***).

The term *idiom* is especially widely used in English and American linguistics though it is too polysemous for a term. Its major meaning is 'the language peculiar to a people or to a district, community or class: DIALECT'; 'the syntactical, grammatical or structural form peculiar to a language'. It also denotes 'a style of form of artistic expression that is characteristic of an individual, a period or movement, or a medium, or instrument: ***the modern jazz idiom*** and an expression in the usage of a language that is peculiar either grammatically (as in ***no***, ***it wasn't me***) or semantically (as in ***Monday week*** for 'the Monday a week after next Monday')' [WNCD]. Due to the ambiguity of the term *idiom* many linguists are looking for a special term to denote ready-made word complexes.

In Russian phraseology the most inclusive term for such ready-made complexes is *phraseological units*.

P h r a s e o l o g i c a l u n i t s make up the **phrasicon** of a language – the whole list of idioms (***to break the ice*** 'to begin') and non-idiomatic set-phrases which functionally are both word-like (***as far as***; ***side by side***; ***at first sight***) and sentence-like (as proverbs, sayings, routine formulae, slogans, maxims, and quotations: ***Who knows most***, ***speaks least***; ***Teach your child to hold his tongue***, ***he'll learn enough to speak***; ***Speech is the picture of the mind***; ***It is better to say nothing than not enough***).

Like a word, phraseological units are characterized, by **semantic unity** (***to have a bee in one's bonnet*** 'to have a strange fixed idea about something'), **grammatical invariability** (***to find fault*** (*not *faults*) ***with somebody***) and **structural integrity** (***to carry coal to Newcastle*** 'to do anything superfluous or unnecessary' – nothing can be changed in the idiom and you cannot say, for example, ***to carry coal *to Manchester*** because it is a set phrase that preserves the cultural fact that Newcastle is a great coal port in England).

Yet, the degree of word integrity and stability in phraseological units may be different. Many of them may undergo certain structural, grammatical, lexical, stylistic and pragmatic changes and variation because they may include components

that allow a certain degree of variability (***as black as coal/ink/midnight/soot***; ***she built herself the*** (***most magnificent***) ***castle in the air***; and ***a bull/elephant in a china shop***).

It is a great problem to determine the borderline between not only between free word-groups and phraseological units but also between compounds and idioms. Such complexes as ***snowman*** 'a figure of a man made of snow', ***nightmare*** 'an unpleasant and terrible dream'; ***fiddle-sticks*** 'nonsense'; ***green belt*** 'a stretch of land round of town where building is not allowed, so that trees, woods, etc., remain' are usually regarded as exocentric compounds and are not included in phraseological dictionaries but such complexes as ***jailbird*** 'a habitual criminal confined in jail'; ***night-owl*** 'a person who keeps late hours at night (AmE)' or ***red tape*** 'bureaucracy' are usually included into phraseological dictionaries. This closeness of phraseological units to compound words may be regarded as an additional argument for including both of them into the lexicon.

5. Classification of phraseological units

There are diverse views on which conventionalized complex expressions should be the subject matter of phraseology, should make its domain, and that is why there are variances in categorization and classification of these units.

There are a considerable number of classifications based on different principles established by different scholars.

Classification of phraseological units may be based on **grammatical** characteristics. In this case scholars distinguish between **word-like** and **sentence-like** phraseological units (sometimes called **phraseological expressions**).

Then, **etymological classification** of phraseological units reveals their origin. Many of them come from the Bible (***Love not in word but in deed***; ***Man shall not live by bread alone***; ***In much wisdom is much grief***; ***Appearances are deceitful***; ***A good name is better than riches***; ***The forbidden fruit is sweetest***), some of them come from farming (***to call a spade a spade***; ***to speed the plough***; ***hold your horses***), some of them originated from collocations habitually used by sailors (***between wind and water***; ***to know the ropes***; ***to blow off steam***), medical people (***to take one's medicine***), and lawyers (***burden of proof***).

The traditional and the oldest principle for classifying phraseological units is based on their content and might be called **thematic**. This approach is widely used in numerous English and American guides to idioms (e.g., idioms referring to *confusion*: ***slipped my mind***; ***can't make head or tail of it***; ***on the tip***

of the tongue; ***I haven't the clue***; to *meeting people*: ***feeling a bit under the weather***; ***talking shop***; ***I don't feel up to***; *idioms of complaining*: ***a stab in the back***; ***pay lip service to***; ***fed up to the teeth with***). The thematic approach has its merits but it does not take into consideration the linguistic features of phraseological units.

Russian phraseological theory is based predominantly on **linguistic parameters** of phraseological units. From the mid-1970s it has had the strongest influence on British phraseological theory [Cowie 2001, p. 213]

Classification of phraseological units by **V. V. Vinogradov** is based manily on the **semantic approach**, i.e., on different degree of semantic cohesion between the components of a phraseological unit, or *semantic motivation*. He singles out three semantic classes of phraseological units:

1) **phraseological combinations** (фразеологические сочетания);
2) **phraseological unities** (фразеологические единства);
3) **phraseological fusions** (or *idioms*) (фразеологические сращения).

P h r a s e o l o g i c a l c o m b i n a t i o n s are word-groups with only partially changed meaning of their components. They are usually made up of two open-class words and one of them is used figuratively. Phraseological combinations are clearly and fully motivated, i.e., their meaning can easily be deduced from the meanings of their constituents and common knowledge of the world (***to take something for granted***; ***bosom friend***; ***to meet the demand/necessity/ requirement***).

P h r a s e o l o g i c a l u n i t i e s are word-groups with a completely changed meaning when the meaning of the word-group does not correspond to the meanings of its constituent parts, yet the metaphor, that the shift of meaning is based on, is transparent (***to look a gift horse in the mouth*** 'to examine a present too critically'; ***to blow off steam*** 'to release pent-up emotions'; ***Arcadian life*** 'simple and pleasant country life').

P h r a s e o l o g i c a l f u s i o n s are word-groups with a completely changed, demotivated meaning, the metaphor there has lost its clarity and became obscure and opaque (***at sixes and sevens*** 'in confusion or in disagreement'; ***to spill the beans*** 'to divulge information indiscreetly').

The weak point of this semantic classification of phraseological units is that the borderline between their types, especially the borderline separating unities from fusions, is vague and subjective. Moreover, it does not take into account structural characteristics of phraseological units.

Classification of phraseological units (mainly two-word collocations) by **N. N. Amosova** is based on **contextual approach**. She argued that *free word-groups* make up variable contexts and substitution of one element in the word-group does not change the meaning of the other (e.g., ***a small/large/great town/room/audience***). But *phraseological units* make up a non-variable, fixed context, they allow no substitution of the kind (***small*** (early) ***hours*** but not ****little/big hours***; ***red tape*** not ****blue*** or ****ribbon*** for 'bureaucracy').

She subdivides phraseological units into **phrasemes** in which only one word has a specialized meaning and restricted context (***small*** in the meaning of 'early' is used only with ***hours***, ***small*** in the meaning of 'trivial' is used only with ***talk***) and **idioms** where the whole word-group possesses a specialized meaning, none of the words are used literally, and all the words are mutually contextually bound (***red tape***; ***blue stocking***).

The classification of phraseological units may be based on the analysis of their *syntactic functions*.

In the traditional **functional approach,** they distinguish the following types of phraseological units:

- *verbal* (or *verb-equivalent*) (***to run for one's life***);
- *substantive/nominal* (or *noun equivalent*) (***red tape***; ***dog's life***);
- *adjectival* (or *adjective equivalent*) (***safe and sound***; ***as cool as a ucumber***);
- *adverbial* (or *adverb equivalent*) (***by hook or by crook*** 'at any cost');
- *interjectional* (or *interjection-equivalent*) (***Good grief! Good heavens!***).

Prof. **A. I. Smirnitsky** offered a classification which combines **structural** and **semantic approaches**. Phraseological units in this classification are grouped according to the number of significant elements. Two large groups were established: **a) one-summit units** with one meaningful constituent: ***to give up***; ***to be lifted***; and **b) two-summit** or **multi-summit units** with two or more meaningful parts: ***black art***; ***first night***; ***common sense***.

Then, within each of these large groups of phraseological units they are further classified according to the part-of-speech meaning of the summit member into *verbal-adverbial* (***to give up***); *verbal* (***to be tired***); *prepositional-substantitive units* (***by heart***), *attributive-substantitive* (***black art***), and others.

Smirnitsky A. I. also distinguished between **proper phraseological units** with non-figurative meaning and **idioms** which are metaphorical.

Special attention should be given to the most comprehensive classification of phraseological units worked out by Prof. **A. V. Kunin** which combines such principles as **structural-semantic**, quotient of **stability** of phraseological

units and their **functions in communication**. Here only part of his classification will be considered that takes into account the **function** that phraseological units perform in speech.

According to this **functional classification** all phraseological units are divided into the following four major classes:

1) **nominative** that perform nominating function which is below the level of a sentence (***to breath one's last*** 'to die'; ***Hobson's choice*** 'no alternative; take what you are offered or none at all', ***off colour*** 'not in the usual form', ***safe and sound***; ***see how the land lies***; ***wear and fear***);

2) **communicative** that convey the thought and include proverbs and sayings: ***It is as broad as it is long*** 'it is the same whichever way you view it' ***A cheerful wife is the joy of life***; ***A hungry man is an angry man***; ***A fool may make money but it takes a wise man to spend it***; ***Fingers were made before forks***; ***He is the richest that has fewest wants***; ***If a man deceived me once, shame on him, if twice, shame on me***;

3) **nominative-communicative** word-groups normally perform a nominating function but only slight transformations in grammar make them perform a communicative function (***to break the ice → the ice is broken***; ***to square the circle*** 'to attempt something impossible'→ ***the circle is squared***);

4) **interjectional** phraeseological units mainly express emotions (***Well***; ***I'll never!***; ***By George!***; ***It's a pretty kettle of fish!***).

He was also the first to apply in practice theoretical principles to the choice and classification of phraseological units. They helped to determine which units are to be included and how they should be presented in an entry. The first edition of his *Англо-русский фразеологический словарь* was in 1955; the second (1956), the third (1967), the fourth (1984) and the fifth (1998) editions improved in selection, systematic analysis and descriptive precision.

In his dictionary Prof. A. V. Kunin's arranges phraseological units according to the **pivotal word** – the central and invariable component of the word-group which is determined by a number of principles. To facilitate use of the dictionary, all phraseological units are also listed in alphabetical order with the index of their entry in the dictionary. Thus, in the alphabetical list of the included word-groups the phraseological unit ***misfortunes never come alone/singly*** has the index number **M–811**. The letter ***M*** indicates that the pivotal word in this phraseological unit is ***misfortunes***, and the whole index means that this phraseological unit is to be found in the dictionary under the letter ***M*** in entry No **811**.

In his dictionary A. V. Kunin is careful to limit coverage of restricted collocations to those that allow no or minimal variation (e.g., ***the naked truth***; ***ask***/***look for trouble***).

However, he distinguishes several types of **phraseological variants** that differ in such characteristics as:

- **lexical** (***to bear/give/lend a hand***; ***not to lift/raise/stir/turn a finger***);
- **grammatical** (***in deep water/waters***; ***Damocles' sword/the sword of Damocles***);
- **lexical-grammatical** (***close/shut a/the door***);
- **positional** (***head over ears/over head and ears***);
- **orthographical** (***hand in glove/hand-in-glove***) and some others.

In cases when variation involves fundamental structural and semantic differences phraseological units are regarded as members of the same **phraseological series** and are treated as distinct entries each having their own number in the dictionary (e.g., **C 179:** ***care killed a/the cat***; **C 270:** ***a cat has nine lives***; **C 280:** ***a cat with nine lives***; **C 290:** ***have as many lives as a cat***; **C 314:** ***cat and dog existence***).

Though the first edition of the dictionary was in 1955, it is still highly evaluated by scholars all round the world. As A. P. Cowie remarks, "despite its limitations, which arise chiefly from the difficulties experienced by the compiler in gaining access to up-to-date texts and, in particular, modern non-literary material, the English-Russian Phraseological Dictionary is a meticulous work of scholarship and a model of theory-driven lexicography" [Cowie 2001, p. 220].

The most comprehensive *Russian-English Dictionary of Idioms* by **Sophia Lubensky**, edited by Random House in 1995, is also compiled under the influence of A. V. Kunin's theory. It presents some 13,000 traditional Russian idioms and combines features of translation and learner's dictionaries. It uses the term *idiom* in its wider sense treating it just as a phraseological unit.

The most common 500 proverbs and sayings used in Russian and Soviet fiction literature in the 19–20th centuries and in oral communication with their English equivalents are presented in the *Русско-английский словарь пословиц и поговорок* by **S. S. Kuzmin** and **N. L. Shadrin** [Кузьмин, Шадрин 1996]. The dictionary is richly illustrated with quotations.

The first (and probably the best), large-scale, theoretically grounded, English monolingual phraseological dictionary compiled by native speakers is the *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English* (1975 and 1983) by **A. P. Cowie**, **R. Mackin** and **I. R. McCaig**. Like A. V. Kunin's Dictionary it contains a theoretical section where the authors explain how word-groups – candidates for inclusion – were accessed, and which framework of categories of phraseological units (**composites** and **functional expressions**) the authors followed.

The composites and functional expressions were subdivided there according to the degree of idiomaticity and are called **pure idioms** with totally transferred and hardly deducible meanings (***spill the beans*** 'to tell a secret too soon'), **figurative idioms** in which interpretation of metaphor may restore the meaning

of the phrase (***a clean sheet*** 'a good reputation') and **restricted collocations –** non metaphoric, entirely invariable collocations (***to break one's journey***; ***a safe job***) or including items with limited valency (***to do the necessary / needful***).

Phraseological units have recently become one of the most popular objects of linguistic investigation (See [Phraseology: Theory, Analysis, and Applications 2001; Wray 2002; Phraseology: An International Handbook 2007; Fiedler 2007; The Oxford Handbook of Compositionality 2012; Mel'čuk 2012; Phraseology in Multilingual Society 2014], etc.).

One of the reasons for that is the recent rediscovery of phraseology by generative and cognitive linguists, who in their search for language competence architecture in addition to the Chomsky's argument structures, so popular in the language theories of the 70-s and 80-s, paid special attention to ready-made units like idioms which seem to undermine the role of the Generative Grammar because they may have correct syntax but no compositionality (e.g., ***to keep a straight face*** 'to manage to look serious when you want to laugh'; ***once in a blue moon*** 'very rarely') or they may even be ill-formed grammatically but still have meaning (as in ***by and by*** 'before long; eventually' ***by the by*** 'incidentally', or ***by and large*** 'on the whole').

Still another reason for popularity of phraseological studies is connected with teaching a native or foreign language, especially English. Usually, phraseology has almost completely been excluded from academic curricula just because of the lack of time. But it has been proved that TEFL would never become complete and effective without teaching semantics, pragmatics and stylistic peculiarities of phraseological units.

Phraseological units are also studied because they are very problematic (*a pain in the neck*!) for translation, corporal and computational linguistics dealing with machine processing of a language.

One more factor determining the upsurge of phraseology in modern linguistics is that phraseological units occupy a very important place in the language system (e.g., the American online dictionary *ThefreeDictionary.com* (http://idioms.thefreedictionary.com) includes more than 12,000 idiomatic expressions in its *Idiom and Phrases Dictionary* compiled on the basis of *the Cambridge International Dictionary of Idioms* (7,000 idioms) and *the Cambridge Dictionary of American Idioms* (5,000 idioms); *the WikiMwe* resource (https://www.ukp.tu-darmstadt.de/data/lexical-resources/wikimwe) of English multiword expressions mined from *Wikipedia* contains more than 350,000 multiword units of size 2–4.

Without the description of phrasecon, the lexical inventory of any language would be incomplete.

In addition, phraseologisms are very special units. Being fixed and structurally complex, they happen to be between its two structural levels – lexical and syntactic ones, and due to this unique feature, they were able to accumulate even in preliterate period the most important characteristic features and cultural values of the language community. That is why phraseological units are exclusively important for structural, contrastive linguistic and sociolinguistic studies of languages belonging to different groups or even language families.

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Chapter 7
SEMANTIC RELATIONS OF WORDS. STRUCTURE OF THE ENGLISH LEXICON

You shall know a word by the company it keeps.
J. R. Firth

- *Ways of classifying lexicon* • *Major types of lexical-semantic relations*
- *Structure of the English lexicon* • *Differences in the structures of lexicons in different languages*

1. Ways of classifying lexicon

Lexicon is not simply *an inventory* of unconnected, isolated elements as it is *formally* presented in a dictionary where lexical items are usually listed alphabetically. Alphabetical arrangement is just the most convenient form of presenting a list of lexical units of a language which has an alphabet but it does not say anything about the mechanism of lexicon organization. Like any other entity or object of enquiry it has an inner structure – a configuration of items based on some kind of relations between them.

But the question remains: *what are* the relations, besides alphabetical – direct or reverse, that connect into single language system millions of lexical and naming units of all types – affixes, words, conventionalized word combinations as well as their derived senses? What structural configurations does lexicon have?

The earliest (going back to Aristotle and even ealier) attempt to understand the structure of lexicon is classification of words into **parts of speech** – big classes having *functional (part of speech) meaning, a system of grammatical categories* characteristic of the class, specific *syntactic functions*, and specific *types of form- and word building means*.

The words within a part of speech may be further subdivided into smaller groups according to the type of *grammatical meaning* they possess. Thus, nouns are subdivided into *concrete* and *abstract*, c*ountable* and *uncountable*; verbs are subdivided into *transitive* and *intransitive*, etc.

Lexicologists may classify lexical units of a language according to numerous *lexical parameters*: their *etymology* (native and loan words; words well established in the language and borrowings, etc.); their *morphological* (monomorphic and polymorphic) and *derivational structure* (simplexes and complexes), according to *frequency* of occurrence in speech, *style register* and some other characteristics.

But most fundamental for understanding the lexicon is **semantic classification** of lexical units based on their sense relations. Here we shall discuss most well studied sense relations and principles of semantic organization of words in the English language.

2. Major types of lexical-semantic relations

The swiss linguist F. de Saussure (1857–1913) was the first to demonstrate **two major types of relations** between all types of language units (phonological, morphological, syntactical or lexical) – *syntagmatic* and *paradigmatic*[1].

S y n t a g m a t i c r e l a t i o n s are linear relations of *mutual expectancy* of combining elements, for example, words, in speech: ***John became uncomfortable***.

P a r a d i g m a t i c r e l a t i o n s are non-linear relations of language units based on their common functions and similar meaning in a language system. These common characteristics of language units, namely, words, make possible their l*exical substitution* in a phrase.

Thus, the noun ***John*** in the phrase ***John became uncomfortable*** may be substituted by the noun ***the person*** or ***the man*** because they have common semantic features [(definite) HUMAN, MALE]; the verb ***became*** may be replaced by the verb ***turned*** or ***grew*** because both of them denote [TRANSFORMATION]; the adjective ***uncomfortable*** may substituted by the adjective ***uneasy*** or ***inconvenient*** because they all denote the absense of relief and consolation.
Paradigmatic relations of these words and their ability for mutual substitution may be presented with *a vertical line*:

The person	***became***	***uncomfortable***
↕	↕	↕
The boy	***turned***	***uneasy***
↕	↕	↕
John	***grew***	***inconvenient***

Numerous paradigmatic relations are fundamental for the organization of the lexicon because they hold together elements of the same category and thus help us to remember them better.

[1] However, it should be noted, that F. de Saussure used the term *associative relation*. The term *paradigmatic* was used by Louis Hjelmslev.

There are **three major types** of paradigmatic semantic relations of lexical units:

1) *cascade relations* of **hierarchy** based on super- and subordination, where the superordinate term represents a class or a whole, and subordinate term refers to its member, part or an instance (*A is a kind/part/instance of B*: ***a rat*** *is a kind of* ***a rodent***; ***a finger*** *is a part of* ***a hand***; ***Minsk*** *is an example of* ***a city***);

2) *lettuce semantic gradiant relations* of **compatibility** or **incompatibility** (paring particular words with similar or opposite meaning within a semantic group: ***baby*** and ***infant***; ***hot*** and ***cold***);

3) *the many-to-many network links* which have become the object of scientific studies quite recently.

Let us consider paradigmatic semantic relations in more detail.

1. The most obvious and omnipresent type of h i e r a r c h i c a l semantic relationship between words is **hyponymy**. Hyponymy reflects the relation between more specific (*hyponym*) and more general (*hyperonym*) members of a category. The relation can be described as '**a kind of**' relation[1].

