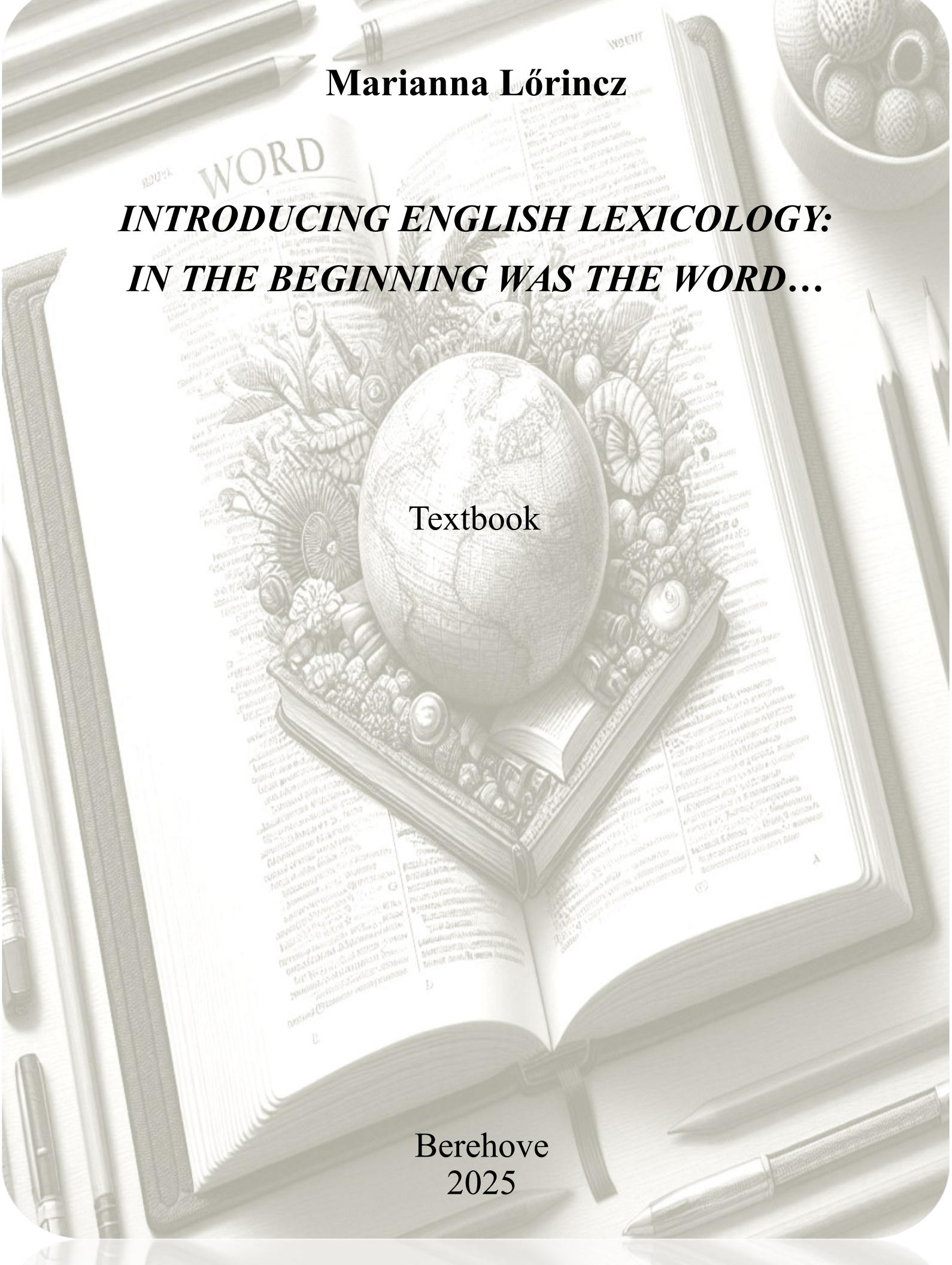
Marianna Lőrincz

INTRODUCING ENGLISH LEXICOLOGY: IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE WORD…



Textbook

Berehove
2025

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“Introducing English Lexicology: In the Beginning Was the Word...” provides an overview of the fundamental aspects of English vocabulary and words. It is tailored for English language and literature students, particularly those whose native languages are Ukrainian and Hungarian.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

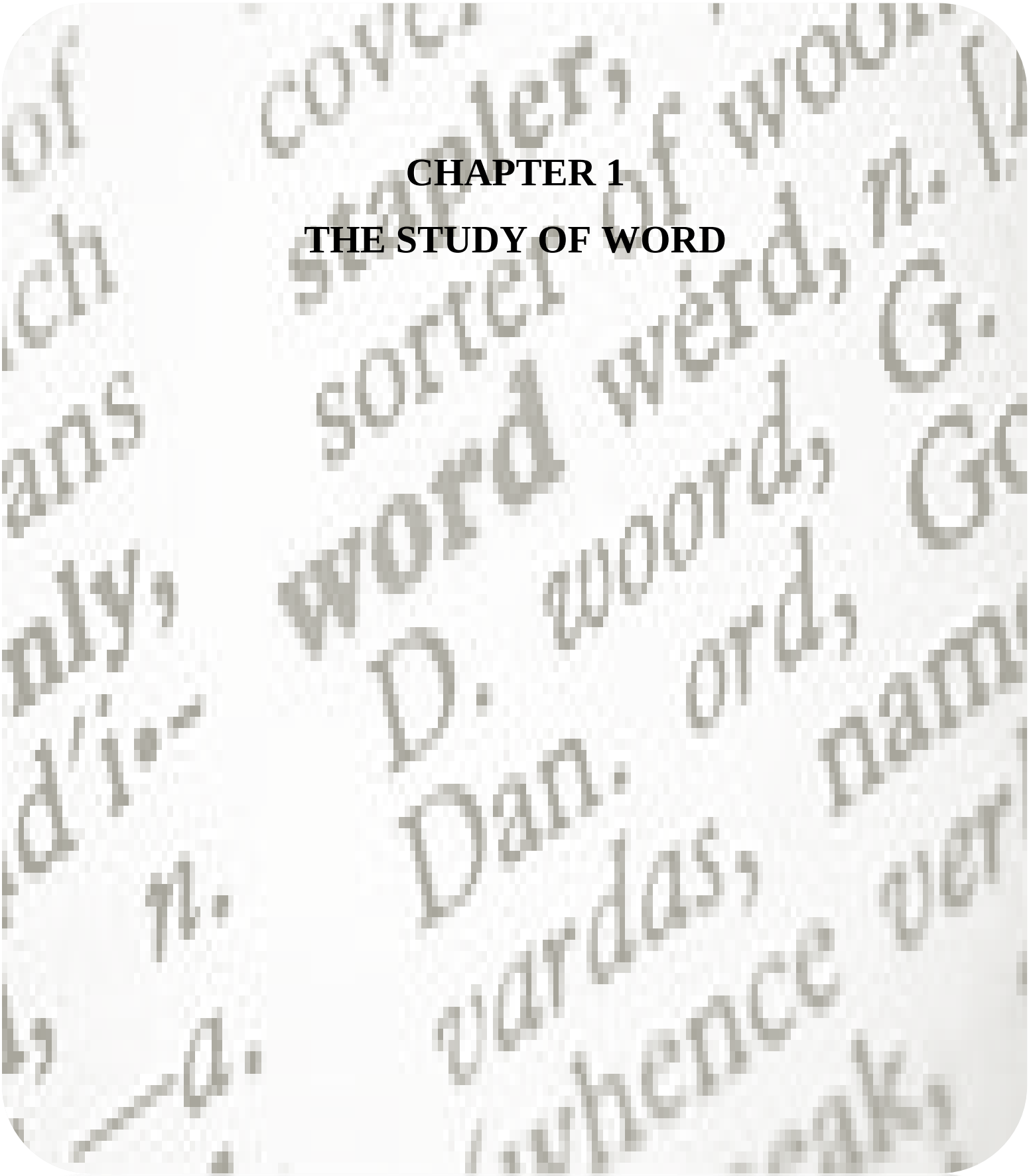
PREFACE

"Introducing English Lexicology: In the Beginning Was the Word" is tailored for English language and literature students, particularly those whose first languages are Ukrainian and Hungarian. The textbook covers the basics of English lexicology, providing insights into the meaning, structure, and evolution of words. It comprises eight chapters on topics such as the definition and scope of lexicology, semantics, lexical relations, semantic change, word structure and formation, multiword expressions, the history of English words, and lexicography. Each chapter includes a summary, exercises to reinforce key concepts, and sources for further reading, enabling students to review and test their understanding of the material.

The first chapter (The Study of Word) lays the foundation by defining lexicology. It explores the concept of words, their characteristics, and the various types of words. Chapter 2 (Semantics: Word and Sentence Meaning) covers lexical and sentence semantics, examining how meaning is constructed and interpreted. Chapter 3 (Lexical Relations) focuses on the relationships between words within the lexicon. It discusses paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations, synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy, incompatibility, meronymy, polysemy, and homonymy. Chapter 4 (Semantic Change) examines the processes, motivations, and mechanisms of semantic change, including metaphor, metonymy, broadening, narrowing, degradation, and elevation. Chapter 5 (Structure and Formation of English Words) covers inflectional morphology, types of morphemes, major and minor word formation processes, and the productivity of affixes. The chapter provides a detailed analysis of derivation, compounding, conversion, and other word formation mechanisms. Chapter 6 (Multiword Expressions in English) addresses the complexity of multiword expressions, including collocations, idioms, proverbs, phrasal verbs, binominals, trinominals, similes, and social formulae. Chapter 7 (The History of English Words) traces the origins and development of borrowed and native words. Finally, Chapter 8 (Lexicography) introduces lexicography, the practice of compiling dictionaries. It distinguishes between lexicography and lexicology, discusses the types of dictionaries, and explores digital technologies in lexicography.

I hope this textbook will serve as a handy academic resource and inspire students to explore English words and vocabulary with curiosity.

Marianna Lőrincz



CHAPTER 1

THE STUDY OF WORD

In the beginning was the Word,
and the Word was with God,
and the Word was God.
(Bible Gateway John 1: NIV).

1.1. LEXICOLOGY AS A DISCIPLINE

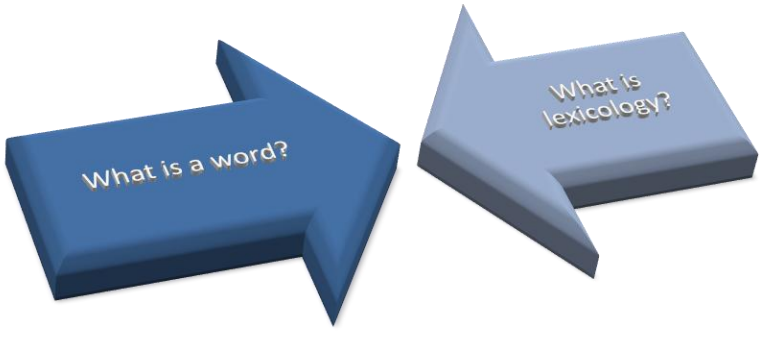
DEFINITION OF LEXICOLOGY

Language, and hence, words, have always been assigned an exceptional role in our collective worldview, a sentiment echoed in various philosophical and religious texts, as in the above passage from the Bible. Indeed, the possession of language, with the word as its fundamental unit, is something that makes us human, setting us apart from other living beings. As Chomsky (1968) aptly stated, when we explore the language, we come closer to understanding the essence of what it means to be human:

> *When we study human language, we are approaching what some might call the human essence, the distinctive qualities of mind that are, so far as we know, unique to [humans] (Chomsky, 1968, p. 100).*

Language, therefore, forms the basis of our human nature, and by delving into language we are probing into something fundamental about what it means to be human. As we embark on this exploration, two questions arise:

What precisely constitutes a word, and what is lexicology?



The study of words and vocabulary is integral to the broader investigation of language, which is conceptualized as a hierarchical system comprising phonemic, lexical, and grammatical levels. Within this framework, lexicology and lexicography focus on the lexical level. Lexicology is concerned with the study of words in its broadest sense, while lexicography pertains to the theoretical and practical aspects of compiling dictionaries.

The term “lexicology” is derived from the Geek words “lexis”, which means a word, “lexicos” – having to do with words, and “logos” – science, field of knowledge. Therefore, lexicology is the study of lexis or words and their inventory, also known as vocabulary or lexicon. Vocabulary and lexicon are often used interchangeably, though "vocabulary" is more commonly used in everyday language, while "lexicon" is a more technical term.

Definitions:

Various definitions of lexicology have been proposed, each highlighting different facets of the study of words:

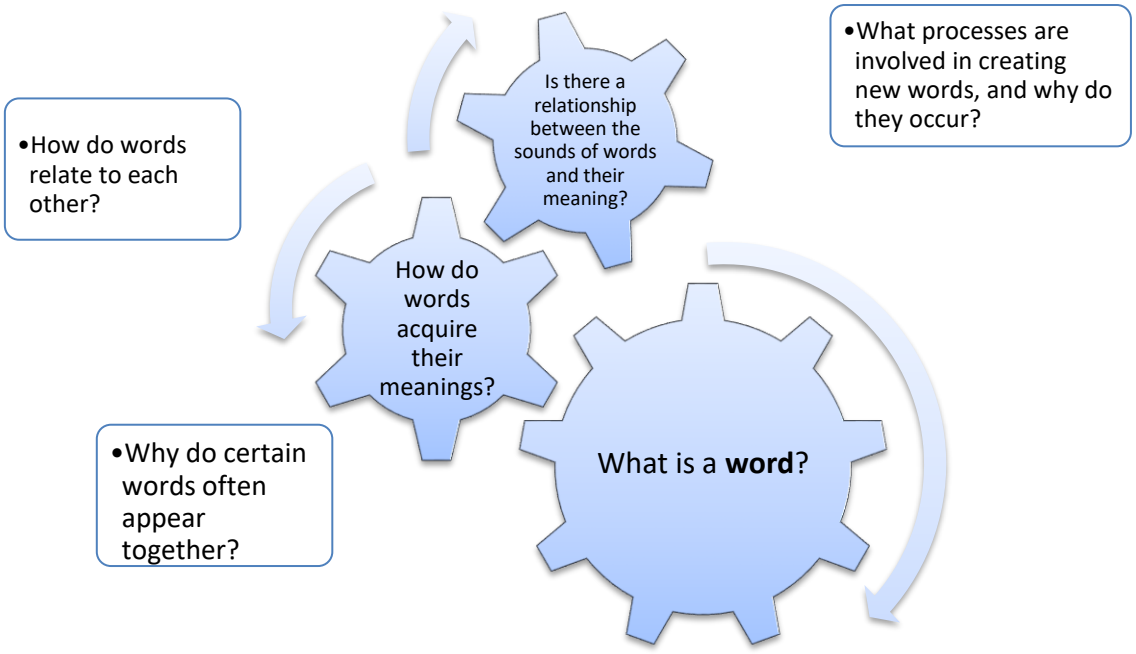
- “Lexicology may be defined as the study of lexis, understood as the stock of words in a given language, i.e. its vocabulary or lexicon” (Jackson & Amvela, 2021, p. 2).
- Lexicology encompasses “… the overall study of a language’s vocabulary (including its history)” (Crystal, 2008, p. 304).
- Lexicology is the “subdiscipline of linguistics or, more specifically, semantics that investigates and describes the structure of the vocabulary of a language” (Bussmann, 2006, p. 683).
- Lexicology involves “… the study of the form, meaning, and behavior of words” (The New Oxford Dictionary of English, 2005).
- Lexicology is concerned with “… the study of the meanings and origins of words” (Webster’s New World College Dictionary, 4th Edition).

Subject matter of lexicology: The above definitions suggest that lexicology is concerned with the in-depth analysis of vocabulary and words, their meaning, morphemic structure, etymology or history, and use.

AREAS OF STUDY IN LEXICOLOGY

In lexicology, we explore various aspects of vocabulary to gain insight into the workings of language. This includes examining word meanings, understanding the

connections between words, investigating how words are formed, to name just a few. A fundamental aspect of lexicology is the study of word meanings within lexical semantics, which seeks to uncover the underlying reasons behind why words carry the meanings they do. Similarly, lexicologists consider the relationship between the sound of a word and its meaning, probing whether there is a correlation between the two. Additionally, lexicology explores lexical relations, which involve the connections and interactions between words. For instance, synonymy, or the relationship between words with similar meanings, collocations, or the co-occurrence of words, fall within this area. Moreover, lexicologists examine semantic fields, which are groups of words sharing related meanings within specific domains. Lexicology also delves into the processes of word formation, seeking to understand how and why new words emerge. As evident, the scope of inquiry within lexicology is vast, spanning a wide range of topics. In subsequent chapters of this book, we will delve deeper into some of these questions.



Subfields: In addressing these questions, lexicology engages in research across multiple areas:

❖ Semantics, or semasiology (not identical, but closely related): This field in linguistics centers on the meaning in language, with lexical semantics focusing on understanding the meanings of words.

❖ Onomasiology (Greek "*onoma"*): Have you ever wondered why things are named the way they are? This area of linguistics studies the processes of naming extra-lingual entities, seeking to understand how we give names to things or concepts in the real world.

❖ Onomastics: Concentrates on the study of proper names.

❖ Morphology: Studies word formation processes.

❖ Etymology: For those curious about the origins and evolution of words, etymology is the precise field. It delves into the historical development of words over time.

❖ Phraseology: delves into the study of multi-word expressions (idioms or phraseological units).

Types of Lexicology: Lexicology branches out into general, special, and contrastive lexicology.

General lexicology analyzes words and vocabulary universally, regardless of the specific properties of individual languages.

Special lexicology uncovers unique features of vocabulary found in specific languages.

Contrastive lexicology offers a framework for comparing vocabularies across different languages.

Within these, we can further delineate two subfields:

Firstly, **historical** lexicology examines a language's vocabulary from a diachronic perspective, focusing on etymology, which involves studying the meaning, origin, and evolution of words over time. Secondly, **descriptive** lexicology operates synchronically, meaning it analyzes the characteristics of vocabulary at a specific stage in its development.

VOCABULARY AND WORD

In lexicology, the term vocabulary refers to an inventory of all words found in a particular language. Vocabulary is not a random list but rather a cohesive system composed by the entirety of words and their equivalents within a language. A word, on the other hand, represents the fundamental unit of a language. It emerges from associating a specific meaning with a distinct set of sounds, which can be used in various contexts of communication.

Vocabulary can be classified based on various criteria:

(a) Active and Passive Vocabulary: In language learning, vocabulary is divided into active and passive categories. Active vocabulary includes words that individuals actively use, while passive vocabulary comprises words they understand but do not use themselves.

(b) Semantic Relations: Words can be categorized by exploring their meanings and relationships, such as synonyms or antonyms.

(c) Word Formation: Vocabulary can be examined in terms of word formation, known as morphology.

(d) Etymology: Vocabulary can be understood by considering historical aspects, including borrowed words, foreign words, or word families.

(e) Regional and Social Variations: Vocabulary can vary based on regional or social factors, leading to differences like dialects or jargons (Bussman, 2006, p. 1268).

INTERRELATION OF LEXICOLOGY WITH OTHER LINGUISTIC DISCIPLINES

Lexicology is linked with broader areas of linguistics, including the history of language, phonetics, stylistics, grammar, etc.

At a glance, the study of the fundamental structure of language, including the arrangement of components within larger linguistic units (grammar), and the study of its vocabulary (lexicology) may seem unrelated. However, alterations to the morphological structure of a word or changes in the order of components within a compound word significantly influence their meanings. Consider, for example, how adding suffixes alters the meaning of words like “hand” – “hands,”“color” – “colors,” and “custom” – “customs” when pluralized. This results in a complete shift in their lexical meanings due to the addition of suffixes.

Similarly, in the case of “boat house” (a small building in which boats are kept) changing to “house boat” (a boat used as a home), the rearrangement of components profoundly affects their interpretation. These instances show how even minor modifications in word structure can result in distinct meanings, emphasizing the intricate relationship between grammar and lexicology.

While the study of words and the analysis of sounds in language (phonology) may initially seem unrelated, a closer examination reveals otherwise. Sometimes, the sole distinction between two words lies in their pronunciation. Take, for instance, the words “toy” and “boy,” or “feet” and “fit,” or “bin” and “pin.” These pairs of words are almost the same

except for one sound unit. Surprisingly, this minor sound difference can have a significant impact on the meaning of words when we study language in detail (Amvela, 2000).

1.2. DEFINING THE WORD

GRAPPLING WITH TERMINOLOGICAL AMBIGUITY

We take it for granted that recognizing a word is easy, especially for those who speak the language fluently. Consequently, we believe that counting the number of words in a language and documenting them as dictionary entries should present no difficulties. Yet, things are less than straightforward in linguistic theory. Try, for instance, to decide how many words there are in “merry-go-round,” “word formation,” “word formation,” or “haven’t”?

This ambiguity is also evident in how words translate across languages since a single word in one language may correspond to two or more words in another language. For example, the English equivalents of Ukrainian word forms for “ходитимуть,” “пішла,” “приготував” are “they will go,” “she left,” and “he prepared.” In Swahili, “they will eat” stands for one lexeme “watakula.” Then there is the question of cases like “run,” “runs,” “running,” and “ran” – should these be treated as distinct words or forms of the same word. Similarly contentious is how to treat words with multiple meanings, like "bank" or "ball," whether they constitute a single word with various senses or multiple distinct words.

Hence, defining a word comprehensively is challenging and lacks consistency despite numerous efforts. Its meaning varies depending on linguistic viewpoints and the specific structural characteristics of individual languages.

Given these complexities, linguists suggest defining words based on their different characteristics and functions, thus distinguishing between different types of words. When discussing words, it is crucial to specify the particular context in which they are being considered. This entails specifying whether we are focusing on pronunciation, in which case we speak of a phonological definition and phonological words, respectively. Likewise, defining words as letter sequences pertains to orthographic words. In other words, each attempt to define a word requires us to clarify the aspects we take into account, which can help reduce ambiguity.

TYPES OF WORDS

Orthographic words: These are identified by strings of letters and characters separated by blank spaces in written language. For instance, “book” and “apple” are considered one orthographic word. However, the representation of written words can vary; compound words such as "keywords," "coursebook," or "schoolboy" may be spelled in different ways, either as a single word, hyphenated, or as two separate words. "I will" comprises two orthographic words, whereas contractions like "I'll" or "They've" are counted as just one.

Phonological words: Phonological words are characterized by their distinct phonetic structures, as seen in examples such as "controversy" pronounced as /ˈkɒntrəˌvɜrsi/ or /ˈkɑntrəˌvɜrsi/, and "schedule" pronounced as /ˈʃɛdjuːl/ or /ˈskɛdjuːl/.

Grammatical words or word forms: These include all forms that differ in grammatical meanings. For instance, “speak,” “speaks,” “speaking,” and “spoke” are considered distinct grammatical words.

Note, that the same word form can serve different grammatical purposes and convey different grammatical meanings, known in linguistics as syncretism. For instance, the word "run" can indicate both present tense and past participle, while "fish" and "fruit" can function as both singular and plural forms. Furthermore, grammatical words can be rearranged within a sentence without altering the overall grammatical meaning, although they typically maintain a fixed internal order among themselves.

e.g. *Finally, the team won the championship.*

The team finally won the championship.

The championship was finally won by the team.

Content words and function words: Content words, such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives, carry the main lexical meaning in a sentence or a larger unit of communication. They are numerous in language, and their number is constantly increasing. Because of this, they are termed an **open class** of words.

In contrast, function words, such as conjunctions, articles, prepositions, and auxiliaries, lack distinct lexical meanings. They are limited in number, and the introduction of new function words is rare. Consequently, they fall into a **closed class** of words. Function words are very frequent and appear in almost all sentences or texts.

Semantic words (Sememes): A single word can carry multiple meanings, whether related or unrelated. For example, consider the word "bat," which can refer to different concepts such as a nocturnal animal, a piece of sports equipment, or a swift motion. Each of these meanings corresponds to a different sememe associated with the word “bat.”

In semantics, a sememe stands for the smallest unit of meaning in a language. Sememes serve as the building blocks of meaning, representing individual concepts or ideas linked to particular words.

Lexemes: A lexeme or lexical item serves as a unit of vocabulary (Crystal, 2008, p. 279). Lexemes are abstract dictionary words featured as headwords in dictionaries. Lexemes may consist of a single word (e.g., "apple," "chair," "door") or multiple words, in which case they are termed multiword lexemes, such as idioms (e.g., "once in a blue moon," "to see red," " brown study") or phrasal verbs (e.g., "put up," "take off," "give in").

A lexeme underlies various word forms that share a common core meaning. For example, the lexeme 'shoot' includes word forms such as "shoot," "shoots," "shooting," and "shot." Similarly, the lexeme "good" can manifest in different word forms like "better" or "the best.”

While the terms "lexeme" and "lexical item" are mainly used interchangeably, in psycholinguistics, lexical items denote words stored and processed in the speaker’s brain, i.e. the words we know. The term **mental lexicon** is used to describe all the words and lexical resources stored in the brain of a speaker (Trask, 1999, p.111), i.e. all words a speaker knows.

Lemma: the term “lemma” refers to the base or dictionary form of a word. It is the uninflected form of a word that is typically found in dictionaries, serving as a standard representation of that word. For instance, the lemma “run” gives rise to various word forms such as “running” or “ran”. Lemma is a technical term used in corpus linguistics, natural language processing, and linguistic analysis.

WHICH TERM?

Which term, then, should be used or how not to get lost in this terminological chaos? Many linguists prefer using the term “lexical item” as a "general concept underlying all this diversity" (Halliday & Colin Yallop, 2007, p. 3). Carter (2012) also finds it to be “a useful and fairly neutral hold-all term which captures and, to some extent, helps to overcome instabilities in the term word” (p. 23). He believes the term “word” is imprecise, while "lexeme" and "word forms" are theoretical concepts that should be employed when theoretical differentiation is required.

Overall, there remains “no generally applicable definition of word” (Haspelmath, 2023, p. 292). The attempts to provide one also depend on the theoretical perspective taken by linguists. For instance, let us examine the concept of a word through the lens of prototype theory.

The salient characteristics of a prototypical word can be outlined as follows:

(a) consistent and uninterrupted pronunciation;

(b) relatively stable meaning, albeit with potential for multiple related meanings;

(c) written form with spaces separating words;

(d) typically featuring one primary stress and being pronounceable independently with pauses on either side;

(e) exhibiting flexibility in terms of adjacent word placement (Taylor, 2015).

Interestingly, many pertinent publications refrain from providing a definitive definition of a word. Carter (2013), for instance, identifies several key challenges in attempting such a definition:

1. Traditional definitions based on orthography, free-form, or stress often fail to encompass all types of words.

2. Defining words as units of meaning presents challenges due to numerous exceptions and inherent vagueness.

3. While words may have various forms, these forms may not always constitute distinct words.

4. Words with the same forms may possess different, and sometimes entirely unrelated, meanings.

5. Idioms disrupt efforts to define words in a concise and formal manner (p. 22).

As evident, the idea of what constitutes a word is closely connected to various linguistic facets. These include pronunciation, which involves how words are spoken; orthography, which concerns spelling and writing systems; morphology, which examines word structure and formation; meaning, which relates to the content of words; lexicography, which catalogues lexical units. Each of these factors, directly or indirectly, contributes to determining what qualifies as a word in a language.

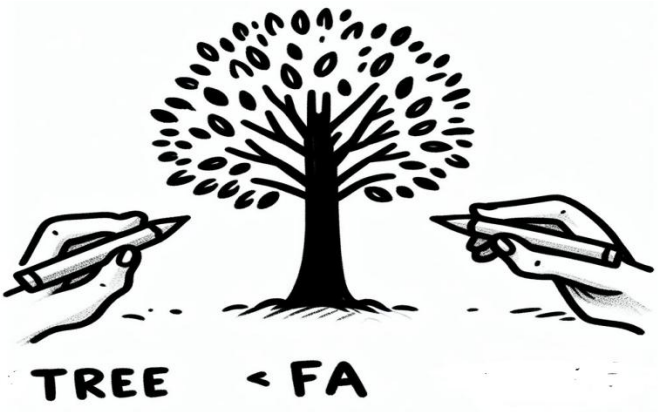
To conclude this subchapter on a positive note, it is important to highlight that despite differing perspectives, there is a shared understanding that words are fundamental units of language. These units play a crucial role in conveying meaning, serving the purpose of communication.

CHARACTERISTICS OF WORDS

Words exhibit several fundamental characteristics:

Arbitrariness

The relationship between a set of sounds and the meanings they convey is largely arbitrary. In other words, there is no direct correlation between words and the objects, concepts, actions, or phenomena they represent in the real world. For example, the word “table” does not transmit information about the shape, color, or function of the object it refers to. The connection between the sound form of a word, and the abstract concept of a table is arbitrary. In Ukrainian, the word “дерево” means “tree,” and its arbitrary nature is evident as the word's sound form does not inherently convey information about the physical characteristics of a tree. Similarly, in Hungarian, “fa” represents the same concept of “tree.” The fact that different languages have entirely distinct lexemes for the same concept demonstrates that arbitrariness is the basic characteristic of words.



However, certain words can convey acoustic or even non-acoustic properties of corresponding phenomena through their sound form. In linguistics, this is known as **sound symbolism**, where the way words are pronounced gives a hint about their meaning. Most languages include onomatopoeic words like “miaow”, “moo”, “hiss”, “sizzle” or “bang,” which imitate the sounds made by the objects or actions they represent. Nevertheless, even in such cases, the specific sounds used can vary from one language to another, reflecting the unique sound patterns of each language. For instance, In English, dogs typically bark with a sound that is commonly written as “woof” or “arf.” In Ukrainian, the sound of a dog's bark is often represented as “гав”. In Hungarian, dogs are said to bark with a sound written as “vau” or “vau-vau,” or “guau” or “gua-gua” in Spanish.

Conventionality

The arbitrariness of a word arises from the conventionality of language (Bussman, 2006, p. 252). Words are conventional symbols resulting from agreements and conventions established within a particular community of speakers.

Even when the relationship between a word's sound form and its associated concept is not purely arbitrary, as seen in onomatopoeic words like “roar” or “baa,” these sound forms are still considered conventional because they represent agreed-upon forms recognized by members of a society. If this were not the case, there would be identical words in different languages.

Most words in languages are conventional, i.e., they adhere to established agreements within a community. However, there may be exceptions, like newly coined words used only on specific occasions or by particular individuals. When these words gain acceptance and usage within the broader society, they become conventional lexemes (Pavlik, 2017, p. 13).

If a newly coined word becomes accepted by a community of speakers and enters the vocabulary of that language, it is said to undergo the process of **lexicalization**. Lexicalization is defined as “the adoption of a word into the lexicon of a language as a usual formation that is stored in the lexicon and can be recalled from there for use.” (Bussman, 2006, p. 681). Conventionalization is a closely related term, pertaining to the acceptance of a word by a language community and its standardization.

The process of lexicalization involves several key steps: a new word is created in order to fill a gap in the vocabulary or to designate a novel concept or object. Initially, the new word is used only by a limited group of speakers in a specific context. Over time, the word may start to be used more frequently and gain acceptance by a broader segment of speakers. At this point, it becomes an integral part of the vocabulary and becomes fixed in dictionaries. It is no longer seen as a novel term but rather as a conventional word in the language. However, not all newly coined words successfully make this transition. Many factors, including the word’s utility, clarity, and relevance, influence whether it becomes a legitimate member of a language’s vocabulary.

Abstraction and Generalization

The concept of abstraction is rooted in the role of language as a communication tool within an exceptionally diverse world. Given the vastness of external reality, assigning individual words to every object, action, or state becomes impractical. Therefore, abstractions become crucial in this linguistic process. With the exception of terms, proper names, and

nouns denoting unique objects, words typically refer to classes of things rather than singular items. Language users can create words that represent varying levels of abstraction based on their specific needs. For example, consider the hierarchy from general to specific: "vehicle > car > sedan > Toyota > Corolla," where each term abstracts from the previous one. In lexemes such as "flora − plant – tree – fur-tree," the first item is the most abstract, while the last (fur-tree) is the most concrete.

The process of abstraction can lead to diverse outcomes across different languages. For instance, consider the Ukrainian word "рука," which denotes both an "arm" and "hand," similar to the Hungarian "kar" and "kéz." While it encompasses both concepts within a single term, it may lack the specificity found in languages with separate words for "arm" and "hand." In some African languages, distinct words exist for the left hand and the right hand, yet there is no single word for the concept of a "hand" in a general sense. This demonstrates how languages can vary in their approaches to categorizing and naming elements of the external world. That said, it is important to note that the majority of English words possess varying degrees of generality.

Formal unity

Words possess an internal cohesion and cannot be divided by other units (Brinton & Brinton, 2017, p. 80).When affixes are added to modify a word's meaning, they are added either as prefixes at the beginning or suffixes at the end of the word. For example, by adding "dis-" to "connect," the word "disconnect" is created. Similarly, adding the suffix "-ed" to "excite" results in "excited." Words are, thus, internally stable (Jackson & Amwela, 2021).

Semantic unity

Words express a unified semantic concept (Brinton & Brinton, 2017, p. 80). In simple terms, regardless of the number of morphemes they contain, words always convey a single concept. For instance, let us consider the compound word "bluebell" and the word combination "blue bell." In the word "bluebell," a single concept is conveyed: a specific type of flower. However, in the word combination where the morphemes "blue" and "bell" are identical, two distinct concepts are expressed: color and an object used to make a ringing sound. So, even compounds consisting of three elements like "forget-me-not" or "pick-me-up" express just one concept.

Grammatical category

Each word belongs to a specific grammatical category, also known as a part of speech or word class (e.g., nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, articles, prepositions). Even if the same lexeme appears in more than one grammatical category, as in the case of homonyms, they are treated as separate words. For instance, “water” can function as both a verb and a noun, and in each instance, it is considered a distinct word.

SUMMARY

Lexicology is an in-depth study of words and vocabulary, encompassing their meanings, morphemic structure, etymology, and usage.

Subfields of lexicology include **semantics** (the study of word meaning), **morphology** (the study of word formation), **onomasiology** (investigates how names are assigned to things or concepts), **onomastics** (the study of proper names), **etymology** (explores the origins and historical development of words), **phraseology** (the study of multiword expressions).

Lexicology encompasses **general**, **special**, and **contrastive** branches, further subdivided into **historical** (diachronic) and **descriptive** (synchronic) lexicology.

Native speakers of a language possess an intuitive understanding of words, allowing them to recognize words effortlessly. However, defining a word in linguistic terms is challenging, leading lexicologists to rely on its distinctive features.
Various facets such as pronunciation, spelling, word structure, meaning, and lexical organization are taken into account in determining what constitutes a word. The concept encompasses diverse word types like **orthographic, phonological, grammatical, content, function**, and **semantic** words (**sememes**). Additionally, terms such as **lexeme, lexical item**, and **lemma** are commonly used.

Characteristics of words:
1. **Arbitrariness**: Words' meanings are largely arbitrary, with no inherent connection between sound and meaning, or the word and the concept it represents. For example, there is no obvious reason why the word “apple” should be associated with the fruit it denotes. However, there are exceptions, particularly with onomatopoeic words (e.g., bang, moo, baa).
2. **Conventionality**: Words are conventional symbols established within a community of speakers.
3. **Abstraction** and **Generalization**: Language employs abstractions to communicate effectively, categorizing objects into classes rather than singular items.
4. **Formal Unity**: Words maintain internal cohesion and stability, with affixes modifying meanings either as prefixes or suffixes.

5. **Semantic Unity**: Words express a single concept.

6. **Grammatical Category**: Each word belongs to a specific grammatical category/part of speech/word class, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc., even if the same lexeme appears in multiple categories.

EXERCISES

THE STUDY OF WORD

I. Questions for Discussion

1. In your understanding, what role do words play in shaping human identity? Comment on Chomsky's assertion regarding the significance of studying language, as outlined in the introduction to this chapter.
2. How does the study of lexicology contribute to our understanding of language and human communication?
3. What do the definitions of lexicology provided in this chapter have in common (Chapter 1.1.)? Where does the difference lie?
4. Comment on the etymology of the term "lexicology."
5. What distinguishes the focal points of lexicology from those of lexicography?
6. What is the subject matter of lexicology, as described in this chapter?
7. Which term refers to a collection of all words present in a specific language?
8. What are some areas of study within lexicology mentioned in the chapter?
9. Discuss the interdisciplinary nature of lexicology. How does it intersect with fields like grammar or phonetics?
10. Explain why the concept of a word lacks a consistent definition in lexicology. What factors contribute to the absence of a uniform definition?
11. Describe the main types of words.
12. What basic properties do words exhibit?
13. What is the relationship between sounds and meanings of words? Provide examples to illustrate your response.
14. Discuss the process of lexicalization and the key steps involved in a word becoming a conventional part of a language's vocabulary.
15. Describe the characteristics of a prototypical word according to prototype theory.

II. Select the most appropriate answer for each question from the provided options:

1. Which definition best encapsulates the subject matter of lexicology?
   a) The study of language use

b) The investigation of phonetic structure

c) The analysis of vocabulary and words, including their meaning and history

d) The exploration of meaning in language

2. Which subfield studies word meaning?
    a) Etymology
    b) Phonetics
    c) Semantics
    d) Morphology

3. What area of linguistics seeks to understand how we give names to things or concepts in the outside world?
    a) Onomasiology
    b) Semantics
    c) Morphology
    d) Syntax

4. Which subfield of lexicology concentrates on the study of proper names?
    a) Etymology
    b) Phraseology
    c) Onomastics
    d) Semantics

5. What aspect of lexicology studies word formation processes?
    a) Etymology
    b) Onomasiology
    c) Morphology
    d) Semantics

6. Which field of linguistics examines the historical development of words over time?
    a) Phonology
    b) Morphology
    c) Etymology
    d) Syntax

7. Which area of linguistics is interested in the study of multi-word expressions?
    a) Phonology
    b) Onomasiology
    c) Etymology
    d) Phraseology

8. What term refers to the analysis of the characteristics of vocabulary at a specific stage in its development?
    a) Descriptive lexicology
    b) Historical lexicology
    c) Contrastive lexicology
    d) General lexicology

9. Which branch of lexicology examines a language's vocabulary from a diachronic perspective?
    a) Descriptive lexicology
    b) Historical lexicology
    c) Contrastive lexicology
    d) General lexicology

10. Which type of lexicology offers a framework for comparing vocabularies across different languages?
    a) General lexicology
    b) Special lexicology
    c) Contrastive lexicology
    d) Historical lexicology

11. What is the relationship between sounds and meanings in words?
    a) Direct correlation
    b) Indirect correlation
    c) Arbitrary relationship
    d) Fixed relationship

12. Which characteristic of words refers to the agreed-upon forms recognized by members of a society?
    a) Conventionality
    b) Arbitrariness
    c) Abstraction
    d) Semantic unity

13. What term describes the process of a newly coined word gaining acceptance and becoming a part of a language's vocabulary?
    a) Conventionalization
    b) Abstraction
    c) Lexicalization
    d) Semantics

14. Which aspect of words involves representing classes of things rather than singular items?
    a) Arbitrariness
    b) Formal unity
    c) Abstraction
    d) Semantic unity

15. What term describes the internal stability of words, where affixes are added either as prefixes or suffixes?
    a) Formal unity
    b) Semantic unity
    c) Grammatical category
    d) Phonological word

16. In linguistics, what do onomatopoeic words primarily demonstrate?
    a) Formal unity
    b) Semantic unity
    c) Conventionality
    d) Sound symbolism

17. Which characteristic of words involves conveying a single concept, regardless of the number of morphemes they contain?
    a) Semantic unity
    b) Arbitrariness
    c) Formal unity
    d) Grammatical category

18. Which characteristic of words pertains to their adherence to established agreements within a community?
    a) Conventionality
    b) Abstraction
    c) Arbitrariness
    d) Formal unity

19. What is the term used to describe the process of a word becoming a usual item stored in a language's lexicon?
    a) Conventionalization
    b) Lexicalization
    c) Abstraction
    d) Semantic unity

20. What term describes the internal cohesion of words, where affixes are added either as prefixes or suffixes?
    a) Formal unity
    b) Semantic unity
    c) Grammatical category
    d) Phonological word

III . Match the types of lexicology with their description:

Type of Lexicology	*Description*
1) historical lexicology	a) analyzes words and vocabulary universally, irrespective of specific language properties.
2) general lexicology	b) uncovers unique features of vocabulary found in specific languages.

3)	**contrastive lexicology**	c)	analyzes the characteristics of vocabulary at a specific stage in its development, operating synchronically.
4)	**special lexicology**	d)	examines a language's vocabulary from a diachronic perspective, focusing on etymology and the evolution of words over time.
5)	**descriptive lexicology**	e)	compares vocabularies across different languages.