Thus, since ***a tulip*** *is a kind of* ***flower***, ***flower*** *is a kind* of ***plant***, these words are in ***a hyponymic relationship***. If we view the hyponymic relations from the opposite direction, from the hyperonym, we may view them as the relation of **inclusion**: ***plants*** include ***flowers*** and ***flowers*** include ***tulips***. So, thus type of hierarchical semantic relation between words may be called **hypero-hyponymic** relations:

plant
↓↑
flower
↓↑
tulip.

Another example of hypero-hyponymic relations may be taken from the animal world. Thus, the noun ***canary*** is defined as 'a *finch* that is green to yellow in colour and is bred for song'. ***Finch***, in its turn, is 'a *songbird* that is small and has a short bill'. ***Songbird*** is 'a *bird* that utters a characteristic musical song'. And ***bird*** is 'an *animal* that is warm-blooded, has feathers, wings, and a bill, and usually can fly'. Summing up the definitions we may arrive to the following hierarchy:

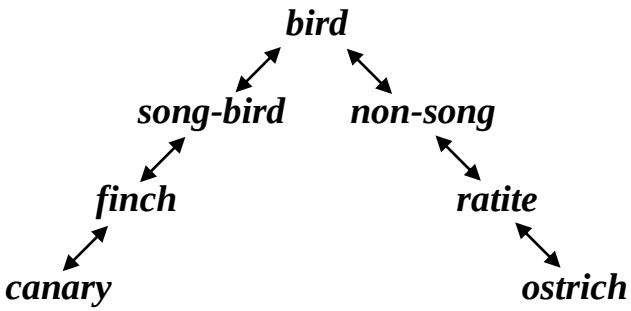
[1] The terms *hyperonym* and *hyponym* were first used in [Lyons 1963, p. 69–71].

bird
↓↑
song-bird
↓↑
finch
↓↑
canary

In this hierarchy the word at the bottom, ***canary***, is subordinate to ***finch***. It has a more specialized meaning and is a **hyponym** [Gk 'under' + 'name'] to ***finch***. In its turn, ***finch*** is a hyponym of ***song-bird,*** and ***song-bird*** is a hyponym to ***bird***, which is a hyponym to ***animal***.

This hierarchy may be read not only from the bottom to the top (the hierarchy in this case should be called *hypo-hyperonymic*) but also from the top to the bottom (it will be called *hypero-hyponymic* then). The word ***bird*** with a general meaning at the top of the hierarchy is **hyperonym** [Gk 'above' + 'name'] for ***songbird***; ***songbird*** is a hyperonym for ***finch***; and ***finch*** is a hyperonym for ***canary***.

Hierarchies may be branching as in:



Hypero-hyponymic relations, or hyponymy for short, are the most pervasive type of semantic word relationship structuring words and groups in the lexicon. It is observed in various parts of speech but most typical their examples are in concrete nouns.

One should also mention **quasi-hyponymy**, a relationship which takes place between some nouns and especially between some adjectives and verbs when the real hyperonym is missing in the language system. Thus, a word ***cutlery*** is a quasi-, or pseudo-hyperonym for ***knife*** and ***fork*** and ***spoon*** as it in contrast to them it belongs to a different lexico-grammatical class: the class of non-countable nouns. ***Coloured*** is a quasi-hyperonym for colours of spectrum ***green*** or ***yellow***, or ***red*** because it includes ***black*** which can hardly be called the colour of the spectrum.

The second major, but less studied *type of hierarchical relations* between words is more difficult to describe. It is **meronymy** – the relations of 'parts to the whole' (these relations are also called *partonomy*). The division of the human body into parts serves as a prototype for meronymic hierarchies, where ***finger*** is a meronym of ***hand***, and ***hand*** is a meronym of ***arm***:

body
Δ
arm
Δ
hand
Δ
finger, etc.

Meronymic relations are diverse in character (cf. the relations between ***a finger*** and ***a hand*** (visible, more or less clear-cut, but non-detachable); ***a handle*** and ***a door*** (visible, clear-cut and detachable); ***a chin*** and ***a face*** (not clearly cut, non-detachable).

Words having meronymic relations can be described with a frame *'A has B'*: 'a body has an arm', 'an arm has a hand', 'a hand has fingers'; 'a car has wheels; a book has pages'; 'a saw has teeth', etc. But, as D. A. Cruse points out, due to ambiguity of the word ***have*** this frame is too general. It includes different attributes:

A car *has* ('includes as its detachable part') ***wheels***;
A woman *has* ('acquires but hardly has a possession of') ***a husband***;
A sound *has* ('is characterized by') ***a pitch of voice***.

Another frame describing meronymy is '*something is a part of something*'. But this is also too wide because other types of conceptual relations that *are not* meronymic may be described with this frame, for example, ***Changing diapers*** *is part of* ***being a mother***.

Only *proper meronyms satisfy* **both frames**. In a case of meronymy it is possible to say:

A car *has* ***wheels***;
A wheel *is part of* ***a car***.

In relations between words *similar to meronymy*, called **meronym-like**, or **quasi-meronymical**, only one of the criteria may be used. Thus, it is impossible to say

****A husband*** *is a part of* ***a woman***;
****Being a mother*** *has* ***changing diapers***.

Q u a s i - m e r o n y m i c a l relations that can be described with only one of the frames, and often occur between non-concrete entities as in ***France – Europe*** (***France*** *is part of* ***Europe*** but not *****Europe*** *has* ***France***) [Cruse 1991, p. 161].

The third very specific type of hierarchical relationship is **serial** though it can hardly be called inclusion.

S e r i a l s e n s e r e l a t i o n s have variations – *graded* and *cyclic*(*al*) *series*.

The commonest example of a g r a d e d s e r i e s is military ranks (***Private***, ***Lance Corporal***, ***Corporal***, ***Sergeant***, ***Staff Sergeant***, ***Warrant Officer 2nd Class***, ***Warrant Officer 1st Class***, ***2nd Lieutenant***, ***Lieutenant***, ***Captain***, ***Major***, ***Lieutenant-Colonel***, ***Colonel***, ***Brigadier***, ***Major-General***, ***Lieutenant-General***, ***General***, ***Field Marshal*** – are military ranks in the British Army). Another example of a graded series is observed in numerals ***one***, ***two***, ***three*** …, however, it is slightly different as this system is open.

When linear semantic order of lexemes is finite, not open-ended, and bent into a circle, it changes into a c y c l i c semantic order. The best example of cyclic serial relations between lexemes are seasons of the year (***winter***, ***spring***, ***summer***, ***autumn***) or days of the week which repeat as soon as they end. However, formally they may be cut at any point to start a new hierarchy.

2. Alongside hierarchical semantic relations between words, there is another major type of paradigmatic relations – the *relations of compatibility*.

Compatibility/incompatibility is partial semantic overlapping of units of a certain semantic group of the same level of abstraction which is based on some common semantic features. No inclusion or hierarchy is observed in this type of semantic relation.

The relation of compatibility is *a matter of degree*, and we may distinguish three main types of semantic compatibility between words:

- *synonymy*;
- *antonymy*;
- *incompatibility*.

S y n o n y m y is the most obvious type of compatibility which presupposes *a certain identity.* If **X is Z** then **Z is X**, that is, for example, if ***eyeglasses*** are ***spectacles*** then ***spectacles*** are ***eyeglasses***. To symbolize words' mutual and symmetric implication of the words we may use the sign of similarity ≈ to state that ***eyeglasses*** ≈ ***spectacles***.

Many scholars point out that synonyms rarely are 100 per cent interchangeable. This type of words may share some basic componential features but be different along other lines. Thus, ***eye doctor*** and ***oculist*** are synonymous from the point of view of the referent they denote but have a different stylistic register.

A n t o n y m y is the relation of semantic *opposition*. Yet, the term 'opposition' is rather vague. The most typical antonomy is observed in cases of *polar opposition* (***cold*** ↔ ***hot***, ***big*** ↔ ***small***) (the double-headed arrow ↔ symbolizes here opposition). But it also includes *reversible relationship* of words (***husband*** ↔ ***wife***, ***buy*** ↔ ***sell***), *directional opposition* (***come*** ↔ ***go***, ***arrive*** ↔ ***depart***), and *complementary relationship* (***alive*** ↔ ***dead***, ***male*** ↔ ***female***).

I n c o m p a t i b i l i t y (we shall mark it here by the sign ≠) is the relation of *mutual exclusiveness* of a set of **co-hyponyms** – words *under the same hyperonym* (***cat*** ≠ ***dog*** ≠ ***lion*** ≠ ***elephant*** within the major superordinate ***animal***), or **co-meronyms** – parts of one whole (words denoting different parts of a house are mutually exclusive, or incompatible though are thematically related: ***bathroom***, ***bedroom***, ***kitchen***, ***sitting room***, ***stairs*** or ***porch***).

More *distant* paradigmatic relations of incompatibility, semantic relatedness between which is derived mainly by logical inference, occur between such words as ***horse*** and ***oat***, ***tea*** and ***kettle***.

3. So far, we have discussed the basic **primary** paradigmatic sense relations of words. However, it should be stressed that one and the same word may simultaneously demonstrate **a complex of different types of relations** of hierarchy and compatibility towards different words in the lexicon, thus forming **a network of sense-relations**.

The idea may be illustrated by semantic relations of the word ***eyeglasses*** with other lexemes in the English vocabulary where it functions as a node in a word-net:

optical device

↓↑

mirror ≠ ***monocle*** ≠ ***<u>eyeglasses</u>*** ≈ ***spectacles***

Δ

side ≠ ***side joint*** ≠ ***lens***

All the mentioned above types of semantic relationship of words provide the basis for their uniting into various lexical-semantic groups and groupings forming the lexical structure.

3. Structure of the English lexicon

When semantically coherent words express their sense relations *syntagmatically* they contract **collocations** – word-groups of different degree of stability and idiomaticity: ***a dog barks/bites/sits***; ***a maiden voyage/flight/speech***; ***castle in the air*** (see Chapter VI).

Words that have *indirect sense relations* and occur in one sentence or situation though not necessarily in the form of a collocation make up a **thematic group** (***kill***, ***die***, ***murderer***, etc.; ***cinema***, ***film***, ***to be on***, ***screen***, ***cinema goer***).

But of special interest for understanding the lexicon structure are groups of words that display *sense relations of hierarchy, compatibility or both of them*, and make up different **paradigmatic groups**.

1. *Paradigmatic word groups based on one type of semantic relations*

A) The most obvious lexical-semantic groups in the lexicon include words that are closest in semantic space being similar or opposite in meaning. They are **synonyms** and **antonyms**.

Synonyms. The term *synonym* comes from Greek and means 'having the same name'. One of the standard definitions of synonyms is that they are words of the same part of speech, different in their sound-form, but similar in their denotational meaning and interchangeable at least in some context. Words ***entertainment*** and ***amusement*** are synonyms though only ***amusement park*** will be a correct collocation in English; ***win*** ≈ ***gain*** though they say ***to gain his friendship***, but ***to win a victory***. The so-called **perfect**, or **absolute synonyms**, i.e., words with identical meanings that can substitute each other in all contexts (***homeland***, ***motherland***), are rare, for this would have created unnecessary redundancy of lexical means and violated the leading language principle of economy.

Synonymy is relation between words rather than concepts. The following groups of synonyms are distiuguished:

- **stylistic synonyms** stand for the same concept but are different in *stylistic register*, *emotional colouring* (***happen*** and ***befall***, ***insane*** and ***barmy***) or in *dialectal variation* (***autumn*** and ***fall***);
- **ideographic synonyms** have a slight *difference in the degree* or *size of the concept (idea)* (***big*** and ***gigantic***; ***love*** and ***adore***);
- **collocational synonyms** differ in *collocational restrictions* (***rancid*** and ***rotten***; ***to embellish***, ***to garnish***, ***to adorn***, ***to decorate***).

English is extremely rich in synonyms. This is partially due to an abundance of borrowings, especially from French and Latin. A characteristic synonymic set in English is *a pair of words,* one of which is native, and the other French, Latin or Greek (***brotherly*** ≈ ***fraternal***; ***bodily*** ≈ ***corporal***; ***buy*** ≈ ***purchase***, ***near*** ≈ ***close***). Sometimes there is a *triple set* of synonyms: ***begin*** (OE) ≈ ***commence*** (Fr) ≈ ***initiate*** (L).

One should also be aware that each of senses of a polysemantic word may have its own synonym. Thus, the noun ***beam*** in the meaning of 'a long piece of heavy timber suitable for use in construction' has synonyms ***plank***, ***board***, ***rafter***, ***joist*** but its lexical-semantic variant 'a shaft of light' has synonyms ***ray***, ***streak***, ***flash***, and ***gleam***.

Antonyms. Another important group of words based on compatibility of some semantic features and oppositeness of others are a n t o n y m s [Gk *anti* 'against', *onoma* 'a name'].

Antonyms are typically found in the class of adjectives and occur in antonimous pairs (***good*** ↔ ***bad***, ***light*** ↔ ***dark***). Though antonyms are not as pervasive in the English lexicon as synonyms, they are important for its structuring.
Since there are different types of opposition in a language (*polar opposition* ***cold*** ↔ ***hot***, *reversible relationship*: ***buy*** ↔ ***sell***, *directional opposition*: ***arrive*** ↔ ***depart***, *complementary relationship* ***alive*** ↔ ***dead***, and some others), there are different groups of antonyms:

- **gradable antonyms** like ***cold*** ↔ ***hot***, ***dry*** ↔ ***wet*** that make comparison (***colder***, ***hotter***; ***drier***, ***wetter***) and other adjectives may be placed on the scale between their poles (***cold*** ↔ ***warm*** ↔ ***hot***; ***dry*** ↔ ***moist*** ↔ ***wet***). They occur in the system of adjectives and the adverbs derived from them. One of the members of the pair of gradable antonyms is marked and the other is unmarked. When the quality is not identified we use an unmarked member: *How **far** is the city? How **long** is the road?* If the city is identified as ***close*** and the road as ***short***, then we use the marked member: *How **close** is the city?* and *How **short** is the road?*;
- **complementary** (**contradictory**) **antonyms** like ***alive*** ↔ ***dead***, ***single*** ↔ ***married***, ***life*** ↔ ***death***, ***on*** ↔ ***off***, ***remember*** ↔ ***forget***, ***go*** ↔ ***stay*** that are mutually exclusive although the complement each other. These antonyms are in an *either/or* kind of opposition;
- **conversive antonyms** that are mutually dependent and describe opposite attributes of the same situation (***buy*** and ***sell***; ***above*** and ***below***; ***child*** and ***parent***). Each of these antonyms may express the converse meaning of the other: *John is Mark's **son*** and *Mark is John's **parent***.

English can derive antonyms morphologically by means of prefixes and suffixes (***honest*** ↔ ***dishonest***, ***encourage*** ↔ ***discourage***, ***include*** ↔ ***exclude***, ***useful*** ↔ ***useless***, ***hopeful*** ↔ ***hopeless***, etc.).

So, antonyms are words that are different in their sound-form, characterized by different types of semantic opposition of denotational meaning and often co-occur in the same context (*the cars are not **fast**, they are **slow***).

As in the case of synonyms, if the word is polysemous each of its senses may have its own antonym. Thus, the adjective ***deep*** in the meaning of 'extending far downward' has the antonym ***shallow***; in the meaning of 'difficult to comprehend' it has the antonym ***plain***, in the meaning of 'high in saturation and low in lightness (of colour)' it has the antonym ***light***, etc.

Usually synonyms have the same antonym (cf.: both ***deep*** and ***profound*** have an antonym ***shallow***). Yet, this is not always the case. Some synonyms do not share the same antonyms: ***rise*** and ***ascend***, ***fall*** and ***descend*** are similar in meaning, but ***fall*** is not the antonym to ***ascend***, just as ***rise*** is not the antonym to ***descend*** [Pustejovsky 1995].

The above examples prove that antonymy, like synonymy, is a lexical rather than conceptual phenomenon. Some concepts may be opposite but their lexemes may not (***fall*** is not the antonym to ***ascend***; ***large*** is not the antonym of ***little*** though their concepts are opposed)[1].

B) There are many groups of words which are united on the basis of a non-branching hierarchy. Like **chains**, **cycles** and **series**. They denote different spatially or temporally ordered sequences.

[1] Opposites usually called *antonyms* make up one of the most complex area in lexical semantics. D. A. Cruse, for example, distinguishes among them:

1) *complementaries* which may be either two mutually exclusive areas (*A door is either **shut** or **open***), or interactives, having a stimulus response relationship (*If you **command** someone, they **obey***);
2) *antonyms*: a pair of words with a gradation between two extremes having the character of:
   a) direction (*He **ascended** the glacier and **descended** by train*);
   b) antipode with two extreme ends of a dimension (*They searched the house from **top** to **bottom***);
   c) counterparts: reverse dimensions (*concave*, *convex*);
   d) reversives: motion in opposite directions: (*rise*, *fall*);
   e) converses: relationship of one direction to another (*above*, *below*) [Cruse 2004].

Linear ordered sequences are called c h a i n s. Examples of chains are ***shoulder***, ***upper arm***, ***elbow***, ***forearm***, ***wrist***, ***hand***; or ***birth***, ***childhood***, ***adulthood***, ***old age***, ***death*** which may be viewed as linear ordered.

Some chains are organized in a kind of a cycle because they recur in specific order. These groups of words are called ***cycles***, and, as it was mentioned above, the days of the week and seasons of the year are good examples of them.

When words in an ordered set differ in the degree of some variable property, they form ***series***. Words denoting military ranks, numbers (***single***, ***double***, ***triple***, ***quadruple***, ***quintuple***, ***sextuple***), gradable qualities (***freezing***, ***cold***, ***cool***, ***warm***, ***hot***, ***scorching***) and some others are organized into series.

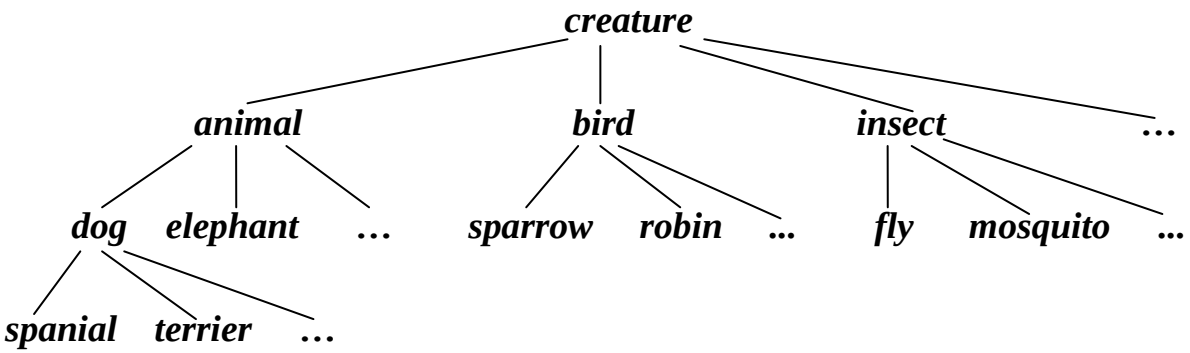
2. *Paradigmatic word groups based on several types of semantic relations*

In order to classify the entire vocabulary on the basis of conceptual relations scholars have offered different theories. For example, W. Humboldt's idea of vocabulary is that it is an organism where all parts are conceptually related to one another.

In the 19th century when the interest in taxonomies, the idea of structure and method of dividing everything into smaller parts, dominated all branches of sciences, the first unconventional dictionaries like **Roget's Thesaurus** appeared in the linguistic arena. Dr Peter Mark Roget, a physician and a scholar who worked on diverse projects such as a calculating machine and a pocket chessboard, published his pioneering dictionary in 1852. Influenced by natural sciences, he tried to work out taxonomy for the English lexicon and divided all the words into six main groups standing for appropriate conceptual areas: **abstract relations**, **space**, **material world**, **intellect**, **volition**, and **sentiment/moral powers**. Their further subdivision gave rise to about 1,000 semantic categories.

Later in the 20th century **R. Hallig** and **W. von Wartburg** divided all the concepts into just three groups, **the Universe**, **Man,** and **Man and Universe**, each having numerous subdivisions that provide further classifications of lexemes representing them and including the entire vocabulary. This classification of vocabulary into smaller domains according to common concepts was further worked out by Prof. **I. Trier** and is known as classification into **semantic** (or **lexical**) **fields**.

Now we may say that large groups of words in the lexicon may be regarded as a layer in a language structure, first of all, as the result of complex sense-relations between them. The most important of them are *lexical-semantic groups* **(LSG)** and *lexical-semantic fields*. Both of them are based on two types of semantic relations: **hierarchy** and **compatibility**, and that establish hierarchical branching:



Words of the same part of speech standing for a common concept are usually referred to as l e x i c a l - s e m a n t i c g r o u p s , for example, the lexical-semantic group of FEELINGS (***affection***, ***calmness***, ***contempt***, ***excitement***, ***indifference***, ***relief***, ***restlessness***, ***thrill***). Most typical LSG are taxonomies of natural kinds of animals, plants and kinship.

L e x i c a l - s e m a n t i c f i e l d is a group of words of different parts of speech for a common concept. The concept of TEMPERATURE, for example, may be lexicalized in English by such adjectives, adverbs, verbs and nouns as ***hot***, ***hotly***; ***cold***, ***to cold***, ***coldly***; ***heat***, ***to heat***, ***heated*** and some others that make up the lexical-semantic field of TEMPERATURE.

On the whole, field theory holds that the meanings of words in the lexicon are interrelated and form clusters, groups and fields, which in their turn form clusters of larger structures until the entire language is encompassed.

The idea of semantic fields and lexical-semantic groups has become widespread. Yet, it has its restrictions, and is very problematic.

The borderlines of a semantic field are vague. It is not clear, for example, how detailed the lexicon structure should be. Words are not sharply separated from one another in a semantic field, as demonstrated by the group of colour terms. Some polysemous or ambiguous lexemes may belong to different lexical-semantic groups, and establishing a borderline between them is not always easy.

And then, some semantic fields have a problem with a common denominator (*unique beginner*): they may not have a name for it; hence, they display a **lexical gap**. Thus, in the Russian language there is no common denominator equivalent to the English term ***meal*** for ***завтрак***, ***обед***, ***полдник***, ***ужин***. Lexical gaps may also be observed on the level of hyponyms or meronyms. There are, for example, three joints in a human finger, but there is only one name ***knuckle*** for one of their types.

Though lexical-semantic fields and groups can hardly be called rigorous and systematic, their branching hierarchies are neither symmetric nor full, and have many lexical gaps. Though there is not an agreed criterion for singling them out, the idea of these groupings is very fruitful for understanding the structure of the lexicon. When a word is considered not in isolation but within its nearest context, paradigmatic or syntagmatic, lots of information about its inner characteristics is revealed. And then, classification of words on semantic principles into large classes like fields or groups sharing some common semantic space provides an idea of the structure of the multi-thousand-word vocabulary.

4. Differences in the structures of lexicons in different languages

Lexical systems of different languages differ greatly along many lines.

While nouns and verbs are universal and can be found in any language, the number of other parts of speech differs from language to language. For example, in some languages there are no articles, or even adjectives or adverbs. Correlative words may have different grammatical occurrences (cf.: ***compensate for*** [V + *for* + N] as in ***compensate for losses*** in English and ***компенсировать*** [V + N] as in ***компенсировать убытки*** in Russian. Similar concepts may be lexicalized by different parts of speech (cf.: ***I am thirsty*** (Prn + V + Adj) in English and ***Я хочу пить*** (Prn + V + V) in Russian).

The organization of all lexical-semantic groupings (synonyms, antonyms, lexical-semantic groups, lexical semantic fields) is different in different languages. Languages differ even in basic lexical divisions, and lexical-semantic fields and groups such as kinship, colour, temperature or parts of the body terms divide semantic space differently in different languages. There are *qualitative* and *quantitative* differences between correlative lexical-semantic fields and groups. For example, in Japanese there is one word denoting the colour range between ***blue*** and ***green***, that is why its meaning is different from both ‘green’ and ‘blue’ in English. Some notions have more names in one language and fewer names in another, which makes correlation between the words in different languages only approximate. For example, the words for *footwear*, *clothes* and *commercial colours* are more numerous in English; the words for *basic colour terms*, *the state of the mind* and *mood* are more numerous in Russian, names for *snow* are more numerous in the Eskimo, and names for *holes* are more various in the language of Australian aborigines.

These differences cause hot debates on the problem of relations between the structure of lexical-semantic groups (fields) and the structure of conceptual fields in the minds of people speaking different languages, the problem of relations

of language and thought in linguistics and philosophy. There is a question of whether there are universal concepts that exist independently of a language, or whether language imposes a conceptual framework on our thinking without our noticing it. “We dissect nature along the lines laid down by our native languages”, said Benjamin Lee Worf, and his arguments along with those of Edward Sapir, led to the development of a position known as the Sapir–Worf hypothesis, which has not yet been proven.

Semantic relations are also of special interest to psycholinguists, who study *mental lexicon* – representation of lexical knowledge in the mind. The results obtained by lexicologists about sense relation of lexical units in the language system are very important for them, as the mental lexicon along with specific characteristics of their own has similar principles of organization.

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Chapter 8
VARIETIES OF THE ENGLISH LEXICON

> Like other local differences of food, dress, and customs, dialects are often a nuisance. Yet they lend picturesque variety to language, and variety is the spice of life.
>
> *Mario Pei*

> A man's language is his very soul, it is his thoughts and almost all his consciousness. Laugh at a man's language and you have laughed at the man himself in the most inclusive sense.
>
> *Herbert Agar*

- *Idiolect. Dialect. Sociolect. Language. Standard norm. Dialectology*
- *Standard English/Standards of English* • *Territorial variety of English. National and regional variants* • *English in Britain* • *American English. Lexical differences between British and American English* • *Written / oral, stylistic, functional, and social lexical varieties of English*

Change of a living language is inevitable. The English language and its lexicon have undergone deep *diachronic*, or temporal variations throughout the centuries (they were discussed in Chapter III). There are also numerous *synchronic* English language variations at a certain period of time, for example, nowadays, which may determine **language varieties**, a diversity of the ways people regularly use their language on different geographic territories and in different social or age groups. Existence of such language varieties is a language universal because language is a social phenomenon and we, people, speak differently, even if we speak the same language.

From a linguistic point of view none of language varieties are better or worse, inferior or superior, each of them serves a certain purpose and performs a certain function, and all of them make an interesting material for investigation.

1. Idiolect. Dialect. Sociolect. Language. Standard norm. Dialectology

So, in a certain language community people speak the same language but nevertheless each person there speaks differentlty: he/she has individual features in pronunciation, preferences for certain words and even grammatical models. The language pattern of one's individual speech at a certain period of his or life is called an i d i o l e c t, and due to the idiolect we relatively easily recognize its owner.

The systematic use of common patterns in grammar, vocabulary stock, and pronunciation by people of a certain locality makes up a d i a l e c t.

Dialect study, or dialectology (fr. Greek *dialektos*, 'talk, dialect'; and *logia* 'science'), traditionally investigates geographical phonetic, grammar and lexical varieties of a language used on a certain territory, or **regional dialects**. The major aim of such traditional study is to reconstruct the historical processes of the languages' spread and relations. Dialect researchers typically use different questionnaires on some features of domestic, rural or farming life involving the most stable strata of a language. Such questionnaires usually contain questions that require one-word answers as: *You sweeten tea with ... ?*. They help to get information about phonological, lexical, morphological, and syntactic features of lexical units. Their subjects are mostly elderly uneducated people from rural areas who had not moved throughout the country. Language atlases are developed on the basis of the data collected.

However, dialects are not purely regional. Recently there has been a shift in dialect studies: they have moved from the country to the city, and dialectologists have been paying more attention to **social** rather than geographical space. Characteristic forms of social groups' language are usually referred to as s o c i o l e c t s. Sociolects arise within social groups and are determined not only by geography but also by such factors as 1) *socioeconomic status*; 2) *ethnicity/race*; 3) *age*; 4) *occupation*; and 5) *gender* of a subject.

Several geographical and social dialects with usually a literary norm as their centralizing core are viewed as one l a n g u a g e.

The distinction between language and dialect is not clear cut. Usually, *comprehensibility* is regarded as its major factor: if speakers of two genetically related ways of speech understand each other, then we say that they speak different *dialects of one language*, but if they do not then speak distinct languages.

However, sometimes for *historical and political reasons* two or more comprehensible dialects may be referred to as different languages, and Swedish, Danish and Norwegian are a good example. All the three languages are descendants of Old Norse, the common language of the Germanic people living in Scandinavia in the Viking Era. But later in the 16th century due to conflicts there appeared two Scandinavian units: Denmark-Norway (until 1814 Danish was the official language of Norway) and Sweden. Their language and dialects started moving apart. When Norway in 1814 became independent of Denmark, the linguistic divisions of these two language communities followed the political

ones. Thus, the three Scandinavian languages make up a good example of the aphorism *A language is a dialect with an army and navy* which is attributed to the linguist Max Weinreich.

And vice versa, some different languages may be referred to for the same reasons as one language. This situation occurs in China, where speakers of different almost unintelligible to each other languages, like Mandarine Chinese, Cantones or Min Nan, are believed by some people to be just dialects of Chinese. The reason is that all of them share the same written language tradition based on ideographic characters, and literate people may communicate with each other on its base.

So, as Ray Jackendoff puts it, "The distinction between dialects and languages is slippery, because it's so often overlaid with political connotations" [Jackendoff 2012, p. 9].

The most prestigious dialect is usually chosen as a s t a n d a r d n o r m, or s t a n d a r d of the language. Standard is a kind of a dialect, but it differs from other dialects because it is not regional. Educated people usually keep to the standard norm although they may live in different parts of the country and come from different social strata where people speak differently

Besides differences in idiolects, geographical and social dialects, there are essential differences between other forms of communication: *written and oral forms* of a language, *forms of styles and registers*, *speech forms of different age groups*, and each of these forms may have its own standards.

Speaking about language varieties, Tom McArthur singled out two its broad types: "(1) **user-related varieties**, associated with particular people and, very often places, such as *Black English* <…>, [and] (2) **use-related varieties**, associated with function, such as *legal English* (the language of courts, contracts, etc.) and *literary English* (the typical usage of literary texts, conversations, etc.). In this sense the term *variety* is conceptually close to REGISTER <…>" [The Oxford companion to the English language 1992, p. 778].

So, all languages exist in numerous varieties, and different branches of linguistics choose for study a different type of varieties and forms of language variation. Stylistics, for example, pays special interest to the use-related stylistic varieties; sociolinguistics is mostly concentrated on the user-related social varieties of a language; and developmental theories study language age variation and varieties.

Lexicology has a special interest in *lexical varieties* determined by *time*, *space* or *geography*, though such social factors as *gender*, *age*, and *ethnicity* have also become the objects of its investigation.

2. Standard English/ Standards of English

English is especially varied because of the great number of its speakers, its use on vast and distant territories, and of a large range of functions it performs.

But only one codified variant of English called S t a n d a r d E n g l i s h is recommended for schools and non-native English learners. It is most uniformed and widely used in official typed and broadcast communication and sometimes in oral communication, especially by educated people. Standard English is supposed to carry most prestige.

However, though the term *Standard English* is widely used there is no universally accepted definition of it, and there is a hot linguistic debate about it.

Standard English evolved from the late Middle Ages in Great Britain, and its development was supported by English prescriptivists. Traditionally it was regarded as a social dialect used by upper-classes, or at least by well-educated English speakers in different localities of Great Britain. It was believed to have very little regional, ethnic or gender variation. One of its most obvious characteristics is **RP** – **r**eceived, or accepted, **p**ronunciation among the best-educated members of the society. Though only about three percent of the English population speak RP [Hughes, Trudgill 1979, p. 3], this accent is taught to foreign learners as it gives the best chance of being understood. It is the most thoroughly described British accent widely used on radio and television and familiar to all the people.

Nowadays linguists state that this term is elastic and indefinite. Standard English is not regarded any more as a synonym of "correct" English spoken by upper classes or highly educated people. A form that is considered standard in one region or by one social group may be substandard in another region or by another social group. So, they argue that there is *no single standard of English*.

They speak about S t a n d a r d E n g l i s h e s, or S t a n d a r d s o f E n g l i s h. First of all, taking into account the global character of English (**World English**), one should mention **national standards** of English: *British*, *American*, *Canadian*, *Australian*, *Indian*, *South-African*, *Caribbean Creole English*, etc. Then, besides national standards, there are standards for all varieties of English: *territorial* (*regional*), *oral and written*, *social and ethnic*, *occupational and gender*, etc.

The most stable element of Standard English is grammar; word-stock and pronunciation are far less uniform: they may differ greatly from person to person.

3. Territorial variety of English. National and regional variants

The great t e r r i t o r i a l variety of English is often expressed in terms of *three concentric circles*.

First of all, it is spoken as a native language by more than 500 million people all around the world (English of the **"inner circle"**) due to the most intensive exporting of English, which led to it becoming a world language, began in the 17th century with ***the first settlements in Northern America***, ***and later in Canada***, ***Australia***, ***Africa*** and ***New Zealand***. It developed several distinct dialects which later formed literary and standard norms of their own, and then these dialects became **variants of English**. The immediately noticeable differences between them are in the field of phonetics and lexicon.

The "**outer circle**" consists of areas where English is widely learned and used as a second language. This typically includes countries, such as India and Nigeria, that were once under British rule, and in which English often acts as a communicative bridge between communities that speak different indigenous languages.

The third, **"expanding circle"**, encompasses all those who learn and use English as a foreign language. English nowadays is widely used as **a lingua franca** – the common language of communication in business and technology, in trading negotiations, academic interchange, electronic communication, etc. between those who do not have a common native language.

In addition, English also became the basis for many *pidgin* and *Creole languages* – simplified language systems with minimal morphology which serve only a communicative function. P i d g i n is a subsidiary language system. Spoken by people with no common language, it is a mixed language used for communication, and the vocabulary of one of the languages may be more dominant. C r e o l e is a pidgin that has become the first language for some speech communities and has a much more developed morphology, syntax and vocabulary. English-based Creoles are *Antillan*, *Jamaican*, *Gullah*, *Hawaiian*, *Tok Pisin* and some other Creole languages on the tropical belt where plantation labourers synthesized different languages.

All these people speaking English contribute to diversification of English and formation of national and regional variants of English. The best well-known and studied territorial variants of the English language are British English and American English.

4. English in Britain

Within the British Isles English exists and has always existed in a great variety of forms. But only one of these forms – **British Standard English** (**English English**) – has been considered the most suitable for use in broadcasting media and at schools and universities both in Britain and abroad and is taught to foreigners. Historically it goes back to a southern dialect that became influential in the 14th and 15th centuries due to London's important role in England.

In rural parts of Great Britain people usually speak **regional**, or **local**, **dialects**.

In England there are five major groups of dialects: *Northern*, *Midland*, *Southern*, *Western* and *Eastern.* They can be traced back to the Germanic tribal languages of the 5th century. The area occupied by the Angles gave rise to Northumbrian (Northern) and Mercian (Middland) dialects. The area settled by Saxons (south of the Thames and west to Cornwall) gave rise to Essex dialect. In the area of Jutish settlement (Kent and the Isle of Wight) people still speak Kentish dialect. But this is a very broad grouping of dialects. Every county, a shire, has its own peculiarities. These dialects differ in words, their meanings, pronunciation and even in grammar. For example, in the Lancashire dialect they use ***nowt*** for ***nothing***, ***summat*** for ***something***.

The words and meanings of all major dialects of the British Isles are recorded in Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* (1896–1905) and in a more recent dictionary of several volumes *Survey of English Dialects* (1962–1968) edited by Harold Orton, as well as in the *Linguistic Atlas of England* (1977) edited by Harold Orton, and others.

The number of dialectal words is gradually reducing because everyone in England now reads and listens to Standard English on radio, TV, films and newspapers. Yet, **accents**, pronunciation features characteristic of some population groups, are still evident in Birmingham, Liverpool, Glasgow, Newcastle, London, Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Northumbria. Instances of dialectal grammar use, like irregular forms of the plural in nouns, double comparatives in adjectives or the use of *-ed* inflection in irregular verbs, occur regularly.

The dialects of Scotland and Northern Ireland are a special case because they have institutionalized standard norms, dictionaries and published literature. That is why they may be regarded today rather variants of the English language than dialects.

5. American English.
Lexical differences between British and American English

The dominant language spoken in the USA is English. The English of Spenser and Shakespeare was brought to the USA from the British Isles in the seventeenth century by English colonists. The ratification of the Federal Constitution in 1787 by the thirteen colonies on the Atlantic seaboard established the US and it was a decisive moment in the history of American English.

Geographically, historically and culturally separated from British Isles, English in the USA underwent some changes that gave the ground to some people, as a journalist H. L. Mencken, to call it the A m e r i c a n l a n g u a g e. (To a certain extent, proclamation of the American language was provoked by the British English speakers' attitude towards English in America – they regarded it as an example of deterioration of the Queen's English by Americans.)

Neverheless, though the difference between language and dialect is very vague, there are no serious grounds to call American English a separate language. American English uses basically the same word-stock, grammar and phonological systems as British English, and that is why American English should be regarded as a **variant** of English, alongside Canadian, Australian, Indian variants, which unlike dialects that are restricted to spoken forms, have their own standard literary norms.

Specific features in American English are observed in all language components:

1) *in phonetics* (differences in vowel quality, intonation, voice timber, specific word stress in some lexemes, pronunciation of some words, like, ***for***, ***farm***, ***lord***, where '***r***' is still retained as a fricative, or ***dance***, ***fast***, ***half*** with a broad low front vowel; ***beating*** like ***beading***, ***matter*** like ***madder***, ***metal*** like ***medal***, or ***mosquito*** like ***mosquido***);

2) *in grammar* (heavy use of contractions like ***can't***, ***don't***; Americans mostly use ***do*** where Brits would use ***have*** (**+ *got***): AmE: ***Do you have a problem?*** vs. BrE: ***Have you got a problem?***);

3) *in orthography* (simplified spelling of some words with ***-or*** for ***-our***, ***-er*** for ***-re***, one consonant in ***traveler***, ***jewelry***, ***-s-*** for ***-c-*** in ***defence***, ***offence*** and ***practice*** and other different simplifications like ***ax***, ***catalog***, ***check*** or ***program***);

4) *in lexicon*.

British English	**American English**
shop	***store***
bill	***check***
bin	***trash can***
biscuit	***cookie***
lift	***elevator***
full stop	***period***
pram	***baby carriage***
take it with a pinch of salt	***take with a grain of salt***
touch wood	***knock on wood***

The most numerous and obvious are **differences in lexicon**, or **vocabulary systems** between the two variants though the greater part of lexical items are common to both variants of English.

The USA, being a country of immigrants speaking different languages and dialects, and the country of improvisation and experimentation, is a place with a rich supply of linguistic expressive possibilities.
The following **name-creating means** are especially **active** in American English:

1. American English adopted a lot of **borrowings** that displaced some British words, or filled in lexical gaps that became obvious to American people, or created new stylistically marked lexemes that are used alongside with the British. Some examples are from:

a) Native Indian languages: ***chipmunk***, ***chocolate***, ***hickory***, ***hominy***, ***moccasin***, ***moose***, ***muskrat***, ***opossum***, ***potato*** (from West Indian Taino ***batata***), ***pow-wow***, ***raccoon***, ***sequoia***, ***skunk***, ***squash***, ***succotash***, ***totem***, ***wigwam***;

b) French (***cent***, ***depot***, ***gopher***, ***lacrosse***, ***portage***, ***prairie***, ***pumpkin***, ***rapids***, ***shant***);

c) Spanish (***alligator***, ***canyon***, ***cargo***, ***barbeque***, ***corral***, ***bronco***, ***cafeteria***, ***cockroach***, ***lasso***, ***marijuana***, ***mesa***, ***patio***, ***plaza***, ***ranch***, ***rodeo***, ***sombrero***, ***tornado***, ***vanilla***);

d) Dutch (***boss***, ***caboose***, ***cookie***, ***Santa Claus***, ***sleigh***, ***snoop***, ***spook***, ***stoop***, ***waffle***, ***wagon***);

e) German (***delicatessen***, ***ersatz***, ***frankfurter***, ***hamburger***, ***noodle***, ***pretzel***, ***sauerkraut***, ***spiel***);

f) Italian (***spaghetti***, ***ravioli***, ***pizza***, ***minestrone***, ***tutti frutti, espresso***);

g) Yiddish (***gefilte fish***, ***shtick***, ***schnook***, ***bagel***, ***zaftig***, ***schmo***, ***schmaltz***);

h) West African languages (***jazz***, ***boogie-woogie***, ***cooter***, ***voodoo***, ***okra***);

i) Japanese: in recernt years Japanese has surpassed all languages except Spanish to become the second greatest source of new borrowings in American English (***anime***, ***karaoke***, ***bonsai***, ***tsunami***, ***sushi***, ***wasabi***, etc.) [Long 1997, p. 165].