IV. Consider the provided definitions of a word given by different linguists. Pay attention to the criteria they use to define a word, such as its structure, meaning, sound, and grammatical function. Identify common themes or divergences among them and provide your insights in a brief written response:

(a) Word is “the smallest, completely satisfying bits of isolated meaning into which the sentence resolves itself."(Sapir, 1921, p. 34)

(b) "A word is defined by the association of a particular meaning with a particular group of sounds capable of a particular grammatical employment." (Meillet, 1926, p. 30)

(c) "A word is a language unit, formed from the association of a specific meaning with a set of sounds, serving a specific grammatical purpose." (Bejan &Asandei, 1981, p. 81).

(d) "A linguistic unit typically larger than a morpheme but smaller than a phrase." (Trask, 1999, p. 228)

(e) "We shall consider the word as an uninterruptible unit of structure consisting of one or more morphemes and which typically occurs in the structure of phrases. The morphemes are the ultimate grammatical constituents, the minimal meaningful units of language." (Jackson &Amwela, 2021, p.50)

(f) "A word is defined as a free morph or a clitic or a root plus affixes or a compound plus affixes." (Haspelmath, 2023, p. 283)

V. Match each type of word with its corresponding explanation:

Types of words	*Explanation*
1) grammatical words or word forms	a) identified by strings of letters and characters separated by blank spaces in written language.
2) phonological words	b) refer to multiple word meanings.
3) lemma	c) these words carry the main lexical meaning, while these words lack distinct lexical meanings and are limited in number.
4) semantic words (sememes)	d) characterized by their distinct phonetic structures in spoken language.
5) lexemes	e) serve as units of vocabulary, encompassing abstract dictionary words and multiword expressions.
6) orthographic words	f) include all forms that differ in grammatical meanings, with examples such as "speak," "speaks," "speaking," and "spoke."
7) content words and function words	g) refers to the base or dictionary form of a word, typically found in dictionaries, serving as a standard representation.

VI. Read the following passage. Count the number of lexemes you can find.

The old oak tree stood tall and proud in the center of the meadow, its branches reaching out like welcoming arms. Birds nested in its branches, filling the air with their joyful songs. Meanwhile, nearby, a young man was trying to figure out how to branch out in his career, hoping to turn over a new leaf and leave behind the roots of his past mistakes.

VII. Translate the following Ukrainian and Hungarian word forms into English and determine how many words they correspond to in their English equivalents.

1. ходитимуть	1. reggeliztetek
2. розроблено	2. elmélkedünk
3. зварив	3. kiszabadította
4. збудований	4. kiábrándult
5. вночі	5. eszeveszetten
6. удень	6. szabadságharc
7. легковажити	7. kisváros
8. читаючий	8. paprikás
9. ношений	9. kőkemény
10. вільнодумець	10. hófehér

VIII. Translate these words into Ukrainian/Hungarian. Explore the differences in abstraction between English and Ukrainian/Hungarian:

1. hand
2. arm
3. foot
4. finger
5. toe
6. cousin
7. sister
8. brother
9. aunt
10. siblings
11. lend
12. spend

IX. Comment on this passage by Virginia Wolf on the nature and role of words. How far do you agree with the author? What does she suggest about the limitations of dictionaries in capturing the essence of words?

> *It is **words** that are to blame. They are the wildest, freest, most irresponsible, most un-teachable of all things. Of course, you can catch them and sort them and place them in alphabetical order in dictionaries. But words do not live in dictionaries; they live in the mind. If you want proof of this, consider how often in moments of emotion when we most need words we find none. Yet there is the dictionary; there at our disposal are some half-a-million words all in alphabetical order. But can we use them? No, because words do not live in dictionaries, they live in the mind.*
>
> Wolf, V. (1937, 20 April). On Craftsmanship. BBC radio broadcast

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CHAPTER 2

SEMANTICS: WORD AND SENTENCE MEANING

"It is not what you meant to say, but it is what your saying meant."

Walter M. Miller Jr.

2.1. SEMANTICS AS A FIELD OF STUDY

At the core of language lies meaning, enabling human communication to occur, i.e., communication is possible because words carry meaning. Despite its prominent role, the study of meaning as an independent discipline within linguistics emerged relatively recently compared to other linguistic branches. In 1883, French scholar Michel Bréal proposed the establishment of a new field akin to the study of speech sounds or sentence structures. He suggested naming this new discipline "la semantique," drawing from a Greek term "related to meaning." While previous attempts had been made to analyze meaning, Bréal's work played a vital role in officially recognizing semantics as an independent branch of linguistics.

Semantics, as a field, is dedicated to understanding the meaning of language. It explores the meaning of individual words, phrases, and entire sentences. According to Griffiths (2006), semantics is "*the study of word meaning and sentence meaning, abstracted away from contexts of use, is a descriptive subject. It is an attempt to describe and understand the nature of the knowledge about meaning in their language that people have from knowing the language*." (p.15). This definition underscores semantics as an endeavor to describe the inherent knowledge about meaning embedded in language.

Essentially, semantics concentrates on the general meanings of words, rather than the subjective interpretations a speaker assigns to them at a specific moment of communication. It, therefore, emphasizes the objective meanings as standardized in the language's vocabulary system, avoiding additional interpretations that might arise in specific contexts. Thus, semantic analysis aims to grasp the shared knowledge we possess of the meaning of words and larger linguistic units (Yule, 2014, p. 109).

SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS

Meaning in linguistics is explored through the subfields of semantics and pragmatics. Semantics is concerned with what a speaker actually says, i.e. the **literal meaning**. Pragmatics, in contrast, describes what the speaker means by saying something, encompassing the implied meaning or the intended message they wish to convey (**speaker meaning**).

Semantics is primarily interested in the fundamental components of meaning in language. It explores what words mean as presented in dictionaries and how they are put together to form complex meanings in sentences. Semantics also investigates how words develop their meanings and how these meanings merge to generate meaningful sentences. Furthermore, semantics analyzes the meanings of words or expressions independently of context, emphasizing context-independent and speaker-neutral meanings.

Pragmatics, by contrast, studies language use in actual communication. It goes beyond the abstract study of meaning to observe how language functions in everyday interactions. Pragmatics takes into account the interrelation between the meaning of words and larger units, as well as our knowledge and experience of the world. It recognizes that meaning can be heavily influenced by a host of factors, such as the context of communication, the speaker's intentions, and the background knowledge shared by interlocutors (Griffiths, 2006).

In other words, semantics seeks to answer the question "What does the speaker say?" by exploring the fundamental elements of meaning in language. Conversely, pragmatics aims to understand "What does the speaker intend to say?" by examining how these elements are utilized in actual communication, taking into account the impact of context and shared knowledge. While semantics explores the core meaning, pragmatics delves into its real-world use and interpretation.

SUBFIELDS OF SEMANTICS

Meaning is a fundamental aspect of language, and to understand it fully several subfields of semantics need to be recognized:

Lexical semantics looks at the meanings of words and the relations between them within a language's vocabulary. For example, it explores how lexemes like "tree" and "grass" are related in meaning.

Sentence semantics investigates the meaning of larger linguistic units such as phrases or sentences. It examines how these units combine to convey meaning and how the structure of sentences contributes to expressing information.

The above approach, known as **structural semantics**, analyzes meaning within the framework of language itself.

Developed in parallel to structural semantics, **cognitive semantics** takes a different perspective on meaning analysis by relating it to human cognition. It connects meaning to how speakers perceive and categorize the world around them conceptually.

Additionally, Jackson and Amwela (2021) talk about **pragmatic semantics**, which focuses on how we interpret the meaning of spoken and written expressions within contexts. It considers how speaker intentions, shared knowledge, and context of communication affect our interpretation of language.

In order to comprehensively analyze the multifaceted nature of meaning in language, all perspectives need to be considered. Pragmatic semantics investigates how meaning is interpreted in context, sentence semantics looks at meaning within and between sentences, while lexical semantics deals with meaning of words and their interrelation.

2.2. THE NOTION OF MEANING: WHAT'S IN A NAME?...

What's in a name? That which we call a rose
By any other name would smell as sweet

Shakespeare, Romeo and Juliet, Act 2, Scene 2

Over the course of centuries, numerous attempts have been undertaken to explain the essence of meaning, long before the establishment of semantics as an independent field. This discussion begins with the consideration of the connection between words and the entities they signify. To illustrate, let us consider the meaning of the word "rose". At face value, we may simply say that it designates a flower with specific characteristics, setting it apart from other plants. However, a question arises: why was this specific combination of sounds chosen to signify this particular flower? One viewpoint suggests that there is no inherent link between the word "rose" and this flower, and its use is a result of convention, collectively established by a community of speakers. Alternatively, others propose that the human mind isolates certain characteristics of the plant, suggesting its name. While some sound symbolism exists in language, as seen in words like "mew" or "bow-wow," imitating animal sounds, there is nothing in the sound of "rose" directly indicating its specific meaning as a type of flower. If there were a direct connection, it would be challenging to explain variations in its name across different languages.

The notion that words in a language serve as direct representations of real-world objects was introduced in Plato's "Cratylus dialogue." Based on this, the meaning of words reflects the phenomena in the external world. However, a subsequent explanation of the nature of meaning by Richards and Ogden in their monograph "The Meaning of Meaning" (1923), suggests that the meaning of a word is not the object it refers to but rather the conceptualization of the object

existing in the mind. Furthermore, meanings can be viewed as inseparable from their context of use, with meaning emerging in context, as emphasized by Firth (1957).

Thus, despite considerable efforts to define meaning, a universally agreed-upon definition comprehensively encompassing its fundamental aspects has not been provided. Before going into further discussion of the nature of word's meaning, a brief overview of theories of meaning should be in place.

THEORIES OF MEANING

Saussure's Theory

According to Ferdinand de Saussure (1916; 1956), the foundational unit of language is a linguistic sign, encompassing morphemes, words, word combinations, sentences, etc. A linguistic sign consists of a mental concept (the "signifie") and an acoustic image (the "signifiant"). The researcher emphasized that the linguistic sign does not establish a direct link between an object of reality and its name, but rather a concept and a phonic image. For him, the phonic image (the word's sound form) is not a physical entity but a mental representation of a word.

Saussure introduced the concept of arbitrariness as a key characteristic of the linguistic sign. He posited that the relationship between the concept (the signifié) and the corresponding sound form (the "signifiant") was arbitrary. In other words, there is no inherent relationship between the word's sound form and its meaning. Initially, he argued for the complete arbitrariness of the sign, even in the case of onomatopoeic words. However, he later acknowledged degrees of arbitrariness and recognized that complex structures may have some motivation from their constituents.

In sum, Saussure's theory views the linguistic sign as a binary mental entity, abstracted from both its users and the external objects it represents. While the real-world reference of linguistic signs plays no role in Saussure's model, subsequent linguistic theories (e.g., Ogden and Richards' triadic model), consider the relationship between signs, users, and objects.

Ogden and Richards Theory of Meaning

An influential theory, introduced by Ogden and Richards (1923), attempts to explain the relationship between the linguistic sign, thought or reference, and referent.

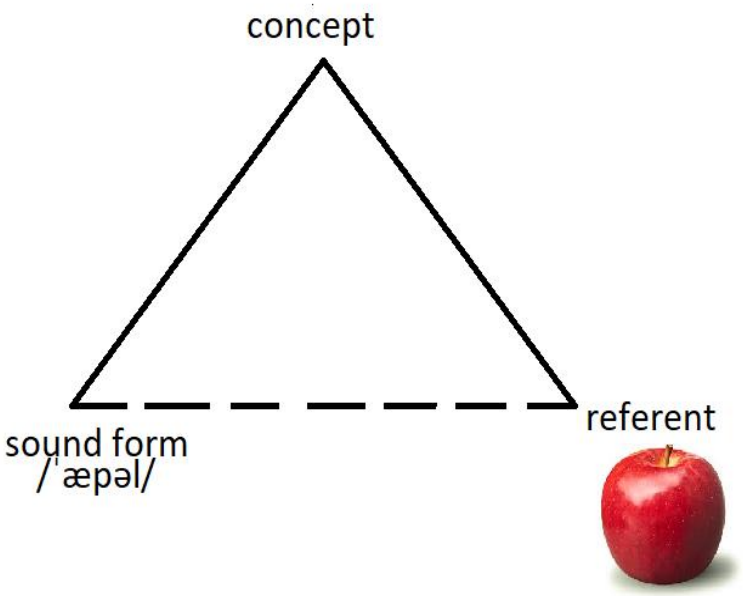

Figure 2.1 .The Semiotic Triangle

The semiotic triangle consists of three elements: the SYMBOL or the word (e.g., apple), THOUGHT or REFERENCE (the concept associated with the word), and the REFERENT (the object in the outside world).

Note, that the line connecting the symbol and the referent is indented. The theory emphasizes that there is no direct connection between the linguistic symbol (i.e., word) and the real-world object it represents. Instead, they are indirectly linked through the thought or reference in the speaker's mind. Ogden and Richards distinguish the meaning of a linguistic sign (concept or thought) from the actual object it denotes. Hence, words have an indirect relationship with objects in the world.

In sum, Ogden and Richards expanded Saussure's binary model of the linguistic sign into a triadic model, which introduced the concept of thought or reference as an intermediary between words and objects they denote. However, this model still overlooked language users (i.e., speakers/writers, hearers/readers), which was later addressed by Bühler in a more comprehensive theory.

Bühler's "Organon Model" is an influential theory in linguistics that explains functions of language in communication. The model emphasizes language's three functions, which contribute to conveying meaning:

(a) Expressive function provides insight into the speaker's emotional or mental state (speakers express their emotions, attitudes).

(b) Representative function transmits factual information about the world (speakers make statements about the reality).

(c) Appeal function indicates the speaker's intentions and encourages specific actions (speakers make a command, request, or persuade the audience).

By analyzing language through these functions, this theory posits that meaning is not limited to mere words but is rooted in intentions, emotions, and shared knowledge of communicators.

APPROACHES TO THE DEFINITION OF MEANING

When I use a word,' Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful tone,
'it means just what I choose it to mean – neither more nor less.
(Lewis Carroll Through the Looking Glass)

The notion of meaning has been explored from various, sometimes competitive, perspectives in linguistics, where it is identified with referents, concepts, its use, and its role in communication.

The referential approach (meaning = thing) to meaning emphasizes the connection between lexemes and the real-world objects or concepts they refer to. It suggests that the meaning of the word objectively reflects the object or idea it stands for. In this view, the referent or denotation is the primary component of a word's meaning (Riemer, 2010, p. 25). For instance, the lexeme "table" refers to the real piece of furniture, establishing a direct link between the lexeme and the object.

However, the referential theory of meaning is not without limitations, especially when dealing with lexemes beyond concrete nouns. A case in point is abstract nouns like "truth" or "tolerance," which do not have tangible objects in the outside world. Similarly, adjectives such as "hot" or "inconvenient" and verbs like "to run" or "to jump" present difficulties in pinpointing specific referents. Consequently, this theory is less effective when dealing with lexemes that lack tangible referents, such as abstract nouns, adjectives, verbs, and grammatical words.

The conceptual approach (meaning = concept) explores meaning through the lens of concepts or mental representations. Words convey meaning because they are linked to specific concepts in the speaker's brain. Accordingly, meanings can also be understood through concepts or mental representations, as language conveys meanings that correspond to these concepts.

Concepts are the basic elements of thought, akin to individual words in the language. For example, when we say “a dining room,” we are referring to the concept of a room where people typically have their meals. These concepts are fundamental to how we identify objects, convey ideas, and understand language. Words gain their meanings for speakers by associating with their mental representation. Thus, the concept of a “dining room” is linked to a broader concept like “human habitation.”

However, the conceptual theory also has its weak points. It is important to note that while the meaning of a word is closely connected to the concept it represents, the two are not entirely identical. A concept is a mental category that captures the essential features of an object. For instance, the concept of “a large body of water surrounded by land” is similar in English (“lake”) and French (“lac”), but the meanings of these words differ because “lake” refers to a natural freshwater body, whereas its French equivalent could also mean a man-made reservoir. In English, a man-made body of water like this is referred to as a "pond." Additionally, some words, especially function words like “there” or “therefore,” lack rich mental associations compared to concrete nouns like “life” or “death.” Disregarding these limitations, understanding the meaning of words as concepts offers a plausible explanation of the interrelation between language and thought.

The functional approach to meaning **(meaning = use),** which focuses on how words operate within sentences or phrases, contrasts with the traditional view of words as isolated units. Instead, it examines how words function within the broader context of communication. Here, meaning is seen as the function or purpose that a word serves in transmitting information. For instance, the lexemes “water” and “to water” have different meanings because they perform a different function in communication, depending on the context.

An extension of this perspective is the **use theory of meaning**, which proposes that the meaning of words is determined by their use in specific situations rather than relying solely on abstract definitions. According to this view, language acquires meaning from its application in real-life contexts. Some linguists prefer the term contextual approach over functional because it relies on examining different contexts for analysis of meaning.

This theory suggests that meaning derives from the contexts in which words are used. For instance, the meaning of the word “run” can vary widely based on the context. In a sports context, it means to move fast on a track, while in a computer program, it indicates the execution of a set of instructions. Abstract meanings are considered subsidiary; understanding meaning of words involves describing real-world language use, rather than a predefined abstract concept. In

the case of the word “freedom,” the theory focuses on how it is employed in different contexts, and refers to political liberties in one situation and personal choices in another.

Since language is a form of behavior, the meaning of words can be observed in linguistic acts. For instance, the meaning of the phrase “How are you?” is not only about the meaning of its individual words but also the social interaction. It can serve as a greeting, demonstrating politeness and interest in the interlocutor’s well-being.

However, this theory faces challenges due to the vast variety of situations in which language is used. While some social formulae have predictable relationships with situations, the theory loses its potential in explaining novel sentences. For instance, in the sentence “She danced under the moonlit sky,” each word contributes to the overall meaning, producing a specific image. Yet, this theory cannot account for the unique meaning created by this particular arrangement of words, because it is used creatively and metaphorically.

Thus, this approach emphasizes the contextual and situational aspects of language, arguing that words and phrases derive their meaning from actual usage.

Information-oriented approach (meaning = information) explains meaning through its role in communication. Words and sentences are viewed as vehicles for conveying information from the speaker to the listener. According to this theory, meaning is the information transmitted during communication. Similarly to the previous theory, it is less concerned with what meaning is in an abstract sense, paying more heed to its functioning in real communication.

In essence, meaning is seen as the information that a speaker transmits to a listener during the process of communication. However, this definition is more applicable to sentences than individual words because it is not always easy to distinguish between the literal meaning and implied additional information in case of single words. For instance, the sentence “This is my book.” might imply various things depending on the context. Beyond its literal meaning of stating a fact, it could suggest that the speaker is unwilling to share the book or an accusation that someone has taken it without permission. These implied meanings transpire only in concrete situations of communication.

To make this distinction clear, two terms are commonly used. The information directly conveyed by the words within a sentence is referred to as “**meaning.**” Meanwhile, the information that emerges in the real-life situation of communication is termed “**sense**.”

In sum, the various approaches to defining meaning should not be seen as mutually exclusive but rather as complementing each other in understanding the complex nature of meaning in language. The referential approach emphasizes the link between meaning of words and objects, especially in the case of concrete nouns. The conceptual theory delves into the

mental representations associated with word meanings. The functional approach focuses on how meanings evolve within contexts of use. It is especially effective in elucidating the versatility of meaning in different situations. Lastly, the information-oriented approach underscores the communicative nature of meaning, viewing words as carriers of information. It emphasizes the interplay between explicit meaning (what is directly stated) and implicit meaning (what is implied in context). Thus, the complexity of meaning emerges from this interplay, where words, mental representations, context, and communicative intent converge.

2.3. TYPES OF MEANING

Meaning is not uniform consisting of diverse components, whose interaction and combination contribute to the way we understand words. These components are commonly referred to as types of meaning. The two main types we usually talk about in lexicology are grammatical and lexical meanings.

GRAMMATICAL AND LEXICAL MEANING

Lexical and grammatical meanings are two fundamental types of meaning associated with words in language.

Grammatical meaning: Grammatical meaning is an aspect of word meaning expressed through various linguistic devices, including inflectional endings, specific word forms, and even word order within a sentence. It conveys relationships between words and their grammatical functions. For instance, words like "boxes," "cups," and "flowers" have a common linguistic element – the plural marker "-s." Despite referring to different objects, they all convey the grammatical meaning of plurality through this common element. Similarly, verb forms such as "announced," "predicted," and "wrote" express the grammatical meaning of tense, indicating the timing of an action. Possessive forms like "mother's" and "child's" illustrate the grammatical meaning of case, showing ownership or association. Grammatical meaning plays a pivotal role in structuring sentences and clarifying the relationships between words.

Lexical meaning: lexical meaning is the core concept carried by a word. It remains consistent across all forms of the word. If we analyze various forms of the same word like “write,” “writes,” “writing,” “wrote,” we can identify an unchangeable semantic component that signifies the idea of putting words on a surface, typically on paper. This stable element within different word forms is what we call lexical meaning. It communicates the word's concept and

the essential characteristics of what it refers to, making it a crucial part of word meaning (Nikolenko, 2007).

It is important to note that lexical and grammatical meanings are intertwined in words. Grammatical meaning emphasizes the structural and relational aspects of words, using inflectional endings or other grammatical markers. In turn, lexical meaning expresses the concept, encapsulating the core unchanging essence of the word's meaning. In some cases, one type of meaning may be more prominent. Function words like "although,""otherwise," and "indeed" primarily convey grammatical meaning, whereas content words like nouns and verbs emphasize lexical meanings.

Another distinction between lexical and grammatical meaning lies in their numbers. Grammatical meanings, both within individual languages and when viewed cross-linguistically, are relatively limited and likely finite. In contrast, the potential lexical meanings are infinite. This makes it easier to identify all the grammatical meanings, but it is much more challenging to do the same for lexical meanings (Kortmann, 2020).

DESCRIPTIVE, SOCIAL AND EXPRESSIVE MEANING

Lexical meaning is also known as the **descriptive** or cognitive meaning of the word. Due to this aspect of meaning, speakers can describe the extralinguistic reality. In addition to descriptive meaning, linguists differentiate between expressive and social meanings, but they are of little interest to semanticists.

Social meaning, also known as interpersonal meaning, pertains to the information that language carries about the social context in which it is used. This type of meaning may encompass such aspects as the expression of social relations or the indication of social status. In communication, people often use the so-called pragmatic formulae which serve primarily to establish social relations and have half-erased literal meaning. For instance, "Nice to meet you!" is a formal greeting expressing politeness and acknowledgement rather than a sum of the meaning of constituent words. Similarly, the expression "Clever you!" expresses approval giving credit for their intelligent actions. "No way!" is often employed to express surprise, skepticism, or unwillingness to believe something.

e.g. *Person A: I just won a million dollars!*

Person B: No way! That's incredible!

The use of specific words like "They ain't coming" may indicate a particular social or regional background. Thus, these expressions go beyond their literal meaning and play a crucial role in conveying the speakers' social attitudes or social status through linguistic choices.

Expressive meaning is the aspect of meaning that conveys the speaker's feelings, attitudes, or emotions. It typically extends beyond the literal meaning of words and instead emphasizes the speaker's sentiment towards the subject. This can be observed in expressions such as "Not again!", "Fantastic!", "Gosh!", and in terms of endearment or derogatory terms like "sweetie," "honey," "darling," "bastard," and "hell."

The social and expressive aspects of meaning fulfill the interpersonal function of language. This function involves signaling feelings, attitudes, or judgments during communication. As such, they fall outside the traditional scope of semantics. Semantics primarily emphasizes the representative function of language, which pertains to how language means are used to describe the external world.

2.4. ASPECTS OF LEXICAL MEANING

In order to grasp the essence of lexical meaning, it is helpful to consider the concepts of sense vs. reference, denotation vs. connotation, which constitute fundamental aspects of word meaning.

SENSE AND REFERENCE

Sense and reference are essential concepts in understanding the meaning of words. The sense of a word refers to its general meaning or the concept it conveys as described in a dictionary. It can be thought of as the meaning of a word in the abstract sense, detached from any particular referent in the external reality. For example, the sense of the word "tree" could be "a tall plant with a wooden trunk with branches." This sense remains stable regardless of the specific referent, i.e., it does not change every time we use it to speak about a different tree.

By contrast, the reference or referent of a word is the specific object, person, or place it stands for on a particular occasion of use (Reimer, 2010 p. 17). The reference changes each time the word is applied to a different object or situation. For instance, if we use the word tree in a forest setting, as in "Look at that tree," the reference could be a specific oak tree in the forest.

In brief, sense is the general, unchanging aspect of meaning, while reference is the specific object or situation to which the word applies in a given context. Furthermore, the class of objects or entities to which the word refers is called its denotation. In other words, denotation is the collection of all real-world entities that the word identifies or describes.

DENOTATION AND CONNOTATION

Denotation, often referred to as denotative meaning or denotative component, constitutes the core meaning of a word, conveying its content. Serving as the primary or leading semantic component, denotation is the objective, referential aspect that establishes a connection between a word and the specific thing or concept it represents. Denotative meaning is comparable to a word's dictionary definition.

The concept of denotation pertains to the direct association between words and observable entities they stand for. All languages include words like "plum," "blue," or "sleep," which appear to be linked to objects or events in the world around us. This association is particularly evident in early language acquisition, when children first learn words encountered in their immediate environment. The straightforward idea arising from this is that each word in a language directly corresponds to real world entities, constituting its denotation (Kreidler, 2002, pp. 42–44).

For instance, consider the word "plum." Its denotative meaning refers to the fruit growing on plum trees, creating a shared understanding among speakers that when "plum" is mentioned, it denotes this specific type of fruit. Thus, denotation signifies a universally agreed-upon meaning, regardless of individual speakers' experiences or attitudes.

Denotative meaning is sometimes described in terms of criterial components or semantic features. For example, the noun "boy" can be characterized by semantic features such as "+male," "+human," and "-adult." This analysis, known as semantic feature analysis, aims to describe meaning features through binary choices using the symbols "+" or "-". The table below illustrates a semantic feature analysis:

Table 2.1. Semantic Feature Analysis

	boy	**house**	**mother**
animate	+	-	+
inanimate	-	+	-
human	+	-	+
male	+	-	-
adult	-	-	+

While denotations refer to the shared central component of meaning within a community of speakers, connotations highlight the personal associations evoked by the word. Connotation serves as an additional semantic component or a secondary meaning, incorporating additional attitudinal or cultural associations. Connotations vary based on factors such as culture, region, and social class, among others (Kortmann, 2020).

Distinct from a word's sense or denotation, connotations are associated with secondary aspects like emotional tone or formality level. For instance, word pairs such as "physician" and "pill-pusher," "look" and "glare," "short" and "vertically challenged," "child" and "brat" share similar denotations but evoke different connotations.

Connotation adds an emotional and cultural facet to the word's meaning. Connotative meanings can involve positive, negative, or neutral associations. For instance, the denotative meaning of the lexeme "home" pertains to a place where one lives. Nevertheless, the connotative meanings associated with "home" can vary. For some, it may evoke feelings of warmth, comfort, and security, while for others it may carry connotations of nostalgia or even longing.

It is important to note that connotations are not purely subjective associations developed solely from personal experience. While connotations may differ owing to individual experiences, similar experiences among humans often lead to words acquiring common connotations. Thus, to a certain extent, connotations are generalizable and are considered an integral part of meaning. In essence, connotations form part of our knowledge of the world and represent the encyclopedic meaning of the word. It contrasts with the dictionary meaning, which provides a more rigid, descriptive definition found in dictionaries.

In practice, denotation and connotation interact to shape a word's meaning more holistically. Words do not exist in a vacuum; connotations add layers of expressiveness and cultural significance. The interaction between denotation and connotation enables words to convey nuances of meaning in different contexts and to different individuals (Jackson & Amwela, 2021).

In all, denotation represents the fundamental, objective meaning of a word, while connotation introduces subjective, attitudinal, and cultural associations, making a language an expressive communication tool. Together they offer a comprehensive understanding of a word's meaning, encompassing its descriptive, expressive, and social aspects.

Building upon our previous discussion, let us turn now to the problem of word acquisition. Children begin by learning words through their direct associations with specific objects, actions, or qualities (reference). As they come across various instances of the same concept, they begin to generalize these meanings (denotation). Over time, they learn from their speech community which associations are favorable or unfavorable (connotation). Simultaneously, they acquire implicit knowledge of how words relate to one another (sense relations) (Kreidler, 2002, p. 48).

2.5. MEANING IN COGNITIVE SEMANTICS

THE PROTOTYPE THEORY

Cognitive semantics views meaning as intricately interwoven with human cognition. Unlike lexical semantics, which analyzes meaning within the structure of language itself, cognitive semantics prioritizes explaining how meaning is shaped by our cognitive processes. Cognitive semantics underscores the role of categorization, the mental process of organizing similar entities into groups. Meaning is, thus, perceived as closely tied to how we mentally group the world around us into conceptual categories.

Insightful observations about the process of categorization have been made within the framework of the **prototype theory**, which emerged from research in cognitive psychology and semantics. The prototype theory posits that categories in our minds are grouped around prototypes, which serve as representative of the entire category or its "best" member. A prototype can be thought of as a typical example within a set of similar things.

For example, when thinking of the word "house," our mental image might include a structure with a pitched roof, brick walls, paned windows, a door, and a chimney. Unlikely to come to mind are houses on stilts or built into a hillside. Though still recognized as houses, these examples are more of an outlier in the given category. However, it is important to recognize that prototypes can vary from one cultural context to another or from person to person. For Europeans, "sparrows" and "pigeons" may embody prototypical birds, whereas in Antarctica, "penguins" hold this status.

Whether an entity belongs to a category depends on how closely it resembles the prototype. In simpler terms, the more similar an item is to the prototype, the more likely it is considered a member of that category. In the case of birds, "sparrows" or "magpies" which have the typical characteristics of birds (feathers, wings, and the ability to fly), are more likely to be classified as birds compared to "bats." Although the latter also have wings, they are mammals and do not fit the typical bird prototype as closely.

Within categories, members can be graded depending on their resemblance to the prototype or typical example of that category. Therefore, they have varying degrees of typicality. In the “furniture” category, highly typical members include chairs, tables, and beds. Less typical members may encompass unconventional furniture like bunk beds or inflatable chairs. Atypical member, such as “sleeper berth” (a sleeping accommodation for train passengers) or “hammock”, serve as examples that deviate from the prototypical furniture.

Prototypical member: chair, table, bed
Less typical member: bunk bed, inflatable chair
Atypical member: sleeper berth, hammock

The boundaries between categories are not always clearly defined. Some items may not neatly fit into one category or another because their features are not distinctly aligned with one specific category. There are transitional zones between categories where it is difficult to assign an entity to just one category. Consequently, different people may categorize the same entity differently, resulting in what linguists call “fuzzy boundaries” or indeterminate membership. Thus, some might classify yoga as a sport because it involves physical activity, strength, and flexibility training, while others might argue that it is more of a spiritual practice than a sport.

While attractive in many respects, the prototype theory is not without limitations. For instance, its applicability to abstract categories is questionable. Since many studies focused on visible categories like “furniture” or “bird,” it is uncertain whether the theory is equally suitable for abstract concepts, which lack a perceptual basis for attribute analysis. Despite this, the prototype theory provides valuable insights into how speakers categorize concepts, shedding light on the relationship between language, cognition, and meaning.

DICTIONARY AND ENCYCLOPEDIC VIEWS OF MEANING

In semantic theory, meaning is often divided into two main components: the dictionary component and the encyclopedic component. The dictionary approach, rooted in formal linguistics, aims to define word meanings similar to traditional dictionary entries. According to this viewpoint, lexical semantics should exclusively concern itself with the dictionary component, since it constitutes meaning proper. Conversely, the encyclopedic component, seen as "world knowledge," is considered separate from linguistic knowledge (Evans & Green, 2006, pp. 207–208).

The **dictionary view** aims to describe the fundamental meaning of individual words, typically in isolation. Accordingly, the basic meaning of a word is the information found in its dictionary definition. For instance, the core meaning of the lexeme "computer" is an electronic device for processing and storing data. This observation falls within the field of lexical semantics. By contrast, encyclopedic knowledge associated with "computer," such as its use in various contexts like gaming, programming, or office work, is treated as knowledge outside the scope of linguistics. Advocates of lexical semantics narrow their focus to these basic, context-independent word meanings, leaving discussions about how words interact with the real world to pragmatics. Hence, word meaning is perceived as an independent aspect of linguistic knowledge, distinct from other forms such as cultural or social knowledge. It is stored in the form of a mental lexicon, or our mental repository (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 209).

Contrary to the dictionary perspective, cognitive semantics challenges the idea that the dictionary component alone encapsulates meaning. The **encyclopedic** approach questions the clear-cut separation of word meaning from broader world knowledge. Instead, it suggests that understanding a word involves not just its linguistic meaning but also conceptual knowledge. It takes a more holistic approach to meaning, denying the notion that word meaning and general knowledge can be separated. The encyclopedic view regards word meanings in the context of the broader world and the knowledge associated with them. Additionally, rather than examining word meaning in isolation, this approach considers how words function within sentences or larger linguistic units, and how meaning is influenced by linguistic and non-linguistic contexts. It recognizes that meaning is not an abstract concept but is situated in real-world contexts that affect word interpretation and usage.

Overall, semantic theory divides meaning into the dictionary and encyclopedic views. The former focuses on context-independent word meanings as isolated entities, while the latter rejects the strict separation of meaning from the broader knowledge tied to a word. It adopts a more inclusive approach, integrating both linguistic and conceptual knowledge. The

encyclopedic view recognizes the impact of real-world factors and linguistic context in shaping word meaning.

2.6. SENTENCE MEANING

Though not directly pertinent to lexicology, it is necessary to briefly touch upon some aspects of sentence meaning in this chapter. When people communicate, they produce utterances, each of which can be considered a case of a sentence. Although the terms "utterance" and "sentence" are often used indiscriminately, they refer to somewhat different phenomena. In linguistic terms, an **utterance** is any spoken or written expression produced by a speaker in a particular context, while a **sentence** is a grammatical unit typically conveying a complete thought, irrespective of the context of use. In communication, each instance of speaking or writing gives rise to a specific utterance. Thus, utterances are instances of language use in real world communication situations.

In order to understand the meaning of a sentence, we need to decipher the meanings of the words it contains, taking into account their various aspects, like lexical, grammatical, denotative, connotative, social, expressive, etc., which is not always the sum of its constituent meanings. Even if a person understands all aspects of word meaning, the meaning of a sentence often becomes clear only within a particular context. For instance, to disambiguate the meaning of sentences like "I bumped into a woman with a suitcase," or "That's it," the context in which they occur is indispensable (e.g., who was carrying a suitcase?).

The specific meaning a sentence acquires in a particular context is termed utterance meaning. Utterance meaning is studied in pragmatics, while word meaning and sentence meaning fall under the purview of semantics.

PROPOSITIONS

Essential to the study of sentence meaning and compositional semantics is the concept of propositions. A **proposition** is the basic meaning or abstract idea expressed by a sentence, which does not change in different sentences that share the same meaning. Propositions are highly abstract and not tied to specific words or sentence structures (Griffiths, 2006, pp. 16–17). Let us turn to these sentences for illustration:

(a) Cats chase mice.

(b) Mice are pursued by cats.

(c) Mice are the prey of cats.

Despite the differences in the word choice and word order, these sentences convey the same proposition that cats chase mice. Since propositions are abstract, speakers can avail with a variety of linguistic choices, i.e., different words and structures.

Propositions can be either true or false. In order to decide if an idea expressed in a sentence is true or false, we need to take into account context-specific information. For instance, in the previous examples the proposition could be elucidated as "For all typical cats and all typical mice, when they engage in typical behavior, the cats chase the mice."

Finally, propositions can be helpful in resolving ambiguity in language use. For instance, in the case of polysemy, where one and the same lexeme can convey multiple propositions, speakers or readers can turn to the context to interpret the intended message. For instance, "She chose the right answer" and "She raised her right hand" involve different propositions, each corresponding to a specific meaning of the word "right."

In sum, propositions are abstract representations of basic sentence meaning. This concept is central to both semantics and pragmatics, enabling the exploration of the relationship between sentences and their meanings, as well as the handling of ambiguity and context-dependent interpretations.

COMPOSITIONALITY

When individual word meanings interact with the structure of a sentence, they give rise to sentence meaning. In semantics, this principle is termed "compositionality," which essentially denotes that sentence meaning is determined by the meanings of its components (words or morphemes) and the way they are combined.

The compositional theory explains how language users produce and interpret an infinite number of utterances without a specific rule written for each one. For instance, the order of words in a sentence can result in different interpretations, as seen in the following sentences:

(a) "He broke the window"

(b) "It was him who broke the window."

The overall meaning of a sentence is shaped by the order of lexemes making it up. While the first sentence appears to solely state the fact, the second sentence emphasizes the fact the doer of the action was the culprit, and not a different person.

However, idioms like "come a cropper," "birds of a feather," or "in the nick of time," violate the principle of compositionality, as their meanings cannot be derived from their parts. Nevertheless, most sentences in a language adhere to this principle.

In all, the compositional theory underscores the significance of considering how language units combine to convey meaning.

ENTAILMENT

Entailment is a type of inference that ensures that when one statement is true, another related statement must also be true. The examples below illustrate the way it works:

The cuisine was superb ⇒ The cuisine was of a very high quality.

The cuisine was superb ⇒ The cuisine was of high quality.

The cuisine was superb ⇒ The cuisine was good.

In practical terms, it can be inferred that when someone asserts, "The cuisine was superb," we can be sure that, at the very least, it was good. In essence, entailments resemble logical inferences that follow from the meaning of words and sentences. Choosing specific words when speaking or writing is often about selecting the entailments one wishes to convey.

In lexicology, the sense of a word can be defined by examining the entailments present in sentences containing that word. Thus, different words offer different entailment possibilities, which contribute to the overall sense of a word.

PUTTING THINGS TOGETHER: THE DUAL ROLE OF WORD SENSE

The meaning of a word plays a dual role: it determines both its reference to the outside world and the logical inferences or entailment it introduces into sentences. The sense of a word is the aspect of its meaning that connects a word to its actual referent. It pertains to the way in which a word relates to things, phenomena, or actions of reality.

However, words not only denote phenomena but also carry entailments when used in sentences. Entailments are the inferences speakers draw based on how a lexeme is employed in a sentence. Thus, if someone has "graduated" from university, the entailment is that they have successfully completed all course requirements.

In a nutshell, the sense of a word serves as a bridge between the word itself and the phenomenon in the external world it represents. It not only tells us about what the word refers to but also indicates the relationships it establishes in a sentence. Therefore, the sense of a word allows us to recognize how words connect to reality and what implications they bring to our linguistic expression.

SUMMARY

Semantics

Semantics is a field of linguistics focused on exploring word and sentence meaning. It aims to describe the shared knowledge of meaning in a language.

Semantics vs. Pragmatics

Semantics emphasizes context-independent and speaker-neutral meanings. Conversely, pragmatics studies the use of language in actual communication. It considers the impact of context, speaker intentions, and shared background knowledge. Pragmatics explores how meaning is influenced by real-world factors.

Semantics answers “What does the speaker say?” by exploring fundamental elements of meaning in language. By contrast, pragmatics attempts to answer “What does the speaker intend to say?” by examining how meaning is utilized in communication, considering context and shared knowledge.

This distinction highlights the different approaches to understanding meaning in linguistic analysis.

Theories of Meaning

The concept of meaning is inherently ambiguous, encompassing a range of connections between the speakers, language, and the world.

Various theories of meaning were proposed. Ferdinand de Saussure's theory considers the linguistic sign as a binary mental entity, emphasizing the arbitrariness of the relationship between a word’s sound form and its meaning. Ogden and Richards propose a triadic model with the semiotic triangle, introducing the concept of thought or reference as an intermediary between words and real world objects. Bühler's "Organon Model" expands on this by discussing language’s three functions: expressive, representative, and appeal, connecting meaning to intentions, emotions, and shared knowledge in communication.

Approaches to Meaning

Several approaches to meaning are considered: the referential approach focuses on the connection between words and real-world objects, but it encounters difficulties with abstract nouns and non-tangible concepts. The conceptual approach explores meanings through concepts or mental representations, acknowledging that concepts may vary across languages. The functional approach examines how words function within sentences and emphasizes the role of context in determining meaning. Information-oriented approach views meaning as

communicated information in discourse, recognizing the interplay between explicit and implicit meanings.

Types of meaning

Grammatical meaning relates to word functions within sentences, involving inflectional morphemes, word forms, and sentence structures. **Lexical meaning** is a core meaning of a word, conveying its concept. It remains unchangeable across different forms of the word.

Descriptive, Social, and Expressive Meanings

Descriptive meaning, also known as lexical meaning, allows speakers to describe the external world. Social meaning pertains to information about the social context in which language is used (e.g., social relations, status). Expressive meaning conveys the speaker's attitudes, feelings, or emotions, going beyond the literal meaning.

Aspects of Lexical Meaning

Sense is the general meaning of a word, while **reference** is the specific object it stands for in a given context. **Denotation** is the core, objective meaning of a word, while **connotation** adds subjective, attitudinal, or cultural associations.

Thus, meaning involves various aspects: referent is a specific instance of use, denotation encompasses all references, and sense is a broad, abstract meaning provided as a definition in dictionaries, and is translatable across languages.

Meaning in Cognitive Semantics

The **prototype theory**, rooted in cognitive semantics, asserts that meaning is intricately linked with human cognition. This theory posits that mental categories are organized around prototypes.

A **prototype** is the most typical example of a category or its "best" member.

Membership within a category is determined by how closely an entity resembles the prototype.

Categories have prototypical, less typical and atypical members. Items that closely align with the prototype are considered typical members, while those less similar are categorized as less typical or atypical.

However, boundaries between categories are often fuzzy, leading to differing categorizations among individuals.

Dictionary and Encyclopedic Views of Meaning

Dictionary view of meaning emphasizes core, context-independent meanings of words. It is associated with formal linguistics and lexical semantics. Encyclopedic view questions the separation of word meaning from general knowledge. It is associated with cognitive linguistics.

Sentence meaning

Utterance in communication is any spoken or written expression produced by a speaker within a specific context. A sentence is a grammatical unit that conveys a complete thought. To understand sentence meaning, one must decode word meanings, considering their various aspects (lexical, grammatical, etc.).

Utterance meaning is a specific meaning a sentence acquires in a given context. It is studied in pragmatics. **Propositions** are abstract representations of basic sentence meaning, independent of the choice of words or structures. Sentence meaning is determined by the meanings of its components and their combination, known as the **principle of compositionality**. **Entailment** represents a type of inference where one true statement implies the truth of another related statement.

EXERCISES

SEMANTICS: WORD AND SENTENCE MEANING

I. Questions for Discussion

1. What is the subject matter of semantics? When did it emerge as an independent discipline?
2. How does semantics differ from pragmatics in the study of meaning? Does semantics concern itself with analyzing subjective interpretations of word meaning in communication?
3. What are the subfields of semantics? What aspects of meaning do they describe? Why is it necessary to consider multiple aspects of meaning?
4. What is the relationship between words and their meanings? How do you understand the following quotation by Shakespeare: “What’s in a name? That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet.”
5. What challenges do linguists face in defining meaning? What approaches to defining meaning are taken by linguists? How does the referential approach define meaning? Discuss its limitations. Explain the essence of the conceptual approach and its criticisms. Describe the functional approach to defining meaning. What is the information-oriented approach, and how does it differ from other approaches discussed in this chapter?
6. What are the two main types of meaning associated with words? How does lexical meaning differ from grammatical meaning? Describe the distinction between descriptive, social, and expressive meanings. Why are social and expressive meanings of little interest to semanticists?
7. Explain the difference between sense and reference. Illustrate your answer with examples.
8. What is the difference between denotation and connotation? Support your answer with examples. What is the role of connotations in shaping word meaning?
9. How does the prototype theory contribute to our understanding of categorization in cognitive semantics? Discuss the concept of the prototype.
10. What is the difference between a sentence and an utterance? Which field is primarily concerned with utterance meaning? What role does context play in disambiguating meaning?

II. Select the most appropriate answer for each question from the provided options:

1. Who proposed the establishment of semantics as a distinct field of study?
    a) Ferdinand de Saussure
    b) Michel Bréal
    c) Ogden and Richards
    d) Bühler

2. How does semantics define its scope?
    a) Exploring word structures
    b) Analyzing speech sounds
    c) Studying word meaning and sentence meaning
    d) Investigating language evolution

3. What is the focus of semantics, as described in the passage?
    a) Subjective interpretations of words
    b) Objective meanings standardized in language
    c) Emotional expressions in communication
    d) Cultural associations of words

4. How does semantics differ from pragmatics?
    a) Semantics focuses on real-world factors, while pragmatics explores abstract meanings.
    b) Semantics emphasizes context-independent meanings, while pragmatics studies language use in communication contexts.
    c) Semantics analyzes individual words, while pragmatics examines sentence structures.
    d) Semantics deals with speaker intentions, while pragmatics explores sentence meanings.

5. What does lexical semantics primarily focus on?
    a) Understanding the structure of sentences
    b) Analyzing the meaning of lexemes
    c) Exploring the context of communication
    d) Investigating cognitive processes in language

6. What does cognitive semantics emphasize?
    a) Analyzing the grammatical structure of sentences
    b) Exploring the relationships between words within a language's vocabulary
    c) Understanding how meaning is related to human cognition
    d) Examining the contextual factors influencing language interpretation

7. What is the primary focus of pragmatic semantics?
    a) Understanding the structure of sentences
    b) Analyzing the meaning of individual words
    c) Exploring meaning within specific contexts
    d) Investigating linguistic universals

8. What factors does pragmatic semantics consider in interpreting language?
    a) Speaker intentions and shared knowledge
    b) Sentence structure and grammar rules
    c) Phonological features and word order
    d) Lexical ambiguity and semantic roles

9. The referential approach to meaning primarily emphasizes:
    a) The link between words and real world objects
    b) The mental representations associated with word meanings
    c) How meanings evolve within contexts of use
    d) The communicative nature of meaning

10. The functional approach to meaning examines:
    a) The link between words and real world objects
    b) The mental representations associated with word meanings
    c) How meanings evolve within contexts of use
    d) The communicative nature of meaning

11. According to the information-oriented approach, meaning is viewed as:
    a) The information transmitted during communication
    b) The mental representations associated with word meanings
    c) The link between words and real world objects
    d) How meanings evolve within contexts of use

12. How is grammatical meaning primarily conveyed in language?

a) Through derivational morphemes
b) By inflectional morphemes
c) By lexical elements
d) Through metaphorical expression

13. What aspect of meaning does lexical meaning primarily convey?

a) Grammatical relationships
b) Speaker emotions and attitudes
c) Basic concept of a word
d) Social context of language use

14. What is the main distinction between lexical and grammatical meanings?

a) Grammatical meanings are infinite, while lexical meanings are limited.
b) Grammatical meanings emphasize structural aspects of words, while lexical meanings convey the core concept.
c) Lexical meanings convey the speaker's feelings, while grammatical meanings focus on linguistic structure.
d) Grammatical meanings are consistent across all forms of a word, while lexical meanings vary.

15. What is the primary difference between sense and reference?

a) Sense refers to specific objects or situations, while reference is the general meaning of a word.
b) Sense is the abstract meaning detached from any particular referent, while reference is the specific object or situation to which the word applies.
c) Sense changes every time the word is used, while reference remains stable.
d) Sense is the dictionary definition of a word, while reference is its emotional association.

16. Which statement accurately describes denotation?

a) Denotation serves as the primary semantic component and refers to the cultural associations of a word.
b) Denotation is the emotional and cultural facet of a word's meaning, contributing to its expressiveness.

c) Denotation represents the fundamental, objective meaning of a word, detached from subjective associations.
d) Denotation encompasses the attitudinal or cultural associations evoked by a word, varying based on individual experiences.

17. How do denotation and connotation differ?
a) Denotation refers to the cultural associations of a word, while connotation refers to its literal meaning.
b) Denotation represents the objective meaning of a word, while connotation adds subjective associations.
c) Denotation is t he emotional tone of a word, while connotation is its dictionary definition.
d) Denotation and connotation are interchangeable terms describing the same aspect of word meaning.

18. How does cognitive semantics differ from lexical semantics?
a) Cognitive semantics focuses on language structure, while lexical semantics emphasizes cognitive processes.
b) Cognitive semantics explains how meaning is shaped by cognition, while lexical semantics analyzes meaning within language system.
c) Cognitive semantics prioritizes linguistic categories, while lexical semantics prioritizes conceptual categories.
d) Cognitive semantics studies meaning within language, while lexical semantics studies meaning within the mind.

19. According to the prototype theory, what role do prototypes play in categorization?
a) Prototypes are exceptions within categories.
b) Prototypes serve as representative examples within categories.
c) Prototypes are interchangeable with atypical members.
d) Prototypes are only relevant in cultural contexts.

20. What is pragmatics primarily interested in?
a) Word meaning
b) Sentence meaning
c) Utterance meaning
d) Morpheme meaning

21. Which concept explains how sentence meaning is determined by the meanings of its components and the way they are combined?
    a) Entailment
    b) Compositionality
    c) Proposition
    d) Connotation

III. Decide if these statements are true or false. Explain your choice:

1. Semantics primarily studies the meaning of sentences.
2. Semantics is mainly concerned with subjective interpretations of words.
3. Semantics and pragmatics are two distinct fields that overlap in their focus areas.
4. The referential approach to meaning primarily focuses on the mental representations associated with word meanings.
5. Lexical meaning remains consistent across different forms of a word.
6. Semanticists are primarily interested in studying the social and expressive aspects of meaning.
7. Connotations are purely subjective associations developed solely from personal experience.
8. Connotative meanings involve only positive associations with word.
9. In cognitive semantics, the prototype theory suggests that categories are organized around prototypes, which serve as typical examples of a category.
10. Fuzzy boundaries between categories indicate that some entities may not fit neatly into one specific category due to ambiguous or overlapping features.

IV. Match the subfields of semantics with their definitions:

Subfield	*Definition*
a. lexical semantics	1. Examines how language structures contribute to conveying meaning.
b. sentence semantics	2. Focuses on the interpretation of meaning within specific contexts of communication.
c. structural semantics	3. Analyzes the meanings of individual words and their relationships within a language's vocabulary.
d. cognitive	4. Analyzes meaning within the framework of language itself.

semantics	
e. pragmatic semantics	5. Relates meaning analysis to human cognition and conceptual categorization.

V. What theories of meaning were discussed in this chapter? Complete the table below based on these theories:

Theory	*Representatives*	*Main postulates*	*Strong and weak points*

VI. Analyze the connotations associated with the following words:

Rose, rat, red, pig, snake, snail, blue, white, home, strawberry

VII. Examine the provided chart, which outlines the semantic features associated with different lexemes. Fill out the chart by indicating whether each word possesses or lacks specific semantic features:

	Animate	*Human*	*Female*	*Adult*
mother	+	+	+	-
cat				
tree				
sun				
brother				

VIII. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words from the list below. Determine whether each word has a positive or negative connotation in the given context:

timid, arrogant, serene, triumph, ecstatic, exquisite, mediocre,

dilapidated, generous, grim

1. Despite facing numerous obstacles, she emerged from the competition with a sense of _____.

2. The old house at the end of the street looked _____, with its broken windows and crumbling walls.

3. As she sat by the tranquil lake, she felt a sense of _____ wash over her.

4. His _____ demeanor often rubbed people the wrong way, making it difficult for him to make friends.

5. She had a reputation for being incredibly _____, always willing to lend a helping hand to those in need.

6. The movie received _____ reviews from critics, with many calling it uninspired and dull.

7. The _____ craftsmanship of the handmade jewelry left everyone in awe.

8. The atmosphere in the room was _____, as everyone awaited the outcome of the meeting.

9. When she received the news of her promotion, she was absolutely _____.

10. He was too _____ to speak up during the presentation, fearing he might say something foolish.

IX. Analyze the differences in the connotations between the words in each pair:

leader - dictator	home - dwelling
confident - arrogant	persistent - stubborn
chef - cook	frugal - cheap
thrifty - miserly	optimistic - naive
curious - nosy	cautious - timid

X. Fill in the table below with a "+" if the statement applies and "–" if it does not:

a) includes all the entities a word can denote;
b) can be explicitly defined in a dictionary;
c) refers to specific objects or concepts in the world;
d) includes additional cultural or emotional associations.

	sense	*reference*	*denotation*	*connotation*
a.				
b.				
c.				
d.				
e.				

XI. How do children acquire the meaning of words? Fill in the blanks in the sentences below with the appropriate terms:

connotation, sense relations, reference, denotation

a) Children initially learn words through their direct associations with specific _____.

b) As children encounter various instances of the same concept, they begin to generalize these meanings, which is known as _____.

c) Over time, children learn from their speech community which associations are favorable or unfavorable, shaping the _____ of words.

d) Simultaneously, children acquire implicit knowledge of how words relate to one another, known as _____.

XII. Arrange these items into prototypical, less prototypical, and atypical members of the categories of furniture and fruit:

Furniture: cushion, picture, lamp stand, chair, dining table, vase, bed, sofa, hammock, rocking chair, bookshelf, desk, vase

Fruit: lemon, apple, pineapple, fig, tomato, banana, plum, grapes, date, pear, orange, pomegranate, kiwi

XIII. Study the following sentences. Determine how many different utterance meanings can be derived from it based on the context?

(a) She noticed a child on the roof with binoculars.

(b) They met at the park with their children.

(c) Ann bumped into her friend with a suitcase.

(d) He walked into the room with a key.

XIV. Analyze the following real newspaper headlines. What was the writes' intended meaning?

1. March Planned for Next August
2. Include Your Children When Baking Cookies
3. Iraqi Head Seeks Arms
4. Kids Make Nutritious Snacks
5. Blind Woman Gets New Kidney from Dad She Hasn't Seen in Years
6. Branch Avenue Bridge tobe Fixed Before Fall
7. 20-Year Friendship Ends at Altar
8. Police Begin Campaign to Run Down Jaywalkers
9. Chef Throws His Heart into Helping Feed Needy
10. New Study of Obesity Looks for Larger Test Group

Source: https://www.ling.upenn.edu/~beatrice/humor/headlines.html

XV. Explain the lexical meaning of the words in bold and translate them into Ukrainian/Hungarian:

1. She whispered **sweet nothings** into his ear, hoping to win his affection.
2. Charles managed to **melt** her icy demeanor with his charm.
3. She was skilled at **fishing** for compliments to boost her ego.
4. His **apologetic** tone suggested regret for his actions.
5. The activists were adept at **planting** seeds of doubt in the minds of citizens.
6. The politician **shuffled** his cabinet around, hoping to appease public criticism.
7. She wolfs down information without fully digesting it.
8. He **wrapped** his argument in rhetoric to make it more convincing.
9. Such **nervous** laughter reveals his discomfort in social situations.

XVI. Explain the meaning of the given collocations, and then translate them into Ukrainian/Hungarian:

a) difficult time

b) exact time

c) allotted time
d) ample time
e) commuting time
f) countless times
g) exciting time
h) leisure time
i) waste time
j) get a chance
k) get a letter
l) get a cold
m) get together
n) get to sleep
o) get lost
p) get divorced
q) get dressed

XVII. Discuss the following quotations. How do you understand them? How far do you agree with them?

(a) “Semantics is about the relation of words to thoughts, but it also about the relation of words to other human concerns. Semantics is about the relation of words to reality - the way that speakers commit themselves to a shared understanding of the truth, and the way their thoughts are anchored to things and situations in the world.” ~ Steven Pinker

(b) "All our work, our whole life is a matter of semantics, because words are the tools with which we work, the material out of which laws are made, out of which the Constitution was written. Everything depends on our understanding of them." ~ Felix Frankfurter

(c) "Everything that can be said, can be said clearly." ~ Ludwig Wittgenstein

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CHAPTER 3

LEXICAL RELATIONS

There is more to knowing a word than its definition. Apart from understanding individual word meanings, language proficiency also entails knowing how words fit together. Normally, language users effortlessly see how words relate to each other. For instance, words like “plum,” “apple,” “pineapple,” and “fruit” have different but related meanings. Similarly, words such as “look” or “peep,” “hot,” “warm” and “cold,” “fresh” and “stale” exhibit various types of relationships, such as similarities or opposites in meaning. The study of how words are interrelated falls under the purview of lexical semantics.

Lexical semantics continues to adhere to the classical structuralist approach, particularly the notion that language functions as a complex system of relations. It claims that linguistic elements are integrated into a language system through networks of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations. Word meanings are, thus, treated as a relative language internal phenomenon. The meaning or sense of a word is seen as a node within a network of semantic relations (Kortmann, 2020, p. 149). In essence, lexical semantics views vocabulary as a structured whole, where nothing exists in isolation, and recurring semantic structures can be identified.

3.1. SYNTAGMATIC AND PARADIGMATIC LEXICAL RELATIONS

Vocabulary, as discussed earlier, is not a random collection of lexemes but a balanced structured system. Its elements interact among each other, falling into two main categories of relations: paradigmatic and syntagmatic.

Syntagmatic relations, often called horizontal relations, pertain to the linear arrangement of lexemes within a phrase or sentence. This involves observing how words are combined in a specific order to construct meaningful expressions. For instance, in the phrase “young learner,” the words “young” and “learner” are linked in a syntagmatic relation, producing a coherent and meaningful statement. Conversely, a phrase like “young table” is senseless, because these words do not enter into syntagmatic relationships.

Paradigmatic relations, also known as vertical or substitutional relations, exist among lexemes that can be used interchangeably in the same functional position within a phrase or sentence. Unlike syntagmatic relations that focus on word order, paradigmatic relations involve words that could potentially replace each other in a given context. For example, in the sentence “The car is fast,” the word “fast” could be replaced paradigmatically with synonyms like

"speedy" or "quick" without altering the grammatical structure or overall meaning of the sentence.

Let us use a simple analogy for explanation: syntagmatic relations resemble building a sentence by placing words next to each other horizontally, whereas paradigmatic relations involve choosing a word from a vertical list of options (Figure 3.1).

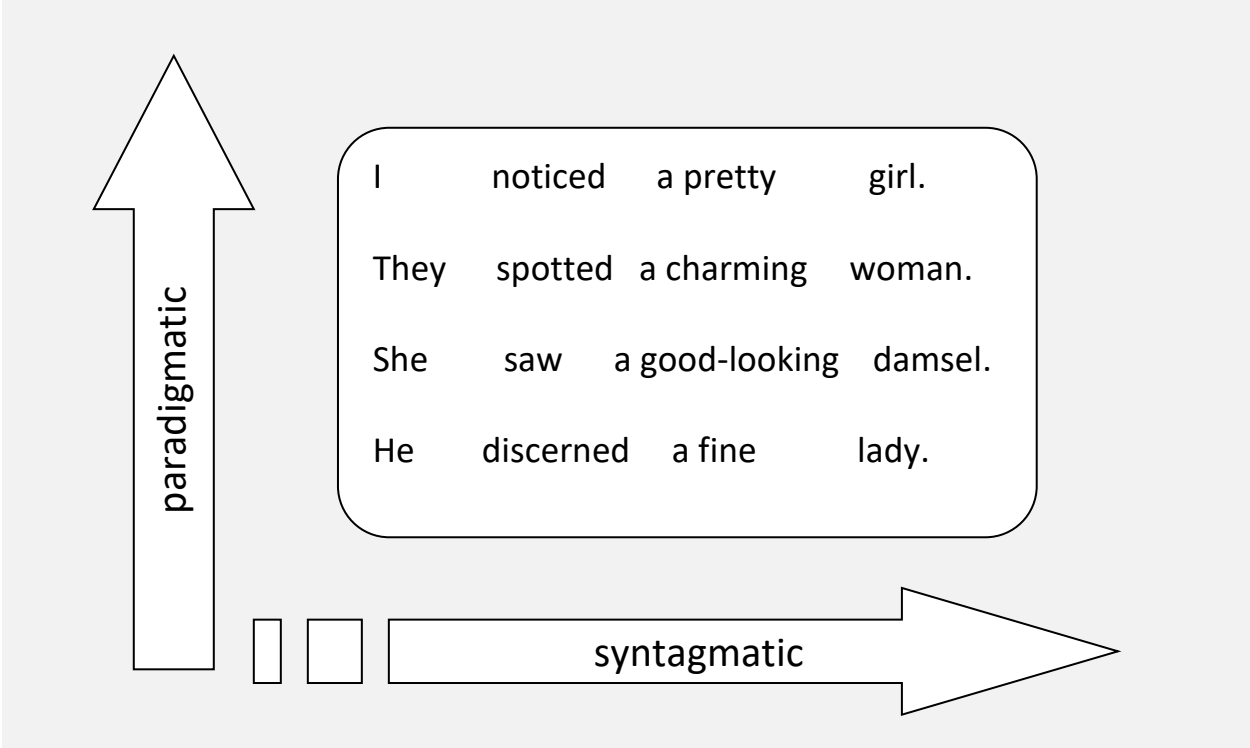


Figure 3.1. Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic Lexical Relations

Think of words as puzzle pieces fitting together to from meaningful phrases or sentences. Each word's place in this puzzle is determined by its relationships with other words, which can be either syntagmatic or paradigmatic. The meaning of words is, thus, influenced by its connection with other words in this puzzle. It should be noted that words are not mere carriers of meaning; they actively contribute to the meaning of a sentence, influenced by the context in which they appear. The meanings they bring to a sentence depend on other words used in those sentences. The resulting meaning, shaped by these word-to-word connections, is known as the **sense** of the word. Understanding sense relations is crucial for grasping how words contribute to the meaning of larger linguistic units.

Implicit knowledge of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations among words helps speakers to effortlessly comprehend spoken or written language. It enables them to quickly notice any mispronounced or misused words that do not fit into familiar combinations. However,

for second/foreign language learners who lack subconscious knowledge of these relations, it can pose a significant challenge.

TYPES OF PARADIGMATIC AND SYNTAGMATIC RELATIONS

Paradigmatic relations concern the selection of one lexeme over another. In expressing an idea, speakers often must choose from a variety of linguistic expressions. For instance, in the following sentences we had to decide between words with similar meanings:

> *(a) The author's writing style is so captivating; it is difficult to choose between their eloquent prose and their compelling narrative.*
>
> *(b) The writer's literary technique is truly enchanting; it is challenging to decide between their graceful expression and their gripping storytelling.*

In addition to the above illustrated relationship of synonymy, which is based on semantic similarity, several other types of paradigmatic relations can be singled out:

- antonymy, which is based on semantic oppositeness (e.g., friend - enemy, good - bad);
- polysemy, which refers to lexemes with multiple meanings (e.g., "head": part of the human body; a leader; the top of something);
- homonymy, which involves lexemes with identical spelling and pronunciation, or one of these, but entirely unrelated meanings (e.g., "match": a thin piece of timber; a contest. In the case of "match," we deal with two independent lexemes);
- hyponymy, which refers to a hierarchical relationship where one word (the hyponym) denotes a subclass of another word (the hyperonym) indicating a more specific instance of a broader category (e.g., "fruit" – hyperonym and "apple" – hyponym).

Syntagmatic relations, on the other hand, focus on the immediate associations and connections between words within a phrase or sentence. They include:

- collocations, which are groups of two or more words typically used together that make sense based on their individual meanings.
- idioms or phraseological units, which are combinations of words possessing metaphorical meanings and stable structures.

3.2. SYNONYMY

DEFINITION

Synonymy has been defined through diverse perspectives, with the most commonly accepted definition highlighting the identity or similarity of meaning (Cruse, 2002, p. 486). The term itself, originating from Greek words meaning “same” and “name,” denotes having identical names. Essentially, synonymy represents a relationship characterized by equivalence or semantic similarity among two or more words, as seen in pairs like “ask – inquire,” “end – terminate,” “explain – elaborate,” “journey – voyage,” “like – admire,” “pretty – beautiful.”

However, a closer look at these groups of synonyms reveals discernable differences despite referencing similar entities. This observation has led some linguists to question the existence of true synonyms. Nevertheless, even with the identifiable differences among the examples of synonyms above, it is hard not to notice the semantic relations they share.

For some linguists, synonymy is context-dependent, suggesting that words are synonymous only in specific contexts. Conversely, others view synonymy as independent of context, contending that if two or more words are synonymous, they should be similar in meaning in a variety of contexts. Based on this, a distinction is drawn between total, also known as absolute synonymy, and partial or loose synonymy.

TYPES OF SYNONYMS

Absolute synonyms are words that can be interchanged in all contexts of use without considerable alterations in meaning or stylistic characteristics. However, absolute synonymy is rather anomalous in language due to its rare occurrence. This has led some linguists to deny their existence or treat them from the perspective of semantic change. Examples of absolute synonyms can be found in academic fields, such as “caecitis” and “typhlitis,” both medical terms (e.g., Ullmann, 1972, pp. 141–142). More commonly, absolute synonymy is regarded as a temporary phenomenon in language. If two lexemes happen to co-occur in time, the language will either oust one of the members of the pair or differentiate them semantically. This occurred with the lexeme "cnafa" (male child in Old English) which was synonymous with "boy," but has since acquired a negative connotation in its modern form “knave.”

Partial synonyms are words that can be interchanged in specific contexts but not universally. For instance, consider the partial synonyms “high” and “tall”. While they can be used interchangeably in certain situations (e.g., a tall girl, tall trees), there are cases when only one of them is appropriate (a high mountain, but not a high boy*).

Next, we need to consider how synonyms are differentiated based on their denotational component. Contemporary linguists view synonyms as words with similar denotations and different connotations. Lexemes having overlapping denotations, i.e., referring to identical entities in the outside world, but divergent connotative, expressive or social meanings, are termed **denotational synonyms**. To illustrate, consider the words "confident" and "arrogant": they largely overlap in denotation, referring to certainty in one's abilities, but "arrogant" carries a connotation of excessive self-assurance. Following are additional examples of synonyms with differing connotations:

brave - audacious (recklessly brave)

cheerful - exuberant (overflowing with joy)

frugal - stingy (unwilling to spend)

persistent - stubborn (unreasonably resolute)

innovative - quirky (unconventionally creative)

earnest - solemn (grave, dignified)

Some authors discuss **idiographic synonyms**, which are synonyms that only partially overlap in their denotative meaning. Idiographic synonyms differ in the degree, quality, or manner expressed by the denotative component. For example, consider sets like "love – admire – adore – worship," "road – boulevard – avenue," "ask – beg."

Synonyms can also vary in terms of formality or stylistic characteristics, leading to the use of the term "**stylistic synonym**." In certain pairs of synonyms, one word may be preferred in more formal settings, while the other is commonly used in less formal or casual contexts, as illustrated in the following examples:

grab – acquire

chat – converse

begin – commence

end – terminate

show – demonstrate

use – utilize

fix – rectify

Finally, synonyms may vary based on varieties or dialects of English, encompassing national standards like British, Australian, or American English, as well as regional dialects associated with specific areas such as New York City English, Midland American English, Scouse English, etc. Examples of synonyms with differences between British and American English include:

biscuit - cookie

chemist - pharmacy

dustbin - garbage can

flat - apartment

petrol - gas

post - mail

queue - line

torch - flashlight

nappy - diaper

CHARACTERISTICS OF ENGLISH SYNONYMS

The number of synonymic pairs in English is large, with some estimates approximating 8000 (Ilyenko, 2020). Their abundance is partly attributable to English's openness to Latin and Romance borrowings. The historical evolution of English, drawing from Anglo-Saxon, as well as French, Latin and other sources, has significantly contributed to this linguistic wealth. In the following examples, words on the left have their origins in Old English, while those on the right were borrowed from French (F) or Latin (L):

gather - assemble (F)

end - finish (F)

rise - mount (F)

quick - rapid (L)

help - assist (L)

go - depart (F)

eat- consume (L)

buy - purchase (F)

answer - respond (L)

kill- slay (L)

use - utilize (L)

kind - benevolent (L)

go away - depart (F)

big - enormous (L)

old - ancient (L)

Words of Old English origin tend to be shorter and neutral, while their borrowed counterparts typically convey a more formal tone. A distinctive feature of English vocabulary is the neutrality of native words, the formality of French borrowings, and the technicality of Latin-derived terms. Examples illustrating this linguistic characteristic include:

teaching – guidance (F) – instruction (L)

see – observe (F) – contemplate (L)

buy – purchase (F) – acquire (L)

start – commence (F) – initiate (L)

end – finish (F) – complete (L)

big – enormous (F) – colossal (L)

free – liberate (F) – emancipate (L)

ask – inquire (F) – interrogate (L)

empty – devoid (F) – vacuous (L)

belly – stomach (F) – abdomen (L)

gather – assemble (F) – collect (L)

In this chapter, our examination of synonyms has predominantly focused on their paradigmatic aspects, neglecting their actual place in the flow of communication. Notably, in various genres of literary English, the avoidance of tautology through the substitution of identical words is deemed a mark of good style. Consequently, writers often resort to the use of near-synonyms relying on semantic similarity among the related lexemes (Reimer, 2010, p. 153). In specific contexts, such words may temporarily assume the status of synonyms, only to become semantically distinct with the context change. Given the rarity of absolute synonymy, many linguists regard this as a regular characteristic of synonyms.

3.3. ANTONYMY

DEFINITION

Antonyms, which come from Greek words meaning "opposite" and "name," are words that rely on semantic opposition. Traditionally, they were described as words with contrasting meanings. However, subsequent analysis recognized that this oppositional relationship can take diverse forms (Hurford et al., 2007, p. 121). Illustrations such as “hot – cold,” “friend – enemy,” and “up – down” illustrate this range. In the discussion of antonymy, Reimer (2010) characterizes it as a relationship of incompatibility with respect to a specific dimension of contrast (p. 137). Consequently, unlike synonyms, antonyms establish various types of relationships.

TYPES OF ANTONYMS

The prevalent types of antonyms include gradable antonyms, contradictory or complementary antonyms, and converses.

In the study of antonymy, a fundamental distinction is made between **gradable** and **non-gradable** antonyms. For instance, let us consider gradable antonyms like “narrow – wide” or “fast – slow” and non-gradable antonyms like “married – divorced” or “alive – dead.” The former can be thought of as having more or less of a certain property, allowing for a more/less

relationship and comparison. Streets can be "narrower" or "wider," and a car can move "faster" or "slower." Additionally, adverbs like "very" or "rather" can modify gradable antonyms, as in "rather cold" or "freezing cold." Gradable antonyms, primarily adjectives, tend to be more frequent than non-gradable ones.

Some pairs of gradable antonyms exhibit specific characteristics in how they function in questions and comparative constructions. In pairs like “old – young,” “good – bad,” “long – short,” one member tends to assume a neutral or unmarked role. Typically, unmarked members, such as “old” and “good,” are used in broader contexts than their marked counterparts (young, bad, and short). For example, questions “How old is your sister?” or “How good was the hotel?” do not imply that the interlocutor’s sister is old or that the hotel was good; the age is left unspecified in this context, and the hotel’s quality could range from excellent to terrible. Lexemes like “old” and “good” are considered unmarked. Their neutrality is evident in responses like “She is five years old” or “The place was shabby.”

Contradictory or **complementary** antonyms, such as “asleep – awake” or “male – female,” represent dichotomies with mutually exclusive binary pairs, entering into an either/or type of relationship. In other words, if someone is married, they cannot be more or less married*, or more or less divorced* since marriage is a categorical state. In cognitive semantics, contradictory antonyms establish two distinct and mutually exclusive categories within a conceptual domain. If something does not belong to one category, it automatically falls into the other. If we negate one member, this results in a meaning equivalent to the other member. For instance, in the pair “peace – war,” the negation of peace is war, and vice versa. Similarly, in the pair “alive – dead,” negating alive results in dead, and vice versa.

Converses, also known as relational opposites, represent pairs of words where the existence of one term presupposes the existence of the other. They create the mirror image of a given situation, involving a reversal of participants and their roles. Examples include “doctor – patient,” “parent – child,” “lecturer – student.” Using one term in a conversive pair implies the presence of the other: if there is a parent, there must be a child, and if something is above, there must be something below.

The types of relations representing antonymy in English discussed so far are by no means exhaustive. Another example is directional opposites or reverses, which involve a change in orientation or direction, as seen in “rise – fall,” “come – go,” “arrive – leave,” “push – pull,” “increase – decrease,” “do – undo,” “zip – unzip.”

Some polysemantic words in English have developed meanings that simultaneously refer to opposing phenomena. The words denoting the opposites of each other are called **autoantonymous** (Murphy, 2003). Instances of such words, though infrequent in language, are

observed in examples like “odor,” which can denote both an aroma and a disagreeable smell. “Overlook” can simultaneously denote to watch or fail to notice. Similarly, “dust” can denote to cover something with a layer of powder or to clean something. For instance, before baking you dust a cake pan with flour or you dust the furniture in your room using a cloth.

The relation of opposition, while not as common as that of sameness, which underlies synonymy, is nevertheless a significant relation within English vocabulary. This is evident, for instance, in the creation of antonyms by morphological means, where negative prefixes including a-, dis-, il-, im, in-, ir-, non- or un- can be added to a root morpheme to create an antonym (e.g., illegal, inappropriate, disagree). English also avails itself with suffixes like –less or –full to serve this purpose, as in “harmful – harmless,” “hopeful – hopeless.”

While nearly every word has a synonym, not all words possess an antonym. Words denoting tangible objects, such as “book” or “car”, often lack obvious opposites. Unlike abstract terms that readily admit antonyms, such concrete nouns resist the formation of direct opposites due to their transparent denotation. This illustrates the complexity of the relations between word meanings and the feasibility of establishing opposites, contributing to the lower frequency of antonyms compared to synonyms.

3.4. HYPONYMY

Lexemes like “rose” and “flower,” “elephant” and “animal,” or “ant” and “insect” form a significant sense relation in the vocabulary of English. Although speakers may use either lexeme in these pairs to point to an identical entity, it is evident that the first signifies a specific kind or type of the second. So, a rose is a kind of a flower, an elephant is a kind of an animal, while an ant is a kind of an insect.

An attentive reader may notice that these lexeme pairs enter into a hierarchical relation in which one member has a more specific meaning subsumed by a lexeme with a more general meaning. In semantics, words like “rose,” “elephant” and “ant” are **hyponyms**, subordinate to words with a more general meaning. By contrast, “flower,” “animal” and “insect,” which occupy a higher level in the hierarchy, are termed **hyperonyms** or superordinates. Words at the same level in this hierarchy are **co-hyponyms**, such as “rose” being a co-hyponym of “geranium,” “dandelion,” and “lily-of-the-valley” (Figure 3.2).

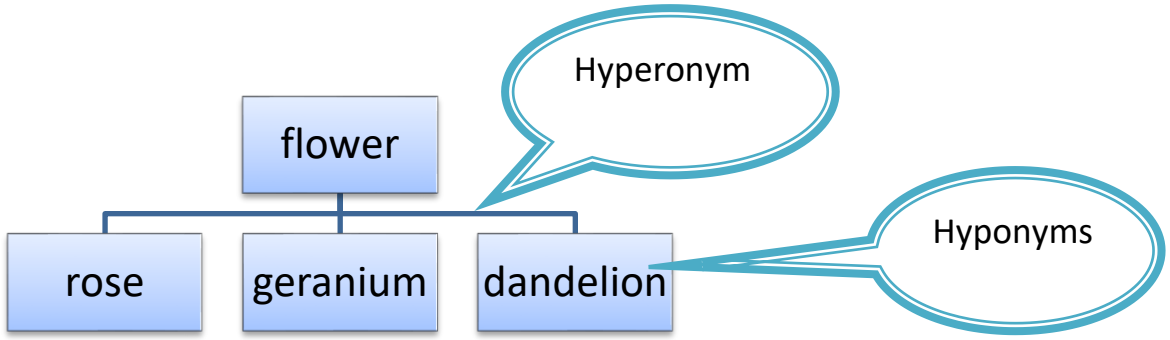


Figure 3.2. Hyponymy

One and the same word can function as a hyponym and a hyperonym depending on its context of use. As seen in Figure 3.3, “furniture” acts as a superordinate term to hyponyms like “chair,” “table,” “bed,” and “shelf.” Also, “table” is a superordinate to its own set of hyponyms, including “coffee table,” “kitchen table,” “dining table,” or “dressing table.” Thus, a word may act as a hyponym within one hierarchical relation while concurrently serving as a superordinate in another (Figure 3.3).

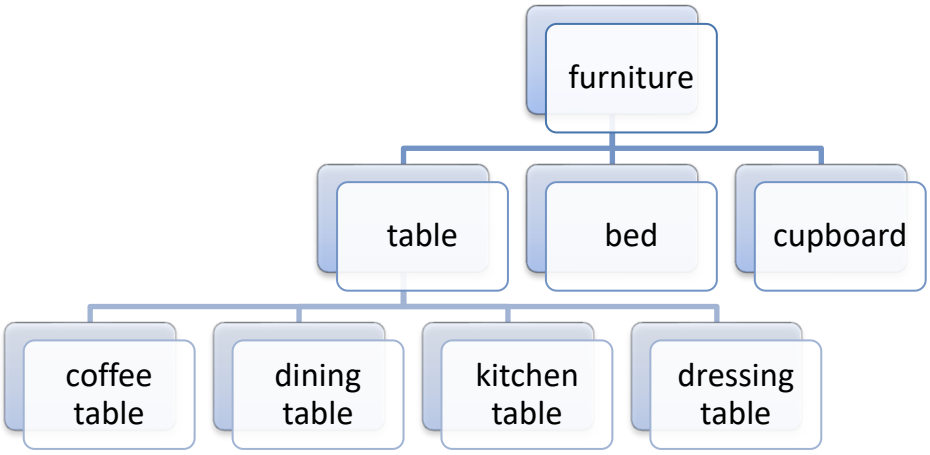


Figure 3.3. Hyperonym ↔ Hyponym

The notion of hyponymy is not restricted to lexemes with concrete denotations that refer to physical objects. It also extends to actions or state-related terms. In other words, not only nouns but also other grammatical categories, such as verbs, can function as hyponyms. For instance, “saunter,” “stroll,” “stagger,” and “swagger” serve as co-hyponyms under the superordinate “walk.” Similarly, we can think of “navy,” “ultramarine,” “turquoise” and “cyan” as hyponyms of “blue,” which is itself a hyponym of “color.”

It is often possible to interchange a hyponym with a superordinate lexeme without altering the intended meaning. In the sentence "A bicycle is parked near the store," the hyponym

"bicycle" can be substituted with its superordinate "vehicle" without a shift in meaning. However, this substitution does not work in the reverse direction – a bicycle is a vehicle, but not every vehicle is necessarily a bicycle.

In the developmental perspective, the process of language acquisition begins with a child noticing words that denote tangible objects within their immediate environment, such as “ball,” or “cat.” As the child progresses in establishing the relations between various entities in the outside world, more abstract terms with general meanings, like “toy” or “animal,” gradually make their way into their mental lexicon. This illustrates the significant role the relation of hyponymy plays in the construction of meaning during language acquisition. Hyponymy facilitates the organization of a child’s linguistic knowledge by establishing hierarchical relations between words, allowing them to understand the varying levels of specificity and generality. In essence, the acquisition of vocabulary involves not only the learning of individual words but also gaining insight into the relations that exist between these words.

By now, you may have noticed that hyponymy is a significant sense relation in the English vocabulary, yet a number of issues exist within the given approach to structuring vocabulary. One notable problem is that not every hyponym has a corresponding superordinate lexeme. Take, for instance, words like “nephew” and “niece.” While they share a certain component of meaning, denoting the child of your brother or sister of male and female sex, English lacks a single term encompassing both nephews and nieces. This reveals a gap in the English vocabulary, though English is not an exception in this respect. Similar gaps exist in other languages, like Ukrainian, where terms for aunt and uncle ("тітка" and "дядько") lack a common superordinate term, echoing the situation in English.

Another issue in hyponymy arises when certain hyponyms are missing altogether. In English, some family terms lack specific hyponyms found in Hungarian, leading to potential confusion. For example, English has only one lexeme, "brother," for both "báty" and "öccs" in Hungarian, which denote elder and younger brother, respectively. The same refers to the lexeme “sister” referenced by one term in English, where Hungarian has distinct terms for elder and younger sister "nővér" and “húg” (Figure 3.4).