2. There are also some peculiarities in American English **word-formation**. More often than the British, Americans use minor means of word formation, such as *acronyms* (***OK*** for '**o**ll **k**orrect' – misspelled 'all correct'; ***Jeep*** from **GP** 'a military vehicle for **g**eneral **p**urposes'; ***POW*** for '**p**risoner **o**f **w**ar'; ***yuppies*** for '**y**oung **up**wardly-mobile **p**rofessionals', ***dinks*** for 'couples with **d**ouble **i**ncome, **n**o **k**ids'); *clipping* (***coon*** for '*rac**coon***', ***possum*** for '*o**possum***', ***still*** for '*di**still**atory*'); *backformation* (***sculpt*** from ***sculpt**ure*, ***enthuse*** from ***enthusi**asm*, ***resurrect*** from ***resurrect**ion*); *blends* (***travelogue***, ***sellathon***); and *proper name extension* (***pullman***, ***diesel***, ***Fahrenheit***).

They also more actively use such major types of word-formation as *word composition* (***backwater***, ***homestretch***, ***hired hand***, ***sky-scraper***) and *conversion* (***a try-out***, ***to soft-pedal***, ***to side-track***, ***a showdown***).

Some *affixes* are more active in American than in British. For example, suffixes ***-ette*** (***usherette***, ***drum-majorette***, ***dinette***, ***launderette***), ***-ize*** (***itemize***, ***burglarize***, ***winterize***), ***-ee*** (***trainee***, ***parolee***, ***escapee***, ***retiree***), ***-burger*** (***cheeseburger***, ***chickenburger***, ***fishburger***), and ***-cian*** (***mortician***, ***beautician***).

3. Lots of words that first appeared in America are of **uncertain origin**, like ***cocktail***, ***Yankee***, ***spondulicks***, ***gizmo***.

4. Many **Elizabethan English words remained** in American English, while in British English they became obsolete and were replaced by some new names, for example, American ***sick*** for British ***ill***, ***faucet*** for ***tap***, ***fall*** for ***autumn***, ***guess***, ***reckon*** for British ***think***, ***candid*** for ***white*** (***candid flames***).

5. Many British English words underwent **semantic changes** in American English. The word ***bug***, for example, originally denoted insects in general, and in this meaning it is still used in American English, while in British English the word began to denote a more specified concept, 'a bedbug'. ***Laurel*** was and is still used to denote 'bay' in British English, and in American English it is used to denote 'an evergreen magnolia'. ***Fork*** in England was used only as an eating utensil but in America it has also got the meaning 'branch of a road or a river'.

Different name creation activities and different uses of lexical items in these two language communities result in **lexical-semantic differences of vocabulary systems in British and American variants** of the English language. These differences may be described along the following patterns.

1. *Different words for common concepts*

There are many cases when the same concepts are called in Englishes by different words and phraseological units. For example, in American English ***gas***, or ***gasoline***, is equivalent of ***petrol*** in British English. ***A car*** in America has a ***trunk*** (BE ***boot***), a ***hood*** (BE ***bonnet***) and ***fenders*** (BE ***bumpers***). What the Americans call ***corn***, ***elevator***, ***truck***, ***wind-shield***, ***garbage-man***, ***drugstore*** the British call ***maize***, ***lift***, ***lorry***, ***windscreen***, ***chemist's***. ***Flat*** is British and ***apartment*** is American, ***cock*** is British and ***rooster*** is American, ***queue*** is British and ***line*** is American, ***railway*** is British and ***railroad*** is American, ***shop*** is British and ***store*** is American.

2. *Common words for different concepts*

Both Englishes have common word-stock but they may apply them in a slightly different way to refer to different concepts which is quite confusing.

For example, American English uses ***vest*** for the concept 'a man's or woman's sleeveless garment worn under a suit coat' while British English uses ***waist-coat*** for the same concept. But both words, ***vest*** and ***waist-coat***, exist in both the variants, though ***vest*** in British English refers exclusively to a man's underwear (AE ***undershirt***), and ***waist-coat*** in American English denotes only an ornamental garment worn under a doublet. ***Robin*** stands for different thrush-like birds, hence in Britain robin is a symbol of winter, of Christmas, while in the USA it is a symbol of spring. Another example is the word ***pants*** existing in both the variants. But in American English the word ***pants*** corresponds to British English ***trousers***; ***pants*** in British English is a shortening of ***pantaloons*** and can only be referred to 'man's short underpants'.

3. *Special words for specific concepts*

Some words in both Englishes stand for ideas of objects (events or qualities) that do not have counterparts in the other country. They are names for geographical places, plants, animals, constructions, social events and institutions that can be found only in one of the countries. For example, ***canyon***, ***sequoia***, ***gopher***, ***senator***, ***lynching***, ***drive-in*** ('a cinema where you can see the film without getting out of your car') are mostly characteristic of American English, and ***wicket***, ***silly mid-off*** (terms from the game of cricket) are characteristic of British English.

4. *Lexical gaps in one of the variants for common concepts*

We noted above that not all concepts are lexicalized, and we usually become aware of that only when two languages or two variants of the language are to be compared. In American English, for example, there are words like ***caboose*** 'a freight-train *car* attached usu. to the rear mainly for the use of the train crew', or ***zaftig*** 'a plump, attractive woman'. But in British English these concepts are just rendered descriptively or by means of a quasy-equivalent, like ***guard's van*** (BE) '*the part of a train*, usu. at the back, where the man in charge travels'.

5. *Difference of stylistic or emotional colouring of many correlative words*

In American English, for example, ***autumn*** is bookish, while in British English it is neutral. On the whole American usage is less formal than British.

However, the differences between the two Englishes are gradually fading away due to development of modern means of communication. More and more Americanisms come into British English. Now in Great Britain the American words ***radio***, ***run*** (in a stocking), ***Santa Claus***, ***movie*** are widely used as well as their own ***wireless***, ***ladder***, ***Father Christmas***, and ***film***. At the same time Briticisms may be used in American English, especially in certain word combinations or compounds. Thus, the British word ***luggage*** is used in American English alongside the Americanism ***baggage*** though in different contexts: ***luggage compartment***, but ***baggage room***, ***baggage check***. Such Briticisms as ***cop***, ***copper*** 'policeman', ***headmaster*** 'principal of a private school', ***charwoman*** 'daily cleaner' are also used, sometimes in a jocular manner, in the USA.

D i a l e c t v a r i a t i o n in American English derived mainly from original British dialect differences as well as from new geographic and social determinants [Flexner, Soukhanov 1997]. Now there are *four major groups of dialects in the USA*: **Northeastern**, **Southern**, **Midwestern** and **Western**, and these are some examples of lexical differences between them:

Northeastern	Southern	Midwestern	Western
brook	***branch***	***creek***	***creek***
faucet	***spigot***	***tap***	***hydrant***
pail	***bucket***	***pail***	***bucket/pail***
tonic/soda	***coke/cold drink***	***soda/pop***	***pop***
devil's darning needle	***snake feeder***	***snake doctor***	***dragon fly, mosquito-hawk, snake doctor***

The form of speech used by radio and television, mostly used in scientific and business discourse, is often referred to as **General American**, the language that may be also heard from Ohio through the Middle West and on to the Pacific Coast, and that may be described as the norm of American English. (Some scholars, however, object to this term and use *Network Standard* instead.)

6. Written / oral, stylistic, functional, and social lexical varieties of English

The norms of spoken and written language are not the same even in one national variant of English; people do not talk like they write books even in the most formal of situations or contexts. "Speaking as we write may be considered stuffy [i.e., formal and old-fashioned] whereas writing as we speak may be considered uneducated"[1].

So, **the two major registers** are **written** and **spoken English**. These two variants of English differ in many aspects: in interactivity, transitivity, correctness and corrections, changeabilty of language components (grammar, phonetics and lexicon).

Some lexical units are used only or mainly in o r a l s p e e c h. These include slang expressions, and tags like ***y'know***, ***like***, etc. Spoken texts are less lexically varied. There are more words referring to the speaker, more quantifiers, pronouns, first person reference, active verbs, and less abstract nouns, fewer complex words and phrases. There also more uses of coordination with ***and***, ***but***, ***so***, ***because*** than subordination.

Yet there is no single oral Standard English, there is a range of oral Englishes for different contexts and variants of the language. For example, Americans tend to demand a certain amount of informality in speech, formal speech may even be seen as rude.

Nowadays the pendulum has swung *from written to spoken register* in practically all spheres of life. The oral variant of English, long neglected by writers and lexicographers, is now much more often used in all kinds of communication.

Though the written variant remains to be a great stabilizer of the language, it changes under the influence of the spoken register: in modern written speech sentences become shorter, grammar, spelling and punctuation are being simplified, and dialectal, slang and even rude words have come into common use.

[1] Perspectives on Written & Spoken English [Electronic resource]. – Mode of access: http://www.pbs.org/speak/education/curriculum/college/perspectives/. – Date of access: 25.08.2015.

Vocabulary choice may also differ according to the situation, as it should be appropriate to all the occasions. Even the same person speaks differently when talking to his boss or subordinate or to somebody who is senior or younger. The place of communication also affects vocabulary choice. The same person speaks differently at the official reception or in a pub.

These different *use varieties* are called **functional styles**.

With respect to these functional styles, vocabulary can be roughly divided into three uneven groups (**stylistic differentiation of the vocabulary**).

Below is the diagram of the major groups of the English vocabulary worked out for the Oxford English Dictionary by the first editor of the OED James Murray[1]:

The biggest division is made up of **neutral** (**common**) **words**, possessing no stylistic connotation and mainly suitable for any communicative situation; two smaller ones are literary words (also called **learned**, **bookish**) which serve to satisfy communicative demands of official, scientific, or poetic messages, and colloquial words which are employed in non-official everyday communication and mark the message as informal, non-official and conversational.

L i t e r a r y w o r d s may be:

1) **general**, i.e., known to and used by most native speakers (***plausible*** 'possible'; ***to inform*** 'to tell'; ***to assist*** 'to help');

2) **special** for a rather narrow, specified communicative purpose like **terms –** words denoting objects, processes, phenomena of science, humanities, technique, **archaisms**, i.e. words which are no longer in use like ***yeoman***, and ***steed***

[1] Oxford English Dictionary [Electronic resource]. – Mode of access: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oxford_English_Dictionary. – Date of access 12 May, 2015.

for ‘horse’, ***behold*** for ‘see’; ***deem*** for ‘think’; ***hapless*** for ‘unhappy’or ***woe*** for ‘sorrow’, or **barbarisms** – a special kind of foreign words not fully integrated in English: ***chauffeur*** [ʃəu´fɜ:] ‘a person employed to drive a private or hired car’; ***farcie*** [fɑ:ˈsi:] ‘stuffed, especially with finely ground meat or mushrooms’; ***R.S.V.P.*** [ɑ:r es vi: pi:] ‘an abbreviation for ‘répondez s’il vous plaît’, which means ‘please reply’’; ***coup d’état*** [ku:deı´tɑ:] ‘a sudden attempt by a small group of people to take over the government usually through violence’.

The third stylistic layer of the vocabulary – c o l l o q u i a l w o r d s – may consist of:

1) **general colloquial words**, widely used by all speakers of the language in their everyday communication (e.g., ***dad***, ***kid***, ***folks***, or ***redbrick university*** ‘*Br. infml.*: a provincial British university of relatively recent founding; distinguished from Oxford University and Cambridge University’);

2) **special colloquial words** like *slang*, *jargonisms*, *vulgarisms*, and *dialectisms.*

S l a n g (**general slang**) is substandard words used by specific social groups, such as teenagers, soldiers, etc. in very informal communication. The lexical meaning of a slang word contains not only the denotational component but also an emotive component (most often it expresses irony) and all the other possible types of connotations – it is expressive, evaluative and stylistically coloured. This emotive charge does not live long and still new slang words appear to express a certain concept and to communicate about it with irony, neglect, dispise and other emotions. The idea of a ‘pretty girl’, for example, is worded by more than one hundred ways in slang: ***cutie***, ***cookie***, ***Jane***, ***sugar***, ***bird***, etc. Other examples of slang are ***to be emo*** ‘to be perpetually depressed, moody, and emotional, and perpetually at odds with society (even if it is nothing more than a pose)’; ***hang out***; ***to dump smb***; **dude**; etc.

J a r g o n i s m s (s p e c i a l s l a n g) also being substandard, expressive and emotive, but unlike slang they are used by limited groups of people, united either

- *professionally* (in this case we deal with **professionalisms**: medical jargon: *Get me his* ***vitals*** ‘short for ***vital signs*** – measurements of temperature, blood pressure, pulse etc. that indicate the body's general well-being’; academic jargon: ***hermeneutics***, ***commodified***, ***contextualizing***; *business jargon,* etc.);
- *socially* (then we deal with **jargonins proper**, like the thieves’ jargon).

V u l g a r i s m s are coarse words with a strong emotive meaning, mostly derogatory, used chiefly by uneducated people and normally avoided in polite conversation. However, there are practically no words banned from use by the modern permissive society. West European and American prose all words, formerly considered vulgar for public use (including obscene four-letter words),

are acceptable by the existing moral and ethical standards of society and censorship. Such intensifies as ***bloody***, ***damned***, ***hell of***, formerly deleted from literature and not allowed in conversation, due to their constant repetition even have lost much of their emotive impact.

D i a l e c t i s m s are words or phrases found only in particular area: ***croft*** 'the houses of tenants on an estate' used in parts of Scotland.They are devoided of any stylistic meaning in regional dialects, but when used outside of them, carry a strong flavour of the locality where they belong.

A special place in the vocabulary is occupied by **neologisms** – recently created names either for new concepts (***selfie***, ***Obamacare***, ***3D printing***, ***twitter***, and ***olinguito***) or for already familiar ones when there arises a need for a new name for pragmatic reason (***infectious/contagious/catching/communicable disease***). Neologisms may belong to *literary* (***GMO*** – abbr. for 'genetically modified organism') or *conversational layer* (***yuppie*** – '*infml*: fr. *yup* – shortening for ***y****oung* ***u****rban* ***p****rofessional*, or which turned into *yuppie* in the 1980's to describe someone who is young, possibly just out of college, and who has a high-paying job and an affluent lifestyle').

Besides *stylistic variation* there is also **social vocabulary differentiation** determined by the relationship between the social class or group and lexicon (*user-type variety*). Some earliest examples of opposition of upper-class (U) and other kinds of English word usage (non-U) were proposed by *A. S. C. Ross* in his article *Linguistic class-indicators in present-day English* (1954):

U	**non-U**
have a bath	***take a bath***
sick	***ill***
looking-glass	***mirror***
rich	***wealthy***
table-napkin	***serviette***
vegetables	***greens***
sitting-room	***lounge***
lavatory	***toilet***

A preference for different vocabulary by different social groups seems to be easily identifiable and this problem fascinates people. But vocabulary clues are superficial and not reliable factors of class identity because barriers between groups are fluid.

In America class affiliation characteristics are even less rigid than in Great Britain and the transition from one social class to another is easier. That is why studies of the interaction of social identity and vocabulary, initiated by *William Labov's* famous book *The Social Stratification of English in N. Y. City* (1966), are still more controversial and less reliable. Their results are a matter of hot debates and disagreements.

Ethnic language varieties have also become the subject matter of linguistic studies and discussions. In the US there are three populous and often separate ethnic groups: African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and European Americans. The speech of each group differs from the other. The speech of African Americans, **African American Vernacular English**, or **Ebonics**, and the speech of Hispanic Americans, or ***Caló***, ***Tex-Mex*** are good examples of ethnically based varieties, though it should be noted that *not all* people of these ethnic groups speak them.

Age is also linked to dialect. It is well known that for each age period there are relevant forms and norms of the language. Some stages of vocabulary development, like the earliest stage of first words, or special vocabularies of teenagers are quite thoroughly described by scholars. But we are still without real knowledge of vocabulary development throughout the human lifespan.

The relation between **vocabulary** and **sex**, or **gender** has attracted considerable attention in recent years.

In some Asian, African, and Native American language communities, like *Koasati* – a Muskogean language spoken in Louisiana, there are significant differences between words or their grammatical forms proscribed to men and to women when addressing each other or naming the same concept. (Something similar takes place in inflectional languages, like Russian, on the gramatical level, when verbs use different grammatical forms depending on whether the same action was performed by a female or male: *он* ('he') ***шел*** ('went') but *она* ('she') ***шла*** ('went'); these two Russian forms are equivalent to one in English: *he/she* ***walked***.)

It should be noted that though much research has been done in this area, few data have been found to prove that female and male English speakers employ different vocabulary systems. Recent research, however, has proven that women speak closer to the prestige standard. Women tend to use more phrases expressing hesitation like ***maybe***, ***perhaps***, ***in my opinion*** or ***a kind of***, appreciative adjectives like ***delightful***, ***charming***, ***cute, precious***, ***darling***, ***nice***, ***great***, ***lovely***, and politeness formulae like ***Would you please open the door?***

But men very often use politeness formulae, too, when they want to sound friendly and cooperative. In contrast to some African, Asian and Native American languages, in English there are no special lexical units that are exclusively generated and used by either women or men.

Nevertheless, English reflects social relations between men and women. Some feminist scholars, especially in the USA, point out to the subordinate status of women in the so-called 'developed countries' and they view the differences mentioned above as an indication of the second-class status of women reflected in the language, as a sign of a women's social status, who as members of a subordinate group must be polite.

Pragmatic lexical variation has become the object of research just recently. Many social activists in the US have worked to change language norms that marginalize disenfranchised groups, and in the 80's such efforts were called **"political correctness"** (**PC**). The original aims of advocates of political correctness included fighting against inequality, security, equal opportunities for all Americans regardless their race, ethnicity, class, gender, physical abilities, sexual orientation, age, and religious beliefs. They hoped to eliminate from the English vocabulary all the words that perpetuated biases. They argued that these linguistic changes would contribute to creating a more equitable, caring society.

There are different ways to exercise "political correctness", here meaning "showing respect". Lots of **euphemisms** built according to various patterns help us to avoid words which are regarded to be offensive and have negative connotations. Thus, ***senior citizens*** is often used for ***elderly people***; ***living with AIDS*** is preferred to ***dying of AIDS***; ***engineer-custodian*** for ***janitor***; ***wheelchair user*** for ***wheelchair-bound***.

In the US Modern Language Association (MLA) guidelines currently mandate *nonsexist* grammar, vocabulary, syntax, and style. For example, the semifree suffix ***-man*** should be used alongside with ***-woman*** when the referent is female. Alternately, a gender-neutral term should be substituted for a gender specific term, for example, ***firefighter*** rather than ***fireman*** and ***first-year student*** instead of ***freshman*** when it refers to women and men. Using the masculine pronouns ***he*** and ***his*** as the universal norm is now considered incorrect. ***He/she*** and ***his/her*** are viable substitutes for the purpose of avoiding sexist language.

Some of the new names have become relatively widely used, especially for commercial purposes. But hundreds of new euphemisms that the supporters of the "liberation movement" and "political correctness" offer, like ***herstory*** for ***history***, ***chemically inconvenienced*** for ***drunk***, ***pharmacologically dependent*** for ***drug addict***, etc., are unlikely to be adopted. One of the reasons for that is that many words should mean what they mean; otherwise, they may distract and

disorientate people, as the use of ***client*** for ***student***, ***success*** and ***accomplishment*** for ***learning***. And then, this kind of "newspeak" including a stock of words deprived of negative connotations is not possible for a human language. Ironically, many of the newly offered terms seem to cause even more derogatory associations than the standard ones.

The problem of "language and gender", or "political correctness" does not seem to be an exclusively lexicological problem of vocabulary varieties existing in a language at a certain period. Rather they are social problems of gender relations and sociolinguistic problems of language policy, though all these aspects of language study are interesting, are related to words and contribute to an understanding of what vocabulary is, and of forces driving its development. It is interesting to note that "in recent years, particularly among employed women, the difference between men's and women's speech appears to be diminishing" [Aitchison 1992, p. 117].

It should be noted that modern methodology does not yet allow us to make categorical statements about vocabulary variation and social class because many other influential factors are involved in the process of language production such as gender, age, ethnicity, local dialect, occupation and even the speaker's intention (the same person speaks differently in different situations). Only regional varieties of English remain to be investigated by means of reliable methodology.