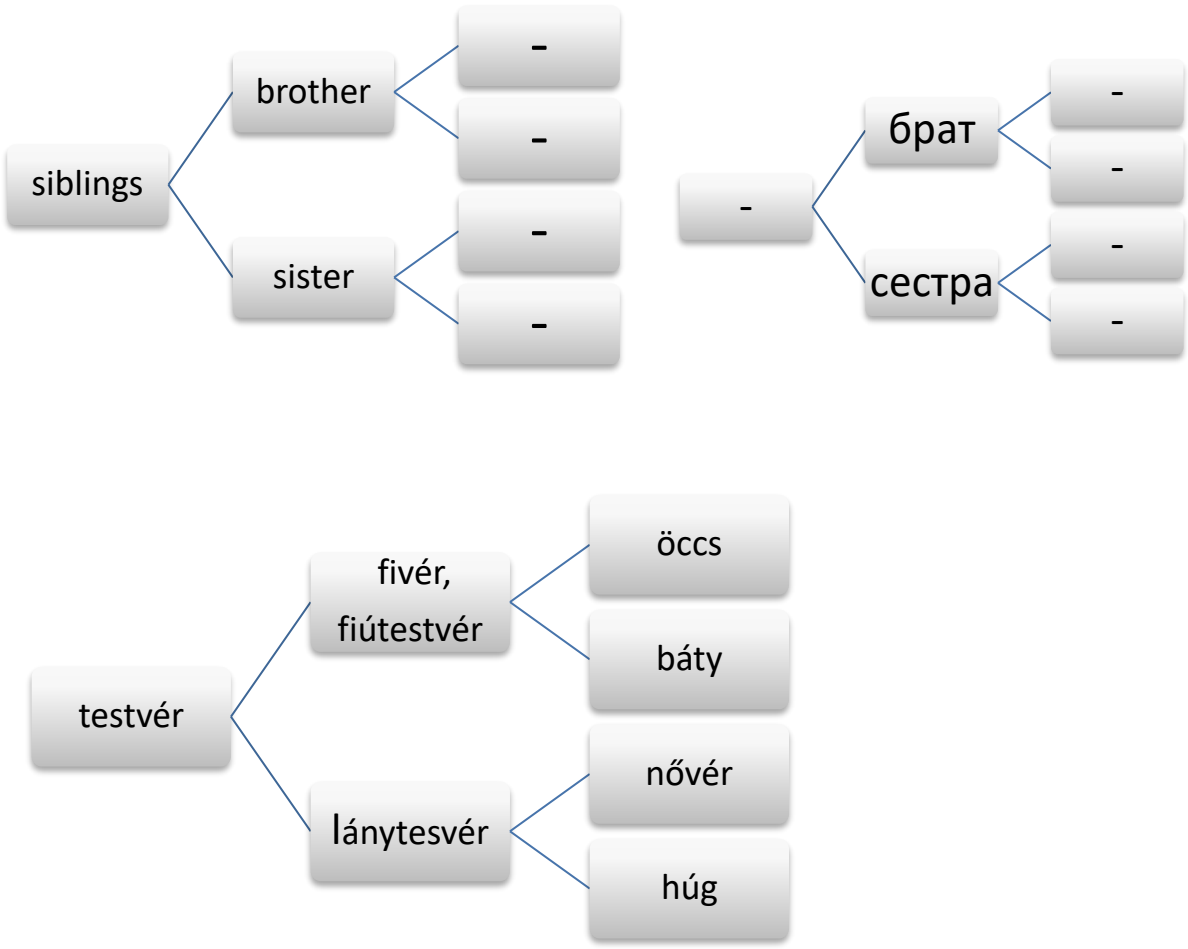


Figure 3.4. Gaps in Family Terms

In sum, exploring hyponymy reveals occasional irregularities in lexical hierarchies. The absence of superordinate terms for certain groups of hyponyms, as evidenced by Ukrainian and Hungarian examples, shows that vocabulary is structured based on the communicative needs of specific cultures. Lexical gaps and missing hyponyms are not anomalies but rather reflections of the evolving nature of language. While hyponymy is a valuable framework for expressing sense relations, its hierarchies are not always complete. After all, language is a dynamic tool of communication shaped by the richness of human experience.

3.5. INCOMPATIBILITY

In the context of paradigmatic sense relations, incompatibility or heteronymy, characterizes the relationship between co-hyponyms. This relationship is illustrated by words belonging to a specific lexical field, such as vehicles (e.g., bus, train, airplane, helicopter, etc.), furniture (e.g.,

table, chair, bed, wardrobe, etc.), or days of the week (e.g., Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, etc.). In terms of hierarchy, these hyponyms share the same level.

Incompatibility relations capture logical contradictions in a specific context. For example, "This is an *apple tree*" and "This is an *oak tree*," or "Today is Sunday" and "Today is Friday" are incompatible and mutually exclusive in this context. Some linguists term such words heteronyms, denoting mutually exclusive items under the same hyperonym (Lyons, 1995). Simply put, heteronyms can be likened to the opposite sides of the same coin – they are connected, yet they cannot be used together at the same time. In certain discussions, heteronymy is described as a subtype of antonymy.

3.6. MERONYMY

Meronymy, derived from Greek meros (part) + onuma (name), refers to a lexical relationship where one term denotes a constituent of a whole. It is illustrated in relations like "knee – leg," "processor – computer," "mouth – teeth." Essentially, a meronym is a part of its holonym. So, an arm is a meronym of a body, which acts as its holonym. Furthermore, "arm" has its own meronyms, such as "wrist," "forearm," and "elbow." Words belonging to these sets are termed co-meronyms, as depicted in Figure 3.5.

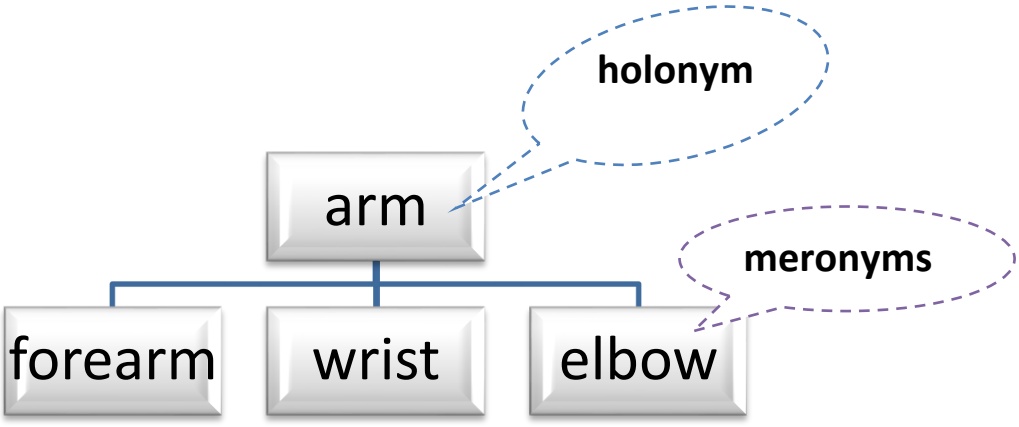


Figure 3.5. HIERARCHICAL RELATIONS IN MERONYMY

Hierarchical relations in meronymy fundamentally differ from those in hyponymy. While hyponymy involves the inclusion of one class within another, meronymy is concerned with the individual referents of terms, establishing a part-whole relationship. For instance, a nose is a part of a face, and a face is a part of a head. Meronymy does not indicate a relationship between distinct classes; instead, it emphasizes the structural aspects of entities.

Additionally, relations in meronymy are more complex than in hyponymy, leading to the identification of various types of relations, as illustrated below:

(a) Part-of meronym: a beak is a part of a penguin;

(b) Member-of meronym: a penguin is a member of a colony;

(c) Portion-of meronym: a slice is a portion of pizza;

(d) Substance meronym: a table is made from wood.

Furthermore, while meronymy pertains to relations between tangible objects, hyponymy deals with relations between concepts. In the external world, the material object “thorn” is a component of a “rose.” Moreover, “roses” and “oaks” are collectively classified as “plants,” yet in the material realm, there exists no “plant” comprising “roses” and “oaks.” In simpler terms, the relationship between “thorn” and “rose” is extralingual, while the relationship between “rose” and “oak” is conceptual (Matzner, 2016).

As we come to an end of our observation of the hierarchical relations in the English vocabulary, it becomes evident that they exist across a multitude of words. Virtually every object in our surroundings is composed of parts. For instance, a computer is comprised of a keyboard and a monitor, while a cat has a tail, paws and whiskers, illustrating part-whole relations.

However, the application of the concepts of hyponymy and meronymy to the language’s vocabulary inevitably reveals imprecision in human structuring and categorization of words, resulting in “lexical gaps” or “lexical holes” (Jackson & Amwela, 2021, p. 126). To illustrate, consider the Ukrainian language where the terms “день” (day) and “ніч” (night) are meronyms of the holonym "доба," representing a 24-hour period – a concept for which English lacks a singular term. In hyponymy, hierarchical organization also appears to be unpredictable in some cases. For instance, the superordinate term “sibling,” encompassing hyponyms “brother” and “sister,” is absent in the Ukrainian language (Figure 3.4). When speakers create new words, they seldom, if ever, think about their place in the vocabulary system, offering fertile ground for linguistic considerations.

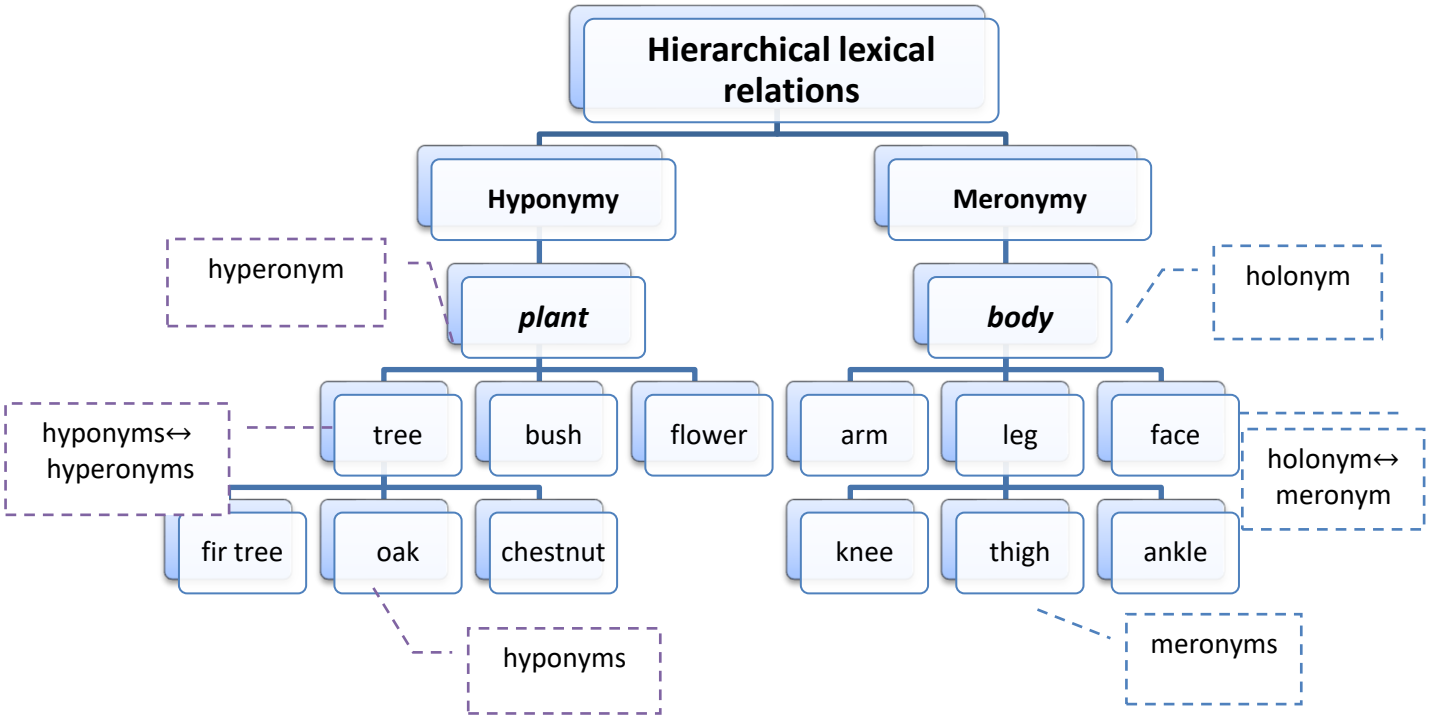


Figure 3.6. Hierarchical Lexical Relations

3.7. POLYSEMY AND HOMONYMY: INTRODUCING LEXICAL AMBIGUITY

Some words in English possess only one meaning and are accordingly termed monosemantic. However, it is more common for words to embrace multiple meanings, becoming simultaneously part of diverse lexical fields. This integration results in the formation of a complex network of sense relations. In communication, the presence of words with several meanings introduces the potential for varied interpretations, leading to possible misunderstandings. The case of multiple interpretations resulting in ambiguity is referred to as **lexical ambiguity**. It can be observed in two types of words: polysemantic (also polysemic or polysemous) and homonymous, commonly studied from the perspective of paradigmatic relations. In contrast to monosemy, where one word form corresponds to one meaning, polysemy and homonymy involve the association of multiple meanings with a single lexeme or word form.

Polysemy arises when a single lexeme can express multiple meanings. These meanings are normally perceived as related and often evolve through semantic change, such as transference based on resemblance or contiguity (see Chapter 4 for more details). For example, the word "head" can refer to the anatomical structure of the human body (e.g., "She scratched her

head"), the leader of a group (e.g., "She is the head of the department"), or the front or top part of something (e.g., "She is sitting at the head of the table"). Despite this diversity of meanings, they are logically linked.

On the other hand, homonyms share an identical or similar form purely by accident, with no logical connection between their different meanings. For instance, it is impossible to trace any connection between the word "match" denoting a contest/competition, and a slim piece of wood used to make fire. Nevertheless, drawing a precise distinction between polysemy and homonymy is difficult. There are instances when the same lexeme is presented as a polysemantic in one dictionary or as homonymous (an independent word) in another.

Finally, polysemy is a more prevalent language phenomenon than homonymy because nearly every word exhibits some degree of polysemy. It is attributed, in part, to the deliberate process whereby speakers purposefully add new meanings to existing words. In contrast, homonyms are unintentional creations. Their similar forms coincide by chance, lacking any intentional purpose on the part of speakers.

Table 3.1. Polysemy vs. Homonymy

	Polysemy	***Homonymy***
Type	One lexeme with multiple meanings	Different lexemes with an identical/similar form
Relation	Meanings are related	Meanings are unrelated
Origin	New meanings evolve from some older meaning	Meanings originate from different sources
Dictionary	Listed in dictionaries as one lexeme	Listed in dictionaries as independent lexemes
Conversion	-	Converted pairs of words: milk (n.) – to milk (v.)

3.7.1. POLYSEMY

DEFINITION

Polysemy exemplifies paradigmatic lexical relations, where a single lexeme is associated with multiple related meanings or senses. Coined from the Greek roots "poly" (many) and "semeion" (sign), polysemy is a prevalent linguistic phenomenon present in almost every word to varying degrees. A polysemantic word can have as few as three or as many as several dozen meanings, with each sense appearing as a separate item of a dictionary entry.

For instance, the word "run" in the Cambridge Dictionary has diverse definitions, such as moving along quickly, participating in a race, operating something, being in control, or causing something to flow. The various senses of polysemantic lexemes evolve from an original meaning through semantic change. One of the oldest meanings of “run” was that of physical movement, which gradually acquired an additional meaning of the operation of a business or organization through a metaphorical process.

Breal (1897) was the first to introduce the term polysemy to describe instances where a single word form conveys several related meanings. In his view, polysemy is primarily a diachronic phenomenon resulting from semantic change. As words add new meanings through usage, their original meanings are typically preserved (Vicente & Falkum, 2017). From the diachronic perspective, the meaning of a word that existed from its earliest use is termed its original or primary meaning. Derived or secondary meanings appear because of semantic shift. For instance, move quickly is the primary meaning of “run,” while to be in control of something is its derived meaning. Thus, polysemy entails the coexistence of both new and old meanings, representing a synchronic consequence of semantic change.

Breal (1897) emphasized that polysemy does not pose a significant challenge for proficient language users, as the context of communication aids in discerning the specific sense of a polysemantic word. English speakers effortlessly distinguish between the various senses of "run" in sentences like "He runs really fast" or "Billy started running the whole family at two." However, language learners may struggle to recognize the different senses of a polysemantic word, as illustrated in the second sentence.

Two types of contexts influence the determination of the sense taken on by a polysemantic word on a particular occasion: linguistic or co-text and extralinguistic. **Linguistic context** or **co-text** pertains to the surrounding words of a polysemantic lexeme, constraining its meaning to a specific sense. Even the context of a single word or phrase can sometimes indicate the sense adopted by a polysemantic lexeme, as seen in examples like “factory hands,” “a hand of a clock,” or “a flight of stairs.”

Physical/situational context, on the other hand, relates to the surroundings where communication occurs and where a polysemantic word appears. For instance, in the sentence “He observed the swift flight,” the intended meaning of “flight” is ambiguous without physical context, as it could refer to either the rapid movement of a bird or a quick escape.

In essence, specific context, whether linguistic or physical, serves to elucidate the intended sense of a polysemantic word on a given occasion.

COUNTING THE NUMBER OF MEANINGS

Counting the number of senses of a polysemantic word causes a significant controversy. The difficulty lies in differentiating one meaning from another because it is not always clear whether two senses are the same or distinct. Take the verb "run," for instance. Dictionaries often

categorize it with a primary or original sense of physically using one's legs and a derived meaning related to managing a business, indicating the existence of distinct meanings. However, exploring its metaphorical use, as in "run a family," "run an errand," or "run a meeting," raises questions about whether these actions are different. Even in the literal sense, the act of running may vary in sentences like "run across the street" or "run a marathon," causing doubts about whether they convey an identical sense.

The like observations illustrate the inherent difficulty in precisely determining the number of meanings for a polysemantic word like "run," posing challenges for lexicographers. The lack of clear criteria for differentiating the senses of a polysemantic word necessitates considering specific contexts to understand the intended sense of the word.

ADVANTAGES OF POLYSEMY

Despite these caveats, polysemy makes the language advantageous in a number of ways. It reflects the creativity of language users, as evident in metaphors and metonymies. Polysemy contributes to the adaptability and flexibility of a language's vocabulary without requiring an increase in the number of words. It enables speakers to describe novel concepts by creatively using existing words, employing familiar expressions in innovative ways to convey new ideas based on associations. Essentially, polysemy serves as a tool for innovation, providing a means to express novel notions by adapting familiar terms (e.g., mouse: 1) a small rodent; 2) a small device connected to a computer).

In sum, one notable advantage of polysemy lies in its capacity to reduce memory load. By adding several meanings to a single lexeme, a language employing polysemy allows its speakers to store fewer words in their minds. Moreover, polysemy enhances the expressiveness of language, stimulates linguistic innovation, and cognitive efficiency in language use.

3.7.2. HOMONYMY

DEFINITION

Homonymy, stemming from the Greek words "homos" (same) and "onoma" (name), pertains to the relationship between words that share identical spelling and pronunciation or one of these but convey distinct meanings. Essentially, homonyms are words with the same form but different meanings. Examples include "bat," referring to a flying mammal and sports equipment, “current” – a flow of water and contemporary, “kind” – caring and a type of something.

Both polysemy and homonymy involve identical word forms associated with multiple meanings, potentially leading to lexical ambiguity. The key difference, however, lies in the nature of this association: homonyms are independent words coincidentally sharing the same form, while polysemy involves a single word linked to various senses.

English boasts an abundance of word pairs with identical forms, documented in reference sources like dictionaries of homonyms and encyclopedias (e.g., “Dictionary of Homonyms” by Louise Ellyson, 1979; “Encyclopedia of Homonyms Sound-Alikes” by Dora Newhouse, 1997; “Dictionary of Homonyms” by David Rothwell, 2007). Their existence in English is attributed to unintentional coincidences caused mainly by phonetic changes over time. Polysemy significantly contributes to vocabulary development, with lexemes intermittently adding new meanings, making it more sophisticated. In contrast, homonyms lack a purposeful role in vocabulary refinement, arising accidentally. Nor do they scaffold communication. Moreover, homonyms can lead to misinterpretation or communication breakdown.

Consider the following situation:

Lecturer: Why did you miss my lecture?

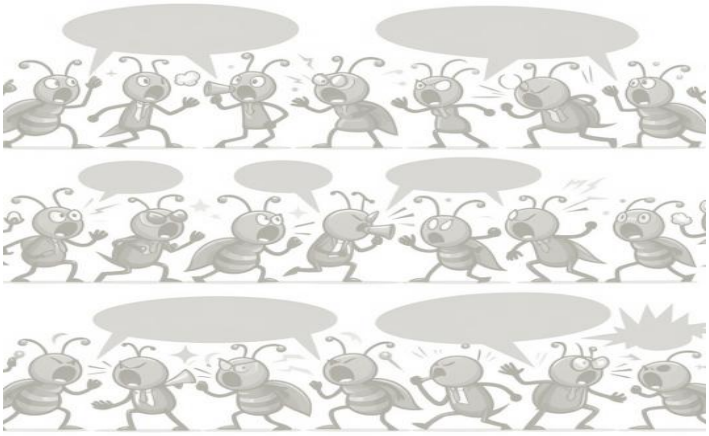
Student: I assure you, I didn’t miss it at all.

In this brief dialogue, the homonym “miss” creates confusion, as the lecturer intended to refer to the student’s absence from the lecture, while the student, playing on the multiple meanings of “miss,” interpreted it as the sense of longing and regret for failing to attend. Paradoxically, this very characteristic makes them a valuable source of popular humor.

TYPES OF HOMONYMS

Based on their formal characteristics, homonyms are categorized into three main types. Those that are identical in sound and spelling, as exemplified in the above dialogue, are **homonyms proper**, representing the narrow sense of the term. Another type involves **homophones**, where lexemes share the same sound but differ in spelling, such as “bear” and “bare,” “peace” and “piece,” “sea” and “see.” Finally, **homographs** are lexemes that share

identical spelling but are pronounced differently, like “tear” (pull apart) and “tear” (a drop of eye fluid), “row” (line) and “row” (argue). The latter are evident only in writing.



Homonyms are also categorized based on the criterion of their grammatical properties. Those belonging to *the same grammatical category* are **total** homonyms, such as "bat" (flying mammal) and "bat" (sports equipment), total homophones like "flower" and "flour," and total homographs like "lead" (first place in a contest) and "lead" (metal). In cases of *different grammatical categories*, we deal with **partial** homonyms, such as "bear" (an animal) and "bear" (to carry), partial homophones like “right,” adj. (correct) – “to write,” and partial homographs like “minute,” n. (a period of time) – “minute,” adj. (extremely small).

A further distinction is drawn between **lexically related** and **unrelated homographs**. Lexically related homographs are formed through the process of conversion, where the converted word changes its former pronunciation.

Homographs resulting from **stress-shift conversion** involve a change in stress, as seen in examples like "permit" (/ˈpɜːrmɪt/ - noun, /pəˈmɪt/ - verb), "object" (/ˈɒbdʒɪkt/ - noun, /əbˈdʒɛkt/ - verb), "present" (/ˈprɛzənt/ - noun, /prɪˈzɛnt/ - verb), and "conduct" (/ˈkɒndʌkt/ - noun, /kənˈdʌkt/ - verb). Another category, conversion homographs with **phonemic change**, comprises converted pairs with phonemic alterations, where no change in stress occurs. Examples include "close" (/kləʊz/ - near, /kləʊz/ - shut), and use (/juːs/ - noun, /juːz/ - verb).

In contrast, **lexically unrelated homographs** refer to pairs of words that do not have any lexical connection, and their shared written form is a matter of overlap. Examples include "bass" (/beɪs/ - low-frequency sound, /bæs/ - fish), "lead" (/liːd/ - guide, /lɛd/ - metal), “content” (/kənˈtɛnt/ - satisfied) and “content” (/ˈkɒntɛnt/ - substance of a written work). In these examples, the similarity in spelling is accidental, and the words have different lexical origins and meanings.

SOURCES OF HOMONYMS IN ENGLISH

Homonymy in English is attributed to several linguistic processes, including phonetic convergence, semantic divergence or split polysemy, and word formation.

(a) Phonetic convergence

Phonetic convergence, a common source of homonyms, occurs when formerly distinct words acquire an identical sound form. This often results from phonetic changes, such as the weakening or disappearance of sounds. For instance, the Old English verb "know" (cnawan) had a fully voiced "k" in Old and Middle English, but over time, it weakened and disappeared, coinciding with "no" and creating a homonym pair.

Similar instances involve the simplification of paradigms and the dropping of inflectional suffixes. Old English verbs initially had inflections (e.g., “to steal” in Old English was “stelan,” “to break” was “brecan,” “wear” was “werian”). Over time, these paradigms underwent simplification, leading to the disappearance of many inflectional suffixes. In contemporary English, this process resulted in the emergence of homonyms like “steal” (e.g., steal from the rich) – “steel” (e.g., the bridge is made of steel), “break” (separate into parts) – “brake” (a device used for stopping a vehicle), “wear” (have on one’s body) – “ware” (manufactured goods for sale).

Phonetic convergence is also found in borrowings. This occurs when words, originating from different languages, become identical due to sound adaptation. For instance, the word “ball” was borrowed from French in the 17th century, which referred to “a social event involving dancing,” coinciding with its meaning originating from Scandinavian, denoting "a round object used in games."

(b) Semantic divergence

Semantic divergence contributes to homonymy when the meanings of one lexeme diverge to an extent where there is no apparent association between them. In such cases, polysemy gives way to homonymy as the semantic unity of a polysemantic lexeme disintegrates, and independent words emerge instead of interconnected meanings of a single lexeme (see: split polysemy).

"Flower" and "flour" serve as an illustration, originally constituting a single word in Latin ("florem"). During the Elizabethan period, "flower" acquired an additional meaning denoting "the best," influenced by the milling process where top-quality wheat, known as "the flower of the wheat," was reserved for the elite. Owing to the flexible spelling of that era, the word was frequently spelled as "flour." Recognition of these terms as distinct items occurred around the 1830s.

(c) Word formation

This process involves a lexeme changing its grammatical category without altering its form, as represented by conversion. It is a pervasive phenomenon in English, with new pairs of converted homonyms intermittently entering its vocabulary. Examples include "milk" (noun) for a dairy product and "to milk" (verb) for drawing milk from an animal (cow, goat), "to change" (verb) for making or becoming different, and "change" (noun) for the act of making something different. Less frequent instances occur when homonyms are created through shortening, as seen in "ad" (shortening of "advertisement") and "add" (mathematical operation). Additionally, the noun "lab" has several homonyms, standing for "laboratory," "a Labrador dog," or "labor" in the context of politics.

SUMMING UP: THE PROBLEM OF RELATEDNESS

The distinction between homonymy and polysemy, where a single word has several related senses, is often based on either diachronic or synchronic considerations of relatedness. Diachronic relatedness pertains to etymology, whereas synchronic relatedness to a semantic connection among the senses in the language as it exists today (Koskela, 2016).

In a diachronic context, meanings of a polysemantic lexeme evolve through the process of semantic change. Take "cloud," for example, which originally referred to a visible mass of water and ice crystals suspended in the atmosphere. Its new meaning, developed through a metaphorical process, now applies in the context of technology ("cloud computing") to refer to the fact that data is stored on the internet rather than on a local device. Both the original and new meanings demonstrate relatedness, as they have the same etymological root.

In homonymy, however, the identical form of distinct words arises accidentally, usually due to phonological or morphological changes, as well as in the process of borrowing, where a borrowed lexeme appears to duplicate the native one. As an illustration, let us have a closer look at two distinct lexemes represented by “meal.” The first case of “meal” is food, which traces its roots to the Old English word “mæl." On the other hand, “meal” can also signify powder and originates from the Old English word “melo.” Hence, they do not have a common etymon (the original form of a word from which a word is derived).

Despite this, some semanticists argue that information about the history of lexemes is irrelevant for describing present-day vocabulary and discourage its use in the synchronic analysis of meaning. It is also unclear to what period in the past this analysis of meaning should extend. A case in point is the lexeme "horn." In order to decide if it is a homonymous or polysemantic linguistic phenomenon, we can analyze its history. "Horn" traces its roots to a Proto-Indo-

European source, where it originally denoted the outgrowth on animals' heads. Its meaning was broadened to include a musical instrument, which was made from animal horns. Its present senses also comprise "to telephone" or "the signal made by vehicles." However, native speakers of English no longer associate the given meanings with animal horns. Dictionaries also reflect this by presenting them either as distinct entries (i.e., homonyms) or as meanings of a polysemantic lexeme.

Split Polysemy is a related theory discussed in literature, where homonyms emerge from meanings of a polysemantic lexeme. From a structuralist perspective, meaning is described as a semantic structure (Frăţilă, 2011). A polysemantic word typically includes several related meanings, with one meaning or its component being the center of the semantic structure, holding the rest of the meanings. However, linguistic processes can cause the central meaning to detach from the word's semantic structure, disrupting the association between the rest of its meanings. Consequently, the semantic structure of a word may be divided into distinct parts, which then begin their life in language as independent words.

As an example, let us consider the etymology of "spring." In Old English, it denoted an act of jumping. Through a metaphorical process, it started to be used in the meaning of "enliven" (to spring to life), while its later meaning "season" appeared due to the association of nature springing to life. The distinction based on the etymological criterion is problematic because, even in the case of "spring," dictionaries present it either as homonyms or as a polysemantic lexeme.

The concept of psychological relatedness has been proposed in the literature as an alternative criterion to etymological relatedness (Valera, 2020). It suggests that if a speaker can perceive an association between different senses of a word form, it constitutes an instance of polysemy. However, this explanation is questionable, as individuals differ in their opinions about the interconnectedness of senses. What may seem connected to some speakers might not be perceived as such by others.

Thus, in differentiating between homonymous and polysemantic words, linguists apply several criteria, including etymological and psychological. Instances of polysemy occur when the senses can be traced back to a single source. Conversely, with homonyms, it is usually impossible to trace the development of word senses to a shared etymon. In addition, if language users can establish associations between meanings, words are considered polysemantic. In the opposite case, if meanings lack perceived association, homonymy is at play. The distinction between homonymy and polysemy, as it turns out, is characterized by imprecision and subjectivity.

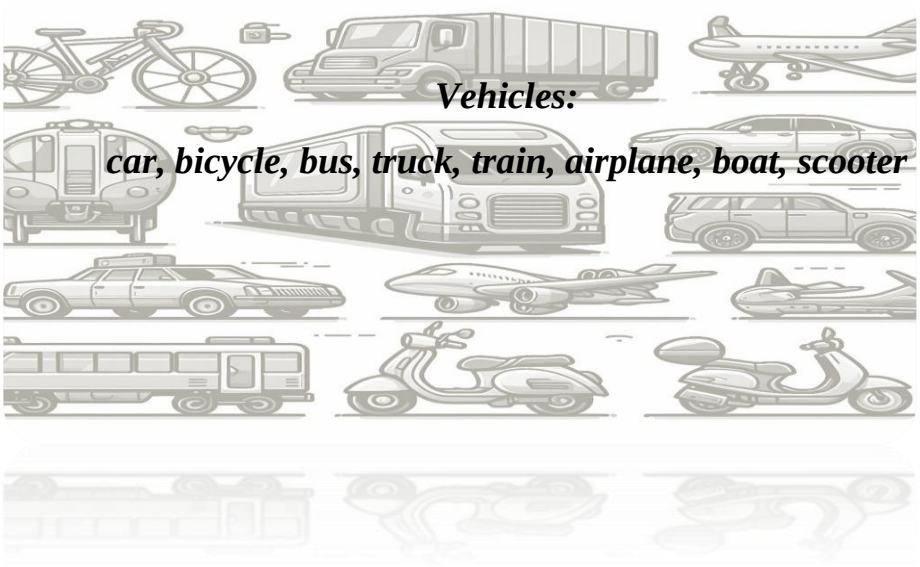
3.8. LEXICAL/SEMANTIC FIELDS

In lexical semantics, the vocabulary of a language is conceptualized not as a mere list of isolated words but as a complex system of interconnected lexical networks (Crystal, 1992, p. 346). Accordingly, words are integral components of larger semantic networks or fields, rather than isolated entities. This perspective on paradigmatic sense relations is encapsulated in the theory of lexical fields. The term “lexical field” was coined by Jost Trier in his monograph on historical semantics in 1931.

Trier defined a lexical field as a group of words that are connected in meaning, collectively shaping and delimiting each other's meanings. Within such fields, words establish semantic relationships, and their meanings are intertwined in a way that helps define and constrain one another. Trier believed that the meaning of words is derived from their connections with other words in the same lexical field. Furthermore, extension in the meaning of one word results in the narrowing of the meaning of neighboring words. This theory has been instrumental in understanding how words within a language are interconnected and contribute to the broader structure of meaning.

A lexical or semantic field, therefore, denotes a cohesive relationship among words with shared meanings, belonging to the same domain or subject. More precisely, it is construed as a collection of lexemes that pertain to a specific domain, with discernable relationships among them. Examples of lexical fields abound:

Emotions: happy, sad, excited, surprised, angry, anxious, calm, etc.
Weather conditions: sunny, rainy, stormy, snowy, foggy, cloudy, overcast, etc.
Body movements: run, walk, crawl, skip, hop, leap, twist, bend, stretch, jump, etc.



The diversity of lexical fields is vast and virtually limitless. Some fields tend to be extensive (e.g., the lexical field of emotions), while others are more confined (e.g., lexical fields of days of the week, months, seasons).

There is no universally accepted set of criteria for defining lexical fields. Organizing words into lexical fields is subjective, and it falls upon linguists to justify the criteria they rely on. Let us remember that words can be grouped into a given lexical field if they have related meanings or belong to the same conceptual domain. Therefore linguists usually consider factors such as thematic relatedness, conceptual similarity, or even usage patterns (the common contexts in which words appear). In essence, the grouping of words into lexical fields relies on linguistic judgment and a deep understanding of the relationships between words and their meanings.

TYPES OF SEMANTIC NETWORKS

In a sense, a lexeme can be described by identifying the category or the lexical field it belongs to and by highlighting its distinctions from other members within the same field. We have previously looked at distinct categories, such as vehicles or emotions. Understanding what these members have in common is relatively straightforward. Additionally, some words are organized into lexical fields based on part-whole relationships, for instance, where "screen" includes "monitor." There also exist hierarchical part-whole relationships (e.g., face – mouth – lips).

Thus, in order to understand how words are grouped into lexical fields, linguists look into the type of relations existing between them. Accordingly, they are structurally classified into hierarchies, linear structures, grids, and clusters.

Hierarchies entail various levels of subordination, as presented by hyponymy and meronymy, e.g.,

Hyponymy: vehicle→ car, truck, bicycle

Meronymy: building→ floor, wall, roof

Linear structures, manifested in bipolar and monopolar chains, arrange words into continua based on related meanings. For instance, "cheap – affordable – moderate – expensive – extravagant" represent polar antonyms, forming a bipolar chain. On the other hand, words can be organized into a single direction as in "infant – toddler – child – adolescent – adult – senior." In this monopolar chain, words are not antonyms.

Grids consist of words based on sense relations, in which respective members are identified by analogy. For example, “married – divorced,” “infant – adult,” “saucepan – cook,” “book – read,” “greedy – mean,” “stroll – saunter.”

Clusters are groups of lexemes sharing the same or similar denotation. They are, therefore, synonyms, e.g.,

Colors cluster: crimson, scarlet, ruby, cherry

Travel cluster: journey, voyage, expedition, excursion

Emotions cluster: joy, happiness, bliss, ecstasy

Trier’s idea that words can be neatly organized into lexical fields with clearly defined boundaries so that members of one field do not overlap with another has been criticized for several reasons. For one thing, the distinction between different categories or groups of words is not always clear-cut. Instead, a degree of "fuzziness" or ambiguity exists regarding the classification of specific lexemes because the boundaries between categories lack clear demarcation. Examining the words "blue" and "turquoise" within the context of colors illustrates this. While categorizing “blue” presents no difficulties, “turquoise” can be somewhat fuzzy in terms of category boundaries. Some might consider it a shade of blue, while others view it as a distinct color. The border between the category of blue and green, in this case, is blurry. Consequently, the placement of certain words within a category can be perceived differently by different individuals. Thus, it is not always easy to determine the precise lexical field to which a word belongs.

In addition, gaps and overlaps in lexical fields can be found across various domains of language. Linguists talk about semantic gaps to refer to concepts which lack corresponding words for their expression. One category of gaps involves ideas lexicalized in one language but absent in another. For example, English has distinct lexemes like "finger," "toe," or "thumb," while Ukrainian uses the single lexeme "палець" to encompass all these concepts.

Lastly, there are noticeable instances of semantic similarities (and therefore overlaps) within a lexical field. Take the cluster of adjectives related to speed, such as “fast,” “quick,” and “swift.” While each term is distinct, there is nevertheless an overlap in their meanings, and the boundaries between them can be blurred in certain contexts of communication. The same phenomenon occurs with words like “tiny,” “small,” and “miniscule.” While all three share a common theme of size, the distinction between them might not always be conspicuous, leading to overlaps in their usage within the lexical field.

Lexical Fields in Psycholinguistics

Current evidence garnered in psycholinguistics indicates that words are stored in the speaker's brain as a network of connected members rather than as a list of unrelated items, lending credibility to the concept of lexical fields. Numerous studies have demonstrated a robust psychological connection among lexemes belonging to a specific semantic field when compared to those in different fields. This heightened psychological link within a lexical field is predictable in that such fields exhibit robust sense relations. These relations constitute a crucial principle in organizing our **mental lexicon**.

Notably, relations of semantic equivalence, as seen in examples like "walk – stroll – swagger," semantic incompatibility, as observed in "hot – cold – warm," "spring – summer – autumn – winter", or opposition "buy – sell, son – daughter," are particularly significant. The above examples illustrate how lexical fields actively contribute to the organization of information in the mental lexicon. Moreover, they showcase the interconnectedness of words within specific domains and the psychological representativeness of these relations.

SUMMARY

Vocabulary is a well-organized structured system, whose elements are connected syntagmatically and paradigmatically. **Syntagmatic relations** (horizontal relations) are a linear arrangement of words within a phrase or sentence (e.g., idioms, collocations). **Paradigmatic relations** (vertical or substitutional relations) exist among words that can be interchangeably used in the same functional position within a phrase or sentence (e.g., synonymy, antonymy, homonymy).

Synonymy is a sense relation characterized by semantic equivalence or similarity among two or more words.

Absolute synonyms can be interchanged in all contexts without considerable alterations in meaning or stylistic characteristics (e.g., caecitis – typhlitis).

Partial synonyms can be interchanged only in specific contexts (e.g., tall – high).

Denotational synonyms are words with similar denotations but different connotations (e.g., stare – glare).

Idiographic synonyms only partially overlap in their denotative meaning, differing in the degree, quality, or manner expressed by the denotative component (e.g., ask – beg).

Stylistic synonyms vary in formality or stylistic characteristics, with one word preferred in more formal settings and the other used in less formal or casual contexts (e.g. chat – converse).

Regional synonyms vary based on varieties or dialects of English, including national standards like British, Australian, or American English, as well as regional dialects (e.g., biscuits – cookies).

Antonyms are words that are based on semantic opposition, which can manifest in various forms.

Gradable antonyms allow for a comparison of more or less of a certain property (e.g., narrow – wide).

Contradictory or complementary antonyms represent dichotomies with mutually exclusive binary pairs (e.g., asleep – awake, male – female).

Converses or relational opposites involve pairs where the existence of one term presupposes the existence of the other (e.g., “doctor – patient,”“parent – child”).

Directional opposites or reverses involve a change in orientation or direction (e.g., “rise – fall” or “come – go”).

Autoantonymous words are polysemantic words whose meanings simultaneously refer to opposing phenomena (e.g., odor, dust).

Morphological antonyms are created by adding negative prefixes or suffixes to a root morpheme (e.g., “illegal” (il-), “inappropriate” (in-)).

Hyponyms are words that represent a more specific subset or type within a broader category denoted by another word (e.g., “rose” is a hyponym of “flower”). Hyponyms occupy a subordinate position in a hierarchical relationship, where they have a narrower or more specific meaning compared to the broader category they belong to, which is known as the hyperonym or superordinate.

Incompatibility, or heteronymy, pertains to the relationship between co-hyponyms, where words within a specific lexical field share the same hierarchical level. Incompatibility is mutual exclusivity between two or more words within a specific context (e.g. Sunday, Monday, Tuesday).

In m**eronymy** one lexeme denotes a constituent part of a whole, such as "knee – leg" or "processor – computer," highlighting a part-whole relationship in language.

Polysemy arises when a single word has multiple related meanings (“head” – (1) body part; (2) a person in charge; (3) leading part of something, etc.).

Homonyms are different words with an identical or similar form but unrelated meanings (“kind” – caring; a type of something).

A **lexical or semantic field** describes relations among words with shared meanings, belonging to the same domain (e.g. weather conditions: sunny, rainy, stormy, snowy).