In conclusion, it is worth mentioning again that Modern English like any other language is an abstraction: it exists in the form of many national, regional variants, local and social dialects and idiolects. All the different varieties of English used across the world (**Englishes**) are often referred to as **World English**, or **World Englishes**.

From a social point of view some English dialects and even variants may be considered superior than others but there is no linguistic evidence for such prejudice.

It should also be noted that twentieth-century globalization has become the reason for both *diversification* of English and *convergence* between its varieties. Cultural diffusion, mobility of people and their wide use of different mass media contribute to spreading linguistic features outwards from a certain, usually, high-prestige variety, and that is why dialect and even variant studies have become more difficult and less reliable.

And one more important thing: a person may switch from one variety of a language to another depending on many factors of the language activity: whether he is talking or writing, speaking at work or at home, in church or at market, with his employer or his employee, with a senior person or a child, away from the place of his native dialect or within it.

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Chapter 9
ENGLISH LEXICOGRAPHY

> Dictionaries are like watches: the worst is better than none, and the best cannot be expected to go quite true.
>
> *S. Johnson*

- Lexicography vs. lexicology
- The history of British and American lexicography
- Traditional problems of lexicography
- Compiling a modern dictionary
- Classification of dictionaries

1. Lexicography vs. lexicology

A dictionary is, first of all an inventory of the words of a language. It may contain explanations of meaning and other information. People speaking different languages for different reasons felt the need for such an inventory, and the history of l e x i c o g r a p h y – the art and science of compiling dictionaries – is over 2,000 years old.

Patrick Hanks, an English lexicographer, made an outline of the history of compiling dictionaries where he underlined a special role of the ancient countries in the practice and art of dictionary compiling [Hanks 2013].

Thus, in ancient *China* the dictionary called *the Erya* (爾雅 'Near Correctness') dates back to the 2nd or 3rd century BCE. It contains meaning explanations of words, phrases, and passages in classic Chinese texts, and may be classified as a work of encyclopedic lexicography with elements of thesausus and a topically organized lexicon.

Sanskrit dictionaries and thesauruses in *India* were also compiled over two thousand years ago. Three terms were particularly important for the art of compiling these dictionaries which reflect the interest of compilers in "difficult" words, their etymology and in semantically related words:

- *nighantu* 'lexicon'; the earliest known *nighantu* gives explanations of obscure words found in Vedic texts;
- *nirukta* 'explanation'; in the second or third century BCE, an Indian scholar called Yaska wrote a *nirukta* – an etymological commentary on words found in a lexicon (nighantu);
- *kosha* 'a storehouse', 'treasury'; it contains entries, mainly for nouns, written in verse and was intended for use by poets; it takes into account synonymous words presented in one verse; homonymous words are presented separately.

Persian dictionaries are believed to exist in the 3r–7th centuries CE but they have not survived. The most important of surviving old dictionary of Persian is the *Loghat-e-Fors* (Lexicon of Persian) compiled by the poet Abu Mansur Ali ibn Ahmad Asadi Tusi (died 1072). Asadi recorded and explained the words unfamiliar to his contemporaries found in Persian poetry and illustrated them with citations from poetry. Another famous dictionary was compiled in 1291 by Faxr-e-Qavas Qaznavi on principles similar to those of Roget's Thesaurus (1852). The entries in five sections are arranged hierarchically. For example, the fourth section of the book contains words for animals. It is subdivided into five 'varieties', of which the fifth concerns words for human beings, and this in turn is divided into two parts: the first part concerns human organs, and the second part is about humans and their environment.

From the 5th century BCE onwards, *Greek* scribes inserted glosses into manuscript copies of the works of Homer and other earlier writers, explaining obsolete and unusual words. Later these glosses were compiled into separate glossaries by scholars at the library in Alexandria but only a few fragments of them can be found today.

Comparatively little is known about *Latin* lexicography as most of its works have been partly or wholly lost. It is known, for example, that the Romans created bilingual Greek-Latin word lists, but these have not survived. An ambitious monolingual dictionary called *De Verborum Significatu* 'on the meaning of words' was compiled by the philologist and educationist *Marcus Verrius Flaccus* (55 BCE – 20 CE), tutor to the grandsons of the Emperor Augustus. By all accounts it was a huge work (letter *A* alone took up four books) and was concerned with etymology and cultural history as well as word meaning. Entries were supported by citations from literature. In the 8th century the historian Paulus Diaconus created an abridged version of Flaccus's dictionary, and this has survived. The major emphasis in the entries there is on cultural practices and beliefs, so this dictionary may be classified as a *cultural* rather than a linguistic compendium.

Between the 7th and the 13th centuries CE, a number of interesting *Arabic* dictionaries on different principles were compiled, with a variety of purposes, including regulation of the Arabic language, the facilitation of poetry, and deepening understanding of the words of the Qur'an.

With the invention of printing numerous dictionaries of many languages appeared in various countries.

Designing and compiling a modern dictionary needs deep specialized knowledge and highly specialized skills. As Patrick Hanks puts it, "At first glance, the humble occupation of collecting words, defining them, and arranging them in some sort

of order – usually, alphabetical – would not seem to call for any profound theoretical insight. However, when the activity begins to be undertaken in earnest, theoretical and practical linguistic questions begin to crowd in" [Hanks 2013, p. 503].

The 20th and 21st centuries made *lexicography* to be a highly scholarly subject due, first of all, to the development of *lexicology* and *new technologies*. The growth of academic societies, like the Dictionary Society of North America (1975), and the European Association for Lexicography (EURALEX, 1983) has also contributed to its development.

Lexicography today is not just practice and art of compiling dictionaries but a fully-fledged science concerned with writing, editing and analyzing dictionaries, with working out principles of dictionary making, building dictionaries that are to satisfy different users with specific types of problems.

Lexicology works out theories of word meaning, word structure and principles of vocabulary organization that have important implications for lexicography which is mainly concentrated on making lists of vocabulary units and effective describing their specific semantic, structural and functional characteristics. In its turn lexicography collects and preserves valuable information for lexicology. Thus, both branches of linguistics complement each other and use each other's achievements.

2. The history of British and American lexicography

B r i t i s h l e x i c o g r a p h y is one of the richest in the world. Many of new editions of well-known dictionaries appear regularly (like ***the Concise Oxford English Dictionary***), and new series of dictionaries have recently been launched (like ***Longman***). Specialized dictionaries that have appeared recently can hardly be enumerated.

Yet, the history of British lexicography is not very long in comparison with, for example, Arabic lexicography, which developed in the 8th century. The first word-books that appeared on the British Isles during the entire Anglo-Saxon and most of the Middle-English period were lists of difficult Latin terms used in the Scriptures. These lists of 'difficult Latin words' were accompanied by *glosses* in easier Latin or sometimes with Anglo-Saxon equivalents. Sometimes they were written between the Latin lines. No attempts were made to list the Anglo-Saxon words in some order.

The first English dictionaries were published in the sixteenth century, though none of them were ever called 'dictionaries': various fanciful names were used, like *hortus* 'garden' or *thesaurus* 'hoard'. They included words organized

in a systematic, usually alphabetic, way so that the user could find words easily. They were **bilingual foreign language word-books** (English-French and French-English, English-Italian and Italian-English, English-Spanish and Spanish-English, English-Latin and Latin-English).

The 17th century saw the emergence of a **monolingual English dictionary**. In 1604 the first monolingual dictionary was published. It was *A Table Alphabeticall, contayning and teaching the true writing and understanding of hard usuall English wordes borrowed from the Hebrew, Greek, Latine, or French, etc.*, by **Robert Cawdrey**, a schoolmaster. The dictionary had more than 2,500 entries containing 'hard' words like ***anathema***, ***gargarize***. No modal verbs, pronouns or 'obvious' words like ***eat***, ***cat*** were included in it.

The Golden Age in the history of British lexicography began in the 18th century. Hard-word dictionaries began to be replaced by **ordinary-word dictionaries** focusing on literary usage. In 1702 **John Kersey** published his ***New English Dictionary*** and moved away from the 'hard word' tradition. It included words of daily language and aimed 'for Young Scholars, Tradesmen and the Female Sex' to teach them 'to spell truely'.

The best dictionary of this time was the ***Universal Etymological Dictionary*** by **Nathaniel Bailey** (1721). For the first time a dictionary included etymology, usage including style information, syllabification, illustrative quotations (chiefly from proverbs) and even pronunciation – all types of information that is customarily provided in modern explanatory dictionaries. In 1730 N. Bailey and two collaborators published a more comprehensive work, containing 48,000 words, the ***Dictionarium Britannicum***. It became the basis for the famous S. Johnson's dictionary.

In 1755 **Dr Samuel Johnson**, the poet, essayist and literary critic, published his great ***Dictionary of the English Language*** in two volumes consisting of 2,300 pages with 40,000 entries. This work became the most authoritative text for several generations of Englishmen and was superseded only by the ***New English Dictionary on Historical principles*** – ***NED*** (1984–1928). It took Johnson more than eight years to write it (instead of, however, the intended three), and it was the first English dictionary ever compiled by a writer of the first rank.

The dictionary was a scholarly record of the whole language based on a corpus of examples by the best authors of that time like Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Addison, Bacon, Spenser (an important innovation, though many of them were reproduced from memory). Thus, it became a prescriptive, "purifying" guide to the best usage of the English language for more than a century. Johnson's attempts to fix the language, his thorough choice of the words for inclusion

established a lofty bookish style that was given the name of *Johnsonian* or *Johnsonese*. In 1880 a bill was actually thrown out of Parliament because a word in it was not in "the Dictionary"[1].

Samuel Johnson was especially good at giving definitions; he was called 'a skillful definer'. Yet he sometimes gave in to his personal prejudices and humour – 'whimsical and licentious manifestations of his personalities', as critics remarked. "When you are in business, it helps if you have a keen sense of humour", – Johnson used to say. The most quotable example is that Dr S. Johnson included a vexatious definition of ***oats*** because he meant to vex the Scots – 'A grain, which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people'. The word ***lexicographer*** he defined as 'A writer of dictionaries; a harmless drudge, that busies himself in tracing the original, and detailing the signification of words'. To illustrate the meaning of the adjective ***dull*** he wrote: "To make a dictionary is a *dull* work". According to the dictionary a ***patron*** is 'one who countenances, supports or protects"; he also added with humour that a patron is "commonly a wretch who supports with insolence, and is paid with flattery".

Pronunciation was not registered in the dictionary because S. Jonhson was aware of a variety of pronunciations and realized that the task of standardizing them was impossible then. Various pronunciation dictionaries appeared later in the second half of the 18th century (among them are **Thomas Sheridan's *General Dictionary of the English Language*** – 1780, and **John Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English language*** – 1791).

Proper names and extralinguistic items were mostly excluded from the dictionary, and this feature remains characteristic of modern British lexicography.

One more important innovation that S. Johnson made was to preface his Dictionary with an explanation of his aims and procedures. The Preface also included a short history of the language and a grammar. There he also made an attempt to depart from prevailing prescriptive principles and take a descriptive approach. While in the dictionary's plan (1747) he wrote that "the chief intent of the dictionary compiler is to preserve the purity and ascertain the meaning of our English idiom", its later Preface (1755) stresses that its major aim was "not form but register the language". Thus, this departure from prescriptive to descriptive principles initiated a new era in lexicography.

[1] *Whitehall, H.* The Development of the English Dictionary // Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language. – Cleveland : World Publ. Co, 1960. – P. XXXII–XXXIV.

Dr S. Johnson

In 1621 N. Bailey published his ***Universal Etymological Dictionary*** and the English people – shopkeepers, farmers, tradesmen began buying it. It became a best-seller and was reprinted thirty times.

The book earned enormous sums of money, and the publishers decided to write a "real dictionary". They hired Samuel Johnson to write this dictionary. Large, fleshy, untidy, his powdered wig askew on his big head, he was a man of immense learning, self-confidence, and sharp – sometimes savage – wit. He earned a slim income in writing poetry, essays, but he spent most of his days in a tavern talking with friends.

When Lord Chesterfield (a publisher) offered a down payment of 1,575 pounds to write a dictionary, Johnson accepted gladly. He needed the money – he had a wife to support. Tatty [his wife] was 20 years his senior, a fat, easy-going companion whom he loved dearly.

So confident was Johnson of his literary powers that he offered to write a dictionary in 3 years. Friends warned him that this time wasn't time enough. It had taken 40 French scholars 40 years to write a French dictionary. Shouldn't he reconsider?

"Nonsense", Johnson replied in affect, "Any Englishman is the equal of 40 Frenchmen. Three years. That's all it will take!'

One afternoon in 1747, having breakfast at noon, his usual hour for getting out of bed, he huffed up the narrow stairway to the attic of his home at No 17 Gough Square. Sitting himself at a small table and using crude paper and a goose quill pen, he began to work.

A dictionary, he said, should "preserve" the purity of a language, save it from "corruption and decay", and hold back the flood of "low terms" he heard all around him on London streets and in the tavern.

He introduced examples showing how authors used these words. The written word, he believed, was the keystone of a language, the spoken language should sound like sentences in books < ... >.

In 1755 Johnson finished his Dictionary of the English Language (it took him eight years, not three), and he was not satisfied with the work he produced. But he learnt a lot.

1. He realized that relying on his memory for definitions wasn't good enough for dictionary making. < ... >

2. He no longer thought it possible to "fix" the language. It was like trying to "lash the wind", he said. Dictionaries were out of date as soon as they were printed.

3. It was people and spoken English, not books that determined how the language developed.

The *Dictionary* < ... > was a huge success. Johnson's work was a landmark in the history of dictionary making. It was the first time anyone had put down on paper the words that made up the English language, and it set basic guides for the craft of dictionary making. Lexicographers for the next two centuries would follow the principles Johnson – the intellectual, storyteller, and idler in taverns – had established.

The Story of the Dictionary by Robert Kraske

But a real turn away from *prescribing* to *recording* dictionaries – fixing words and their meanings and not giving rigid recommendations about their usage – was made only in the 19th and 20th centuries.

In the 19th and 20th centuries three new concepts emerged in the English lexicography.

1. The idea of compiling dictionaries on historical principles.
2. The replacement of prescriptive rules by a relatively systematic descriptive approach.
3. The idea of compiling independent national dictionaries reflecting English language development in the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the West Indies [Burchfield 1985, p. 88].

The idea of compiling dictionaries on historical principles belongs to **Richard Trench**, Dean of Westminster Abbey, writer and poet, who in 1857 published his celebrated paper 'On Some Deficiencies in our English Dictionaries'. He put forward the idea of a new dictionary – ***A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*** (***NED***), that would exhibit each word and each meaning in a historical manner, arranging senses in chronological order, and which would contain illustrative quotations from verified printed sources.

Real work on the dictionary began in 1879 when **James A. H. Murray**, a largely self-educated Scottish schoolmaster, became the first editor of the Oxford English Dictionary. Later three more editors were added to speed its work, yet the final volume appeared only in 1928 (by that time it was called ***The Oxford English Dictionary*** (***OED***) since it was published by Oxford University Press). The dictionary, nicknamed "the King of Dictionaries", consisted of 12 volumes, 16,569 pages and contained 414,825 defined words. It traced the history of English words over 10 centuries, included more than 5,000,000 quotations, and 2,000 readers provided most of them. Sense divisions were precise and detailed. Etymologies were the best available at the time.

It was a 70-year project in which a wide network of volunteers and the editors' families were involved. However, "the wonder is not that it took fifty years to complete, but that it was ever completed at all" [Miller 1991, p. 141]. Other major languages of the world, including Russian, still lack such a dictionary, though many languages, like Swedish, French, German, Hebrew, have recently got a historical dictionary of this kind.

A supplement appeared in 1933, and four further supplements appeared between 1972 and 1986. In the late seventies a two-volume set in a much-reduced typeface was issued. This edition included a powerful magnifying glass.

The first computerized edition of the OED on CD-ROM has been available since 1988 (***Compact Edition of OED***). It contains the original 12 volumes, without the Supplement, however. The words that were extinct by 1150 are not included in it, and it does not do justice to the OED.

The shortened version of OED in two large volumes, the ***Shorter Oxford English Dictionary***, or ***SOED***, was also published in 1933. The sixth edition was published in August 2007. It is also available on CD-ROM and as an electronic download plug-in for Windows.

James Murray

Johnson's and Webster's dictionaries recorded words used by people in England and America during their lifetimes. Then in 1857, an Irish Archbishop, Dan Richard Trench, came up with an idea for a remarkable new dictionary, a dictionary of the entire English language, a record – or biography – of each word for as long as people kept written records.

Work on that began at Oxford University in England. A group of volunteer readers – all people interested in the project but unpaid – met one day and began dipping into books, the old Early English Bible and the reign of Alfred the Great (849–899).

In 1879 Sir James A. H. Murray became first of four editors. In his back yard he built "Scriptorium" where he worked over the first edition of the ***Oxford English Dictionary***. His two daughters, three assistant editors, helped him and 2,000 volunteer readers.

In 1928 – seventy-one years after Dean Trench had thought of the idea – the tenth and final volume, X–Y–Z, was published. (The Panama Canal during this time was dug, but it took only 10 years (1904–1914) to complete.) Some people were in service for it for 50 years.

The Story of the Dictionary by Robert Kraske

As for the second concept in dictionary-making that emerged in the 19–20th centuries – the replacement of prescriptive rules by a relatively systematic descriptive approach, it may be called now a linguistic war that never ends.

Prescriptivists usually regard innovations dangerous or at least resistible. In dictionary definitions they frequently use restrictive expressions like *erroneously*, *sometimes, used to mean*, *falsely*, *avoided by careful writers.* Prescriptive dictionaries arrange senses chronologically. Elements of this approach are found, for example, in ***A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*** by **H. W. Fowler** (1926, revised in 1965) and in ***The Concise Oxford Dictionary*** (7th edition, 1982), though the latter does not employ chronological order.

Descriptivists quickly identify new linguistic habits and record them without indicating that they might be unwelcome. In descriptive dictionaries archaic words and senses are usually omitted, and the senses are arranged in order of commonness or so-called logical order. ***Webster's Third New International Dictionary*** (1961) – the most famous American dictionary – may be considered an example of the descriptive approach, which is widely used in modern American lexicography – though the order in sense arrangement is mainly chronological there.

However, there is no clear boundary between prescriptivism and descriptivism. Both principles are in the compiler's mind, and modern dictionaries usually use a mixture of both techniques.

The third concept implemented in English language lexicography of the 19–20th century – *development of national lexicography in each English-speaking country* – is best reflected in the history of compiling dictionaries in the US.

The first American dictionaries were unpretentious little books containing words used or spelled in a different way in the US. **Noah Webster's** first work, ***The American Spelling Book*** (1783), was not an exception though it was extremely popular and brought him money to write a big explanatory dictionary.

His first two attempts to write a dictionary were not a big success. Only his third attempt, ***An American Dictionary of the English Language*** in two volumes, was comparable to Dr S. Johnson's dictionary in its values, scope and clarity of definitions. Yet, it was strongly biased towards Americanisms, American way of life, had a rudimentary pronunciation system inferior to those already in existence and some problematic etymologies. After Webster's death, his publishers commissioned a German scholar to rewrite Webster's etymologies and in 1864 the new dictionary gained international fame.

The entirely new version of Webster's dictionary, ***The Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language****, Unabridged* (commonly known as *Webster's Third*) was printed in 1961 in Cambridge, Massachusetts. It carries 450,000 entries in 2,662 pages to include most of the words used in English since 1755, and weighs 6.12 kg. It was met with considerable criticism for its descriptive (rather than prescriptive) approach. However, now the Merriam-Webster staff is working on its fourth edition (W4).

Noah Webster

One American who objected to the personal style of S. Johnson's dictionary was a sober, pious New England schoolmaster, named Noah Webster. "Johnson was always depressed by poverty", he said tartly. "He was naturally indolent and seldom wrote until he was urged by want. Hence... he was compelled to prepare his manuscripts in haste".

The judgment was hard, but so was Noah Webster. In his view dictionary making allowed no compromise, permitted no weakness. Webster set a standard for excellence in dictionary making that continues to this day.

During the Revolutionary war he joined the state militia in 1777 marched to the fighting at Saratoga. By the time his company arrived, though, the battle was over. Webster and other men turned around and marched home again.

He attended Yale College and five years after graduation, in 1783, published his Blue-Back Speller, America's first speller, grammar, and reader. It was a tremendous success.

The money the book earned freed Webster from the need to work for a living. He could spend his time doing what he really wanted – write dictionaries.

To train for the task, he set about studying languages and in time he learned twenty-six, including Sanskrit.

He was aware of differences between British and American English, and said that American English had grown apart from the mother tongue.

In 1806 Webster published *A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language.* By *Compendious* he meant "concise, brief, a summary". Like many writers of his day, however, Webster never used a short, clear word where a long, hard one would do. And like most dictionary makers, he was fond of elegant, obscure words.

He also began recording words as he heard people use them. There was a lot of criticism for including "low" words.

Unlike his speller and first dictionary, though, Webster's two-volume dictionary did not sell well. Its price of $15 was more than people wanted to pay for a dictionary.

Despite advanced age and dwindling funds, he started on yet a third dictionary. For another 12 years, working alone in his study he revised his 2-volume work.

In it he changed the spelling of words that people objected to (*wimin, tung*) as now he felt a dictionary should mirror the language as people used it, not as a dictionary maker would like to see it.

In 1840 Webster finished his last dictionary. It carried 5,000 more words. But he couldn't find a publisher for his work. So, ever independent, ever walking his own path, he borrowed money from a bank, found a printer, and published it himself. He placed a price of $15 on his dictionary, but again people wouldn't pay it.

Bankrupt and on his death bed three years later, the old wordsmith suddenly sat up, told his grown children that a "crepuscule" was falling over him, settled back on his pillow, and died. He might have said "twilight", but he chose instead to pay a final loving tribute to special words.

Webster's children faced the problem of what to do with the unsold copies of his last dictionary and how to pay off the printer, George and Charles Merriam of Springfield, MA.

The debt was paid off when the Merriam brothers bought the dictionary and legalized the name of Merriam–Webster. They neglected, however, to legalize the single name Webster. Today, if a company wants to publish a dictionary and use the name Webster in the title, it can do so. The name can be used by anyone. But the G. and C. Merriam Company, the publisher of the Merriam–Webster dictionaries is the only company today that continues Noah Webster's work.

On September 24, 1847, the two Merriam brothers brought out the first Merriam–Webster dictionary. Since that year, the company published new editions in 1864, 1890, 1909, and 1934.

In 1961 the company published Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged. The language had grown enormously since Webster's day. The last word of 450,000 words in it was *zyzzogeton*, the word that would have delighted the old wordsmith.

The Story of the Dictionary by Robert Kraske

Both lexicography in Britain and lexicography in the USA have their own traditions and distinctly different identities. American dictionaries, for example, in contrast to the British tradition set by S. Johnson, present encyclopedic information: they provide pictures, entries for real people and fictious characters, many geographical entries and detailed taxonomies for flora and fauna. American dictionaries also usually give information discriminating among synonyms while British usually just list synonyms.

Recently, however, British and U.S. dictionary producers have begun to cooperate and exchange principles for the sake of both. Some leading publishing companies, like *Longman* and *Merriam–Webster*, have entered partnerships, the result of which are new British-American dictionaries: the ***Longman New Universal Dictionary*** (1982) and the ***Longman Dictionary of the English Language*** (1984). Both of them made wide use of the text of the American ***Merriam–Webster English Collegiate Dictionary***. Another example of cooperation, this time from east to west, is in the field of learners' dictionaries: the ***Oxford Student's Dictionary of American English*** (1983) was based on the British ***Oxford Student's Dictionary of Current English*** (1978) [Сушa 1999, с. 83–84].

3. Traditional problems of lexicography

Dictionary compilers face many p r o b l e m s. The most traditional ones that they need to solve are the following:

1) *which type of lexical units should enter a dictionary*;
2) *what information should be given about them*;
3) *how to present the lexical items and information about them most efficiently.*

Different approaches to solutions of these basic lexicographic issues account for variances among dictionaries and their quality. If decision-making policies are scientifically grounded, they are described in the dictionary preface.

Handling these problems requires solid lexicological knowledge and an innovative mind as no lexicographic theory is able to foresee and to deal with challenges that individual words bring to a lexicographer.

Let us consider these traditional lexicographic problems closer.

1. ***Lexical units for inclusion***

A lexicographer first should decide which items are to be included in the dictionary. A lexical unit chosen for inclusion in the dictionary may have the form of **a single word** (***mug***, ***cheese***, or ***money***). Besides words, other types of lexical units may be entered in a dictionary, too. These may include **bound morphemes** (***pre-***, ***-er***, ***anx-***, ***-o-***) and **multiword phraseological units** (***kick the bucket*** in the meaning 'to die', ***to give someone the rough side of one's tongue*** 'to speak severely to someone'). But a lexicographer faces a lexicological question: *what is a word, an affix* or *a phraseological unit,* and what should be considered separate senses? The compiler should explain his/her decisions to construe reliable entries.

Furthermore, the compiler must decide *how many lexical items to include*. The number of nametags a language can store is endless. It is not known yet how many lexical units there are in a language, even in the well-studied English language, so a dictionary compiler should follow definite restrictions.

And then, lexical units may be chosen on the basis of frequency of occurrence in oral or written speech, on the basis of their communicative importance, on the basis of their importance for a language learner or a native language user, his/her age or level of language proficiency, etc.

The principles upon which these choices are made should be explained clearly and implemented consistently.

2. ***Information presented in a dictionary entry***

Dictionaries may provide all or some of the following **types of information** about a lexical unit:

1) *the form* of the unit (spelling and pronunciation);
2) *the syntactic and grammatical class* it belongs to by means of a part of speech label (e.g., *verb*) and additional grammatical data (e.g., *transitive*). This information is usually abbreviated for space saving. Economy even on periods and commas may be significant. When, for example, the editors

of ***Webster's Third New International Dictionary*** decided to omit periods and commas after abbreviations for part-of-speech information in definitions (e.g., *adj*) – they saved two million characters and 80 pages in each copy printed [Kraske 1975, p. 35];

3) *inflections and grammatical forms* (e.g., for the verb ***build*** there will be given its forms ***built***, ***built***);
4) *the lexical meaning of the lexical unit.* It is the most difficult and most highly debatable type of information, the presentation of which depends on the prevailing theory about the word meaning. If a word is polysemous its derived meanings should also be presented in one of these ways but it is necessary to find out first what should be considered separate senses;
5) *extralinguistic data* about the category the lexical unit stands for. Thus, the word ***mustang*** is defined as 'a free-roaming horse of the American west that first descended from horses brought to the America by the Spanish. Mustangs are often referred to as *wild horses*, but there is debate over terminology. Because they are descended from *once-domesticated* horses, they can be classified as *feral horses*.' Encyclopedias widely use this type of information;
6) *paradigmatic relations of the lexical unit*. A dictionary may present the word's synonyms, antonyms, hyperonyms and hyponyms, converses, meronyms, and even paronyms or confusables. For the word ***horse***, for example, other differently related words like its colour, its parts, or the equipment used for it may be given;
7) *syntagmatic information about the use* of the lexical unit in a sentence, sometimes even selectional restrictions are given. This information may be given in the form of the verbal illustration or formal patterns;
8) *morphological derivatives*. It may be given either in the same entry or scattered throughout the dictionary by means of run-ons;
9) *stylistic registers of the lexical unit*;
10) *etymology of the lexical unit*.

Compilers may choose some of these types or add some other types of information in their dictionary according to their general dictionary-making policy, for example, translation.

Presentation of linguistic information about lexical units, especially definitions, collocations, and paradigmatic relations is connected with numerous, sometimes unsurpassable, difficulties. Definitions are never perfect. Lists of collocations are never complete. Paradigmatic relations of each word demand special scientific investigation. Translations may help to identify the word's meaning but it does not communicate the information about its usage.

Therefore, there should be certain **principles** that compilers should follow in order to make a reliable reference book, and here are some of them.

1. Dictionaries usually take into account *the form* of lexical units. That is why they generally have a single entry for both monosemantic and polysemous lexical units. Yet, in the case of homographs, however, their policy is different: each of them is usually given a separate entry because they are regarded as separate words. Homographs in dictionaries may be ordered historically, according to the frequency of their usage, or even according to the alphabetical order of the part of speech to which they belong (adjective before noun, before verb).

2. Defining meaning of a lexical unit is very difficult. Compilers may use the following forms of definition:

a) *analytic (classical) definition* – a description of the range of reference of a lexical unit with a generic term and words naming specific components of its meaning (***dust*** 'finely **earth or other matter** powdered on ground or on surfaces or carried about by wind'). The wording of a definition has also a general principle: the defition should use more simple and common words than entry words themselves.

b) *folk definition* in the form of sentences, it is usually used in dictionaries for children and is revived in the COBUILD dictionary (***dust*** 'Dust is very small dry pieces of earth or sand that fly up from roads when traffic goes by');

c) *synonymic definition* (***dust*** 'fine fragments, grime, grit, particles, powder, powdery dirt');

d) *translation equivalent* (***dust*** 'пыль');

e) *pictorial illustration* (pictures, tables, diagrams).

3. Lexicographic division of senses do not mirror the reality where they are not as discrete as in a dictionary. But it is convenient for a user. Ordering of these rather artificially singled out senses of polysemous words in a lexicographic entry may be done differently. The senses may be arranged *historically* (primary sense comes first), *semantically* (major most frequent and context independ senses go before minor senses), *logically* (presentation of senses as a coherent text where senses generate each other) or on the basis of several principles.

The first sense in bilingual dictionaries is often the most common equivalent in the other language. However, care should be taken of *translators' false friends* as it was exemplified with the word ***angina*** in Chapter III: the major meaning of this word is not equivalent to the Russian word ***ангина*** though it sounds and spelled alike.

4. Dictionaries differ in their treatment of morphological derivatives, too. Large dictionaries usually place *each derivative* with idiomatic meaning *in a separate entry*. In smaller dictionaries, however, *main entries include derivatives as their subentries* with or without explicit definitions.

3. *Organization of lexical units*

Lexical units in a dictionary may be organized in several ways.

Most dictionaries practice **semasiological** approach in the *organization of lexical units*. Information there goes from a name to the correspondent notion, lexical units in a dictionary are usually arranged alphabetically.

In some dictionaries, usually thesauri, like ***Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*** by **P. M. Roget**, the entries are in **onomasiological** order, going from a notion to the name(s) it can be expressed by.

Those who would like to grasp the structure of the whole lexicon and begin their word search conceptually should start with the hierarchical arrangement of ideas, or conceptual categories, presented in the Synopsis of Categories. Roget singled out **six major classes** of categories: **1.** *Abstract Relations* (existence, resemblance, quantity, number, time, order, power); **2.** *Space*, including motion; **3.** *Material world*, including properties of matter (solidity, fluifity, heat, sound, and others); **4.** *Intellect* and its operations (like acquisition, resention, communication of ideas); **5.** *Volition* (like choice, intention, action); and **6.** *Sentiment* (emotions, feelings, moral and religious sentiments. These categories are further subdivided. All in all, there are just several large classes of conceptual categories in the Roget's Dictionary that are expressed in English by thousands of words of different parts of speech and word-groups.

Originally Roget's dictionary was aimed for authors who were "struggling with difficulties of composition". For example, those who look for a particular word, like ***dictionary***, and the words semantically similar to it, should start their search with the alphabetical index of words provided by this reference book. The word ***dictionary*** would lead them to the entry with names for the concept [**List**] in the conceptual categories [**Number**] and [**Abstract relations**]: ***word list***, ***lexicon***, ***glossary***, ***thesaurus***, ***vocabulary***, and then to the entry with slightly different names for the concept [**Book**] in the categories of [**Written language**], [**Communication**] and [**Intellect**]: ***thesaurus***, ***Roget's***, ***storehouse or treasury of words***, ***thesaurus dictionary***, and ***synonym dictionary***.

The dictionary is also very useful for those who are interested in the philosophy of language and organization of the mental lexicon.

These are only some of the traditional problems a lexicographer faces while making a dictionary.

4. Compiling a modern dictionary

New computer technologies nowadays change lexicography into **e-lexicography** and become, according to some scholars, closer to information science than to linguistics. In the 1980's computer technologies radically altered the painstaking manual methods of compiling dictionaries. Now they make a wide use of numerous prestigious computerized language databases like *British National Corpus*, *Cambridge International Corpus*, *Longman Written American Corpus*, and *Longman Spoken American Corpus*, etc. Corpora and new e-technologies guarantee a more representative picture of written and spoken modern English in dictionaries. They also change the potentials of lexicography concerning size, type and updating of dictionaries, and search for the entries.

We should admit, however, that most of online dictionaries today are just electronic versions of printed dictionaries with faster access and there are also many replicated imitative e-dictionaries with rather low lexicographic quality. At the same time, a new type of electronic dictionaries is arising, like *WordNet* or *FrameNet*. There are still some new ones which is a totally different e-product, offering new horizons for their availability and adaptation to the needs of an individual user.

It should also be remembered that computers and corpora are just convenient and effective tools that may help to achieve the tasks the lexicographer sets. The kind of a dictionary to be compiled depends mainly on the compiler's professional intuition. The compiler should be aware of the achievements of academic lexicography, of market needs and funding sources because making a new dictionary is an expensive endevour that requires enormous time-consuming efforts of a team of professionals who need not only special training in modern linguistics, including corpora linguistics, but also in modern lexicography.

5. Classification of dictionaries

The leading, competing companies compiling and publishing English dictionaries produce various, though very often similar series of dictionaries known as *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, *Longman*, *Collins*, *Chambers's*, *Penguin dictionaries* (in Great Britain) and *Webster's* (G. and C. Merriam Co), *Funk and Wagnalls Co*, *Random House dictionaries* (in the USA) but these series cannot be called types yet.

All reference books provide a large amount of information of a particular kind. But according *to the type of items included* and *the kind of information about them* all dictionaries may be divided into *two categories*.

- *encyclopedic* dictionaries (*encyclopedias*);
- *linguistic* dictionaries (or simply, *dictionaries*).

An e n c y c l o p e d i c d i c t i o n a r y is a *thing-book*. It deals with every kind of knowledge about the world (general encyclopedia) or with one particular branch of it (special encyclopedia).

In contrast to a l i n g u i s t i c d i c t i o n a r y which is a *word-book*, some common words, like ***mother***, ***father***, ***house***, ***I***, ***the***, ***white***, ***oh***, do not enter an encyclopedia, while many geographical names and names of prominent people make up an important part of it.

Some words, like taxonomic names of plants, animals, and diseases enter *both kinds* of dictionaries, but information about them has a different character. *In linguistic dictionaries* the most extensive information is *linguistic* – information about a word. *In encyclopedic* dictionaries the most extensive is *extralinguistic* information about a concept.

The most well-known encyclopedias in English are ***The Encyclopedia Britannica*** (in 24 volumes) and ***The Encyclopedia Americana*** (in 30 volumes). Very popular in Great Britain are also ***Chamber's Encyclopedia*** (in 15 volumes) and ***Everyman's Encyclopedia*** (in 12 volumes). Among single-volume encyclopedias is the ***Hutchinson 20th Century Encyclopedia***.

There are also smaller reference books dedicated to special branches of knowledge: literature, business, medicine, chemistry, and linguistics. For example, ***Who's Who*** dictionaries, ***The Oxford Companion to English Literature*** (***Theatre***, etc.), ***Cambridge Paperback Guide to Literature in English***, ***The Cambridge Guide to Women's Writing in English***, ***The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*** or ***The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*** by David Crystal.

In modern reference books, however, there is no strict borderline between these two types of dictionaries. Many linguistic dictionaries, especially in America and the *Longman* dictionaries include extralinguistic information, and many encyclopedic dictionaries include some linguistic information. As for encyclopedic e-reference, it is likely the online free-content encyclopedia ***Wikipedia*** that is most often used nowadays.

1. *Classification of linguistic dictionaries*

Typology of linguistic dictionaries is not easy and many scholars (Л. В. Щерба, L. Zgusta, S. L. Landau, et al.) offered different approaches to dictionary classification.

Here are the most common principles along which all dictionariers are classified.

1) The first, most obvious and formal classification of linguistic dictionaries may be done according to the **number of included lexical units**. It was already mentioned that it is hardly to answer the question about the number of words in English because it is not quite clear what actually counts as a word. The general estimation of the English vocabulary is over one million words. So, dictionaries may be subdivided into u n a b r i d g e d – the most complete of its type, and a b r i d g e d ones. They also differ in the amount of information content.

The most complete *unabridged* general dictionaries that include about half of one million entry words are the ***Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language*** (**450,000**) and the ***Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles*** (**500,000**). But even they do not include all the lexical units in the language. Many scientific, technical terms and other specialized lexical units are left out there and delegated to special dictionaries.

The number of lexical items in other dictionaries is usually less numerous. A dictionary may be called *medium* with the number of entries from 50,000 to 250,000. ***Merriam–Webster's Collegiate Dictinary*** [2014] is a good example of this type which is also called *college* or *desk* dictionaries, though its recent edition includes 225,000 definitions of words and phrases.

The number of entries in *small dictionaries* is still smaller and may vary from 35,000 to 60,000, and *pocket dictionaries* include still fewer number of words and basic information about them. A good example of such a dictionary is the ***Longman New Pocket English Dictionary*** which explains the meaning of over 16,000 words and phrases and ***The Oxford Picture Dictionary for Kids*** may include about 700 words, which are actually labels for pictures.

2) Depending on the **nature of the included lexical items** linguistic dictionaries may be divided into g e n e r a l (including words from different spheres of life like ***The Concise Oxford English Dictionary***) and r e s t r i c t e d (limited to to some special kinds of *lexical units*, such as dialectal words, foreign words, neologisms, obsolete and archaic words, phraseological verbs and idioms or to some special branch of *knowledge* like medicine, business, chemistry, for example, ***Dictionary of American Slang*** by Richard A. Spears, ***The Basic Words*** by C. K. Ogden, ***American Dialect Dictionary*** by H. Wentworth, the ***Oxford Dictionary of Computing for Learners of English***, or the ***Oxford Dictionary of Business English for Learners of English***.

There are numerous dictionaries of the same type compiled and published by different people and different companies. For example, some well-known dictionaries by different companies are restricted to *the English idioms* as the ***Oxford Dictionary of English Idioms*** (by A. P. Cowie, R. Mackin, I. R. McCraig) with 7,000 references, the ***Cambridge International Dictionary of Idioms*** with 7,000 references, the ***Longman Idioms Dictionary*** (by Addison Wesley) with 5,000 references, the ***Collins Cobuild Dictionary of Idioms*** with 4,000 references, the ***Chambers Dictionary of Idioms***, and the ***Penguin Dictionary of English Idioms***. They differ not only in the number and character of idioms included in the dictionary but also in the manner of their presentation, interpretation, and some of them include exercises aiding assimilation and correct usage.

3) Depending on the **linguistic information** they provide, all dictionaries may be divided into *specialized* and *non-specialized*.

S p e c i a l i z e d d i c t i o n a r i e s may specialize in *phonetic information*, like the ***English Pronouncing Dictionary*** by Daniel Jones, the ***Longman Pronunciation Dictionary*** by J. C. Wells, or in *etymological data*, for example, ***The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*** by C. T. Onions, *in usage* as the ***Longman Guide to English Usage*** by J. Whitcut and S. Greenbaum, in *frequency* as the ***General Service List of English Words*** by M. A. West, in *word collocations* like ***The BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English*** by Morton Benson, Evelyn Benson and Robert Ilson, or ***The LTP Dictionary of Selected Collocations***, where, for example, the section 'Noun' gives about 50,000 collocations for 2,000 most essential nouns. Dictionaries also may specialize in *semantic relations* of words as ***A WordNet Electronic Database*** which includes word nodes and indicates their synonymic, antonymic, hyponymic, polysemous, taxonymic, and other relations.

4) Depending on the **number of languages** used in the entries, a dictionary may be *monolingual*, *bilingual* and *polylingual*.

The English m o n o l i n g u a l d i c t i o n a r i e s have apparently been the most innovative in lexicography: they were the first to use language corpora, to pay special attention to collocations, some of them give even lists of high-frequency collocates, they were the first to appear on CD-ROM and many of then are available free online, including such innovative and exclusively e-dictionaries as Wordnik, Wiktionary, and Open Dictionary of English. They certainly give an imputus to worldwide English use.

Monolingual dictionaries are usually **explanatory**, while bilingual and polylingual are normally **translation** dictionaries. Yet, this correlation is not strict. Some of the monolingual specialized dictionaries, like the ***Roget's Thesaurus*** are not explanatory at all, and some bilingual dictionaries, like ***Англо-русский фразео-логический словарь by A. V. Kunin***, can hardly be called just translation dictionaries because they provide much different information for lexical units.