EXERCISES

LEXICAL RELATIONS

I. Discuss the following questions:

1. How is vocabulary viewed in lexical semantics? Explain the difference between syntagmatic and paradigmatic sense relations. Why are syntagmatic relations described as "horizontal"? Give an example of a syntactic structure that illustrates a syntagmatic relationship. Why are collocations and idioms considered syntagmatic relations? What types of associations fall under paradigmatic relations? What are their characteristics?

2. How are synonyms defined? What observation has led some linguists to question the existence of true synonyms? What are the main types of synonyms? What are the distinctive features of English synonyms?

3. How are antonyms defined? What are their prevalent types? What is the difference between gradable and non-gradable antonyms? What are converses, and how do they function in language? Why are antonyms fewer in number than synonyms?

4. What are hyponyms and hyperonyms? Provide an example of co-hyponyms for family members in English, Ukrainian and Hungarian. How do you understand the concept of a lexical gap? What role does hyponymy play in language acquisition?

5. Explain the notion of part-whole relationship in meronymy. How does meronymy differ from hyponymy? Provide examples of different types of meronyms.

6. What is the principal difference between polysemy and homonymy? How does polysemy contribute to the richness and adaptability of language? What are the advantages of polysemy? How do linguistic or physical contexts help to discern the intended sense of a polysemantic word?

7. Define homonymy and explain how it differs from polysemy. Why can they lead to communication breakdowns? What are the main types of homonyms based on their formal characteristics? What are the main sources of homonyms in English? What is the difference between total and partial homonyms?

8. Explain the concept of lexical fields and how words are arranged in them. What criteria serve to group words into lexical fields? Discuss the types of semantic networks underlying lexical fields. What challenges exist in defining precise boundaries for lexical fields?

II. Select the most appropriate answer for each question from the provided options:

1. Lexical semantics views vocabulary as:
    a) disconnected units
    b) a structured whole
    c) isolated concepts
    d) static elements

2. Which of the following is an example of paradigmatic relation?
    a) the words "young" and "learner" in the phrase "young learner"
    b) synonyms like "speedy" or "quick" replacing "fast" in a sentence
    c) the phrase "young table"
    d) the linear arrangement of words in a sentence

3. What type of relationship is synonymy based on?
    a) semantic oppositeness
    b) semantic similarity
    c) hierarchical relationship
    d) metaphorical connection

4. How are partial synonyms defined?
    a) words that can be interchanged in all contexts
    b) words that can be interchanged universally
    c) words that can be interchanged in specific contexts
    d) words that have identical meanings

5. What distinguishes denotational synonyms?
    a) similarity in meaning but different formal characteristics
    b) similarity in formality but different connotations
    c) similarity in denotation but different connotations
    d) similarity in connotation but different denotations

6. What distinguishes synonyms coming from Old English from those borrowed from French or Latin?
    a) length and neutrality
    b) formality and technicality
    c) informality and neutrality
    d) technicality and length

7. Which of the following pairs represents contradictory or complementary antonyms?
    a) "narrow – wide"
    b) "married – divorced"
    c) "dog – cat"
    d) "old – young"

8. What characterizes converses in the context of antonymy?
    a) They represent opposing phenomena.
    b) They establish hierarchical relationships.
    c) They involve a reversal of roles or participants.
    d) They denote mutually exclusive pairs.

9. What are directional opposites?
    a) pairs of words with opposite meanings
    b) pairs of words representing different dimensions
    c) pairs of words indicating changes in orientation or direction
    d) pairs of words lacking obvious opposites

10. What are co-meronyms?
    a) lexemes with unrelated meanings
    b) lexemes with similar forms
    c) lexemes denoting parts of the same whole
    d) lexemes belonging to different categories

11. What distinguishes polysemy from homonymy?
    a) the unrelated meanings
    b) the identical or similar form
    c) the number of meanings
    d) the linguistic context

12. Which type of context aids in discerning the intended sense of a polysemantic word based on surrounding words?
    a) physical context
    b) historical context
    c) linguistic context
    d) cultural context

13. How does polysemy contribute to the flexibility of language?
    a) by reducing memory load
    b) by creating unrelated meanings
    c) by limiting vocabulary size
    d) by adding new words

14. What complicates the determination of the number of meanings for a polysemantic word?
    a) the linguistic context
    b) the historical context
    c) the presence of homonyms
    d) the differentiation between senses

15. Homonymy involves words that share:
    a) Similar meanings
    b) Identical forms but different meanings
    c) Opposite meanings
    d) Related phonetic structures

16. Which type of homonyms share the same sound but differ in spelling?
    a) Homographs
    b) Homophones
    c) Total homonyms
    d) Partial homonyms

17. What is the primary source of homonyms in English?
    a) Semantic convergence
    b) Phonetic divergence
    c) Phonetic convergence
    d) Semantic divergence

18. How are words organized into lexical fields based on their relationships?
    a) By alphabetical order
    b) By grammatical category
    c) By thematic relatedness
    d) By geographical origin

19. What is a semantic gap?
    a) A linguistic phenomenon related to homonyms
    b) A category of words with multiple meanings
    c) A concept lacking corresponding words for expression
    d) A type of lexical field

20. How are words stored in the speaker's brain according to psycholinguistics?
    a) As unrelated items
    b) As a network of connected members
    c) As alphabetical lists
    d) As individual concepts

III. Decide if these statements are true or false and explain your answer:

1. Syntagmatic relations focus on the vertical arrangement of lexemes within a phrase or sentence.
2. Words in paradigmatic relations cannot be used interchangeably within the same functional position.
3. Synonymy and antonymy are examples of paradigmatic relations.
4. Homonymy involves lexemes with identical spelling and pronunciation but related meanings.
5. Synonymy refers to words with identical meanings in all contexts.
6. Absolute synonyms are common in language.
7. Partial synonyms can always be interchanged without altering the meaning of a sentence.
8. Words of Old English origin tend to convey a more formal tone compared to borrowed words.
9. Gradable antonyms allow for a more/less relationship and comparison.
10. Polysemy involves the association of multiple meanings with a single lexeme.
11. Homonyms share similar meanings with logical connections between them.

12. Physical context influences the determination of the sense taken on by a polysemantic word.
13. Polysemy increases memory load by requiring more words to be stored in the mind.
14. Phonemic changes contribute to the creation of homonyms.
15. Lexical fields have precisely defined boundaries with no overlaps.

IV. Complete the following sentences with appropriate lexemes. Try to think of nouns that are commonly associated with respective verbs. What lexical relations do they illustrate?

(a) He brandished a _____.
(b) They brewed a _____.
(c) The camera flashed a _____.
(d) She shrugged her _____.
(e) He untangled the _____.
(f) She painted a _____.
(g) They baked a _____.
(h) The musician played a _____.
(i) He fixed the _____.
(j) She sang a _____.
(k) He studied the _____.

V. Complete the table with missing information. The first row has been filled in as an example for you:

Lexical Relations	***Basis***	***Examples***
Synonymy	semantic similarity	bright - radiant
	a hierarchical relationship, where one word is more specific than the other	
	groups of two or more words typically used together	
	semantic oppositeness	
	part-whole relationship, where one word denotes a	

	part of the other
	words with the same spelling or pronunciation but different meanings
	expressions whose meanings cannot be deduced from the meanings of the individual words

VI. Decide if the following lexemes illustrate syntagmatic or paradigmatic lexical relations. If there is a specific order implied, arrange the words accordingly:

(a) phone, laptop, tablet
(b) run, jog, sprint
(c) down, calm
(d) bat (a flying mammal), bat (sports equipment)
(e) blue, in, once, a
(f) married, divorced
(g) book (noun), book (verb)
(h) face, mouth, nose, chin

VII. Complete the table by matching each type of synonym with its explanation:

Types of synonyms	*Explanation*
Absolute Synonyms	words that can be interchanged in specific contexts but not universally.
Partial Synonyms	synonyms that vary based on varieties or dialects of english.
Denotational Synonyms	synonyms that only partially overlap in their denotative meaning but differ in degree, quality, or manner expressed.
Stylistic Synonyms	words with similar denotations but different connotations, expressive, or social meanings.
Idiographic Synonyms	synonyms that vary in formality or stylistic

	characteristics.
Synonyms based on varieties or dialects of English	words that can be interchanged in all contexts without considerable alterations in meaning or stylistic characteristics.

VIII. Group the synonyms into the following types:

absolute synonyms, partial synonyms, denotational synonyms, idiographic synonyms, stylistic synonyms, synonyms based on varieties or dialects of English

love – admire
caecitis – typhlitis
queue - line
petrol - gas
flat - apartment
begin – commence
dustbin - garbage can
chat – converse
cheerful - exuberant
ask – beg
biscuit - cookie
high - tall
post - mail
chemist - pharmacy
frugal - stingy
end – terminate
confident - arrogant
persistent - stubborn
ask – enquire

IX. Provide the missing synonyms derived from Old English, French and Latin:

Native	*French*	*Latin*
ask	inquire	interrogate
end		
		initiate
	observe	
buy		
		colossal
	stomach	
	assemble	
teaching		

X. Translate the following Ukrainian synonyms into English:

(a) пишні форми
(b) огрядна жінка
(c) дебелий молодик
(d) вгодоване порося
(e) в свою шкуру не влазить
(f) пухкі щічки
(g) товстопузий
(h) роздивлятися
(i) зиркнути
(j) споглядати
(k) розглядати
(l) зазирати
(m) витріщатися
(n) придивлятися

XI. Translate the following Hungarian synonyms into English:

(a) nézeget
(b) bámul
(c) szemlél
(d) leskel
(e) kandikál
(f) tekint
(g) pillant
(h) szemmel tart
(i) mereszti a szemét
(j) majd felfalja a szemével
(k) terebélyes
(l) vaskos
(m) pohos
(n) teltkarcsú
(o) sörhasú
(p) túlsúlyos
(q) pufók
(r) kövér, mint a hordó
(s) nem fér a ruháiba
(t) széle-hossza egy

XII. Match the following types of antonyms with their definitions:

Type of Antonym	Definition
Directional opposites	allow for a comparison of more or less of a certain property.
Morphological antonyms	represent dichotomies with mutually exclusive binary pairs.
Contradictory	involve pairs where the existence of one term presupposes the existence of the other.
Gradable antonyms	involve a change in orientation or direction.
Autoantonymous words	polysemantic words whose meanings simultaneously refer to opposing phenomena.

Converses	created by adding negative prefixes or suffixes to a root morpheme.

XIII. Provide antonyms for the following lexemes. Decide if they are gradable, non-gradable; complementary antonyms, converses, directional opposites, or autoantonymous lexemes:

(a) asleep
(b) come
(c) narrow
(d) dust
(e) married
(f) warm
(g) arrive
(h) good
(i) doctor
(j) husband
(k) rise
(l) odor
(m) increase
(n) weak

XIV. Provide antonymic expressions for the following lexemes. Can you think of their equivalents in Ukrainian and Hungarian?

Dark:

(a) a dark day
(b) a dark beer
(c) dark chocolate
(d) dark blue
(e) in the dark of the night

Easy:

(a) an easy test
(b) an easy mind
(c) an easy life
(d) within easy reach
(e) easy peasy

Big:

(a) a big mistake
(b) a big accomplishment
(c) a big profit
(d) a big man
(e) a big decision

XV. Supply two or more antonyms for the given lexemes:

(a) happy –

(b) small –

(c) fast –
(d) light –
(e) soft –
(f) beautiful –
(g) quiet –
(h) strong –
(i) open –
(j) increase –

XVI. Provide hyponyms for each of the given hyperonyms:

(a) Plant:
(b) Furniture:
(c) Walk:
(d) Fruit:
(e) Vehicle:

XVII. Arrange the following lexemes into hierarchies. List hyperonyms with respective hyponyms beneath them:

e.g. melody - classical music - jazz

breakfast, screwdriver, emotion, car, piano, surprise, alcoholic beverage, feeling, vehicle, road trip, refrigerator, cat, musical instrument, fear, dog, beverage, bicycle, lunch, tea, dress, Mars, clothing, food, tool, mammal, expedition, sparrow, hammer, happiness, triangle, emotion, household appliance, circle, travel, anger, geometric shape, planet, suit, dishwasher, coffee, sadness, guitar, Earth, astonishment, wine, eagle, shock, beer, bird

XVIII. Supply the missing characteristics of polysemy and homonymy in the table below. The first has been done for you:

meanings are related; listed in dictionaries as independent lexemes; converted pairs of words: water (n.) – to water (v.); new meanings evolve from some older meaning; listed in dictionaries as one lexeme; meanings are unrelated; meanings originate from different sources; different lexemes with an identical/similar form;

	Polysemy	***Homonymy***
Type	One lexeme with multiple meanings	
Relation		
Origin		
Dictionary		
Conversion	-	

XIX. Decide if the following words exemplify instances of polysemy or homonymy. Clarify the relation between the lexemes' multiple meanings:

a. sharp

keen or acute in senses perception or intellect

having an edge or point that is able to cut or pierce

b. bat

a nocturnal flying mammal

a piece of equipment used for hitting the ball in sports like baseball or cricket

c. bark

the outer covering of a tree

the sound a dog makes

d. crane

a large bird known for its long neck

a machine used for lifting and moving heavy objects

e. scale

a system of ordered marks at fixed intervals used as a reference standard in measurement

the thin, flat, rigid plates that make up the outer covering of fish and reptiles

f. file

a tool with a rough surface for smoothing or shaping wood or metal

a collection of information stored on a computer under a single identifying name

g. watch

a small timepiece worn typically on a strap on one's wrist or carried in a pocket

to observe or monitor closely

h. mole

a small burrowing mammal with velvety fur, a long muzzle, and very small eyes

a small, often dark-colored spot or blemish on the skin

i. bass

a type of fish

the lowest adult male singing voice

j. lead

to guide or direct

a heavy metal that is very dense and is often used for weights or batteries

XX. Determine whether the following sentences contain examples of homonyms, homophones, or homographs:

1. The baseball player swung the bat and hit the ball out of the park. The bat flew silently through the night sky.
2. She used a tissue to wipe away her tear after watching the emotional movie. Be careful not to tear the paper while wrapping the gift.
3. She watched as the sun rose over the horizon, illuminating the garden filled with fragrant roses.
4. The judge ensured a fair trial for all parties involved. He paid the taxi fare before getting out of the cab.
5. Jeremy handed her a scarlet rose as a symbol of his affection.
6. Scientists discovered that exposure to lead can have harmful effects on human health. The teacher decided to lead the class on a field trip to the museum.
7. Let's watch a movie together this evening. She glanced at her watch to check the time before leaving for work.
8. He went to the store to buy some milk, but he bought too much, ending up with two gallons instead of one.
9. He aimed the bow carefully before releasing the arrow. He wore a stylish bow tie to the formal event.
10. The bass guitarist played a mesmerizing solo during the concert. They caught a big bass while fishing in the lake.

XXI. Identify words that cause ambiguity in these sentences. Provide possible interpretations for each ambiguous word or phrase:

1. The plane flew over the bank.
2. Children are too hot to drink tea.
3. The present looks marvelous.
4. The English teachers attended a conference last month.
5. He left the store with a bow.
6. She saw a tear in the fabric of her favorite dress.
7. We need to address this immediately.
8. The archer took aim with a bow.
9. A band arrived in the town.
10. He hung up the bat after the game.
11. I don't like these glasses.
12. He denied taking the picture.
13. We had lamb for dinner.
14. Who has the key?
15. The kids saw a seal.
16. We were closely watching the fly.
17. He hit the brakes suddenly.
18. The mouse was on the floor.
19. The chicken is not ready yet.
20. Fine for parking.

XXII. What lexical fields do the following items belong to?

(a) ---------- ice, sleet, icicle, hoarfrost, snow, crystal, sleet, iceberg, glacier
(b) ---------- new-born, infant, nursling, toddler, preschool
(c) ---------- senior citizen, aged person, sexagenarian, septuagenarian, octogenarian, centenarian

XXIII. Identify words that do not belong in the provided semantic fields:

(a) onion, rose, tulip, daisy, lily, sunflower
(b) table, chair, sofa, lamp, refrigerator, rug

(c) football, basketball, swimming pool, tennis, volleyball

(d) circle, square, triangle, rectangle, octagon, octopus

(e) lion, snake, tiger, elephant, giraffe, zebra

XXIV. Create a list of words related to the semantic field of "education." Group these words into categories based on their associations within the educational context. Discuss the lexical relationships between the words in each category.

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CHAPTER 4

SEMANTIC CHANGE

4.1. THE NATURE OF SEMANTIC CHANGE

The meaning of a word is by no means stable and impervious to change. By the way, did you know that “villain” once referred to a servant in Old English, and “nice” had the connotation of foolishness? These striking examples illustrate a phenomenon conceptualized in linguistics as semantic change. The term itself denotes the process through which meanings evolve over time.

Most words have undergone some form of change, be it a shift in meaning or even a complete replacement of the original sense with a newer one. As a result, present-day English speakers would most likely fail to communicate with its users from several centuries ago. As it stands, around 85% of Old English words have fallen out of use (Jackson & Amwella, 2020, p. 83), and those still in use have experienced alterations in meaning. It happens because as words “mature” in language, so does the system of meanings they convey. Older words typically encompass more meanings than their modern counterparts. When a word first appears in the language, it is monosemantic. However, it may grow increasingly polysemantic over time.

As you may have inferred, semantic change often involves polysemy, where a word develops multiple meanings over time. The transition from one meaning to another typically occurs through an intermediary phase where the word encompasses both the original and the new meanings simultaneously. What this means is that a word does not shift overnight from one meaning to another but gains additional sen ses while retaining its original sense.

An example of this process is seen in the noun “mouse,” which originally referred to a small rodent but acquired a new meaning related to computers with technological advancements. The original meaning of the word (rodent) has not been ousted but persists alongside its new meaning (a handheld device used for navigating a computer screen). Thus, the lexeme “mouse” has undergone a semantic change by incorporating an additional sense while preserving its original meaning. Semantic change typically involves introducing additional meanings, leading to polysemy. It is less common for the original meaning to be lost.

PROCESSES AND OUTCOMES OF SEMANTIC CHANGE

The investigation into semantic change has garnered copious research attention. The work of semanticists until the early 1930s predominantly focused on describing and categorizing instances of shifts in meaning, accumulating rich linguistic data. In their studies, linguists investigate semantic change or change of meaning, treating it differently from changes in vocabulary or vocabulary development. **Semantic change** refers to alterations in the meaning of

words over time. This transformation can involve shifts in understanding, interpretation, or connotation. **Lexical change**, on the other hand, pertains to modifications in the vocabulary of a language, including the introduction of new lexemes (borrowing, word formation) or the abandonment of existing ones, reflecting cultural, technological, or societal developments. Hence, semantic change focuses on the evolution of meaning, while lexical change has a broader scope, encompassing the expansion or contraction of vocabulary. There is, however, some overlap between the two phenomena, as changes in the lexicon can impact the meanings and usage of words (Traugott, 2017).

So what is change, and how is it conceptualized in linguistics? Following Ullman (1970), we will dissect the problem into three aspects:

(a) motivations or causes of semantic change (why do words add or discard meanings?);
(b) mechanisms of semantic change (how does this process unfold?);
(c) results of semantic change (what shifts occur in the word's meaning?).

4.2. MOTIVATIONS OF SEMANTIC CHANGE

Have you ever wondered how word meanings evolve and what triggers this process? In communication, when we lack precise linguistic means to express ourselves because the available words or other structures are presumably not optimal enough, we can use what we have creatively, becoming a driving force of innovation in language. Many of these novel applications of language forms are short-lived, serving a particular instance of communication (e.g., **nonce-words**). However, when other speakers take up these novel creations, it can trigger a change in language (e.g., **neologisms** – either newly coined words or phrases or when available words develop new meanings). This process is known in linguistics as conventionalization, i.e., when the language community accepts new linguistic forms as valid elements of communication. They become part of the language system and get fixed in dictionaries or other reference books. In the context of lexicology, of special interest are the quantitative and qualitative changes in semantics and vocabulary.

So, what are the motivations or causes of semantic change? In linguistics, they refer to the underlying reasons that drive words to acquire new meanings or lose existing ones with time. Various factors contribute to semantic change, some of them being language-internal or **linguistic**, while others are external to language or **extra-linguistic**. Typically, a combined influence of both groups of factors leads to meaning development.

EXTRA-LINGUISTIC MOTIVATIONS OF SEMANTIC CHANGE

Semanticists typically differentiate between historical, social, and psychological causes of meaning development.

Motivations for semantic change are often rooted in the evolution of humanity, including technological, socioeconomic, political, and cultural progress. When speakers encounter new elements in their surroundings or cease using existing ones, the vocabulary and meanings of words may undergo respective adaptations to reflect the changing reality. The language community can resort to different methods to fill a vocabulary gap. One way is to coin an entirely new word, though this is infrequent. Next, word formation is a common method of addressing lexical gaps. Another approach is borrowing a word from another language. Finally, this can also take the form of applying existing words to describe novel phenomena, resulting in semantic change.

Thus, the original meaning of "clock," which can be traced back to the Latin word "clocca," was a bell. This association with bells originated from the historical use of clocks alongside church bells that rang at regular intervals, typically every hour. Over time, the meaning of this term expanded to include a variety of timekeeping devices, employing mechanical or electronic means, as well as those utilizing water, sand, or the sun.

Another instance is "cell," which originated in the 12th century, denoting a small monastery or a room for a monk or nun. With scientific progress, the word underwent a shift in the 17th century, describing the compartments of the brain. A significant transformation in its meaning occurred in the 19th century when "cell" adopted its modern sense as the fundamental unit of all living organisms (Online Etymology Dictionary).

Cultural transformations and reconsideration of societal attitudes also foster shifts in the meaning of words. A notable example is the evolution of the term "gay." Initially, in the early 20th century, it meant happy or lively. However, significant sociocultural shifts, particularly in attitudes toward sexuality in the latter half of the century, led to the acquisition of a new, predominant meaning related to homosexuality.

Psychological factors also contribute to semantic change, influencing the development of word meanings based on emotional and cognitive aspects. During communication, speakers often infuse words with emotional undertones to align with their mental state or mood. Ullmann (1972) underscores the impact of emotive factors and taboos in shaping semantic changes. For instance, humorous associations can create images that can be passed into common use. The expression "monkey business," which initially denoted mischievous or deceitful behavior, can now be used to describe any amusing or lighthearted activity. Additional examples include "to

monkey around" (behave in a silly way), "a cheeky monkey" (mischievous), and "to have a monkey on one's back" (burden or problem that is difficult to escape).

One of the significant motivations behind semantic change is **taboo**, examined through psychological and social lenses. A taboo refers to a term considered culturally, socially, or morally inappropriate or offensive in a particular context or society. To avoid it, speakers may resort to the use of euphemisms.

Euphemisms involve substituting taboo terms or those perceived as too direct or indecent with milder alternatives. Frequent targets of euphemisms include sensitive topics, such as sexuality, ethnicity, drugs, pregnancy, mental health, and other societal norms. For instance, referring to a job loss as a "career transition" softens the impact of the unpleasant fact. Similarly, using "pre-owned" instead of "used" when discussing a car is a less direct choice. Euphemisms exhibit variations across cultures and change over time, reflecting evolving social norms and attitudes.

Dysphemisms refer to the use of negative or derogatory expressions to describe phenomena. In certain instances, individuals opt for more direct or blunt terms that may carry negative connotations. As language evolves, speakers may introduce dysphemisms to express concepts in a way that reflects changing societal attitudes, values, or perceptions. Examples include using "decrepit" instead of "elderly," "obese" instead of "overweight," and colloquial expressions like "the cops" or "the fuzz" to refer to the police. Similarly, idiomatic expressions like "kick the bucket" or "bite the dust" are employed instead of "die."

The notion of **folk etymology** is pertinent to understanding the causes of semantic shifts. This phenomenon occurs when a word, whether of foreign or native origin, is distorted to resemble a familiar word. It emerges when meaning is shaped more by popular belief than factual accuracy. A case in point is the lexeme "Gypsy." In the early 16th century, a group of wandering people of Hindu origin arrived in Britain and identified themselves as Romany. Despite their self-identification, a prevalent belief in Britain persisted that they came from Egypt, leading to the use of the term "Egipcyans" to refer to them. With time, a shortened version of "Gypcyans" appeared, eventually becoming "Gipsy" (Online Etymology Dictionary).

LANGUAGE-INTERNAL MOTIVATIONS OF SEMANTIC CHANGE

Among the language-internal motivations, phenomena like ellipsis, differentiation of synonyms, borrowings, and analogy play a crucial role.

Ellipsis occurs when a part of a phrase is omitted, and the remaining word takes on the meaning of the entire expression. For example, "sale," derived from the ellipsis of "cut-price

sale," now signifies a period when a shop reduces the prices of some goods. This process is evident in other cases like "propose," evolving from "propose marriage," "pub" from "public house," and "to be expecting" from "to be expecting a baby."

The development of meanings can lead to the **differentiation of synonyms**. Initially, the term "drink" encompassed both the general act of consuming liquids and the liquid itself. The adoption of the French borrowing "beverage" (to drink) in Middle English rendered the two words synonymous. However, "beverage" gradually specialized to refer specifically to a refreshing and invigorating drink. In Old English, the lexeme "meat" was used broadly for all types of food. As Middle English introduced "food," the two synonyms collided, leading to respective adaptations in their meanings. "Meat" became more restricted, referring to the flesh of mammals like cows, pigs, and chickens, while "food" now encompasses all types of nourishment.

As seen from the above examples, **borrowings** are also among the major triggers of semantic shifts. Borrowings serve various purposes, including the designation of new concepts and expression of nuances of existing words. When a word is borrowed, especially if a synonymous native equivalent exists, it can lead to different outcomes. It may result in the disappearance of one of the words or lead to their semantic differentiation. For instance, in Old English, "heofon" meant both heaven and sky. However, with the borrowing of the Scandinavian word "sky," originally meaning "cloud," the semantic range of "heofon" narrowed down to mean "heaven."

At times, if one word in a synonymic group develops a new meaning, it can be extended to other members through **analogy**. It is illustrated in the case of "see" and "perceive." The verb "see" acquired the extended meaning of "understand," and this sense was later transferred to the verb "perceive."

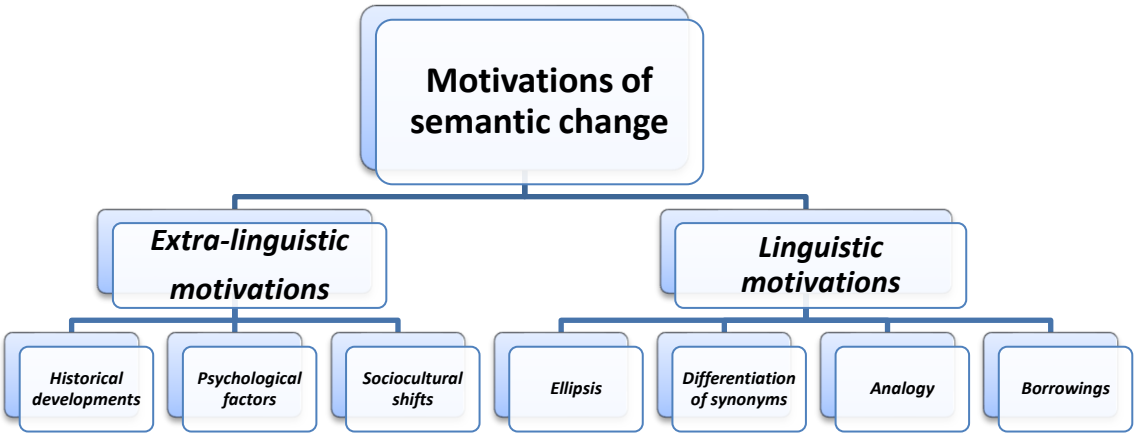


Figure 4.1. Motivations of Semantic Change

MOTIVATIONS FOR LEXICAL CHANGE

While not entirely identical, lexical and semantic changes exhibit some overlap, as previously mentioned. Let us briefly look at a few of these motivations, as described by Grezga and Schoner (2007):

Newly introduced concepts necessitate the assignment of names, especially in the context of scientific and technological advancements.

Changes in the referent occur when a particular concept transformations, yet the speaker does not perceive it as an entirely new concept. In such cases, it may receive a new name, especially if older variations of the concept coexist with the newer ones. For example, consider the shift in eating habits where people may occasionally have a combination of warm and cold meals relatively early in the day at around 10.30. The speaker may find it awkward to use the lexeme “breakfast,” which is associated with earlier times, or “lunch,” eaten later. To address this new dietary habit, “brunch” was coined (breakfast + lunch) to provide a more suitable name for this meal.

Changes in our worldviews lead to a shift in how we categorize the world. While the referents themselves may not change, our attitudes toward them and their significance in society may shift. An example is the evolving use of "girl" to refer to a "teenage female human,"

reflecting a recognition that children and adolescents are equal to adults rather than as underdeveloped replicas.

Language policy, often instituted by law or rules, is a set of regulations created by authorities for their citizens. An example of this is the *Loi Toubon* in France, a law designed to discourage the use of Anglicisms in official contexts. Simultaneously, the *Plain English Movement*, initiated in Britain and the USA during the 1970s, advocates for the use of clear and understandable language, emphasizing shorter words over longer alternatives.

Taboo and political correctness involve socially prohibiting discussions on certain notions that might be deemed offensive. Consequently, language is carefully selected to avoid expressions that could be perceived as discriminatory. For instance, the use of "chairperson" or "chair" instead of "chairman," "principal" rather than "headmaster," "firefighter" in place of "fireman," and "first-year student" replacing "freshman" exemplify this tendency. At times, speakers coin words to mask unpleasant concepts, such as employing "friendly fire" instead of acknowledging a bombardment by one's own troops or using "pre-owned vehicles" to refer to used cars. Additionally, wordplay can instigate shifts in vocabulary and meaning, as seen in phrases like "perfect lady," humorously denoting a "prostitute," or "to take French leave," meaning to "leave secretly without paying." "Tease my ears" is another example, used in place of "ease my tears."

Prestige and fashion exert significant influence on lexical and semantic change, evident in the extensive borrowing of words during the Middle English period. The prevalence of French influence in the upper class resulted in the adoption of lexemes like "garment," "prince," "hour," "royal," and "loyal." Social or demographic factors also drive lexical change, with increased contact between social groups, as observed in interactions with the Vikings (8−11 centuries) and the French (11−15 centuries), stimulating lexical and semantic transformations. The degree of linguistic change often correlates with the intensity of social contact.

The dominance of prototypes, representing the most typical or ideal member of a category, can induce subtle, subconscious shifts in the meanings of lexemes. This phenomenon manifests in both generalization and specialization. An instance of generalization is observed in the evolution of "kleenex" from a specific tissue brand to a generic term for any tissue. Conversely, specialization is exemplified by the narrowing of the term "corn" to denote the prototypical cereal in specific regions (e.g., oats in Scotland and wheat in England).

The "wish for plasticity" among speakers reflects a desire for clear, expressive, and often figurative language. Motivated by this desire, some language users prefer words and phrases that vividly convey meanings. Examples include onomatopoeic words, imitating sounds (e.g., buzz,

sizzle, moo, hiss, bang), or the use of hyperbole, involving exaggerated language (e.g., love instead of like).

Excessive word length can instigate lexical change, particularly when a lengthy word is frequently used in communication. In such cases, speakers may opt for shorter alternatives for the sake of practicality and efficiency. For example, the lexeme "fax" emerged as a concise substitute for "telefax." This lexical change is motivated by a desire for practicality and efficiency in communication.

The gradual decline in the use of a word or one of its meanings may stem from a diminishing level of motivation, i.e., a clear reason for using a particular word or aspect of meaning. When a word lacks sufficient motivation and a more motivated synonym is available, the usage of the original word diminishes, potentially leading to obsolescence or a restriction in meaning. It can be replaced with a more adequate alternative, leading to a shift in linguistic preferences (Grezga & Schoner, 2007, pp. 23−36).

For cognitive linguists, metaphor and metonymy stand out as fundamental causes and mechanisms driving semantic change. Within this perspective, metaphor and metonymy are considered basic cognitive operations that are continually active, influencing the evolution of language and contributing to semantic shifts. With this understanding in mind, let us delve into the examination of mechanisms underlying semantic change.

4.3. MECHANISMS OF SEMANTIC CHANGE

Linguists identify several mechanisms responsible for semantic change. The most prominent among these are metaphorization and metonymization.

METAPHOR

Metaphor (from Greek “metaphero”: “transference” – carry somewhere else) involves interpreting one phenomenon in terms of another based on perceived similarities. This cognitive process involves representing a conceptually intricate phenomenon through simpler means. In essence, metaphor relies on an implicit comparison between two entities based on resemblance between them. In practical terms, metaphor entails using a word or phrase with a meaning that has evolved from its original sense due to this implicit comparison. This perceived similarity, whether objective or subjective, enables metaphors to transfer features from a relatively concrete source domain (vehicle) to a more abstract target domain (tenor).

For example, metaphorization frequently targets body parts. Initially referring to the organ responsible for pumping blood, "heart" has undergone metaphoric extension to symbolize the center or core in expressions like "the heart of the city" or "the heart of the problem." The metaphorization of "heart" involves attributing the concept of centrality from the physical organ to more abstract contexts. Similar metaphorical extensions apply to various body parts and inanimate objects, such as the hands of a clock, the face of a clock, the tongue of a bell or shoe, the mouth of a river, the neck of a bottle, the eye of a needle, the leg of a table, the foot of a mountain, the foot of a page, and the teeth of a saw or comb.

Ulmann (1970) proposes grouping metaphors as follows:

(a) Anthropomorphic metaphors involve transference from the human to non-human domains, as seen in expressions like those mentioned above.

(b) Animal metaphors employ attributes of animals to describe people or things, like referring to a courageous person as a lion, a wicked person as a viper, an obstinate person as a donkey, or not a very clever person as an ass.

(c) Metaphors translating abstract concepts into concrete terms are evident in phrases like "a field of linguistics," "a branch of physics," "a brilliant idea," "seeds of knowledge," and "a film star."

(d) Synaesthetic metaphors involve metaphoric extensions from one sensory field to another, as illustrated by warm/loud/muted/bright colors, soft/cold/warm voices, bitter remarks, and sweet words.

METAPHORS IN COGNITIVE SEMANTICS

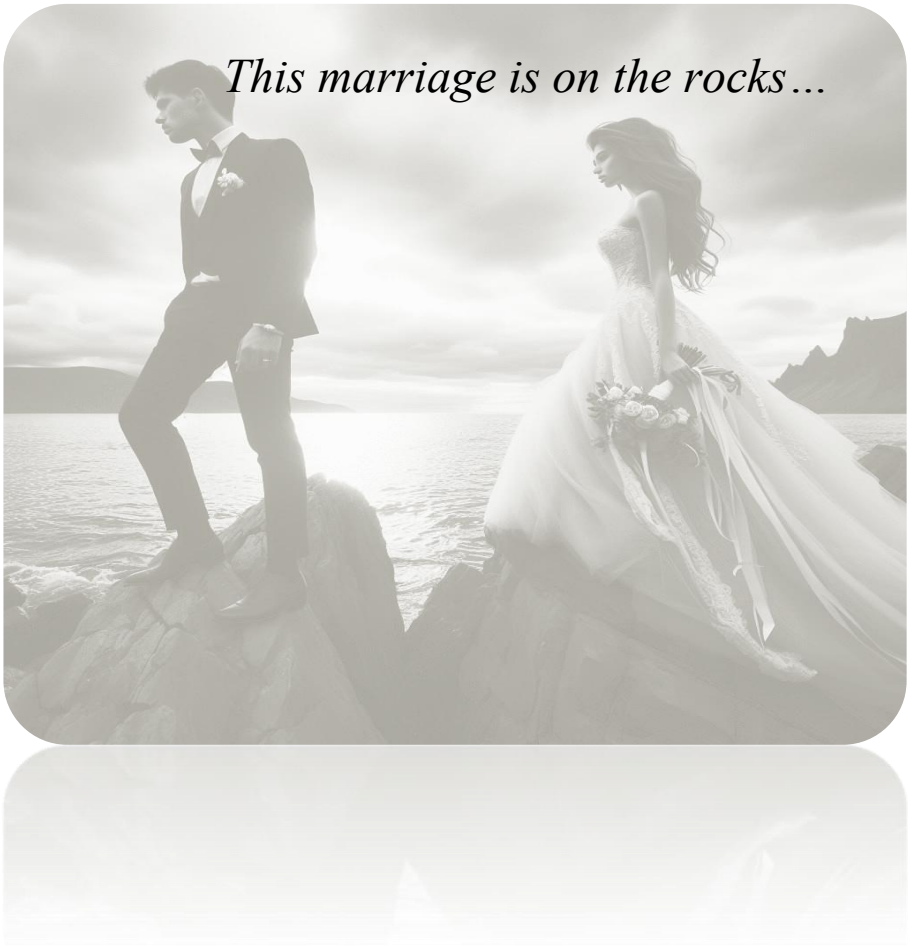
Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) seminal work, "Metaphors We Live By," has revolutionized semantic theory by positing metaphor not just as a linguistic construct but as "a system of thought." For them, metaphor is a fundamental cognitive process essential for comprehending the world and constructing knowledge. Metaphors are rooted in our everyday experiences, and so they have an experiential basis. Hence, they are not arbitrary linguistic constructs or embellishments of language but are grounded in the way we interact with the world. Metaphors play a crucial role in human thought processes. Speakers are often unaware of using metaphors, as they have become ingrained in human cognition and integrated into everyday language.

Lakoff and Johnson (ibid.) observed that conceptual domains are not arbitrarily chosen. For instance, expressions describing relationships often draw upon concepts related to the domain of journeys, e.g.:

This marriage is on the rocks.

This marriage is a dead-end street.

This marriage went off course.



This led them to propose an association at the conceptual level between "LOVE RELATIONSHIPS" (target domain) and "JOURNEYS" (source domain), forming what they termed a conceptual metaphor. In this framework, metaphorical expressions are manifestations of underlying conceptual associations, grounding the metaphorical nature of language in conceptual domains.

The metaphor operates by mapping roles from the source domain onto the target domain. For instance, in the metaphorical link "LOVE IS A JOURNEY," the following mappings are present:

TRAVELERS → LOVERS (Travelers in the source domain correspond to lovers in the target domain).

VEHICLE → LOVE RELATIONSHIP (Vehicle in the source domain corresponds to love relationship in the target domain).

OBSTACLES ENCOUNTERED → DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED (Obstacles encountered in the source domain correspond to difficulties experienced in the target domain).

Thus, in cognitive semantics, metaphor is defined as a mapping between the source domain and the target domain.

The conceptualization of metaphor as a basic cognitive process is rooted in the process of categorization, i.e. when new concepts are compared to familiar ones. This comparison involves the search for similarities or drawing parallels to facilitate our comprehension of reality. Thus, metaphors use existing categories, making it easier to grasp new concepts. This cognitive strategy ensures that the number of categories essential for understanding the world does not increase needlessly.

An essential characteristic of metaphorical mappings is their unidirectionality. Metaphors establish a structure from a source domain to a target domain but do not operate in the reverse direction. For instance, when we conceptualize SUCCESS (target domain) as a MOUNTAIN CLIMB (source domain), we can describe various aspects of success using concepts related to ascending a mountain.

e.g., Reaching the summit of our career requires hard work and persistence.
Overcoming challenges is like conquering steep peaks on the path of success.

However, attempting the reverse mapping, describing mountain climbs using success-related concepts, conventionally does not work. We do not commonly characterize mountain climbers as "successful" in the same manner as we describe a person's career or life journey. The unidirectionality of the metaphor underscores the structured nature of conceptual mappings.

Based on an extensive study, Kövecses (2002) identified predominant source domains for metaphorical mappings, including the HUMAN BODY (e.g., the backbone of the plan), ANIMALS (e.g., a wise owl), PLANTS (e.g., the roots of the issue), FOOD (e.g., spice up a conversation, cook up a story), and FORCES (he pulled me into trouble). Conversely, prevalent target domains encompass conceptual categories such as EMOTION (e.g. he was swept away), MORALITY (e.g., he succumbed to temptation), THOUGHT (e.g., I see what you mean), HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS (e.g., they planted the seeds of friendship), and TIME (e.g., have a whale of a time, kill time, in the nick of time).

The focus on the conceptual nature of metaphors leads to a differentiation between metaphorical concepts and expressions. Metaphorical concepts, like the notion that EMOTIONS ARE WEATHER, carry more significance than specific metaphorical expressions such as "sunny" (for disposition) or "stormy" (of a relationship) in sentences like "She has a sunny disposition." These expressions can be categorized under one or multiple metaphorical concepts, revealing their integration into our conceptual system. This distinction is evident in various

metaphorical systems, including the association of SIZE and IMPORTANCE, UP – DOWN with PERSONAL WELL-BEING.

e.g. This is a big day for him. This is a minor issue.
He fell into a depression. He fell ill. He quickly rose to the top of company.