5) Depending on the **time period** embraced as well as the **character of treatment of lexical items**, dictionaries are divided into s y n c h r o n i c – including the words of a certain language period, mainly Modern English, like ***The Concise Oxford English Dictionary***, the ***Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English***, the ***Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon*** by H. Sweet, and d i a c h r o n i c, or historical dictionaries that register chronological development of a word over time (the ***Oxford English Dictionary*** and its shorter two-volume version the ***Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles***).

6) Dictionaries are also classified according to the **prospective user** (*a teacher, a lawyer, an adult, a child, or a person with poor vision*). For example, the ***Longman Business English Dictionary*** is for students and people working in business. It includes 13,000 entries covering terms in accounting, marketing, finance and other fields. The ***Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics*** is written for students and teachers of linguistics and language teaching.

2. *Learner's type of English dictionaries*

There is a special type of dictionaries for learners of English as a foreign language that is usually referred to as **Learner's type of English dictionaries**. These dictionaries are typically linguistic dictionaries that cater to the needs of foreign language learners of different age, interest, and level of language proficiency. They present lexical meaning of words in simple and restricted vocabulary and also include information on grammar usage, collocation, pragmatics, common errors in speech, native language equivalents – the information that foreign English language learners need to avoid lexical and grammar mistakes but which standard linguistic dictionaries miss.

Linguistic dictionaries of learner's type are noteworthy for the thorougness of their entries, explicit pronunciation, carefully chosen vocabulary in definitions and examples of usage, and for abundance of pictorial illustrations. They may vary in number of words and type of information about them, the manner in which

this information is presented. But the most pronounced difference between them is in number languages used in the dictionary: there are **mono-**, **bi-** and **polylingual learner's dictionaries**.

Monolingual Learner's Dictionaries

Here are some m o n o l i n g u a l learner's dictionaries, classified according to the learner's proficiency level (most of them are available in hard copy and even online):

Elementary to intermediate

1. The ***Oxford Basic English Dictionary*** (11,000 words and phrases) and the ***Oxford Elementary Learner's Dictionary*** (15,000 references) have easy explanations of meaning and use, include guides to grammar forms and provide vocabulary-building notes.
2. The topical ***Oxford English Picture Dictionary*** for beginners to intermediate by E. C. Parnwell explains over 2,000 words (mainly nouns).
3. The ***Longman Elementary Dictionary*** gives the meaning of 2,000 basic English words. It is aimed at young learners and is richly illustrated.

Intermediate

1. The ***Oxford Wordpower Dictionary*** has 30,000 references. It is designed to help students make the breakthrough from a basic survival vocabulary to greater fluency. It pays special attention to vocabulary-learning skills and includes a study section that presents techniques for learning and recording new words.
2. The ***Longman Active Study Dictionary*** has over 45,000 references with clear definitions based on the 2,000-word Longman Defining Vocabulary. It also has corpus-based examples of usage, vocabulary practice exercises, and usage notes to help students to avoid common errors.

Intermediate to advanced

1. The ***Oxford Learner's Wordfinder Dictionary*** is designed to enrich and expand learners' vocabularies. It includes over 600 entries that group vocabulary around keyword concepts. It also has extensive coverage of synonyms, opposites, derived words and common phrases.
2. The ***Longman Essential Activator***, like many other Longman dictionaries, has extra information to help students avoid making common mistakes registered in Longman Learner's Corpus.

Upper-intermediate to advanced (*proficient*)

1. The ***Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*** (OALD) by **A. S. Hornby** is the world's leading dictionary for learners of English. It includes 63,000 references, 90,000 examples, 11,600 idioms and phrasal verbs. The vocabulary used for definitions includes 3,500 carefully chosen words. The entries include morphologically related words and idioms. The 9th edition 2015 is with Oxford iSpeaker and Oxford iWriter.
2. The ***Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*** is of the same type. In addition to the types of information presented the dictionary by A. S. Hornby it also lists 3,000 most frequently written and spoken words. Definitions in this dictionary are easily understood because only 2,000 words make up its defining vocabulary. More than 25,000 fixed phrases and collocations are included. The dictionary is based on language databases of six corpora, including *the British National Corpus* (Written and Spoken) and *the Longman American Corpus* (Written and Spoken), so it has the most up-to-date coverage of English.
3. The ***Longman Lexicon of Contemporary English*** by **Tom McArthur** includes a detailed and well-grounded taxonomy of semantic fields, clearly worked out definitions and an alphabetical index. It is both an explanatory dictionary and a thesaurus.
4. The ***Longman Language Activator*** is especially good for self-study and preparing for an examination like the Cambridge Certificate in Advanced English. It takes students from a key word through words and phrases they may need to express themselves accurately and appropriately in every situation.

Most recent monolingual learner's dictionaries are the ***Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners***, 2002 and ***Merriam–Webster's Advanced Learner's English Dictionary***, 2008.

And, finally, the number of Learner's type of monolingual *on-line* English dictionaries is growing annually. Some of them are: the ***Open Dictionary of English*** (***ODE***), ***WordsinaSentence.com***, *the* ***Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*** at http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com.

Bilingual and Polylingual Learner's Dictionaries

The chief advantage of a b i l i n g u a l dictionary is its brevity and simplicity: they usually provide a translation equivalent for a foreign or native word. That is why bilingual dictionaries are in special demand among all groups of foreign language learners, though they do not create an adequate picture of a foreign language system.

The most important and widely used *English-Russian dictionaries* by Russian speaking English learners are ***Англо-русский словарь*** by V. K. Muller, which includes about 70,000 references, ***Большой англо-русский словарь*** in two volumes (ed. under the direction of I. R. Galperin and E. M. Mednikova) with 160,000 references. The recent English-Russian bilingual dictionary under the editorship of Y. D. Apresyan ***Новый большой англо-русский словарь*** (1997, second edition) includes more than 250, 000 references. It pays special attention to finding ways of rendering semantic equivalency between two correlative naming units in English and Russian.

Making the list of complete and reliable *Russian-English dictionaries* one should mention, first of all, the ***Русско-английский словарь*** with 50,000 words compiled under the general direction of A. I. Smirnitsky, edited by O. S. Akhmanova.

A p o l y l i n g u a l learners' ***English-Belarusian-Russian Dictionary*** [Англійска-беларуска-рускі слоўнік] is compiled by T. N. Susha and A. K. Shchuka in Minsk State Linguistic University in 2004

A new generation of bilingual and polylingual dictionaries is different both in content and format.

As to the format, besides printed dictionaries which gradually come out of use, there are a lot of *electronic dictionaries*. Especially popular among Russian speaking students of English are online *polylingual dictionaries* and software dictionary programs like ***ABBYY Lingvo*** (the latest version of 2023 is ABBYY Lingvo 12: http://moiprogrammy.com/abbyy-lingvo/12), ***Multitran***, and ***Wordreference***.

As to the content, many of them combine accurate and up-to-date translations with the features of a monolingual learners' dictionary. The necessity for such a combination was pointed out by the Soviet linguist L. V. Shcherba in the 1940's (see [Щерба 1958, с. 88]). The major emphasis in these dictionaries is placed now not just on correct understanding of English words but also on learning how to use them. Carefully chosen words are backed up by corpus-based examples, pronunciation and illustrations. Notes in the user's own language help explain the grammar, usage, and vocabulary. There are also cultural notes, study pages and appendices on areas of particular interest to different groups of students.

Exlusively popular though far from being perfect are online language translation services as ***Google Translate***, ***PROMPT***, ***SYSTRAN***, ***Free Online Translation***, etc., which are quickly developing.

Besides purely linguistic dictionaries there are many encyclopedias for English language learners, both in printed and e-format that combine encyclopedic and linguistic information. One may mention the ***Oxford Advanced Learner's Encyclopedic Dictionary*** with 93,000 references, among them 4,650 entries on people, institutions, literature, and art, 94 feature articles on British and American life, special notes on literary and cultural connotations, or the ***Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture*** with 80,000 words and phrases and over 15,000 cultural references.

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Chapter 10
THE MENTAL LEXICON.
THE ENGLISH VOCABULARY ACQUISITION

> Words are more than just linguistic objects. They are windows into the world of those who use them.
>
> *David Crystal*

> When we survey the variety of conceptual structures that the English language expresses, we see that they are far too heterogeneous to submit to any simple formula.
>
> *George Miller, Philip Johnson-Laird*

- *The mental lexicon*
- *The individual vocabulary of an adult*
- *Lexicon acquisition*
- *The mental lexicon of a bilingual*

1. The mental lexicon

The word *lexicon* for a long time has been associated mainly with lexicography. It was viewed as a large dictionary that contains orthographical representation of an enormous number of alphabetically related words. The list of words included much information about their meaning, grammatical characteristics (and probably pronunciation) that helps to establish different kinds of word-relations. Some of them, traditionally described as paradigmatic and syntagmatic, antonymic, and synonymic (see Chapter 7), were paid special attention to by lexicologists and lexicographers.

The issues related to knowledge of a language and its vocabulary, research on the ways of its storage and retreaval were traditionally relegated to psychologists because this knowledge is stored in our minds. Psychologists proposed different models of lexicon organization, its access and retrieval.

Modern linguistics is marked by a fusion of theoretical linguistics and psychology, and the term *lexicon* becomes more and more associated with the *mental lexicon*.

The m e n t a l l e x i c o n is a lexical system representation in our mind.

Due to its complexity and our inability to acces it directly, linguistics still has to provide a single undisputed working model of the mental lexicon. Now linguistics can only offer different suggestions concerning its most abstract aspects, for example, the place of the mental lexicon in the general model of language capacity, most general points concerning its structure, character and number of items included there and types of information about them.

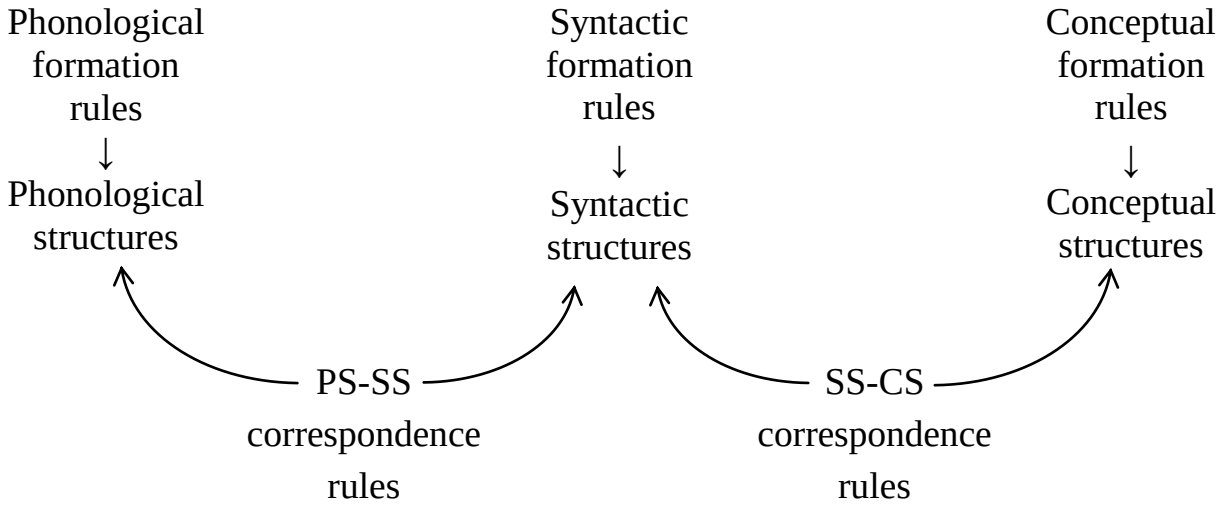
All scholars agree that our minds should contain the same types of information about the word: phonological, orthographical, morphological, semantic and syntactic, and all of them should be somehow linked. Otherwise the word would not be understood, retrieved or properly used.

As Ray Jackendoff points out, within the general model of language capacity the mental lexicon should be directly related first of all to *conceptual*, *syntactic* and *phonological parallel structures*, as well as to auditory and motor information input [Jackendoff 1997].

In order to perform its generative character without which there is no acquisition, growth and innovative use of the vocabulary, the mental lexicon should also be connected with *the rules* governing correct formation of conceptual, syntactic and phonological structures.

These three types of structures are connected through the interfaces imposing mutual constraints.

This tripartite language architecture R. Jackendoff presents in the following sketch [Ibid., p. 39]:



So, language as cognitive capacity has three basic components (phonological/syntactic/conceptual structures), with lexicon being attached to all of them by correspondence rules – principles identifying the relation between a linguistic form and its meaning.

Due to the lexicon all these components of the mental grammar match. Interruption in mapping between the components and/or lexicon creates problems in language comprehension or use. The lexicon also has information about specific restrictions the word may have. The mental lexicon thus happens to be a deposit of all knowledge about the meaning, grammar and phonology of the word.

The crucial questions are **what** is presented in the mental lexicon and **how** it is structured to provide reliable storage and retrieving from the memory?

Traditional linguists beginning with F. de Saussure have created a successful science by ignoring the numerous interactions between linguistic knowledge and world knowledge as well as the psychological and neurological structures providing it. They have also developed a methodology that works well for phonology, syntax, morphology and certain areas of semantics. But understanding and describing psychological areas of lexical semantics requires special methods of investigation that are still in the process of developing. Modern psycholinguistics makes a wide use of psychological methods, like free association tests, and time measuring tests on word recognition as well as traditional linguistic analyses.

It has been found out that words in the mental lexicon are usually kept without inflections. Inflectional suffixes are added to stems later, in speech. But derivational affixes are in the mental lexicon, at least as parts of derived words that are stored there.

As to *the number and character of units* stored in the mental lexicon, scholars are still debating.

One theory argues that only *simple words* and their multiple features are stored in our mental lexicon. Among these properties are: how a word is pronounced, what part of speech it belongs to, what other words it is related to, and how it is written/spelled.

These properties make up separate entries in our mental lexicon, and each of them makes up a separate interface and has a different access. That is, with an access to a word's acoustic property we are able to find a rhyming word for it or to list some other words with similar sound structures just by using the lexicon's phonetic interface. With an access to the part-of-speech meaning of a word we may retrieve thousands of words with the same lexical-grammatical meaning from our memory. Using semantic interface of a word enables us to activate and retrieve lots of words semantically related to it. So, in our mind there are multiple vocabularies each of them with different units as their nearest neighbours.

According to this theory, derived lexical units and rules of word-formation are outside the mental lexicon. The mental lexicon is the place for just simple, non-derived words. Derivatives may be somewhere else, for example, they may be part of grammar or of some other component of the language faculty that provides combinability of language units and their deducible compositional semantics.

But it is also known, and it was mentioned in the previous chapters, that all *derived* and *compound words* as well as *phraseological units* have a special idiomatic component that can not be deduced from the formal structure of a lexical unit. This fact provides the grounds for believing that they should also be memorized and listed in the mental lexicon.

Moreover, the rules of word-formation listed in morphology are too general to be adequately applied to a concrete word to form an accepted derivative. It makes more sense *to enlist the rules of word-formations with all their exceptions and idiosyncrasies* in the mental lexicon. That will add to the model of the mental lexicon its active generative character that we observe when we produce and interpret new words.

Not all derived and compound words and word combinations should be listed in the mental lexicon but only those that cannot be decomposed without changing the meaning of a lexical unit.

Alongside simple words, the mental lexicon may have *some derived* and *compound* ones and even *sentences* and some *texts*. There should also be some *rules* on how these complex units may be decomposed into simple ones or how a great number of well-formed derived words and even phrases with all their idiosyncratic properties can be easily produced or reproduced in speech.

So, thousands of words, morphemes, phraseological units and even texts as well as rules of their formation should be stored in our mind in some order, otherwise a momentary successful retrieval and recognition would be impossible. The question, however, is **“how?”**.

There are many reasons to believe that there are *radical differences* in quantity, character and organization between words stored in *alphabetically organized dictionaries* and *words stored in our minds*.

No person knows and uses all the words that a large dictionary may contain (see *The individual vocabulary* of *an adult* below). And vice versa, each person has much more information about each word that any dictionary may contain. The information about meaning of the word presented in a dictionary is scarce, dry and meager in comparison with the concept information.

We are supposed to deal both with words and the concepts they stand for. For example, we know which word stands for *prototypical* item and which for *peripheral* (cf.: ***sparrow***, ***penguin***, ***ostrich*** are all ***birds*** but only ***sparrow*** is the most typical of them). We may recognize different pronunciations of a word produced by different speakers while a dictionary may give only one variant.

Information about combinability of a word is not represented completely enough in any dictionary: we know much information about lexical and grammatical restrictions on word usage which is quite scarce in a dictionary.

Linguists and psychologists collected much data about storing lexical items and rules in our mind. *Retrieval of words* from memory and checking the *activation zones* in our mind by modern equipment give a lot of information about the structure of the mental lexicon. Thus, it has been proven that groups of words are stored differently and are placed in different cortex zones. That is why some fields for some reason may be damaged without involving the others. After strokes people may remember the names of such concepts as 'sphinx' and 'abacus' but not remember the names of fruit and vegetables [Aitchison 2012, p. 84]. Verbs and nouns, functional and notional words are stored separately in the mental lexicon, too.

Slips of the tongue are also an important source of this information. For example, we do not have slips of the tongue for the words that follow each other in a dictionary, like ***decrease*** and ***decree***. But such words as ***forks*** and ***knives*** cause quite frequent slips of the tongue. This fact gives grounds to believe that in speech production the phonetic interface is not as close to conceptual structures as the semantic one.

So, the mental lexicon may be viewed *as a structure with a number of distinct modules* for different types of information. There are separate modules for syntactic, phonological, morphological and semantic presentations; content words are supposed to be kept separately from functional words, verbs to be kept separately from nouns and derivational affixes separately from inflectional ones.

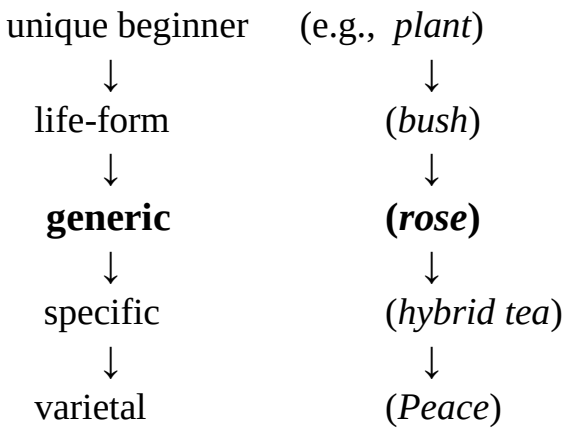
Yet, the mental lexicon is not only a complex structure of information but it is also *a complex system* where the structures and different types of information are somehow connected.

The *degree of connection* between different interfaces and between lexical units in the semantic interface of the mental lexicon is different: some links are particularly strong, like connectioness between co-ordinates and collocational links; some links are somewhat weaker, like the connections between some of hyponyms and hyperonyms.

Nevertheless, hierarchical relations are the most important types of word relations for the assembling the words into a structured whole. One theory assumes that a hyponym inherits the properties of its superordinates. To understand and

remember a hyponym we do not need to memorize all the features characteristic of a hyperonym, we need to remember only *the distinguishing features* of hyponyms. So, the inheritance system saves memory space.

Numerous studies of hierarchical taxonomies of words proved that they typically have no more than *five* levels [Cruse 1991, p. 145] and frequently they have fewer, for example:



The most significant level of taxonomy is called **generic**, or **basic**. This is the level of names of common things and creatures: ***rose***, ***cat***, ***oak***, ***apple***, ***car***, and ***cup***. It is the largest level, and it is the level the units of which are predominantly native, structurally simple, most frequently used and learned first. They are prototypical members of the category.

There are also connections between words of different lexical-semantic fields (**inter-field relations**). Some of them, usually referred to as **entailment**, or **presupposition** are strong. Here are some examples of this type of semantic relations between groups of different lexical-semantic fields. ***Killing*** entails ***dying***, if there is a ***killing event*** then there is also a ***dying event***. Or, if *John is **selling** his piano* it means that *John **owns** a piano*. ***Sight*** presupposes ***eye***, ***education*** presupposes ***learning***, and ***journalist*** presupposes ***press***.

Some inter-field relations may be weaker than that but they also may be easily computed by reasoning. Conventional polysemes as well as morphologically derived words where the source and target names belong to different semantic fields make these connections stronger.

Thus, the lexical units, and first of all, words, form in our mind a kind of a **word-web**, where words are linked on various semantic, phonetic and syntactic grounds. And now we shall consider how people acquire this word-web.