Cognitive semanticists argue that these metaphors contribute to structuring abstract concepts using tangible representations. In essence, metaphors like "UP – DOWN," symbolizing personal well-being, transcend specific phrases and are embedded in our understanding of abstract ideas. Notice the metaphorical link between "MONEY – TIME," where the abstract concept of time is structured in terms of the concrete concept of money. Expressions like "spending time" or "saving time" fall under the metaphorical concept that time is a valuable resource akin to money. These examples illustrate how metaphorical concepts enhance our comprehension and expression of diverse aspects of life.

In all, the research conducted by cognitive semanticists sheds light on the diverse ways in which various domains are linked, providing insights into the pervasive use of metaphors in communication.

METONYMY

Metonymy (from Greek “metōnymia” – change of name) involves substituting the name of one thing with that of another, typically associated with it. Unlike metaphor, where the transfer of a name is driven by a perceived likeness, metonymy is grounded in the physical contiguity of two phenomena.

Traditionally, scholars viewed metaphor and metonymy as figures of speech or tropes within rhetoric and stylistics, considering them solely linguistic devices. However, similar to metaphor, the role of metonymy has been reevaluated in cognitive semantics. In the cognitive semantic perspective introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metonymy is recognized as a conceptual mechanism closely linked to metaphor, portraying it as a fundamental aspect of human thought and language. Unlike metaphor, which involves understanding one concept in terms of another, metonymy revolves around the conceptual relation of “A stands for B.” Thus, metonymy operates when one entity is used to represent another entity within the same conceptual domain, normally motivated by physical or causal associations.

Various types of metonymy have been identified, including:

(a) Producer for the product: I just purchased a *Picasso*. The gallery features a *Van Gogh*. I enjoy reading *Hemingway*.

(b) Institution for people: *Google* announced a new project. *Microsoft* is hosting a conference. *Apple* released an innovative design.

(c) Place for institution: *Beijing* criticized the decision. *Wall Street* is closely monitoring the economic indicators. *Silicon Valley* drives technological innovation.

(d) Brand for product: Let's order some *Coca-Cola*. She prefers using *Apple*. I need to buy a new *Puma*.

(e) Part for the whole: The *suits* at the office are always busy. All *hands* on deck for the upcoming project! She is the *brains* behind the successful campaign.

(f) Whole for part: *The White House* announced a new policy. *The Pentagon* is considering military options. *Kyiv* is closely monitoring the situation.

(g) Effect for cause: The news left him with *a heavy heart*. The movie's tragic ending left the audience *in tears*. Success put *a spring in her step* today. A promotion at work has him *walking on air* today.

Metonymy is a cognitive process wherein one conceptual entity (the vehicle – italicized in the above examples) facilitates mental access to another conceptual entity (the target) within the same domain. Thus, metonymies do not involve a shift from one cognitive domain to another but allow one entity to stand for another based on conceptual proximity.

In contrast to metaphors, metonymies are not founded on a relationship of resemblance but rather on contiguity, where the phenomena involved are part of the same conceptual structure or context. For instance, Hemingway is not similar to his novels, nor is Google to its employees. However, there exists a relationship between writers and their novels, companies and their employees.

Essentially, metonymy, along with metaphor, enhances our understanding of the actual world by offering conceptual "shortcuts" to complex phenomena. They allow us to grasp intricate concepts by associating them with familiar and tangible entities, facilitating a more efficient and accessible mental representation of our experiences or ideas.

ADDITIONAL MECHANISMS OF SEMANTIC CHANGE

In the exploration of semantic change, other mechanisms also merit consideration, including hyperbole, understatement, and litotes.

Hyperbole involves the use of exaggerated statements to emphasize extremes for effect rather than a literal interpretation. For instance, stating that something "takes a century/an eternity" implies it takes an exceptionally long time. Similarly, expressing being "terribly/awfully sorry" implies feeling very sorry.

Understatement involves downplaying the significance, seriousness, or impressiveness of something. For example, labeling a scorching summer day as "somewhat warm" constitutes an understatement, while describing a roaring lion as "a little noisy" downplays its true intensity.

A specific type of understatement is **litotes**, which is an expression where we convey something by negating its opposite, as in “not bad” to imply something is good or “no small importance” for something really important. However, the impact of litotes on meaning development is debatable, as it does not necessarily contribute to semantic change. Litotes seems to serve more as a tool for producing a rhetorical effect on the interlocutor rather than driving shifts in meaning.

4.4. RESULTS OF SEMANTIC CHANGE

Semantic change can influence both the denotative and connotative meanings of a word. In the case of denotative meaning, it involves the scope of a word's meaning. Changes in the denotative meaning are adjustments to the range of referents a particular word covers. This leads to either an increase or decrease in the number of entities the word can denote. In other words, such changes either broaden or narrow the boundaries of the word's representation.

CHANGES IN THE DENOTATIVE MEANING: BROADENING AND NARROWING

Broadening

Broadening of meaning, also termed semantic extension or generalization, takes place when the scope of a word's meaning expands to encompass more referents than originally included. This implies that a word, initially possessing a more restricted meaning, gradually incorporates a broader range of concepts over time. In cognitive semantics, this shift occurs as specific properties of a word's prototypical sense become less prominent, leading to the extension of the word's applicability to a wider range of entities or mental representations. In simpler terms, broadening results in an increased number of contexts where a word can be used, accompanied by a reduction in specificity as certain aspects of sense are de-emphasized.

For example, the French borrowing “arrive” (*arriver*), initially meant to “reach the shore of a river.” Over time, its meaning broadened to a more general sense of “to come.” Thus, the concept of coming somewhere remained the same, but its scope became much broader.

The lexeme “bird” (Old English *bridd*) underwent a shift in meaning from “a young bird” to its current, more general sense.

The lexeme “town” has gradually broadened its meaning to refer to various forms of human settlement. In Old English, it referred to a specific enclosed place or piece of ground. As its usage developed, it came to denote an enclosed land around a single dwelling and expanded further to include a small group of dwellings. Next, “town” started to designate a hamlet or village before finally acquiring its present-day sense (Online Etymology Dictionary).

Narrowing

Narrowing of meaning/semantic restriction/specialization occurs when the scope of a word’s meaning becomes more limited compared to its original, broader sense. It takes place through a process of specialization, where a word that once had a general sense becomes more restricted, naming fewer entities (referents). Consequently, the range of contexts in which a word can appear decreases. At the same time, it conveys more detailed information as it gains specificity.

“Deer,” for instance, referred to any beast or animal. However, it has gradually become more specific, designating a certain kind of animal. Likewise, “meat” referred to any type of food in Old English, while now its sense has narrowed to indicate a certain food product, typically the flesh of animals used for consumption.

While it is not uncommon for word meanings to become broader, the process of semantic extension is less frequent compared to restriction. This happens because language tends to evolve more towards creating distinctions rather than combining meanings. The prevailing trend in linguistic development is to become more concrete and specific rather than abstract and general (Ullmann, 1972).

CHANGES IN THE CONNOTATIVE MEANING: DEGRADATION AND ELEVATION

While denotation refers to the literal meaning of a lexeme, connotations entail additional associations speakers attach to it. In some cases, these additional aspects can become more prominent than the word’s leading sense, resulting in semantic shifts. Degradation and elevation are the two processes used to describe such changes. Degradation arises when a lexeme develops

a more negative sense, while elevation entails taking on a more positive sense. Their study offers insight into the development of social conventions and language use.

Degradation

The **degradation** of meaning, also termed pejoration or pejorative development, is a process in which a lexeme shifts from a neutral or positive sense to acquiring a derogatory meaning. Pejoration manifests in two ways: either the original meaning is discarded and the word takes on a negative connotation, or the original meaning is retained, and a new pejorative sense develops alongside it. This phenomenon reflects the evolution of language use, where certain words that were once neutral or positive become associated with negative sentiments. Degradation of meaning can stem from shifts in cultural and social attitudes or specific contextual usage.

The evolution of the meaning of "knave" serves as an illustration of this process. In Old English, "cnafa" simply meant "boy." However, it underwent successive changes, transforming into "boy servant," then "sly fellow," and finally into "scoundrel." Similarly, in Middle English, "selig" (silly) denoted "blissful." With time, it extended to mean "innocent," while currently it was replaced with "stupid." "Villain" is also an interesting case, originally referring to a "farm servant." Through a reanalysis process, it ended up denoting a "vile person."

As can be seen, these words underwent semantic changes that reflect respective societal transformations. The redefinition of these expressions is the result of the diminishing status of certain social groups. Interestingly, it is more common for words to undergo degradation than elevation. In the evolution of language, it seems words are more prone to gaining negative connotations more readily than positive ones.

Elevation

Elevation/amelioration/ameliorization of meaning refers to the process in which a word's evolved meaning takes on a higher or more positive status compared to its original sense. To illustrate, the word "spark" meant "to throw off sparks" in the 1200s, but it later gained a figurative meaning to be bright or lively in writing or conversation. Its current elevated sense refers to being attractive, especially in the context of personality or appearance.

Similarly, the term "nice" was borrowed from Old French in the 12th century, where it denoted "clumsy, simple, silly, stupid." Over time, it evolved to mean "fastidious" (13th century), "delicate" (14th century), and "careful" (15th century). Eventually, from the 18th century onward, it transformed to denote something "agreeable" and "kind."

"Fame," for instance, traces its origin to Roman mythology where it denoted "rumor" (goddess Fama was the personification of rumor). However, it currently refers to the state of being well-known, especially due to achievements (Online Etymology Dictionary). Thus, elevation of meaning occurs when a word becomes associated with a more positive or revered concept, which is a sign of shifts in societal attitudes and values.

Some linguistics criticize the concepts of pejoration or amelioration on the ground that meanings cannot become inherently negative or positive. Instead, these terms refer to the shift in the referent to which a word is applied. This makes the use of terms inaccurate and not objectively reflective of the semantic phenomena they aim to describe.

In sum, motivations, mechanisms, and consequences of semantic change constitute interconnected facets of a single phenomenon. As such, examining meaning shifts involves looking into it through the lenses of its causes, the inherent mechanisms of the change, and the subsequent results. Exploring the roots and the essence of meaning transformations provides an insight into the dynamic nature of language. As Grygiel (2012) aptly points out: "Things change, conditions of life change, notions change, views change, but the words are passed on from generation to generation, making it possible for many old forms to remain as part of the lexicon despite the phonological and semantic changes they might have undergone" (p. 43).

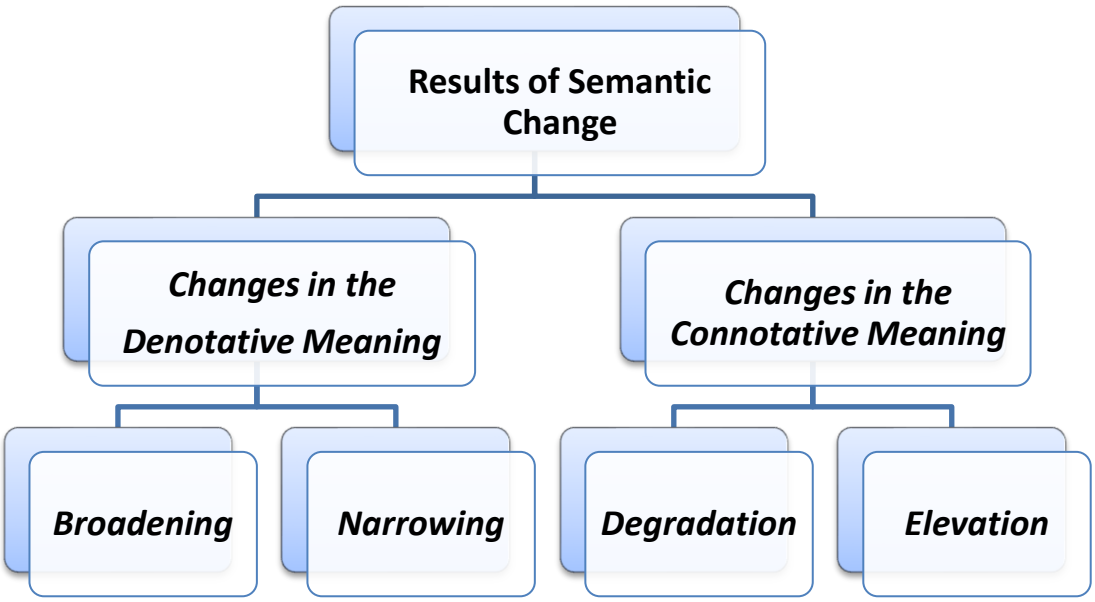


Figure 4.2. Results of Semantic Change

SUMMARY

Semantic change is a process through which the meanings of words evolve over time.

Semantic change normally includes **polysemy**, wherein a word acquires various meanings with time. The shift from one meaning to another generally takes place through an interim stage where the word holds both its initial and new meanings.

Semantic change and lexical change are two concepts used to describe modifications in language. **Semantic change** pertains to the evolution of word meanings. It observes how the meaning of a word can shift across different periods in history or social context. Thus, a word may acquire new connotations, lose certain meanings, or undergo changes in its semantic scope. By contrast, **lexical change** involves alterations in the overall vocabulary system, including the addition or removal of words. While semantic change is interested in meaning shifts, lexical change takes a more comprehensive view, considering the overall expansion or reduction of the vocabulary.

The **motivations of semantic change** can be language-external or language-internal. Language-external factors can be further grouped into historical, social, and psychological factors. Changes are often spurred by technological advancements, societal evolution, and cultural shifts, which naturally lead to the appearance of new concepts. When novel objects or notions appear in people's life, the available words can be used to designate them. Psychological influences, like emotive factors and taboo, can lead to the use of euphemisms and dysphemisms. Folk etymology arises when words are distorted based on popular belief rather than facts. Some of the language-internal motivations for semantic change are ellipsis, differentiation of synonyms, borrowings, and analogy.

Metaphor and metonymy are two of the major **mechanisms** of semantic change.

Metaphor represents a semantic change based on resemblance. In cognitive semantics, it is a process of interpreting one phenomenon in terms of another by highlighting perceived similarities. It simplifies complex concepts by drawing implicit comparisons between two entities due to their alleged resemblance. In practice, metaphor involves using words or phrases with meanings that have developed from their original sense based on such implicit comparisons.

Metonymy is a development of meaning based on extension where a word shifts to a contiguous meaning. It involves substituting one thing's name with another associated with it. Unlike metaphor, which relies on perceived likeness, metonymy is grounded in the physical

contiguity of two phenomena. It operates when one entity represents another within the same conceptual domain. Examples include using a producer for a product, an institution for people, etc.

Semantic change can affect denotative or connotative meaning. In b**roadening/**generalization, word meaning expands to include a broader range of referents. **Narrowing** of meaning/semantic restriction/specialization refers to a word becoming more specific in its reference, limiting its scope of meaning. This results in the word naming fewer entities and reducing its contextual usage.

Degradation/pejorization/pejoration and **elevation**/amelioration/ameliorization describe shifts in the connotations of words. Degradation involves a word adopting a derogatory meaning, while elevation is the opposite process, where a word's meaning changes to convey a more positive status.

EXERCISES

SEMANTIC CHANGE

I. Discuss the following questions:

1. What is semantic change, and how does it affect language? Why would contemporary English speakers experience difficulties in communicating with its users from previous centuries? How does semantic change contribute to polysemy? Illustrate your answer with examples. Explain the difference between lexical change and semantic change.

2. What factors contribute to semantic change? Explain what extra-linguistic and linguistic motivations cause the development of meaning. What is the difference between nonce-words and neologisms? How do you understand the process of conventionalization?

3. What are the major mechanisms responsible for semantic change? What role do metaphors play in human cognition? How does metaphor differ from metonymy in terms of conceptual relationship between entities? How is the concept of metonymy viewed in linguistics? Provide examples of its various types.

4. How does semantic change affect denotative and connotative word meanings? What are the two processes involved in the shifts to the denotative meaning? What processes are involved in the changes in the connotative meaning? What distinguishes degradation from elevation in terms of semantic change? Why do words tend to gain negative connotations more readily than positive ones?

II. Select the most appropriate answer for each question from the provided options:

1. What typically happens to the original meaning of a word in the process of semantic change?

a) It is completely lost.
b) It remains unchanged.
c) It gains additional senses.
d) It becomes the only accepted meaning.

2. Which term describes the process of substituting the name of one thing with that of another, typically associated with it?

a) Hyperbole
b) Metonymy
c) Euphemism
d) Dysphemism

3. What percentage of Old English words have fallen out of use?

a) 50%
b) 65%
c) 75%
d) 85%

4. What is the primary focus of lexical change in linguistics?

a) Evolution of word meanings
b) Introduction of new linguistic structures
c) Modifications in the vocabulary of a language
d) Accumulation of rich linguistic data

5. Which of the following is NOT a type of extra-linguistic motivation for semantic change?

a) Historical developments
b) Psychological factors
c) Borrowings from other languages
d) Social causes

6. How does ellipsis contribute to semantic change?

a) By creating new words through borrowing
b) By omitting part of a phrase and changing the meaning of the remaining word
c) By introducing new concepts through creative language use
d) By differentiating synonyms and expanding their meanings

7. What role does analogy play in semantic change?

a) It involves substituting the name of one thing with that of another.
b) It contributes to semantic change by emphasizing extremes for effect.
c) It leads to the differentiation of synonyms.
d) It extends the meaning of one word in a synonymic group to other members.

8. What is the primary function of euphemisms in language?

a) To substitute taboo terms with milder alternatives

b) To convey emotions through linguistic expressions

c) To emphasize extremes for effect

d) To differentiate synonyms and expand their meanings

9. Which term refers to the process through which a word, whether of foreign or native origin, is distorted to resemble a familiar word?

a) Metaphor

b) Euphemism

c) Dysphemism

d) Folk etymology

10. Which process involves substituting the name of one thing with that of another based on perceived similarities?

a) Hyperbole

b) Metaphor

c) Metonymy

d) Litotes

11. What distinguishes metonymy from metaphor?

a) Metonymy involves understanding one concept in terms of another, while metaphor involves physical contiguity.

b) Metonymy relies on perceived likeness, while metaphor relies on physical contiguity.

c) Metonymy involves substituting the name of one thing with that of another based on perceived similarities, while metaphor involves substituting the name of one thing with that of another typically associated with it.

d) Metonymy involves representing a conceptually intricate phenomenon through simpler means, while metaphor involves interpreting one phenomenon in terms of another based on perceived similarities.

12. What characterizes the narrowing of meaning in semantic change?

a) Expanding the scope of a word's meaning

b) Transitioning from a more specific to a more general sense

c) Restricting the range of entities a word can denote

d) Conveying less detailed information with decreased specificity

13. Which term describes the process of a word taking on a more positive or revered status?

a) Degradation

b) Elevation

c) Metaphorization

d) Synaesthesia

14. What distinguishes hyperbole from litotes?

a) Hyperbole involves downplaying the significance, while litotes involves exaggerating statements.

b) Hyperbole involves negating the opposite, while litotes involves emphasizing extremes for effect.

c) Hyperbole involves exaggerated statements, while litotes involves downplaying the significance.

d) Hyperbole involves emphasizing extremes for effect, while litotes involves negating the opposite.

15. What is the predominant trend in linguistic development regarding semantic extension and restriction?

a) Language tends to evolve towards creating distinctions rather than combining meanings.

b) Language tends to broaden the scope of word meanings more frequently than narrowing them.

c) Semantic extension is less common than restriction due to language becoming more abstract over time.

d) The prevailing trend is towards abstract and general meanings rather than concrete and specific ones.

III. Decide if the following sentences are true or false. Explain your response:

1. Semantic change refers to alterations in the meaning of words over time.
2. Conventionalization occurs when novel linguistic forms are accepted by the language community and become part of the language system.
3. Metaphor relies on perceived similarities between concepts.
4. Metaphor is solely a linguistic construct.
5. Metonymy involves interpreting one phenomenon in terms of another based on contiguity.

6. Euphemisms involve substituting taboo terms with milder alternatives to soften their impact.
7. Dysphemisms refer to the use of positive or neutral expressions to describe phenomena.
8. Borrowings from other languages rarely lead to semantic differentiation of existing words.
9. Folk etymology occurs when a word is distorted to resemble a familiar word, based more on factual accuracy than popular belief.
10. Hyperbole involves downplaying the significance, seriousness, or impressiveness of something.

IV. Decide whether the given lexemes are used in their literal or figurative sense:

SOUND (n)

The sound of the waves crashing against the shore was soothing.

We need to have a serious discussion about the financial soundness of our investment.

Please adjust the sound on the television; it's too loud.

His argument lacked sound reasoning and evidence.

ROCK (v)

Be careful not to rock the boat; we need stability during this time of transition.

The music was so loud that it seemed to rock the entire building.

We'll need to rock the soil before planting the new trees.

She sat on the porch, gently rocking her baby to sleep.

LIGHT (n)

His insightful comments shed light on the complex issue.

The sudden success of her novel brought her into the limelight.

The room was filled with warm, natural light.

Please turn off the light when you leave the room.

FIRE (n)

They gathered around the fire, roasting marshmallows and sharing stories.

The passionate speech ignited a fire in the hearts of the audience.

The fire of ambition burned brightly within her, driving her to succeed.

Make sure to put out the fire before leaving the campsite.

V. Identify metaphors alluding to animals in these sentences. What qualities of the respective animals do they underscore?

1. The small business was burdened with heavy taxes and regulatory fees.
2. The coach roared instructions at the players, urging them to push harder.
3. The comedian's jokes had the audience howling with laughter throughout the entire show. The politician recoiled at the accusations of corruption, vehemently denying any wrongdoing.
4. Don't flutter about, we have enough time to finish the project before the deadline
5. The artist's latest exhibit unleashed a wave of emotions in the viewers, stirring deep contemplation.
6. The politician's promises were fishy, leaving voters sceptical of his sincerity.
7. He bristled with anger when confronted with criticism of his work.
8. You can't spend your days brooding over past mistakes; you must move forward and learn from them.
9. There are countless opportunities waiting to be discovered if you only sniff them out.
10. She nibbled on her sandwich absentmindedly while lost in thought.
11. His words stung like a swarm of angry bees, leaving them reeling from the critique.
12. The professor eagle-eyed every detail in the ancient manuscript, searching for hidden clues.

VI. Rewrite the following sentences using euphemistic expressions. Some suggestions are provided:

choose to resign, one's position is eliminated, overemployed, underemployed, take an early retirement, between jobs, let someone go, downsize, leave a company, considering options

1. I lost my job last week.
2. She got fired from her position.
3. He was sacked by his boss.
4. They terminated my employment contract.
5. The company axed several employees.
6. The organization laid me off due to budget cuts.
7. The manager gave me the pink slip.
8. My job was abolished.

9. I was ousted from my role.
10. They canned me without warning.
11. The company let me go.
12. She was given her marching orders.
13. My employment was terminated abruptly.
14. I was discharged from my duties.
15. The employer released me from my job.

VII. What mechanisms drive semantic change in the given expressions? Categorize them into two columns:

a bottle (of beer), the heart of the city, a nickel (coin), a field of chemistry, a film star, jeans, the hands of a clock, wheels (car), the face of a clock, china, a branch of linguistics, good head, the tongue of a bell, viper (wicked), the tongue of a shoe, a brilliant thought, the mouth of a river, Hollywood (celebrities), the neck of a bottle, ass (not very clever), sandwich, the eye of a needle, a glass, the leg of a table, sweet words, the foot of a mountain, a Hemingway (his book), bitter remark, the foot of a page, a cup (of coffee), bright color, the teeth of a saw, rat (sneaking), the teeth of a comb, a hand (assistant), new face, a jersey

metaphorization	*metonymization*

VIII. Identify instances of metaphor and metonymy in the sentences below:

1. The clock's relentless ticking echoed through the empty room.
2. His smile was a ray of sunshine on a cloudy day.
3. She's the brains behind the operation.
4. All hands on deck!
5. She attacked all my ideas.
6. She's the beacon of hope in our community.
7. Elizabeth writes a fine hand.
8. She is the shoulder I always cry on.
9. As the bullet pierced his chest, I watched the life flow out of him.
10. He is a snake in the grass.
11. She is so generous; she has a heart of gold.

12. The White House objects to the decision.
13. We need a good head to rescue the company from bankruptcy.
14. Little Annabelle is the apple of her father's eye.
15. The orchestra played with heart and soul.
16. The library has been exceptionally supportive of the students.
17. Never take to the bottle in despair.
18. Don’t be such a wet blanket!
19. She suffered from a nervous breakdown.
20. I am at a crossroads. I have no idea what to do next.
21. This is the foundation of the theory.

IX. Match the given lexemes with their original meanings, and analyze their current meanings. Explain if they have undergone broadening or narrowing of meaning:

Lexeme	*Original meaning*
1. art	a) event
2. arrive	b) an enclosed place, hamlet
3. girl	c) any type of food
4. deer	d) any bird
5. meat	e) child (male/female)
6. bird	f) having nothing
7. naughty	g) skill
8. town	h) reach a shore of a river
9. accident	i) a young bird
10. fowl	j) any kind of animal

X. Match each present-day meaning of these lexemes with their corresponding original meaning. Did they undergo degradation or elevation of meaning?

	Original meaning	*Contemporary meaning*
1. Silly	youth	agreeable
2. Villain	rumor	good-looking
3. Fame	kneader of bread	stupid
4. Pretty	farm-servant	scoundrel
5. Nice	innocent	a courageous man

6.	**Knight**	cunning	the state of being well-known
7.	**Knave**	boy servant	woman
8.	**Lady**	stupid	a vile person

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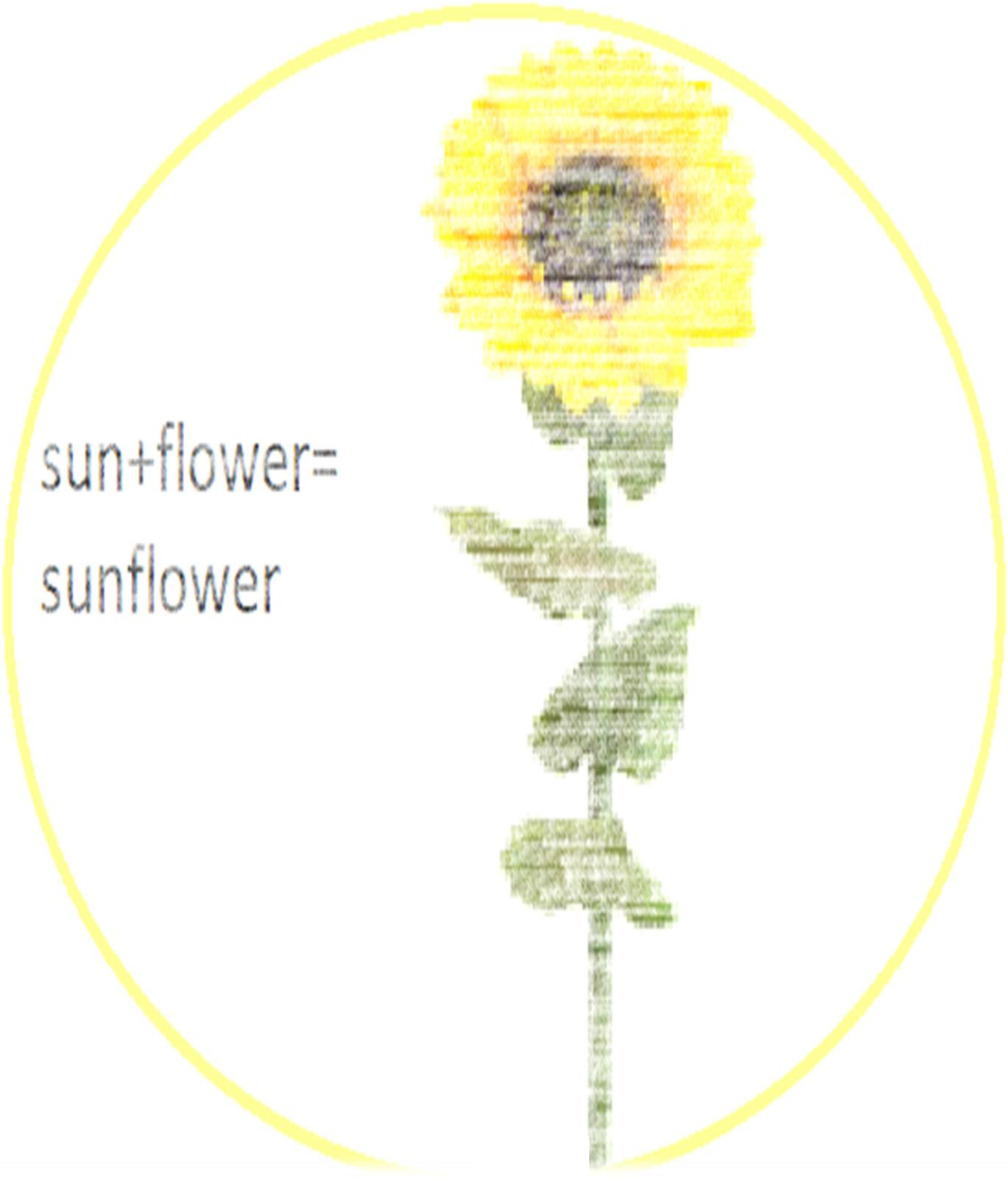
CHAPTER 5

STRUCTURE AND FORMATION OF ENGLISH WORDS



5.1. INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

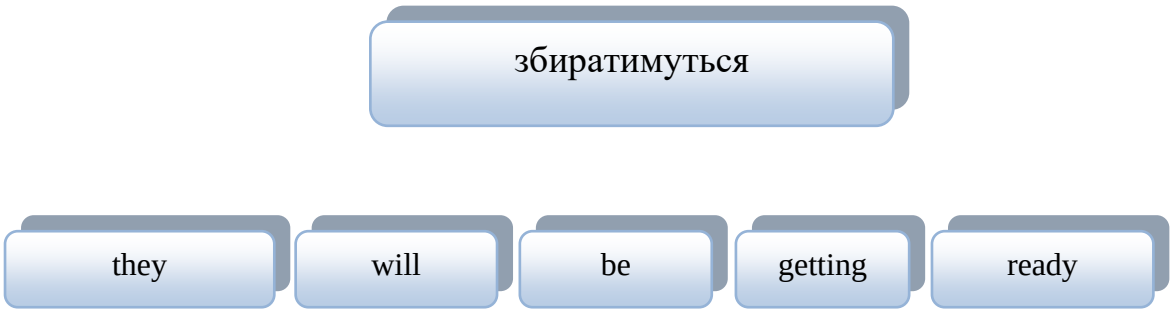
DEFINITION

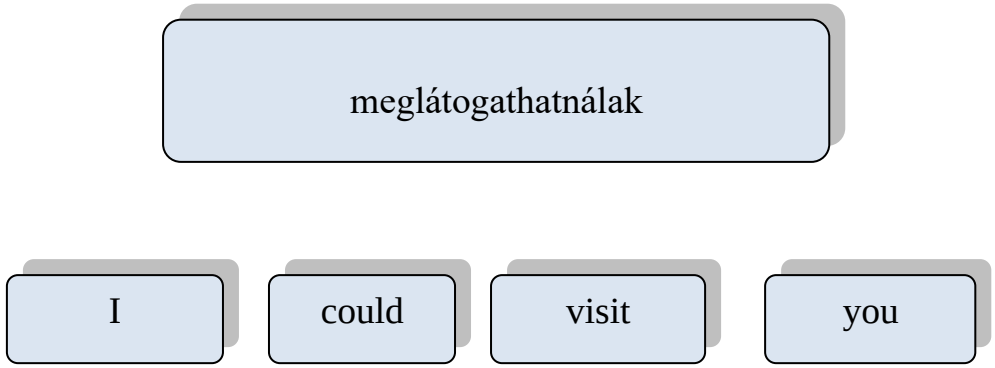
English words are normally made up of one or more morphemes, with a **morpheme** being the smallest meaningful element in a language. It serves as a basic unit of meaning or grammatical function. For instance, consider the word “chairs,” which comprises two meaningful elements: the morpheme “chair," conveying the content and specifying a piece of furniture, and “-s," indicating the grammatical function of plurality.

When we undertake the analysis of word structure, as demonstrated in the above example, we are dealing with morphology. **Morphology** is thus defined as the study of word structure and the various processes involved in forming new words from existing language elements. Even in this simple example, it becomes evident that morphemes can take different forms, not to mention morphologically more complex words like “resourcefulness” or “disentangled.”

TERMINOLOGICAL AMBIGUITY

So far, we have seen that a morpheme is a technical term standing for the unit of meaning. But does this unit of meaning always coincide with a word itself? Let us have a look at the Ukrainian term “збиратимуться.” In English, this single Ukrainian word can be expressed as “they will be getting ready.” As it stands, English speakers would use five independent elements of meaning to express this single term. The like examples prompt the need to discriminate between the concepts of the word and the morpheme and to look into them in more detail.





First, we must differentiate between the word and the morpheme. A morpheme is not always a complete word; it can be a smaller element within a word. In the given example, “chair” can stand alone as an independent word. Therefore, it is both a word and a morpheme simultaneously – a free morpheme, to be precise. Moreover, it is a lexeme because it can appear as a dictionary entry. Conversely, “-s” cannot stand on its own and needs to be attached to another morpheme to convey its meaning. Thus, it does not qualify as a word but as a bound morpheme.

Next, if we compare “chair” and “chairs,” a question may arise whether these are different words. The response is that this is the same word, with “chairs” being the word form of “chair.” It may seem like a surprisingly straightforward answer. However, what about instances such as “custom” and “customs” (as in “customs officer”) or “hand” and “hands” (as in “factory hands”)? Are they also a single word? Our response is negative: they are not the same words because they carry different content. Neither are they the same lexemes, as they appear as independent entries in a dictionary, nor a word form because the morpheme “-s” does not convey the idea of plurality in this case. Therefore, “hands” and “customs” are not merely word forms of the respective words but new independent words and lexemes derived through affixation. In this case, they are homonyms. As seen, one and the same word form can correspond to different lexemes.

Morphology is an area where the interests of grammarians and lexicologists intersect. Let us return to the morpheme “-s” for an explanation. If we consider that it primarily expresses the function of plurality by producing a word form like “chairs,” it falls within the purview of grammar. However, this same morpheme in the lexemes “hands” or “customs” when it participates in word derivation resulting in the coining of new words or when it serves to differentiate between their different senses (hands – “body part” in the plural form vs. “worker”), gains importance in the study of vocabulary and semantics.

MORPHS AND ALLOMORPHS

Distinctions in inflectional morphemes are described by taking into account the differences in their morphological realization. **Morphemes** are *abstractions* that can take a different form of realization. For instance, the morpheme of plurality is realized differently in words like "chairs" or "boxes." The given *concrete realizations of the morpheme* of plurality (-s, -es) are termed **morphs**. The *versions of one morpheme* realized as morphs are **allomorphs** of a given morpheme.

In some cases, morphemes may lack any written or audible manifestation. This phenomenon is termed **zero morph**. For instance, consider the plural forms of "sheep," "deer," or "fruit," which comprise morphemes "sheep + plural," "deer + plural," or "fruit + plural." Despite this, the plural morpheme lacks a material form. We can also spot similar instances in the past tense of "run" or "put," where the past tense morpheme lacks a material manifestation.

Table 5.1. Morpheme vs. Morph vs. Allomorph

word form	*morph –* ***realization of a morpheme***	*morpheme −* ***abstraction***	*allomorph−* ***versions of a morph***
chairs	chair + s	chair + plural	[z]
cats	cat + s	cat + plural	[s]
boxes	box + es	box + plural	[iz]
children	child + ren	child + plural	[ren]
sheep	sheep + 0	sheep + plural	ø
run	run + 0	run + past	ø

5.2. TYPES OF MORPHEMES

Even the brief discussion above shows that morphemes can be of different kind. In order to categorize them, linguists take into account their structure, degree of freedom, function, meaning, position, level of productivity, origin, etc.

FREE AND BOUND MORPHEMES

Morphemes that can function as standalone words are termed **free** (e.g., book, dog, meat, put, go). In fact, English abounds in them, which determines the nature of its word formation to a significant extent. A free morpheme coincides with a **root**. By contrast, morphemes that can only appear as part of larger units are **bound** (e.g. –s as in chairs, dogs), otherwise termed **affixes**.

Bound roots

Some roots appear to be bound morphemes, because they cannot function as independent words. As a rule, most of these roots enter English through the process of borrowing from other languages where they functioned as free morphemes. In English, however, they have become bound and require affixes to create words. These are referred to as bound roots or stems. Some examples include –struct, -ject, -scribe, etc.:

-struct: instruct, construct, destruct

-ject: inject, project, reject, deject

-ceive: conceive, receive, deceive

-cede: precede, recede secede

-gress: progress, regress, digress

Understanding the precise meaning of these bound roots is problematic without knowledge of their etymology, i.e. what they denoted in the source language.

Prefixes and Suffixes

Based on their position relative to the root, bound morphemes are classified as prefixes and suffixes. An affix is termed a prefix if it precedes the root of the word (e.g., mis-understand, dis-close). Conversely, a suffix follows the root, as observed in words such as “friend-ly” or “walk-ed.” In English, prefixes contribute to the creation of new words through the process of derivation/affixation. Suffixes, on the other hand, serve a dual purpose and are utilized in forming new words or creating word forms.

LEXICAL AND FUNCTIONAL MORPHEMES

Free morphemes can be further subdivided into lexical and functional morphemes. Lexical morphemes, belonging to the lexical word classes, encompass nouns, verbs, and adjectives. They convey the core content of the message we express. Lexical morphemes, or content words, readily admit new members and their numbers are continually growing. Consequently, they are also known as an open class of words.

Another class of free morphemes is functional morphemes. Some examples of functional words are *the, but, because, below, and, or, this*. Here belong grammatical or functional word classes, such as articles, conjunctions, prepositions, auxiliaries, pronouns, etc. Functional morphemes are considered a closed class since adding new elements to this category is nearly impossible. Their number is much smaller than the open class of words because it takes considerably longer to introduce new elements.

Table 5.2. Characteristics of Lexical and Functional Morphemes

Characteristics	*Lexical morphemes*	*Functional morphemes*
Word classes	lexical word classes: nouns, verbs, adjectives	grammatical or functional word classes: articles, conjunctions, prepositions, auxiliaries, pronouns, etc.
Content and roles	content words: carriers of content, express lexical meaning	functional words: express grammatical meaning; serve grammatical or functional roles in sentences
Receptivity	open class	closed class
Growth	constantly add new members	rare addition of new members, slow growth over time
Number	numerous	limited in number
Stress	stressed in speech	usually unstressed in speech

INFLECTIONAL AND DERIVATIONAL MORPHEMES

Bound morphemes fall into inflectional and derivational. **Inflectional morphemes** signal grammatical relations (e.g. -s signals plural; -ed – past tense). They do not carry lexical meaning and only serve to create word forms (e.g. goes, going, went, gone). In other words, they do not change the parts of speech, and thus, they do not participate in word formation. Each inflectional affix can be linked to all or most members of a specific part of speech. All inflectional affixes in English are suffixes, and there are only eight of them. They can be used only after derivational affixes.

Table 5.3. Inflectional Morphemes in English

Inflectional morpheme	*Description*	*Example*
1. -s	3rd person singular	She enjoys reading.
2.	possessive case	dog's tail
3.	plural of nouns	dogs, chairs, boxes
4. -ing	progressive	She is reading.
5. -ed	past tense	She finished reading.
6.	past participle	She has just finished reading.
7. -er	comparative form	warmer
8. -est	superlative form	warmest

Inflections occasionally involve changes in a word's form by modifying vowels or consonants:

man – men: vowel change in the plural

sing – sang: vowel change in the past

big – bigger: consonant change in the comparative form

In some cases, the inflected form is identical with the non-inflected form, leading to the so-called **syncretism**:

sheep (singular) – sheep (plural)

hit (base form) – hit (past, past participle)

Additionally, **suppletion** occurs when a different word is used for a specific inflectional meaning:

have – has – had

be – am, are, is – was, were – been

go – went – gone

good – better – the best

bad – worse – the worst

Derivational morphemes are carriers of lexical meaning. Therefore, their addition to the root morpheme leads to changes in the parts of speech and meaning (e.g., dis- – dishonest, disagree, mis- − misunderstand, misbehave). Derivational affixes actively participate in the formation of new lexemes and are a significant means of enriching the English vocabulary.