2. The individual vocabulary of an adult

The lexicon of any language is very extensive as it is necessary to name millions of concepts that a human being operates for the sake of communication. As M. Pei puts it: "The vocabulary of a language is the measuring-rod of the sum total of the activities of that language's speakers" [Pei 1967, p. 124].

According to the recent computer analysis of 5,195,769 digitised books carried out by researchers at Harvard University and Google, the English language contains 1,022,000 words; it has doubled in size in the last century and in the new millennium it is expanding by **8,500 words a year**[1].

Nobody, however, knows all the words in a language, though it is interesting to know how many words an individual knows.

An Englishman named D'Orsay produced a study based on the everyday speech of a group of fruit pickers, in which he came to a rather startling conclusion that the vocabulary of the illiterate and semiliterate does not exceed 500 words. Some other studies of subway conversations estimate the vocabulary of the average person to be of about 1,000 [Pei 1967, p. 116].

Another estimation places the vocabulary of an average English speaker at between 35,000 and 70,000 words.

There is also an opinion that *an adult individual knows* more than one-fifth of the total number of words in a language, i.e. about *200,000 words.* Hundreds of thousands of words, though they are listed in the large dictionaries, belong to special scientific, professional, or trade vocabularies and are not used or even recognized by the average speaker. It may also be forgotten that speakers naturally tend to acquire and use those words which naturally fit into the picture of their everyday lives. An illiterate peasant knows the names of plants, shrubs, trees, insects, animals, and farm tools of which a highly educated and cultured city dweller may be almost totally ignorant. Education and culture have a great deal to do with vocabulary range, but not inevitably so. Illiterate speakers sometimes reveal an amazing range of spoken vocabulary.

The discrepancy in the estimates of the mental lexicon may be partially due to confusion between use vocabulary and recognition vocabulary. For every word that we constantly use in our every day speech, there are perhaps ten words

[1] *Alleyne, R.* English language has doubled in size in the last century [Electronic resource] // The Telegraph, 16 Dec., 2010. – Mode of access: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/internet/8207621/English-language-has-doubled-in-size-in-the-last-century.html. – Date of access: 10.04.2015.

that we are able to recognize when we hear them or see them in print. Some of these we are also able to use when the occasion calls for them. This would mean that even the child or adult having a normal use vocabulary of 1,000 words would "know" 11,000.

Greater precision can, of course, be achieved in the matter of vocabulary range for literary purposes. But even here we run into striking discrepancies. One authority, for example, estimates that Shakespeare used 16,000 different words in his works, another 20,000, while a third places the figure at 25,000. Racine is said to have used only 6,000 different words, Victor Hugo 20,000. For newspaper usage we are informed that a single issue of the French *Le Temps* contained 3,800 different words [Pei 1967, p. 118].

The question of vocabulary possession is complicated by the complexity of the word itself, by the difficulty of its definition. Moreover, one word may include several naming units when it is polysemous. So, to estimate the mental lexicon's volume one should count naming units, not words, as it is done traditionally. But such calculations may become even more problematic due to difficulties of sense differentiation.

3. Lexicon acquisition

The average time it takes a child to learn the first 10 to 50 words is quite long: 4–8 months. It means that the rate of the first words acquisition is about 10 new words a month.

By 18 months children can use about 50 words and understand about five times as many. Within these 50 words there are nominals and action words, modifiers and function words, the words for personal and social relations. There are individual differences in early lexical development. Some children learn more object labels to talk about familiar environment, some children learn more pronouns and function words to to talk about themselves and others [Nelson 1981].

After that age a **"vocabulary explosion"** takes place. By the age of two children's spoken vocabulary exceeds 200 words. By the age of seven children know about 1,300 words and schoolchildren learn thousands of new words per year. It is estimated that the average Oxford undergraduate has a vocabulary of about 75,000 words.

Many reputable linguists have challenged these estimates. A very careful study made by a group of psychologists presents the following figures: *an average four-year old child knows* over **5,000** words; *at six*, he reaches a vocabulary

of **14,000** words; *at eight*, of **26,000** words; *at ten*, of **34,000**. They claim that a *college-educated* adult's mental lexicon may be up to **250,000** of words [Katamba 1994, p. 228]. Again, estimations vary widely due to methodological difficulties and different understandings of the term *word*.

Learning vocabulary means not only memorizing labels for certain concepts but also acquiring the rules according to which so many of these labels are created. Children acquire the derivational system of the language by the age of four, and from that time their vocabulary grows intensively thanks to the correct application of derivational rules and derivational morphemes. The majority of words they learn after that age are derived words.

Measuring the rate of children's word-acquisition is the easiest thing in the theory of the lexicon acquisition. A far more difficult thing is to explain **how** it happens, and that is left to theoreticians.

In theoretical linguistics the problem of vocabulary acquisition is quite new. Little has been done to reveal the nature of word learning so far, and there are more questions than answers in this field. But all the linguists whose concern is the lexicon point out that there is a great need for such a theory. The ideas of complexity and idiosyncratic nature of the lexicon, of the innate linguistic ability and categorization principles are definitely not enough to explain children's process of vocabulary acquisition.

Scholars discuss the problem of ability to segment varying sound wave into words, and there is a belief that children can do it because of rhythmic alternation.

Concept and word acquisition requires the ability to categorize, and scholars question whether children's mental representations are the same as adults' ones.

Techniques for deciding what a word may mean are under consideration. There are some theories on that, and one of them states that for a child a new word stands for the whole thing, not its parts.

Scholars argue about the links between syntax and lexicon in the process of word-acquisition. Some scholars believe that children make use of syntactic structures in which the words occur. These structures narrow the range of possible interpretations.

The recent *interactive activation* theory suggests that the mind is an enormously powerful network in which any word which resembles the one heard is automatically activated, and that each of these triggers its own neighbours, so that activation gradually spreads like ripples on a pond.

The opposite view on word acquisition stresses the effectiveness of the mind and "the least efforts principle" that would never allow for such a procedure.

The problem of vocabulary acquisition has been approached from a variety of perspectives: linguistic, psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic, neurolinguistic. Each of them brings something new to the understanding of the phenomenon. But due to this diversity it is sometimes difficult for scholars to communicate with one another, because they come from different traditions, use different methodology and work on different data. Theories on vocabulary acquisition are still in the process of developing.

4. The mental lexicon of a bilingual

The question of great importance is to find out what universal and specific features the mental lexicon of any human being possesses. Different languages lead to different mental lexicons and bilinguals are of special interest from this point of view.

A b i l i n g u a l is a person who is fluent in two languages. It is estimated that half the population of the world is bilingual. In the mind of a bilingual two language systems coexist at the same time, and many questions concerning the architecture of language ability, such as representation, storage, accessing and processing of the lexicon, should be studied in bilinguals, too.

Bilingualism also offers a unique opportunity for examining the relation between language and thought. If language influences thought, then there are grounds to believe that in a bilingual there are two conceptual systems, one corresponding to each language. If language primarily expresses the results of thought processes that are universal for speakers of all languages, then we may expect only one conceptual system underlying both languages.

Though it is widely accepted that a bilingual has two lexicons, there is no general agreement on how different lexicons are organized in the mind of a bilingual speaker and how they are related to the conceptual system.

There are **two major theories** *on lexical representation in the mind of a bilingual*:

1) **segregated language models** that support the idea of segregated conceptual systems;

2) **integrated language models** that support the idea of one integrated conceptual system in the mind of a bilingual.

On one hand, evidence for the unity of conceptual system but separability of language forms comes from studies of language code switching – a change from one language to another in the same situation or even utterance.

But the answer is not as easy as it may seem. Studies of different types of bilingualism give different data on the relation of language and conceptual systems. Bilingualism can be c o m p o u n d if a child learns two languages simultaneously in one and the same place, and c o o r d i n a t e if a person acquires two languages in distinct contexts separated by a time interval.

It is proven that in the case of *compound bilingualism*, in which a child has only one environment and only one type of experience with the same objects that are called differently, the two related words in different languages have the same affective meaning. But for *coordinate-bilingual speakers* the correlative words in each language may have different affective meanings. For example, on the semantic differential rating scale (see Chapter IV) the English word ***bread*** is thought of as 'good and weak', while the German word ***brot*** is rated as 'good and strong'. The difference may be accounted for by different experiences a person may have with the object in different countries and it is possible that conceptual representations of the object in a bilingual's mind may be different in this case.

The ability of a bilingual to keep their languages apart or to mix them at will is one of the most intriguing features that can't be explained today. This ability, however, may be lost in many aphasic bilingual patients. Some of them may gradually recover all their languages or only one of them.

As stated above, little is known about native language acquisition. But the situation with the second language acquisition is even worse. There is no satisfactory theory on language and **vocabulary acquisition** *by bilinguals*.

Recently a theory has emerged which is based on the Chomskian view that all languages are learned by setting parameters in the special "Language Acquisition Device" (LAD) wired in our brain, and that second language learning involves just the resetting of some parameters. This view stresses the similarity of both processes.

The theory may be correct when the general mechanism of the language faculty is meant, yet, our experience tells us that there is a radical difference in learning processes. A child learns the mother tongue vocabulary in a totally different way than he later learns the vocabulary of the second language. The second language is learned on the basis of the native tongue. When adults set out to learn a new language, they realize they will have to learn new phonology, grammar and vocabulary. Learning the vocabulary may seem to be the easiest thing but it turns into a life-long experience. Adult learners expect their teachers to explain the meaning of words to them in their mother tongue and spend years and years to become really fluent in a foreign language.

It is well known that one cannot acquire the vocabulary of a foreign language by studying a dictionary list of words. One should know even many more things about words that dictionary can provide and learn them in a different, more efficient way than studying their entries in a dictionary.

There is no doubt that further investigation of the structure of the mental lexicon in bilinguals and the ways of its acquisition will lead to the development of a new methodology in second and foreign language teaching.

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Conclusion
THE VOCABULARY OF MODERN ENGLISH: GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The most efficient communication between people is verbal; however, in different speech communities the number of words, their forms and meaning, their origin and use are different.

Specific characteristics of the English vocabulary are revealed in *quantitative* and *qualitative*, *formal*, *functional*, *etymological*, *morphological*, *derivational* and *lexical-semantic* aspects of words. Here are some of the most important specific features of Modern English vocabulary:

1. The lexicon is too complex, dynamic and flexible for any accurate calculations and it is not possible to give the exact number of lexical units (there is no even unanimity what should be considered a lexical unit). However, the vocabulary of Modern English is **very extensive**, it is generally estimated that there are **over one million words**.

2. Still another characteristic feature of the Modern English lexicon is its **mixed etymological character**. **Native words**, predominantly monosyllabic **words** of Anglo-Saxon origin (***all***, ***ago***, ***again***, ***arm***, ***ball***, ***bell***, ***blood***, ***bone***, ***book***, ***boy***, ***bread***, ***head***, ***hand***, ***elbow***, ***white***, etc.) and still older words of Indo-European origin, many of them going back to 8,000 before CE (***mother***, ***father***, ***sister***, ***brother***, ***nose***, ***heart***, ***foot***, ***cat***, etc.) **remain the core** of the lexical system of Modern English: they are polysemous, communicatively important most frequently used.

3. Yet remaining a Germanic language, English borrowed up to 70 % of its total vocabulary from more than 50 languages of the world.

   Though not so intensively as during and after the periods of Norman invasion of Great Britain, foreign words still enrich the English lexicon: ***bébé***, ***baguette***, ***bouillon*** [Fr]; ***Spetsnaz***, ***Duma***, ***preved***, ***Olbanian***, ***perestroika***, ***glasnost***, ***babushka***, ***borshch*** [Russ]; ***a capella***, ***bambino*** [It]; ***charisma*** [Gk]; ***bonsai***, ***sushi*** [Jap]; ***caramba***, ***bosque*** [Sp], etc.

   The majority of the newcomers were remodeled and assimilated according to the specific features of the English language system; some of them are still being assimilated.

Classical borrowings (i.e., from Latin and Greek) and neo-classical compounds constitute perhaps the absolute majority of all the words in the language though they are usually not used frequently. Not only words but many affixes came from Latin and Greek with the Renaissance, many of them became very productive and are often used with native roots forming such hybrids as ***womanize***, ***witticism***, etc.

Taking into account the number of words borrowed from French and Latin, English is even regarded by some linguists as half-Romance.

4. The next characteristic feature of the English vocabulary is its **steady replenishment**. The expansion of vocabulary is especially noticeable in the sphere of **terminology**. New developments in science and technology brought in use such words as ***laser***, ***vinyl***, ***computer***, ***software***, ***Wi-Fi***, ***video***, ***modem***, ***to log in***, ***high-tech***, ***on-line***, and there is no limit to their potential number. **Internet neologisms** have also contributed much to the English word stock: ***Google***, ***Twitter***, ***crowdsourcing***, ***spam***, ***app***, ***troll***, ***noob***, ***metrosexual***.

   Yet many of the words like ***mizzle*** ‘drizzle’, ***toom*** ‘empty’ become obsolete and drop out of the system.

5. Loan words radically changed the structure of the Old English lexicon, lead to numerous **etymological doublets** and **homonyms**. They also created **a three-member pattern of** stylistically different **synonyms**: *neutral* ones being traced to Anglo-Saxon roots, *literary* words coming from French and *learned* words being borrowed from Latin.

6. **Monomorphism** of many words consisting of only roots (***love***, ***answer***, ***sail***, ***hate***, ***birth***, ***death***, etc.) is one of the most distinctive features of the English vocabulary that was developed in the course of its history. Most of them, both native and loans, are also *monosyllables*: ***eye***, ***head***, ***nose***, ***cat***, ***dog***, ***home***, ***bed***; ***air***, ***cost***, ***firm***, ***pay***, ***push***, ***cry***, ***move***; ***die***, ***egg***, ***leg***, ***sky***, ***skirt***; ***disc***, ***pain***.

   These short words naming the most important concepts for human survival and further development possess a tremendous potential for derivation and they act as sources for new names derived by lexical-semantic, morphological and lexical-syntactic means.

7. Like in other Indo-European languages monomorphic root words are most common bases for many **derived words** by means of *conversion*, *composition*, *affixation* and *other word building means* that finally make up the majority of word-stock in English.

8. High productivity of **conversion** as well as some other non-affixal ways of word-derivation such as ***shortening***, ***back-formation***, ***transposition***, and some others, make many English derived words remain **monomorphic** (***to knife***, ***a fan***, ***to edit***, ***the rich***).

9. **Compounding** is one of the most important types of word-formation in English. Within the system of English compounds, the predominant part is made up of composites *without a linking element* (***snowman***, ***oil-rich***, ***sky-blue***). The mere juxtaposition of immediate constituents in English compounds alongside the lack of any other reliable criterion for referring a composite to the class of compounds make it difficult for lexicologists and lexicographers to differentiate among numerous cases of *wide use of nouns in attributive function* (as ***a life story***, ***a stone wall***). Semantically most important component in English compounds is always the second root.

10. **Affixation** in English – the formation of words by adding derivational affixes to different types of bases – is mainly of two types: *prefixation* and *suffixation*. Some of the Modern English derivational affixes originally were independent words (***over****do*; *beauti****ful***); others have always been known as suffixes or prefixes within the history of the English vocabulary (***un****able*; *child****hood***; *king****dom***). But most of them have been borrowed (***pre****school*; *govern****ment***) some of them gaining an international character (***hype****rtension*; ***neo****classica*; *descriptiv****ism***).

    In Modern English **suffixation** is mostly characteristic **of noun and adjective** formation, while **prefixation** is mostly characteristic **of verbs formation**. *Suffixes* are often used *for differentiating parts of speech*; *prefixes* are mostly used *for naming negation, time, order and space.*

    The borrowed *prefixes* ***-mini-***, ***maxi-***, ***super-***, ***micro-***, ***mega-***, ***hyper-*** have recently become especially active and productive in creating new words: ***mini-diskette***, ***superchip***, ***micro-surgery***, or ***hypersonic***.

    There are many *polysemantic* derivational affixes in Modern English (***dis-*** may have the meanings of ‘not’ (***dis****advantage*) and ‘removal of’ (*to* ***dis****branch*). Affixes may also be *synonymous* (negative prefixes: ***de****code*, ***dis****agree*, ***il****legal*, ***non****-metallic*, ***un****certain*) or *homonymous* (the suffix ***-y*** may coin an adjective from a noun stem adding to it different lexical meaning: *bush****y*** ‘full of’, *ston****y*** ‘composed of’ and it may also be added to nominal stems to form diminutive nouns, pet names, etc.: *aunt****y***, *Tomm****y***, *horse****y***).

11. Minor word-formations like different types of **shortening**, e.g., ***URL*** [juː ɑːr el] ‘uniform (or universal) resource locator, the address of a World Wide Web, or WWW, page’, ***Wi-Fi*** ‘***Wi****reless* ***Fi****delity*, a group of technical standards

enabling the transmission of data over wireless networks'; **blendings** (**portmanteau words**), e.g., ***pompetent*** 'pompous but competent', ***smust*** 'smoke and dust', ***sexplosion*** 'sex explosion', ***movelist*** 'a writer for the movies', and **analogical word-formations** like ***beef-a-roni***; ***rice-a-roni***, ***noodle-roni*** after the original ***macaroni*** or ***cheeseburger***, ***fishburger*** after ***hamburger*** have become very productive in Modern English.

12. **Lexical-semantic naming** is one of the most productive ways of naming in English. Here are some examples of English semantic neologisms in the IT sphere: ***input***, ***list***, ***menu***, ***code***, ***404***. The active use of English words, especially monomorphic ones, in lexical-semantic naming cause a high degree of their **polysemy**, estimated as one of the highest in European languages. English words are more polysemous than Russian ones.

13. The majority of English words are the **products** of the first or the second degree **of derivation** as it can be seen in the morphological family of the noun ***hand***: ***handy***, ***handiness***, ***handy-man***, ***handily***; ***handless***, ***handbag***, ***handbook***, ***hand-breadth***, ***hand-cart***, ***handcuff***, ***to handcuff***, ***handful***, ***hand-out***, ***handshake***. Derivatives of the third and fourth degree of derivation, like ***non-environmentalist***, are rare in English.

14. **Lexicalization** (**institutionalization**) **of a word-group**, changing it into a single lexeme is characteristic of any language, and it is highly characteristic of English (***family tree***, ***Civil Service***, ***Public Administration***). Being between language units and speech units, having the same derivational patterns as as free syntagmas (***a dancing girl***) and most of compound words (***a dancing-girl***) they cause a serious problem of differention between the three groups of lexemes which has both theoretical and practical significance.

    In addition to English specific word **lexical and grammatical collocability** – different restrictions naturally provided by the English language system (cf.: ***strong tea*** but ***powerful argument***), some collocations of words, and even some sentences, become fixed as a result of their frequent use in speech. They change into readily reproduced **clichés** and finally become **phraseological units** – lexicalized word-groups making up part of a language system alongside with morphemes and words. We are quick to say ***wrong number*** when answering some telephone call; we may ***take the bus*** or ***walk on foot***.

    When with time syntagmas lose their motivation or add metaphoric meaning, they may change into **idioms** – usually nationally coloured complex phrases of different structure and degree of motivation: ***red herring*** 'something that distracts attention from an important issue'; ***to set the Thames on fire***

'to do something which brings great public acclaim'; ***to wash dirty linen in public*** means 'to disclose one's family troubles to outsiders'. Semantically these word-groups cannot be reduced to the meanings of their components, and functionaly they are characterized by integrity: ***to break the ice***, ***in the long run***, ***mare's nest***, etc.

15. According to *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World* – the web-based publication with statistics for 7,457 languages of the world – there are almost **1 billion speakers of English** as a first or second language[1]. A Native American proverb suggests that language changes within a mile, and it is true as the English language spoken in all the continents **exists in a great number of variants and dialects** marked by differences in lexical, phonetic and grammatical systems.

The final point is about significance of theorectical knowledge about English lexicon. There are many rules and regularities in the system and structure of a lexicon, and theoretical lexical knowledge is a kind of a map that presents the major lines of differences between native and foreign languages and makes learning more efficient and enjoyable. The major task of the English Lexicology course is to provide learners of English as a foreign language with such a map: to inform them about arbitrariness in conceptualization, categorization and naming, about peculiarities of English in concept naming, morphemic, derivational and semantic word structures, grammatical and lexical collocations of words, etc.

[1] Modern English [Electronic resource] // Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. – Mode of access: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modern_English. – Date of access: 04.04.2015.

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