At the same time, some free morphemes also signal grammatical relations. For instance, the possessive form can be expressed by "'s" as in "dog's," and a similar grammatical function is

fulfilled by the preposition “of” in phrases like “the tail of the dog.” Additionally, inflectional morphemes are commonly added to adjectives with one or two syllables (e.g., warmer, warmest), while longer adjectives require the use of “more” and “most” for a similar function (e.g., more eloquent, most eloquent). Other free morphemes with grammatical function include articles (a, an, the), coordinating conjunctions (e.g., for, and, nor, but), and auxiliary verbs (e.g., do, be, have, will).

It is worth noting that affixes can also be examined in terms of receptivity to new members. Derivational affixes, in particular, are more open and readily accept new members compared to inflectional affixes. As a general rule, it takes centuries for new inflectional affixes to be added to a language. In the case of English, their number decreased over time, with a gradual reduction in the complexity of the Old English inflectional system during the transition from Middle English to Modern English. Modern English is weakly inflected.

Table 5.4. Properties of Inflectional and Derivational Morphemes in English

Inflectional morphemes	***Derivational morphemes***
create word forms	coin new lexemes
do not change part of speech	change one part of speech to another
indicate grammatical relations	carry lexical meaning
do not change the meaning of the root	change the meaning of the root
few in number	numerous
only suffixes	both prefixes and suffixes
added after derivational morphemes	added before inflectional morphemes
only one can be added to the root	one or more can be added to the root
can be added to most members of a given part of speech	can be added to a limited number of roots

ROOT, STEM, AND BASE

When examining the part of a word to which affixes are added, various terms like root, stem, and base come into play. The most inclusive term is "base." However, for a more detailed distinction, we can employ the following description, exemplified by the word forms "relocations" or "dismissals." The stem is what remains when all inflectional suffixes, such as the plural –s, are removed (relocation, dismissal – -s is discarded). The root is what remains when all affixes are removed (locate – re-, -ion are omitted; miss – dis-, al- are omitted). The root carries the primary content of the word and cannot be broken down into smaller morphemes. If we omit

derivational affixes from the stem (in this case, -al from “dismissal”), what remains is called the base, which is still larger than the root.

Stem: relocation -s; dismissal-s

Root: re-locat-ion-s; dis-miss-al − -s

Base: relocate-ion-s; re-locat-ion-s; relocation -s; dismiss –al − -s; dismissal − -s

Thus, a base is a component of a word to which affixes, both inflectional and derivational, are attached. For instance, "dismiss" is a base because we can add inflections to it (e.g., dismissed) or convert it into another part of speech (e.g., dismissive – adjective). However, "dismissal" is also a base because new words can be derived from it (e.g., self-dismissal). Hence, both "dismiss" and "dismissal" are bases. The same holds true for "relocation." Since we can add both derivational and inflectional affixes to relocation (e.g., relocational – adjective), locate (e.g., dislocate – verb), and relocate (e.g., relocatable – adjective), all three can be considered bases.

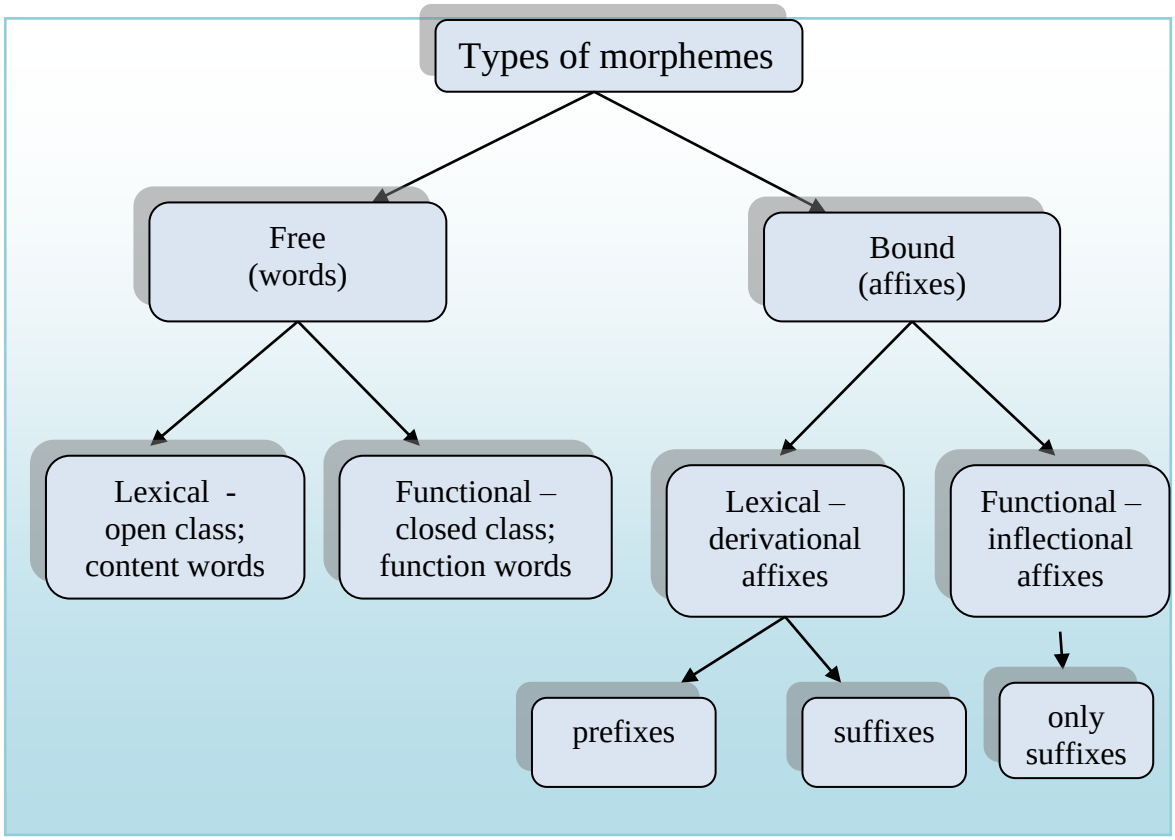


Figure 5.1. Types of Morphemes

Inflectional and derivational morphology constitute two subfields of morphology. Inflectional morphology investigates the creation of word forms and how inflectional morphemes or other devices convey grammatical information, primarily through affixation. As it falls within the domain of grammar, it is of lesser interest to our current discussion.

Word formation, on the other hand, refers to the diverse mechanisms employed in English to generate new words from existing ones, thereby enriching its vocabulary. Word formation results in the production of specific types of words, and studying these processes provides insights into the structural types of words in English.

5.3. WORD FORMATION

STRUCTURAL TYPES OF WORDS

Considering their structural features, English words fall into four main types, each produced by distinct word formation processes.

Derived Words or Derivatives: formed by adding one or more affixes to a root, e.g., "happiness" consists of the root "happy" and the suffix "-ness."

Root Words: Root words contain only a root morpheme in their structure. These words often belong to the native English word stock or originate from earlier borrowings. The number of root words increases through conversion, where words change their grammatical category without adding affixes. Examples include "house – to house," "book – to book," "dog – to dog," etc.

Compound Words: comprise two or more stems, e.g., "breathtaking," "shop window," "dancing hall," and "father-in-law."

Shortenings: These are abbreviated forms of longer words or expressions, e.g., "phone" (telephone), "prof" (professor), "fridge" (refrigerator), "lab" (laboratory), and "V-day" (Victory Day).

Thus, the main structural types of English words are root words, derived words, compounds, and shortenings.

MAJOR AND MINOR PROCESSES OF WORD FORMATION

English word formation processes can be categorized based on their productivity. The three highly productive processes responsible for creating the majority of new words include derivation or affixation (prefixation, e.g., re-locate and suffixation, e.g., lone-ly), compounding (e.g., bedroom from bed + room), and conversion (e.g., to milk from milk, noun)

Less productive word formation processes encompass various forms of shortenings (e.g., clippings: "gym" from gymnasium; acronyms: "radar" from radio detection and ranging), blends (e.g., "motel" from motor and hotel), back-formations (e.g., "beg" from beggar, "enthuse" from

enthusiasm), sound-imitation (e.g., cock-a-doodle-doo), reduplication (e.g., chi-chi), coinage (creation of a new term), and others.

This distinction aids in understanding the varying degrees of productivity in coining new words, with some processes being more prolific than others and steadily becoming more significant in expanding vocabulary.

5.4. MAIN WORD FORMATION PROCESSES

5.4.1. DERIVATION

Derivation, otherwise termed affixation, is a process of forming new words by adding one or more derivational inflections, both prefixes and suffixes. Earlier, we discussed some of the main properties of derivational affixes.

English derivational affixes can be either prefixes or suffixes. There are more than sixty commonly used derivational affixes in Modern English, forming an open class that can potentially incorporate new members. However, derivations have a "low functional load" (Jackson & Amwella, 2021, p. 58) in that each specific derivation is not frequently encountered and is restricted to combinations with particular stems. Pairing a specific affix with a particular root does not follow a strict rule and must be addressed individually for each root, typically documented in dictionaries. Thus, derivation is a component of the lexicon, not the grammar of language. Despite being more numerous than inflectional affixes, each derivational affix is used relatively infrequently and is constrained by specific types of blocking.

TYPES OF DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

Derivational affixes can be **native**, originating from Old English, or **borrowed** from other languages such as Latin, Greek, or French. The level of productivity of affixes varies, ranging from minimally used and preserved in a couple of words to being widely used, actively forming new words. They are described as **productive, semi-productive**, and **unproductive**. Although both prefixation and suffixation in English have a semantic role, one of the primary differences between them is that prefixes do not normally alter the word class. Based on this, derivational affixes can be classified as **class-changing** and **class-maintaining**.

ORIGIN OF DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

Affixes can be categorized as native or borrowed. Interestingly, the majority of productive affixes in present-day English are not native but rather come from Greek, Latin, or French. Many of the original Germanic affixes were lost during the Middle English period, leading to their replacement by borrowed affixes. Some examples of native affixes are given in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6. Native Affixes

	Affixes	*Examples*
Noun-forming	-ness	*kindness*
	-er	*teacher*
	-dom	*kingdom*
	-ing	*feeling*
	-ship	*friendship*
	-th	*warmth*
	-hood	*neighborhood*
Adjective-forming	-y	*tidy*
	-ful	*beautiful*
	-less	*heartless*
	-ish	*greenish*
Verb-forming	-en	*broaden*
Adverb-forming	-ly	*kindly*

An affix can be considered borrowed once it becomes productive in the recipient language, meaning speakers actively use it to form new words and no longer recognize its foreign origin. At this point, it becomes an integral part of the language's morphology. That English should use so many borrowed affixes can be attributed to the characteristics of its vocabulary, which consists of approximately 65-70% borrowed words.

PRODUCTIVITY OF AFFIXES

In the context of affixation, productivity denotes that an affix is capable of forming new lexemes. The degree of productivity of an affix depends on its availability and profitability (Goethem, 2020). Availability pertains to whether an affix can still be used to create new words,

while profitability relates to how often it is employed for creating derivatives. For example, adjective-forming suffixes like -ly, -some and noun-forming suffix -th (found in words like lively, troublesome, length) are considered synchronically unavailable since they are no longer used to produce newly derived words. Conversely, the suffix -ful is available for derivation (e.g., spoonful, mouthful), but it is not fully profitable as it does not frequently contribute to the creation of new words.

In other words, if affixes are both available and profitable, actively contributing to word derivation, they are considered productive. If affixes are still available but rarely participate in derivation, they are semi-productive. In cases where affixes are no longer available and profitable, they are unproductive.

PREFIXATION

Prefixation is a process of forming new lexemes by attaching a derivational affix before the base. Generally, prefixes do not alter the word class of the base to which they are added, making most prefixes class-maintaining. For instance, the addition of affixes in "connect – disconnect," "understand – misunderstand," "build – rebuild," and "possible – impossible" forms new lexemes with new meanings, though it does not lead to modifications in the parts of speech.

However, there are a few exceptions. For instance, be- and en- are class-changing prefixes, always resulting in a new part of speech:

be-: becloud, bemoan, belittle, bewitch, befriend

en-: endanger, enlarge, enslave, encourage, encode

de- and dis- occasionally change the original word-class:

de-: decode, derail, devalue

dis-: disseminate, discourage, disintegrate

SUFFIXATION

In suffixation, a new lexeme is formed by adding an affix after the base. Like prefixes, suffixes change the meaning of the base. At the same time, most suffixes also change the word class of the base to which they attach. Most suffixes are then class-changing.

The main groups of suffixes that change the word class are those that form nouns and adjectives (see Table 5.7). Suffixes resulting in the derivation of nouns or adjectives are nominalizers and adjectivalizers, respectively. Verb-forming suffixes (-ify, -ize, -en, -ate) are

limited in English, and their productivity is relatively low; they are termed verbalizers. Adverbializers, or suffixes resulting in the derivation of adverbs, constitute the smallest group. A highly productive suffix is -ly, which derives adverbs from adjectives (e.g., gradually, warmly).

Table 5.7. English Derivational Suffixes

nominalizer	***Examples***
-er	teacher, builder, traveler
-ment	excitement, achievement, refinement
-al	denial, refusal, proposal, survival
-ation	education, admiration, exploration, investigation
-ness	brightness, politeness, laziness
-dom	kingdom, boredom, wisdom
-ity	sincerity, purity, serenity
-th	length, warmth
adjectivalizer	
-ish	sheepish, boyish, snobbish
-less	meaningless, speechless, clueless
-y	cloudy, wealthy, chilly
-ous	joyous, adventurous, mysterious
-ful	sorrowful, fanciful, masterful
-ive	imaginative, inquisitive, combative
-able	lovable, readable, teachable
-ent/-ant	observant, exuberant, hesitant
verbalizer	
-ify	intensify, simplify, glorify
-ize	summarize, visualize, symbolize
-ate	activate, demonstrate, celebrate
-en	moisten, brighten, weaken
adverbializer	
-ly	quietly, happily, suddenly
-ward	inward, northward, southward
-way(s)	halfway, sideways, noway(s)

Nevertheless, not all suffixes change the word class of the base. Nouns are often derived from other nouns, and though less common, adjectives can also be formed from other adjectives. Examples include feminine suffixes like -ess, -ette, -ine (e.g., lioness, princess), diminutive suffixes like -let, -y, -ling, -ie (e.g., booklet, duckling, puppy, kitty, sweetie, doggie). Suffixes -ship, -hood, -ism transform concrete nouns into abstract ones (e.g., leadership, childhood, brotherhood, nationalism, capitalism). Additionally, among them are suffixes referring to humans -(i)an, -ist, -er (e.g., mathematician, biographer, linguist, guitarist, journalist, Parisian, New Yorker).

A few suffixes attached to adjectives only change their meaning, but not their word class, such as -ly (e.g., manly, womanly, fatherly), -ish implying “nearly, not exactly” (e.g., sweetish, tallish, yellowish), -al (pedagogical, synthetical). Notably, English has no derivational suffixes that create verbs from existing verbs.

5.4.2. COMPOUNDING

Compounding, one of the main derivational processes in English, is no less productive than derivation itself. In compounding, new words are formed by combining two or more morphemes, which are usually free, as in "wallpaper," "shop window," "dressing table," or "greenhouse." The resulting complex lexeme is termed a compound. The most common English compound is two-based. In this respect, compounding differs from derivation in that it strings together two bases, while affixation uses only one root and one or several affixes.

The main questions about compounds concern their categorization, formation, interpretation, and delimitation (distinguishing between compounds and phrases), which will be discussed in this chapter.

HEADEDNESS OF COMPOUNDS: SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION OF COMPOUNDS

Concerning headedness, the question arises as to which of the multiple roots determines the grammatical category of the compound. The majority of English compounds have a so-called head. Let us consider the following examples:

Hometown

Sunflower

Blackberry

All these compound words consist of two roots, with the first being either an adjective or a noun, while the second root is a noun in all three cases. The resulting compound words are all nouns. Thus, the head of a compound dictates its grammatical category. While both roots contribute to the meaning of the compound, it is the second root that plays a decisive role in its interpretation. Hence, "hometown" describes a town, "sunflower" refers to a kind of flower, while "blackberry" is a kind of berry. Likewise, the head restricts the possibilities of interpretation of the compound's meaning. So English speakers effortlessly recognize that "sunflower" does not point to the qualities of the sun but denotes a kind of plant. The heads of these compounds are thus "town," "flower," and "berry" and they are to the right of the respective compounds. This property makes English a right-headed language. Compounds having a head are termed **endocentric**. They have an evident relationship between the head and the entire compound.

However, in certain compounds, the connection between the head and the overall meaning is less straightforward. For instance, "gingerbread" is a cake, not a type of bread; "handicap" refers to a disadvantage or disability and has nothing to do with either caps or hands; the meaning of "turnout" refers to attendance at an event, so neither "turn" nor "out" predicts its overall meaning. Thus, compound words whose meaning is not determined by the head are termed **exocentric**.

Some exocentric compounds may lack a head that determines their overall meaning (i.e., interpretative head) but possess a grammatical category head. For instance, "gingerbread" does not describe a kind of bread, nor does "handicap" refer to a cap. Nevertheless, they are both nouns because their final members are nouns. As can be seen, the function performed by their right roots resembles that of a head.

However, certain exocentric compounds lack a head in this sense altogether. Examples include "fallback," appearing as a compound of a preposition and a verb but functioning as a noun, which refers to an alternative plan or option. Similarly, "breakthrough" combines a verb and a preposition but is actually a noun referring to a sudden advance or discovery.

Finally, copulative compounds, also known as coordinative compounds, are co-headed because their constituent roots represent the sum or combination of the individual denotations. They can be rephrased using "and" between their constituents. In other words, the meaning of a copulative compound is incomplete if either of its elements is dropped. For example, the meaning of "ceasefire" is a sum of its elements, i.e., an agreement to stop the use of weapons, with both roots equally contributing to its overall sense. The same holds true for other examples like "hit-and-run," "rock-and-roll," "daydream," "skyscraper," "deaf-mute," "wash-and-wear," etc.

WORD CLASS CLASSIFICATION OF COMPOUNDS

Let us recall that the class of the compound in English is normally determined by its last component. Basically, all word classes can potentially participate in compounding. Accordingly, English comprises compound nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, numerals, conjunctions, etc. Even so, compounding most frequently occurs with nouns and adjectives. Compound verbs are infrequent in English.

Compound nouns consist of a combination of any root with a noun. Thus, while the second root is typically a noun, the first root can be a noun, verb, adjective, etc. Compound nouns are illustrated by the following examples:

Noun + Noun: basketball, website, facebook, spaceship

Verb + Noun: breakwater, flytrap, pickpocket, meeting-place

Adjective + Noun: greenhouse, hardcover, bluebottle

Adverb + Noun: beforehand, outside, backtalk, upstairs

The above patterns are by no means exhaustive. Compound nouns can also be formed from the combination of various word classes, for instance, of a verb and a preposition, as in “take-off,” “hangout,” and “breakdown.”Additional patterns include adverb + verb (e.g., backup, follow-up), verb + adverb (e.g., breakdown, cutback), preposition + verb (e.g., postgraduate), preposition + noun (e.g., afterthought).

Compound adjectives are formed by combining a root belonging to any word class with an adjective root:

Noun + Adjective: child-friendly, seasick, snow-white, ice-cold, silk-smooth

Adjective + Adjective: deaf-mute, south-west, far-fetched, round-faced,

Adverb + Adjective: evergreen, off-white

Compound verbs are formed by combining any root with a verb. The second root must function as a verb, while the first root may be a noun, verb, adjective, adverb, etc.:

Noun + Verb: car-park, project-manage, brain-wash

Verb + Verb: dance-hop, run-jump, drop-kick

Adjective + Verb: cold-freeze, whitewash, dry-clean

Adverb + Verb: overhear, overwrite, overdress

Compound adverbs can be formed after the following patterns:

Adverb + Adverb: thereby, within, hereabouts

Adjective + Noun: downstream, uphill, indoor

Adverb + Preposition: henceforth, thereby, forthwith

SPELLING OF ENGLISH COMPOUNDS

The spelling of compounds in English lacks consistency. Unlike Ukrainian or Hungarian, where spelling typically reflects their word status, English compounds may be spelled as one item without a space, with a hyphen, or with spaces between the constituent roots. Thus, the difference in spelling does not necessarily indicate a difference in lexicalization (lexicalization refers to the process by which a sequence of morphemes becomes a single lexical unit with a specific meaning).

For instance, the term "word class" may be alternatively spelled as "word-class" or "wordclass" even within the same chapter. The spelling choice, whether with spaces, hyphens, or none, signals nothing about its level of lexicalization. Because of this property, it is difficult to

define a word in English. In contrast to Ukrainian or Hungarian, where compounds are consistently spelled as a single item without spaces (e.g., словотвір), English has no universal spelling practice for compounds. Even though some older compounds may lack spaces, more recently formed compounds are spelled with spaces, giving them the appearance of separate words.

COMPOUNDS AND WORD COMBINATIONS

The above discussion reveals how challenging it is to draw a clear-cut distinction between compounds and word combinations in English. For the sake of experimentation, let us examine these items:

Greenhouse

Dining-room

Dance floor

Are they compound words or word combinations, or, in other words, one or two lexemes each? Several cues can help us answer this question, including phonological, semantic, morphological, and syntactic criteria.

Phonological criterion: Compounds are typically stressed on the first member, while word combinations receive stress on their last member:

e.g. ˋhighway, ˋgreenhouse, ˋblackboard

But: a ˋhigh ˋway, a ˋgreen ˋhouse, a ˋblack ˋboard

However, this does not apply to compound adjectives, where both morphemes are stressed: ˋabsent-ˋminded, ˋshort-ˋtempered

Semantic criterion: Compounds tend to change meaning, which often departs from the literal sense of their roots. For instance, "windfall" has nothing to do with windy weather or the act of falling. In fact, its meaning is related to unexpected gains. Neither is a "greenhouse" green, and a "bluebottle" is not blue. It is not even a bottle but an insect, a fly, to be more exact.

Morphological and syntactic criteria: Compounds are inflected as single lexemes, so their constituent roots cannot be individually inflected. As a result, a "dishwasher" becomes "dishwashers" in the plural, where only the second root is inflected. Conversely, in the case of word combinations, we can inflect each component individually, e.g., "greenest houses." Moreover, in word combinations, additional elements can be inserted (e.g., "green little/village houses"), which is impossible in compounds without destroying them (e.g., a small greenhouse).

Compounds may also exhibit unusual word order, deviating from regular phrase patterns. For instance, it is unusual for English word combinations to string together two verbs, as in the compound "dropkick." Also, it is uncommon to use several nouns in a row without connecting them with prepositions or verbs, as in the example "telecommunications network infrastructure provider." This syntactic feature helps recognize a compound and distinguish it from other word combinations in English.

SEMANTIC FEATURES OF COMPOUNDS

From a semantic perspective, compounds are categorized based on the meaning relations among their components. The meaning of some compounds can be described as the sum of the meanings of their roots, making it quite transparent, as seen in "rainfall," "bedroom," and "dancehall." However, English compounds tend to develop specialized meanings when it becomes difficult to infer them from the meanings of their individual components. For instance, can you readily infer the meaning of "turnkey" if it is not a key but a person holding the keys of a prison?

Thus, based on the degree of motivation, compounds fall into:

(a) **motivated** or compositional, whose meanings can be deduced from their constituent morphemes (e.g., bookshelf, horseback, shoestring, lifelong, footprint).

(b) **idiomatic**, whose meaning cannot be deduced (e.g., jigsaw, turncoat, ladybird, butterfly, whodunit).

(c) In-between, there is a third type of compounds, whose meaning is partly suggested by one of its elements because it preserves its original sense, the so-called **partially motivated** compounds (e.g., chatterbox, lazybones, lighthouse, eyewitness, waterfall, eyesore).

Not all compounds are the result of compounding

Some compounds, like "hangout, standby, passerby," were formed as a result of the nominalization of phrasal verbs and not due to compounding. Therefore, a distinction is usually made between compounding proper (e.g., sunrise, wallflower, sidewalk), phrasal derivation resulting in phrasal/phrase compounds (e.g., forget-me-not, mother-in-law, merry-go-round), and doubling resulting in forming reduplicative compounds (e.g., buy-buy, chic-chic, chit-chat).

COMPOUNDING AND DERIVATION: SEMI-AFFIX

There are cases in word formation where compounding and derivation appear to overlap. It can occur when a morpheme that was originally free and participated in compounding transforms into a derivational affix. A case in point is "-like," as in "flowerlike," "childlike," "cloudlike," or "dreamlike." Although the morpheme "-like" can easily be associated semantically with the respective free morpheme, it has acquired a more general meaning reminiscent of that of an affix. In particular, "-like" indicates a resemblance or characteristics of the base word it modifies. In linguistics, it is often termed a **semi-affix** or **suffixoid**.

Thus, a semi-affix exhibits characteristics of both a free morpheme and a derivational suffix but does not strictly conform to the properties of a fully developed affix. Semi-affixes have a semi-independent status, and their usage and behavior may lie between a free morpheme and an affix proper. Hence, compounding and derivation are related in the historical sense. Some examples from Old English include "-wise," which evolved from the noun "manner" but has now turned into a derivational affix, or "-hood," initially denoting "state, quality." Contemporary discussions suggest a parallel development involving morphemes "-man," "-worthy," "-proof," "-berry," "land," etc. Yet, the term itself is not universally accepted in linguistics, and its application varies depending on the context of research and the linguistic theory being considered.

5.4.3. CONVERSION

Calvin: I like to verb words.
Hobbes: What?
Calvin: I take nouns and adjectives and use them as verbs.
Remember when "access" was a thing?
Now it's something you do. It got verbed.
Verbing weirds language.
(from Bill Watterson "Calvin and Hobbes," 1993).

The above exchange humorously captures one of the most productive processes of word formation in contemporary English, known as conversion.

Conversion, otherwise termed zero-derivation, is a word formation process where a lexeme changes its word class without any accompanying changes in its morphological structure.

In other words, conversion entails taking an existing word and using it in a new grammatical or syntactic role, thus assigning it to a different part of speech without adding any affixes.

The process of conversion enables a free morpheme, typically a base word, to adopt a new usage as a member of a different word class. This results in the word gaining a distinct meaning, though still associated with its original meaning. Additionally, a converted word is recognized as a separate entry in a dictionary, presenting it as a homonym. The newly derived lexeme also develops a paradigm of its new word class. For example:

e.g., milk, n. → to milk:

She usually milks our cow.

They milked the cow yesterday.

He is milking the cow now.

The cow was milked by Mike.

Cows are regularly milked twice a day.

PRODUCTIVITY IN CONVERSION

Conversion is a pervasive linguistic phenomenon, impacting virtually all parts of speech. English speakers readily employ it in various contexts, as evidenced by expressions like “If ifs and ands were pots and pans, there’d be no work for tinkers’ hands” or “The ups and downs of life.” However, the word classes most frequently affected by conversion are nouns, verbs, and adjectives.

Verbs resulting from the conversion of nouns constitute the most common type, a process known as verbification. Examples include verbs such as "to face," "to hand," "to head," "to shoulder," "to rain," "to snow," "to corner," and "to bottle."

Nouns derived from verbs (substantivation) are also prevalent, though less frequent than their verb counterparts. Examples of substantivation include nouns like "go," "love," "ache," "wish," "turn," "rise," "cough," "cry," "smile," "doubt," "cover," "spy," and "smell."

Conversion is also noticeable in the creation of verbs from adjectives. Numerous verbs have been formed from adjectives such as "to smooth," "to clear," "to warm," "to empty," "to pale," "to dirty," "to round," "to wet," "to clean," and "to wrong."

Another productive conversion process involves transforming adjectives into nouns. In many cases, this transformation occurs by omitting the head of a phrase that includes an article, adjective, and noun. For instance, "the poor" is used instead of "the poor people," "the rich" is employed in place of a more detailed description, and "a monthly" stands for a monthly

newspaper. Consequently, these resulting de-adjectival nouns are often formed by truncating phrases, retaining only the adjective as the noun.

Less frequent types of conversion include turning a preposition into a noun (e.g., ups and downs), and adverbs into nouns (the front, the back, the right, the left). Conversion can affect even prefixes (pros and cons).

CLASS-INTERNAL CONVERSION

Most typically, conversion entails a change in word class. Still, in many cases, a change in a word form can occur within the same word class. Some interesting cases can be observed with nouns and verbs undergoing variations in countability or transitivity. For instance, uncountable nouns can turn into countable, or vice versa, depending on the context. Thus, "some tea" is an uncountable noun, while "two teas" turns it into a countable noun. It also applies to proper names, which can be used as common nouns, as illustrated in "Which Dr. Smith would you like to talk to?"

Similarly, intransitive verbs can be transformed into transitive. Compare, for instance, the two sentences: "The child is running outdoors" and "The child runs the whole family." In the first sentence, "run" is intransitive, describing the action of a child, while in the second, "run" becomes transitive, indicating that the child exerts significant control over the family. Some linguists use the term "secondary shift" with reference to this process.

PARTIAL CONVERSION

Partial conversion refers to cases in which a shift in word class involves a phonological change with a word's morphological structure remaining unchanged. In simpler terms, the transformation from a given word class to another is characterized by a shift in pronunciation rather than a modification in the written form of the word. For example:

record, noun /ˈrɛkɔːd/ - verb /rɪˈkɔːd/
increase, verb /ɪnˈkriːs/ - noun /ˈɪnkriːs/
reject, verb /rɪˈdʒɛkt/ - noun /ˈriːdʒɛkt/
contract, noun /ˈkɒntrækt/ - verb /kənˈtrækt/
permit, noun /ˈpɜːmɪt/ - verb /pəˈmɪt/
conduct, noun /ˈkɒndʌkt/ - verb /kənˈdʌkt/
object, noun /ˈɒbdʒɪkt/ - verb /əbˈdʒɛkt/
present, noun /ˈprɛzənt/ - verb /prɪˈzɛnt/

Partial conversion can also involve a shift from voiceless to voiced fricatives, as in grief /f/ - to grieve /v/, price /s/ - to prize /z/, bath /θ/ - to bathe /ð/.

However, the latter cases are not recognized by some scholars in that conversion excludes any possibilities of change in the morphological build-up of words.

DIRECTION OF WORD CLASS CHANGE

Determining the direction of word class change in conversion is often problematic. In some cases, semantic and morphological considerations can provide a clue. Thus, a change in the word's meaning may indicate a shift in its word class. If the meaning shifts from concrete to abstract, or vice versa, it may suggest a semantic shift associated with conversion. For instance, in the sentence "She decided to umbrella the project," umbrella is used in an abstract sense, but it is based on the initial meaning of the corresponding noun.

Some morphological features can also provide evidence of directionality. For instance, suffixes can indicate the part of speech from which a converted lexeme originated:

-y (adjective-forming suffix): to tidy, to dirty

-ion (noun-forming suffix): to position, to motion

-eer (noun-forming suffix): to engineer, to volunteer

-or (noun-forming suffix): to mentor, to doctor

-ure (noun-forming suffix): to pressure, to measure

However, the above cues are not absolute, and in some cases, the direction of conversion may be less clear.

LINGUISTIC FACTORS UNDERLYING CONVERSION IN ENGLISH

But why is conversion so prolific in English, while languages like Ukrainian and Hungarian show limited use of this word formation mechanism? First, we need to remember that English is an analytical language. Unlike Ukrainian and Hungarian, which are synthetic languages with a plethora of inflections, English uses very few of them, 8 – to be more exact. This feature makes the English word class paradigms much simpler and makes it possible to easily transform one word class to another. In addition, conversion commonly affects morphologically "simple" words (consisting of one or two syllables), and English has an immense number of such. Thus, the prevalence of conversion in English can be attributed to its analytical nature with simplified word class paradigms and the abundance of morphologically simple words.

Given its productivity, some linguists consider conversion a functional change rather than a word formation process. However, it would be wrong to assume that all pairs of words with identical forms are products of the conversion process. Numerous examples like “work – to work” and “walk – to walk” emerged not from conversion but overlapped due to the dropping of endings. In Old English, these words had distinct forms like “wyrcan” and “wealcan.” The first cases of conversion began to appear from the 12th c. onward. Pairs like "walk – to walk" existing in the vocabulary played a role in shaping the recognition of such patterns by native speakers, eventually leading to their acceptance as typical language patterns.

5.5. MINOR WORD FORMATION PROCESSES

BLENDS

A blend is a lexeme created by combining parts of two or more existing words. Blends often result from merging the beginning of one word with the ending of another. The resulting new lexeme retains some aspects of the original words’ meanings, combining them to coin a new word that expresses a concept related to both.

Blends are also known as portmanteau words. The term itself is borrowed from French and denotes a suitcase with two compartments. In linguistics, a blend also carries elements from two words into a single linguistic form. Some widespread examples of blends include:

brunch (breakfast + lunch)

smog (smoke + fog)

blog (web + log)

hangry (hungry + angry)

motel (motor + hotel)

spork (spoon + fork)

infomercial (information + commercial)

Blends are often created for convenience, brevity, or to express a new idea out of existing concepts. They are more typical of informal style and colloquial speech and can provide an informal tone or playfulness to communication. Blends are often used in technology and marketing to name new products. Companies tend to create blends to give their products unique and memorable names. Thus, for example, “Pinterest” is a blend of “pin” and “interest.” “Netflix,” combining “internet” and “flicks” (slang for movies), is a service providing access to films and TV shows. “Webinar” is a blend of “web” and “seminar.”

The rise of the internet and social media has accelerated the adoption of blends. Memes, hashtags (which are blends themselves!), and online trends lead to the formation of blends, as shown in these examples:

meme (mimic + gene)

hashtag (hash (refers to symbol #) + tag)

infotainment (information + entertainment)

This type of blend reflects the adaptability of speakers to the digital age where new concepts emerge rapidly.

SHORTENINGS

Shortening encompasses related processes of word formation characterized by the reduction of stems. New words produced through shortening fall into two main types: **clippings** and **initialisms**, which include acronyms and alphabetisms.

Clipping involves the truncation of a word, retaining only part of its stem. This process can occur at the beginning, resulting in initial clippings:

e.g., “vac” from vacation

“ad” from advertisement

“tech” from technology

“pram” from perambulator

“fan” from fanatic

In final clippings, the beginning of the word is truncated:

e.g., “phone” from telephone

“plane” from airplane

“car” from motorcar

Both the beginning and ending can be truncated:

e.g. “flu” from influenza

“fridge” from refrigerator

Initialism is a form of clipping where only the initial letters or, more rarely, syllables of words are combined to form new words. Acronyms are pronounced as individual words, while alphabetisms are pronounced letter by letter, e.g.:

NASA: National Aeronautics and Space Administration

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

TESOL: Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

TOEFL: Test of English as a Foreign Language

EU: [i: ju:]

IBM: [ai bi: em]

When acronyms start using lowercase letters, it indicates that the term has been integrated into the general vocabulary. Examples include "laser" (Light Amplification by Stimulated Emission of Radiation), "radar" (Radio Detection and Ranging), "scuba" (Self-Contained Underwater Breathing Apparatus), and "sonar" (Sound Navigation and Ranging). Originally technical terms, these acronyms have been assimilated into everyday communication and are no longer confined to professional jargon.

Shortenings, especially prevalent with the advent of the internet and online communication, are illustrated by the following examples:

LOL: laugh out loud

BRB: be right back

FOMO: fear of missing out

Selfie: self-portrait photograph

The various processes of shortening share several characteristics. Firstly, they do not result in a word class change, so the shortened form maintains the same part of speech as the original word. Secondly, the meaning of the word is not altered, and the shortening retains the same essential meaning as the full form. Lastly, these shortening processes are commonly driven by the need for brevity and efficiency in communication.

BACK-FORMATION

In back-formation, a new lexeme is created by removing what appears to be an affix, usually a suffix, from an existing word, making it a type of shortening. This process often involves reanalyzing a word structure to derive a perceived base that did not exist before, as seen in examples like “beg” from “beggar,” “burgle” from “burglar,” or “edit” from “editor.” In all these cases, English speakers mistook the final syllable of these words for a suffix –er.

Thus, back-formation occurs when individuals reanalyze words, creating a new lexeme by removing what seems to be an affix. The newly formed word typically assumes a different grammatical category than the original one. While the most frequent type involves coining a verb from a noun, back-formation is not limited to this and can affect other parts of speech. Examples include “enthuse” from enthusiasm, “televise” from television, “baby-sit” from baby-sitter, “blood-transfuse” from blood-transfusion, “revise” from revision, and “donate” from donation.

Back-formation results in the formation of a root morpheme that did not exist in the language before. Its productivity highlights two important aspects of language evolution. Firstly, it demonstrates that speakers have internalized the rules of word formation. Secondly, it emphasizes the power of analogy in shaping language. Despite certain patterns suggesting words like "babysit" should come from "babysitter" or "swindle" from "swindler," these back-formations demonstrate that the process is not always consistent or predictable.

REDUPLICATION

Reduplication is the process of forming a new lexeme by repeating a stem. This repetition can involve a variation of a vowel or consonant in a root. The resulting lexeme is termed a reduplicative. Reduplication can be used in both nouns and verbs.

There are two main types of reduplication:

(a) full reduplication, when the entire base word is repeated:

e.g., buy-buy, goody-goody, choo-choo, chi-chi, boo-boo

(b) partial reduplication, which involves a variation of a vowel or consonant:

e.g., zigzag, mishmash, riffraff, flip-flop, ping-pong, pitter-patter, dillydally, shilly-shally

Repeating words or their parts in reduplication serves various purposes in communication. While it is not a regular feature of English grammar (other languages use it for inflection, for example, to make a plural form), it is commonly used in informal style. An example of reduplication can be found in baby talk, where caregivers might say "mew-mew" for a cat or "ma-ma" for a mother.

Reduplication is frequently employed as a form of wordplay in informal communication. One common type is contrastive focus reduplication, where a speaker emphatically contrasts a concept with its prototypical version. For instance, saying, "This is a SANDWICH-sandwich," emphasizes the contrast between a prototypical sandwich and the one in question. This type of reduplication highlights the distinction between the presented concept (this sandwich, in our case) and its standard version.

ONOMATOPOEIA OR ECHOIC WORDS

Onomatopoeia is a word formation process in which new lexemes are created to imitate or mirror the sounds associated with the objects or actions they refer to. Derived from the Greek "onoma" (name) and "poiea" (make), onomatopoeic words essentially replicate sounds. This process allows language to imitate the sensory experiences of sounds in the outside world. For

example, words like “buzz,” “hiss,” “meow,” “moo,” “boom,” and “bang” attempt to convey the auditory qualities of the corresponding sounds.

Onomatopoeic words can function as verbs, nouns, adjectives, or even exclamations, e.g.,

Verbs: Raindrops pitter-patter on the roof or the clock tick-tocks on the wall.

Nouns: The buzz of the bee caught my attention.

Adjectives: The fireworks produced a crackling sound.

Exclamations: Bang! Went the door as it slammed shut.

In addition, another related category of words termed mimetic words not merely imitate the sounds produced by respective objects but rather convey their inherent qualities and the sensory or emotional response related to them. Words like “glisten,” “glitter,” “shimmer,” “crunch,” “twinkle,” “flutter,”“fluffy” provide a sensory impression of actions, states, or qualities. Unlike onomatopoeic words, which mimic specific sounds (e.g., “woof” or “arf” for the sound made by dogs), mimetic words are broader than sound, representing tactile or other sensory experiences, motion, texture, or appearance.

Both onomatopoeic and mimetic words enhance language expressiveness, enabling speakers to evoke vivid sensory images. These words are commonly employed in literature, poetry, and everyday language to add emphasis.

COINAGE

Coinage is the creation of entirely new lexemes not derived from existing words or structures. All word formation processes discussed so far involve combining or modifying existing morphemes. Unlike them, coinage is the invention of a novel word and is the least productive word formation process.

Coinages are often formed to label new concepts, technologies, or products, and they can be coined by creatively combining letters or syllables. Coinages are found among brand names, trademarks, or proprietary terms. For instance, words like “Google,” “Kleenex,” or “Xerox” were originally brand names that have now become widely used as generic terms. The process of creating coinages also involves their adoption and acceptance by a language community.

A special type of coinage is eponyms derived from names of persons or places. For instance, “boycott” originates from Captain Charles Boycott, known for his harsh treatment of tenants. “Cardigan,” a knitted sweater, originates from the 7th Earl of Cardigan. “Nicotine” comes from Jean Nicot, who introduced tobacco to the French court. “Jeans” derives from Genoa, an Italian city where a type of cloth was manufactured from which denim trousers were made.

Coinages themselves can become part of various word formation processes. For example, an eponym like "sandwich" can be converted into a verb (to sandwich) or become part of a compound (a sandwich course). When we hear a sentence like "I am just googling around," we may not readily recognize how the coinage "Google" has tightly integrated into our everyday vocabulary.

EVOLUTION OF LEXEMES: MULTIPLE WORD FORMATION PROCESSES

In this chapter, we have discussed various word formation processes individually for theoretical clarity. However, in practice, a single lexeme can undergo multiple processes during its creation.

Let us look at the lexeme “brunch” in American English. Initially, it came into existence by merging "breakfast" and "lunch" through blending. It then transformed into a verb through conversion, resulting in "to brunch." Later, the derivative "bruncher" emerged through affixation.

Similarly, "fridge" resulted from the clipping of the noun "refrigerator." Over time, it evolved into a verb, "to fridge," through the process of conversion, denoting an action of refrigerating.

“Babysitter” began as a compound, where two roots were combined to create a new word. Later, back-formation took place, removing an affix and giving rise to the verb "to babysit.” Another instance is "wellies," a clipped version of the coinage "wellingtons.”

Thus, the formation of neologisms involves a series of word formation processes occurring sequentially. However, whether these neologisms stay on or fade away hinges on their acceptance within the community of speakers and their inclusion in dictionaries.

SUMMARY

Morphology deals with the structure and formation of words. It examines how words are built from the smallest meaningful language units called **morphemes**. Morphology involves the study of morphemes and the rules governing their combination to form lexemes.

Morphemes are abstractions that can take a different form of realization. **Morphs** are concrete realizations of morphemes. **Allomorphs** are the versions of one morpheme, realized as morphs.

Inflectional morphology focuses on the changes made to a word to express grammatical information such as tense, number, gender, case, mood, etc. Inflectional morphemes are affixes applied to a base word to signal grammatical relations. They merely create **word forms** and not new lexemes by modifying existing ones to convey grammatical meaning. **Derivational** morphology explores how new words are created in language.

MAJOR WORD FORMATION PROCESSES:

Derivation involves adding affixes, such as prefixes or suffixes, to a base word to create a new lexeme with a different grammatical category or meaning, e.g., singer, dislocate, misuse.

Compounding involves combining two or more stems to create a new lexeme, e.g., sunflower, father-in-law, sandwich course.

Conversion occurs when a lexeme changes its grammatical category without adding affixes, e.g., milk – to milk, eye – to eye.

MINOR WORD FORMATION PROCESSES

Blends result from merging parts of two or more existing words, e.g., motel, brunch, hangry.

Shortenings include clippings and initialisms (acronyms and alphabetisms). Clipping is the process of creating a shorter form of a word by removing one or more syllables, e.g., “gym” from gymnasium. Initialisms are formed from the initial letters of a phrase, e.g., radar, laser, NASA, UNO.

Back-formation involves creating a new lexeme by removing what appears to be a morpheme, e.g., “beg” from beggar, “enthuse” from enthusiasm.

Onomatopoeia is a process of forming words that imitate surrounding sounds, e.g., cock-a-doodle-doo.

Reduplication involves repeating a word to create a new lexeme, e.g., chi-chi, buy-buy.

Coinage is a process of creating an entirely new lexeme without relying on existing linguistic elements, e.g., google, hoover, Kleenex.

In their evolution, lexemes can undergo multiple word formation processes. The formation of neologisms often involves a sequence of such processes.

EXERCISES

STRUCTURE AND FORMATION OF ENGLISH WORDS

I. Questions for discussion:

(a) What does morphology study? How is a morpheme defined? Can a word and a morpheme coincide? How are lexemes and word forms related? Explain the difference between a morpheme, morph, and allomorph.

(b) How are morphemes categorized? Are inflectional morphemes of interest to semantics? What distinguishes free and bound morphemes? What are the main characteristics of lexical and functional morphemes? What are the functions of derivational and inflectional morphemes? How do you understand the terms like root, stem, and base?

(c) What are the three highly productive word formation processes in English? What are the principal structural types of English words? What are the main types of derivational affixes? What is the difference between class-changing and class-maintaining derivational affixes? How does the productivity of affixes affect word formation?

(d) Explain the concepts of compounding and compounds. How are compounds classified based on their headedness? What is the difference between exocentric and endocentric compounds? How are compounds classified based on their word class? How does spelling vary in English compounds? What criteria help differentiate compounds from word combinations?

(e) What is the outcome of conversion concerning the morphological structure of a word? What parts of speech are commonly affected by conversion? How does partial conversion differ from regular conversion? Explain what linguistic factors underlie the prevalence of conversion in English. What are some cues that can help determine the direction of word class change in conversion?

(f) What is a blend in the context of word formation, and how is it formed? Describe the process of shortening in word formation. What are their two main types? Provide examples of initialisms and acronyms. What indicates that an acronym has been

integrated into general vocabulary? Define back-formation and provide examples. What are onomatopoeic and mimetic words? What is one of the least productive word formation processes in English?

II. Select the most appropriate answer for each question from the provided options:

1. What is morphology?
a) The study of word meanings
b) The study of sentence structure
c) The study of word structure
d) The study of text structure

2. Which of the following is an example of a bound morpheme?
a) Chair
b) -s
c) Book
d) Dog

3. Which term refers to versions of one morpheme realized in different forms?
a) Morphs
b) Lexemes
c) Homonyms
d) allomorphs

4. To which class of words belong functional morphemes?
a) Open
b) Closed
c) Verbs
d) Adjectives

5. What do inflectional morphemes primarily signal?
a) Grammatical relations
b) Lexical relations
c) Semantic relations
d) Syntactic structures

6. How do derivational morphemes differ from inflectional morphemes?

a) They change part of speech.

b) They do not carry lexical meaning.

c) They are only suffixes.

d) They create word forms.

7. What term refers to the part of a word that remains after all inflectional suffixes are removed?

a) Stem

b) Root

c) Base

d) Affix

8. What determines the grammatical category of a compound word?

a) The first root

b) The second root

c) Both roots equally

d) None of the roots

9. What is the term for compounds that lack a clear head and whose meaning is not determined by either root?

a) Endocentric compounds

b) Exocentric compounds

c) Copulative compounds

d) Verbal compounds

10. What is the primary difference between motivated and idiomatic compounds?

a) Motivated compounds are formed from native roots, while idiomatic compounds are borrowed.

b) Motivated compounds have transparent meanings, while idiomatic compounds do not.

c) Motivated compounds have a clear head, while idiomatic compounds lack one.

d) Motivated compounds are more productive than idiomatic compounds.

11. What is another term for conversion in word formation?

a) Suppletion

b) Zero-derivation

c) Compounding

d) Reduplication

12. Which part of speech is most commonly affected by conversion?

a) Adjectives

b) Adverbs

c) Nouns

d) Conjunctions

13. What feature of English contributes to the ease of converting one word class to another?

a) Its synthetic nature

b) Its extensive use of inflections

c) Its analytical nature and simplified word class paradigms

d) Its reliance on prefixes for word formation

14. Which term is used to describe words like "brunch" and "smog"?

a) Blends

b) Clippings

c) Initialisms

d) Acronyms

15. What is the primary characteristic of shortenings in word formation?

a) They result in a change of word class

b) They always alter the meaning of the original word

c) They involve the reduction of stems

d) They are primarily used in formal communication

16. Which type of shortening involves the truncation of the beginning of a word?

a) Final clippings

b) Initialisms

c) Acronyms

d) Prefixations

17. What distinguishes acronyms from alphabetisms?

a) Acronyms are pronounced as words, while alphabetisms are pronounced letter by letter.

b) Acronyms are formed by combining the initial letters of words, while alphabetisms are formed by combining syllables.

c) Acronyms are primarily used in technology, while alphabetisms are used in everyday language.

d) Acronyms are always capitalized, while alphabetisms are not.

18. Which type of reduplication involves repeating the entire base word?

a) Partial reduplication

b) Contrastive focus reduplication

c) Full reduplication

d) Mimetic reduplication

19. How do onomatopoeic words differ from mimetic words?

a) Onomatopoeic words mimic sounds, while mimetic words convey sensory impressions.

b) Onomatopoeic words are primarily used in formal language, while mimetic words are used in informal language.

c) Onomatopoeic words involve the repetition of stems, while mimetic words do not.

d) Onomatopoeic words are derived from Latin, while mimetic words are derived from Greek.

20. What distinguishes coinage from other word formation processes?

a) It involves combining existing morphemes.

b) It always results in a change of word class.

c) It is the creation of entirely new lexemes.

d) It is primarily used in formal communication.

III. Decide if the following statements are true or false, providing an explanation for your answer:

1. A free morpheme can stand alone as an independent word.
2. Allomorphs are different versions of the same morpheme.
3. Lexical morphemes are considered a closed class of words.
4. Functional morphemes convey the core content of a message.
5. Inflectional morphemes change the parts of speech of words.

6. Derivational morphemes create word forms without changing the meaning of the root.
7. Compounding involves forming new words by combining free morphemes.
8. Derivation primarily relies on prefixes to change the word class of the base.
9. All compounds in English are stressed on the last syllable.
10. Motivated compounds have meanings that cannot be deduced from their constituent morphemes.
11. Conversion typically results in the creation of homonyms, where the new word retains its original meaning.
12. Partial conversion involves a change in both pronunciation and morphology of a word.
13. The recognition of conversion patterns in English was influenced by the dropping of Old English endings.
14. Back-formation involves the addition of affixes to existing words.
15. The evolution of lexemes often involves multiple word formation processes occurring sequentially.

IV. Fill in the blanks in this passage with the appropriate terms:

(a)_____ deals with the structure and formation of words in a language. It examines how words are built from the smallest meaningful language units called (b)_____. Morphemes are abstractions which can take a different form of realization. Morphs are concrete realization of (c)_____. Allomorphs are the versions of one morpheme, realized as (d)_____.

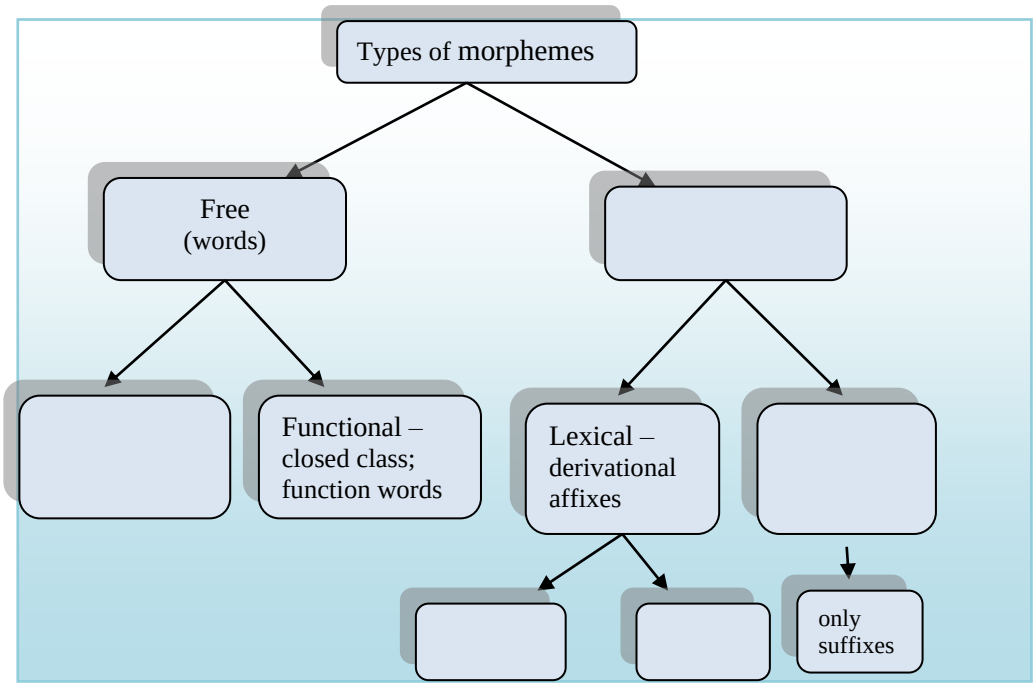
Inflectional morphology focuses on the changes made to a word to express grammatical information such as number, gender, case, mood, etc. (e)_____ morphemes are affixes applied to a base word to signal grammatical relations. They merely create (f)_____ and not new lexemes, by modifying existing ones to convey grammatical meaning. (g)_____ morphology explores how new words are created in language.

Derivation involves the addition of (h)_____, such as prefixes or suffixes, to a base word to create a new lexeme with a different grammatical category or meaning: singer, dislocate, misuse. (i)_____ involves combining two or more stems to create a new lexeme: sunflower, father-in-law, sandwich course. (j)_____ occurs when a lexeme changes its grammatical category without the addition of (k)_____: milk - to milk, eye - to eye

Back-formation involves creating a new lexeme by removing what appears to be a (l)_____: “beg” from beggar, enthuse from enthusiasm. (m)_____ is a process of forming words that imitate surrounding sounds. (n)_____ involves repeating a word to create a new lexeme: buy-buy. (o)_____ is a process of creating an entirely new lexeme without relying on existing linguistic elements: google, hoover.

V. Supply the missing information in the figure below using the provided prompts:

bound (affixes); lexical - open class, content words; prefixes; suffixes; functional – inflectional affixes



VI. Identify the functional morphemes in the given sentences:

(a) Despite the rain pouring down outdoors, the children played joyfully in the muddy puddles.
(b) After finishing his homework, he hurriedly packed his backpack and dashed out the door.
(c) Although she had studied diligently all week, she still felt nervous before taking the exam.

VII. Carry out a morphological analysis of the following words:

unpretentiously, dissimilarities, preoccupation, misinterpretation, unbelivable

VIII. Identify the allomorphs of the morpheme of plurality in the given words:

children, fish, boxes, cats, sillabi, women, geese, sheep

IX. Decide if the suffix –s is derivational or inflectional in the sentences below. Provide their Ukrainian/Hungarian equivalents:

(a) COLOR<u>S</u>

The school colors proudly waved in the breeze as the students cheered during the homecoming game.

The vibrant colors of the autumn forest were impressive.

The team colors of red and white proudly adorned their T-shirts as they stepped onto the field.

All over the world, countries that had long been under colonial rule were now hoisting their own colors.

(b) HAND<u>S</u>

The day-to-day running of the house was in her hands, as she managed the household chores and schedules efficiently.

He extended his hands to help lift the heavy box onto the shelf.

He had several hands in organizing the charity event, dedicating countless hours to ensure its success.

The vendor displayed baskets filled with ripe hands of bananas.

She carefully wrapped her hands around the warm mug of tea.

The factory hands worked tirelessly on the assembly line.

(c) CUSTOM<u>S</u>

The customs duties added to the cost of importing goods into the country, affecting international trade.

We breezed through customs with a minimum of formalities, grateful for the efficient processing.

The customs officer scrutinized our passports before allowing us entry into the country.

The old customs were still observed with reverence in the village, passed down through generations with pride.

If you keep clients waiting for too long, they will take their customs elsewhere, seeking service from a more prompt provider.

X. Translate the following Ukrainian/Hungarian words into English, using the appropriate prefixes:

(a) перенаправити
(b) роздягнутися
(c) збагатити
(d) загрожувати
(e) розв'язати
(f) не поважати
(g) перейменувати
(h) переконатися
(i) неслухати
(j) розвантажити
(k) відкрити (пляшку вина)
(l) розстібнути
(m) не любити
(n) підкорити
(o) перерахувати
(p) заплутати
(q) розплутати

(a) átirányít
(b) levetkőzik
(c) meggazdagodik
(d) veszélyeztet
(e) megold
(f) nem tisztel
(g) meggyőződik
(h) átnevez
(i) nem hallgat
(j) lepakol (árut)
(k) kinyit (borosüveget)
(l) kigombol
(m) nem szeret
(n) leigáz
(o) újraszámol
(p) összekuszál
(q) kibogoz

XI. Supply the missing information regarding the properties of inflectional and derivational morphemes in English using the provided cues:

change the meaning of the root, only suffixes, numerous, do not change part of speech, indicate grammatical relations, added before inflectional morphemes, one or more can be added to the root, alter one part of speech to another, can be added to most members of a given parts of speech, do not change the meaning of the root, both prefixes and suffixes, only one can be added to the root

Inflectional morphemes	*Derivational morphemes*
create word forms	coin new lexemes
	carry lexical meaning

few in number
added after derivational morphemes
can be added to a limited number of roots

XII. Form compound words by combining the words from the left column with the corresponding words from the right column:

1. lady	**fish**
2. book	berry
3. wall	flower
4. star	finding
5. wind	flower
6. moon	killer
7. fault	light
8. sun	fall
9. tongue	tied
10. black	worm

XIII. Determine whether the following compounds are endocentric or exocentric:

gingerbread, paperback, lazybones, hangout, travelling-bag, bedroom, starlight, handicap, toolbox, turnout, bluebells, washroom, dragonfly, necklace, shutdown, soundtrack, crackdown, raincoat, bunk-bed, skyscraper, term paper, blockhead, sunflower, bluestocking, wolf-dog, pick-pocket, hometown

XIV. Categorize the following compounds into motivated, partially motivated, and idiomatic:

butterfingers, bookshelf, bluebottle, greenhouse, eyesore, windfall, shoestring, whodunit, chatterbox, lighthouse, lifelong, eyewitness, dishwasher, waterfall, turncoat, bedclothes, butterfly, horseback, lazybones, footprint, jigsaw, deaf-mute, merry-go-round, breakthrough, outbreak

motivated compounds	*partially motivated compounds*	*idiomatic compounds*

XV. Analyze the word formation process in the following words. Incorporate them in sentences of your own. Render them into Ukrainian/Hungarian:

to hand, to eye, to face, to heel, to foot, to nose, to back, to finger, to stomach, to elbow, to shoulder, to leg, to cheek, to mouth

XVI. Identify instances of conversion in the sentences below:

1. She watched him toy with his food, unsure of what he was thinking.
2. The water plants need to be watered regularly to thrive.
3. Jim has plenty of go at his age.
4. The annual office holiday do is always a festive occasion filled with laughter and cheer.
5. The golfer aimed for the green with his precise shot.
6. The car's make and year were carefully noted in the insurance paperwork.
7. She couldn't help but eye the suspicious-looking stranger at the party.
8. The host greeted each guest warmly as they arrived at the party.
9. There was a run in her stockings from the sharp edge of the chair.
10. She found it hard to keep her emotions in check during the emotional speech.
11. The take of the movie exceeded all expectations.
12. It's essential to have a keep for storing important documents.
13. The catch of the day at the fish market was impressive.
14. Their go at the new recipe turned out to be a success.
15. The take from the fundraiser surpassed their initial goal.
16. The reception desk is manned by volunteers on weekends.
17. The keep of the castle held many ancient artifacts.
18. Their go at starting a new business venture was met with challenges.
19. She made a big take from her latest investment.
20. She roomed with her best friend during their trip abroad.

XVII. Provide English equivalents for the following onomatopoeic words:

(a) Ukrainian:

1. дзижчати
2. гавкати
3. муркотіти
4. тупати
5. шарудіти
6. бриньчати
7. гарчати
8. вити
9. щебетати
10. іржати

(b) Hungarian:

1. dorombol
2. csipog
3. nyávog
4. cincog
5. bömböl
6. csattan
7. horkol
8. csörög
9. csattog
10. hörög

XVIII. Identify the type of clipping (initial, final, or mixed) for each word:

fridge, phone, vac, hols, vet, specs, lab, burger, maths, copter, plane, disco, pram, ad, flu, tech, car, fan, photo, gym, prof, exam, hippo, comfy

Initial clipping	*Final clipping*	*Mixed clipping*

XIX. Provide the blended forms resulting from the combination of the given words:

(a) electronic + mail
(b) friend + enemy
(c) work + alcoholic
(d) breakfast + lunch
(e) documentary + drama
(f) motor + hotel
(g) breathe + analyzer
(h) hungry + angry
(i) sports + broadcast
(j) situation + comedy

XX. Identify the base words from which the following verbs are derived. Analyze the word formation process involved in each case:

edit, blood-transfuse, butle, book-keep, beg, revise, babysit, televise, swindle, donate, sleepwalk, fine-tune, enthuse, dry-clean, gamble, housekeep

XI. Determine the word formation processes utilized in creating the words in bold:

1. Let's go grab some **brunch** this weekend.
2. **LOL**, that joke was hilarious!
3. Feeling **hangry**, she snapped at her friends before realizing she needed food.
4. The children were playing **ping-pong** in the backyard.
5. She took a **selfie** with her friends at the beach.
6. Let's **skype** tonight to catch up on everything.
7. We **donated** clothes to the homeless shelter last weekend.
8. We found a cozy **motel** to stay in during our road trip.
9. The **infomercial** convinced me to buy that new kitchen gadget.
10. He loves sharing **memes** on social media with his friends.
11. She couldn't see the road clearly due to the **smog**.
12. I need to **google** the directions before we leave.
13. Let's use the **hashtag** #ThrowbackThursday for our old photos.
14. The **infotainment** program provided an interesting mix of news and entertainment.

15. I need to **BRB**; I have to make a quick phone call.
16. Can you pass me the **spork**? I need to eat my soup and salad.
17. He suffers from **FOMO** and never wants to miss out on anything.
18. She's **editing** the manuscript to prepare it for publication.
19. His new hobby is writing a **blog** about his travel adventures.
20. We laughed at their **dillydallying** while we were ready to leave.

XXII. For each of the following lexemes, identify the word formation processes involved:

(a) overestimate, lifelong, a sandwich course, to milk, misjudge, eyewitness, go (n), bluebottle, straphanger, unavoidable, mismatch, language lab, singer, to tidy, to grieve, childlike, homeland

(b) bloodtransfuse, ad, infomercial, brunch, bang, TESOL, boycott, selfie, mishmash, fan, meow, smog, beg, buzz, hip-hop, webinar, jeans, EU, hols, hangry, lab, baby-sit, hiss, phone, fridge

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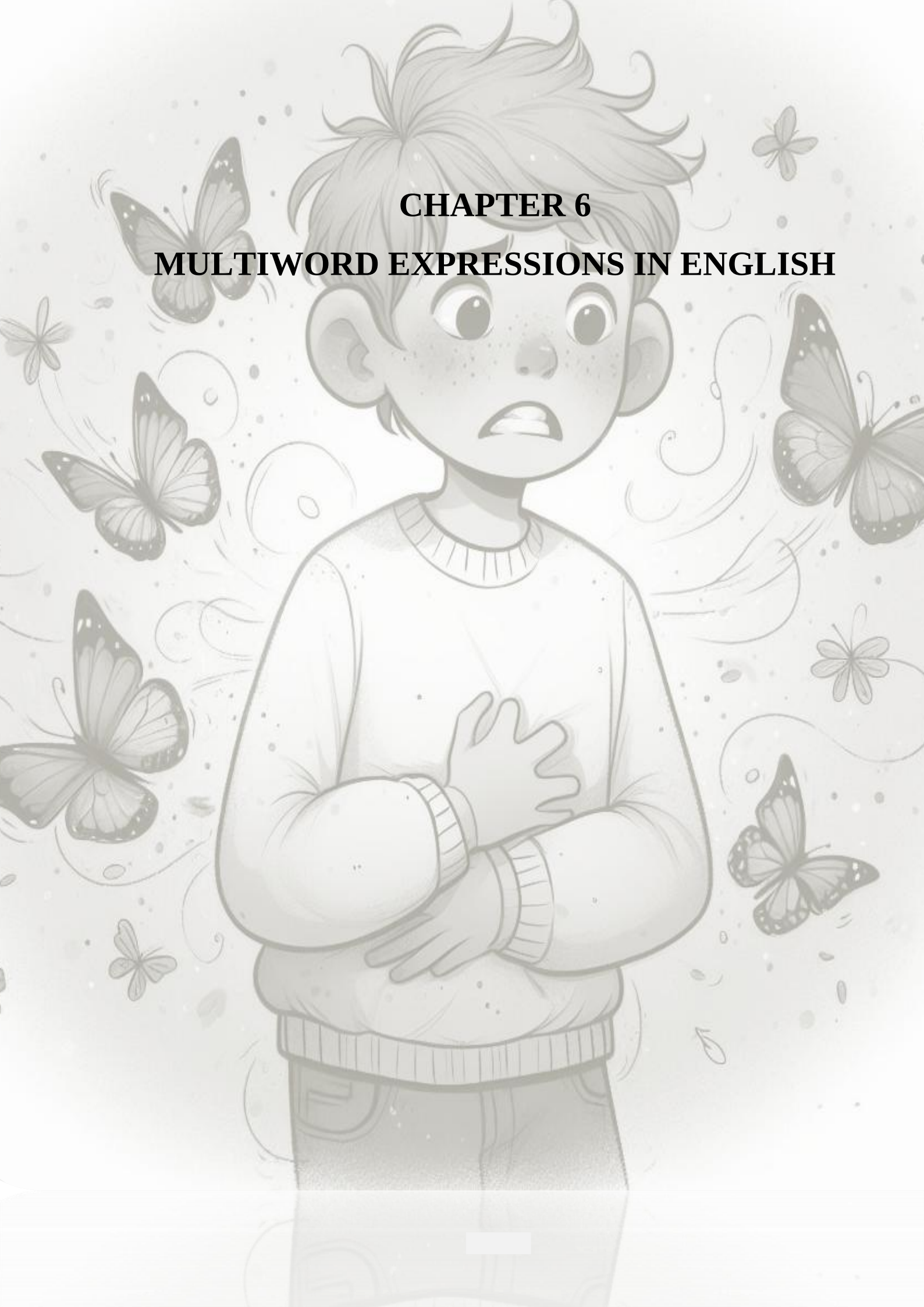


CHAPTER 6

MULTIWORD EXPRESSIONS IN ENGLISH

ON THE NOTION OF MULTIWORD EXPRESSIONS

Have you ever wondered what wealth of meanings can a combination of familiar words convey, as shown in the above illustration? Language is a creative system, so a fusion of words into units can lead to an unexpected interplay between word meanings and their structure. For non-native speakers of English, predicting the combined meaning of certain expressions, such as “to have butterflies in one’s stomach,” may pose a challenge, even if they are familiar with the meaning of “butterflies” and “stomach.” This difficulty arises because such phrases possess unique meanings that cannot be directly deduced from the meanings of their component lexemes. In linguistics, expressions like these belong to the category of fixed expressions or multiword expressions (MWEs). Understanding the meaning of MWEs necessitates recognizing that they occupy a special status in the mental lexicon. They are stored and retrieved as ready-made prefabricated units in the brain, with meanings that cannot always be deduced from their individual words.

Thus, MWEs represent combinations of words that convey a specific meaning, which may not be entirely predictable based on the meanings of the individual words. Baldwin and Su (2010) define MWEs as lexical items that “(a) can be decomposed into multiple lexemes; and (b) display lexical, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and statistical idiomaticity” (p. 3).

Lexical idiomaticity, as described by Baldwin and Su (ibid.), involves the unpredictability of the meaning of MWEs when considering the individual words they comprise. It can manifest through the incorporation of non-conventional words in English, as seen in examples like "arms akimbo," "ad hoc," and "by dint of." Furthermore, the syntactic structure of MWEs may deviate from expected norms, exemplified by phrases such as "by and large.”

Semantic idiomaticity, closely linked to figurativeness, is evident in instances where the literal meaning of an MWE differs from its figurative interpretation. An illustration is found in the expression "to spill the beans," which figuratively implies revealing a secret rather than literally spilling beans.

Pragmatic idiomaticity relates to the appropriate use of MWEs in specific communicative contexts, like “Merry Christmas!”, "Good night!" or "All aboard!"

Additionally, the idiomatic nature of MWEs can be influenced by the frequency of usage or statistical patterns. Expressions like "black and white television" become conventionalized through frequent use, leading to their recognition as established MWEs.

MWEs encompass various linguistic constructs, and their terminology, at times, proves confusing: idioms (e.g., “once in a blue moon”), binominals and trinominals (e.g., "safe and

sound," "alive and well"), complex nominals (e.g., "point of no return," "rule of thumb"), verb-particle constructions (e.g., "throw up," "wind up"), and complex predicates (e.g., "take a look at," "give rise to"). However, their main types are collocations and idioms, which will be the primary focus of this chapter.

The principle difference between collocations and idioms can be understood by examining their semantic and structural characteristics. Collocations, like "black coffee" or "take a shower," derive their meaning from the combination of individual words. Furthermore, the combination of words in collocations tends to be somewhat predictable, influenced by grammatical rules or semantic associations.

In contrast, idioms have figurative meanings that typically cannot be deduced from the literal meanings of the individual words. Additionally, idioms maintain structural stability, indicating that the component words cannot be altered or substituted. However, discerning the disparity between idioms and collocations is not always straightforward.

6.1. COLLOCATIONS

DEFINITION AND FEATURES

Collocations are combinations of two or more words that frequently co-occur, and whose combined meaning can be inferred from the individual words. In other words, collocations represent word combinations that habitually appear together in specific contexts. An essential aspect of collocations is that replacing one element with another word of similar meaning may make the expression sound awkward or even change its intended meaning. For example, English speakers intuitively know that “fast food” or “quick meal” is acceptable, while “quick food*” or “fast meal*” are deemed unnatural. Similarly, one would say “heavy rain” but not “strong rain*.”

The main features of collocations are collocability, conventionality, and transparency of meaning.

(a) Collocability denotes the tendency for words in collocations to appear together more frequently than would be expected by chance.

(b) Conventionality of these combinations is reflected in their use as ready-made linguistic chunks by native speakers, not constructed anew each time.

(c) Furthermore, the transparency of meaning within collocations is noteworthy, as the individual words within the combination generally retain their literal sense, contributing to the ease with which native speakers comprehend and use these expressions in everyday language (Pavlik, 2014).

SYNTAGMATIC SENSE RELATIONS IN COLLOCATIONS

The term collocation relates to the syntagmatic sense relations formed by a word within the context of other words in the same sentence or text. Specifically, it involves meaning that arises from the predictable co-occurrence of lexemes. Proficient language users readily recognize collocations due to their frequent usage, contributing to the intuitive nature of these combinations, which enhances the overall natural flow of language.

Let us illustrate how collocations establish syntagmatic sense relations on the basis of “drive a car” or “ride a bike.” In the context of traveling, the verb “drive” often collocates with the noun “car,” just as “ride” pairs with “bike” because these are common and expected actions associated with the idea of travel. So, the co-occurrence of “drive” and “car” or “ride” and “bike” is not random. These are habitual combinations that contribute to the meaning of each word within the given contexts. In these collocations, “drive” and “ride” describe actions associated with the specific means of transportation, creating both semantic and syntactic relationships. Thus, part of the meaning of “car” is established through “drive,” and the meaning of “bike” is also influenced by the lexeme “ride.”

Attempting to swap the given words would disrupt the expected collocability and result in awkward and inappropriate phrases, such as “ride a car*” and “drive a bike*.” As seen, certain words naturally gravitate towards one another within particular contexts, and this predictability contributes to the efficiency and clarity of communication. Through examples like these, it becomes evident that collocations go beyond individual word meanings, playing a crucial role in establishing both syntactic and semantic relationships between words.

DEGREE OF PREDICTABILITY AND STRENGTH IN COLLOCATIONS

The predictability and strength of association within collocations form a continuum, ranging from weak to very strong, with the latter termed "fixed collocations." At the weaker end of this spectrum, collocations exhibit only a slight degree of predictability in word co-occurrence. In contrast, at the stronger end, the pairing is nearly entirely foreseeable.

For instance, consider "rancid butter," where the adjective "rancid" consistently and almost exclusively pairs with the noun "butter." In this case, the choice of the noun is highly predictable, showcasing a very strong collocation. Similarly, in the phrase "turn on the light," the verb "turn on" is strongly expected to be coupled with "light." Alternative expressions like "activate light" or "start light" would sound unnatural in this context.

On the weaker end of the continuum, we find examples such as "extremely interesting," where the collocation is somewhat less fixed. In this case, alternatives like "very interesting" or "really interesting" are also possible, though all three maintain a degree of predictability. Despite the flexibility, the predictability within these weaker collocations is not as pronounced as in the strong ones.

CORPUS LINGUISTICS METHODS IN THE STUDY OF COLLOCATIONS

The study of collocations has been significantly facilitated with the advent of corpus linguistics, which uses large computerized data-sets (corpora) to draw evidence-based inferences about patterns of word co-occurrence in a particular language.

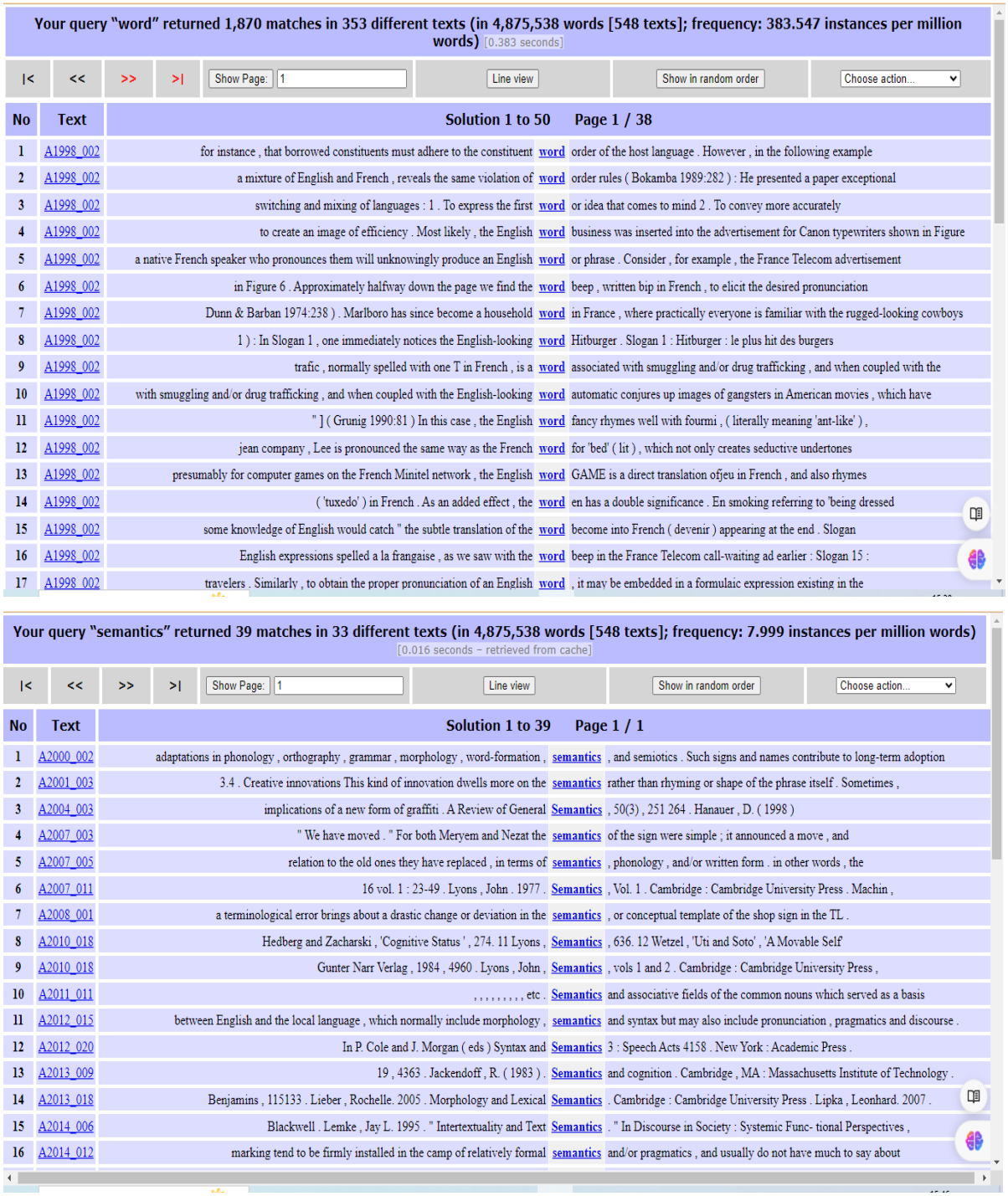
The analysis of collocations typically follows several steps. Linguists start by aggregating a corpus, which should be a representative collection of either spoken or written texts that reflect the diversity of language usage in a given context. This corpus then serves as the basis for the analysis. Next, words of interest are selected as “nodes” for investigation. These nodes are the focal points around which collocations will be explored. Their choice depends on the research questions asked in a given study.

Linguists have at their disposal a number of methods and software tools to process the data. For instance, a concordance can be used to analyze typical collocations and contexts in which the selected lexeme appears in the corpus. The concordance analyzes the corpus and generates a list of the most frequently co-occurring words with the selected nodes (Table 6.1.).

Table 6.1. Concordance Lines Generated from a Specialized Corpus (Lőrincz, 2023)

Left context	Node	Right context
a negotiated end to their problems through	dialogue.	On February 24, President Vladimir Putin stated
... for a political solution and diplomatic	dialogue	to resolve the crisis between Moscow and
commission's "attempts to engage in a constructive	dialogue	with Russian Federation...
and the best way forward was through	dialogue	and diplomacy. Speaking about the Ukraine war,
and called on Moscow to engage in	dialogue	to peacefully end the crisis. Nevertheless, Mr.
Ukraine to return to the path of	dialogue	and diplomacy. India has also sent humanitarian
of differences and disputes between countries through	dialogue	and consultation," it made no explicit reference
wished the war could be ended through	dialogue	and diplomatic means as soon as possible.

Table 6.2. Concordance Lines based on Linguistic Landscape Corpus: powered by CQPweb



Your query "word" returned 1,870 matches in 353 different texts (in 4,875,538 words [548 texts]; frequency: 383.547 instances per million words) [0.383 seconds]

|< << >> >| Show Page: 1 Line view Show in random order Choose action...

No	Text	Solution 1 to 50		Page 1 / 38
1	A1998_002	for instance , that borrowed constituents must adhere to the constituent	word	order of the host language . However , in the following example
2	A1998_002	a mixture of English and French , reveals the same violation of	word	order rules (Bokamba 1989:282) : He presented a paper exceptional
3	A1998_002	switching and mixing of languages : 1 . To express the first	word	or idea that comes to mind 2 . To convey more accurately
4	A1998_002	to create an image of efficiency . Most likely , the English	word	business was inserted into the advertisement for Canon typewriters shown in Figure
5	A1998_002	a native French speaker who pronounces them will unknowingly produce an English	word	or phrase . Consider , for example , the France Telecom advertisement
6	A1998_002	in Figure 6 . Approximately halfway down the page we find the	word	beep , written bip in French , to elicit the desired pronunciation
7	A1998_002	Dunn & Barban 1974:238) . Marlboro has since become a household	word	in France , where practically everyone is familiar with the rugged-looking cowboys
8	A1998_002	1) : In Slogan 1 , one immediately notices the English-looking	word	Hitburger . Slogan 1 : Hitburger : le plus hit des burgers
9	A1998_002	trafic , normally spelled with one T in French , is a	word	associated with smuggling and/or drug trafficking , and when coupled with the
10	A1998_002	with smuggling and/or drug trafficking , and when coupled with the English-looking	word	automatic conjures up images of gangsters in American movies , which have
11	A1998_002	"] (Grunig 1990:81) In this case , the English	word	fancy rhymes well with fourmi , (literally meaning 'ant-like') ,
12	A1998_002	jean company , Lee is pronounced the same way as the French	word	for 'bed' (lit) , which not only creates seductive undertones
13	A1998_002	presumably for computer games on the French Minitel network , the English	word	GAME is a direct translation ofjeu in French , and also rhymes
14	A1998_002	('tuxedo') in French . As an added effect , the	word	en has a double significance . En smoking referring to 'being dressed
15	A1998_002	some knowledge of English would catch " the subtle translation of the	word	become into French (devenir) appearing at the end . Slogan
16	A1998_002	English expressions spelled a la frangaise , as we saw with the	word	beep in the France Telecom call-waiting ad earlier : Slogan 15 :
17	A1998_002	travelers . Similarly , to obtain the proper pronunciation of an English	word	, it may be embedded in a formulaic expression existing in the

Your query "semantics" returned 39 matches in 33 different texts (in 4,875,538 words [548 texts]; frequency: 7.999 instances per million words) [0.016 seconds – retrieved from cache]

|< << >> >| Show Page: 1 Line view Show in random order Choose action...

No	Text	Solution 1 to 39		Page 1 / 1
1	A2000_002	adaptations in phonology , orthography , grammar , morphology , word-formation ,	semantics	, and semiotics . Such signs and names contribute to long-term adoption
2	A2001_003	3.4 . Creative innovations This kind of innovation dwells more on the	semantics	rather than rhyming or shape of the phrase itself . Sometimes ,
3	A2004_003	implications of a new form of graffiti . A Review of General	Semantics	, 50(3) , 251 264 . Hanauer , D. (1998)
4	A2007_003	" We have moved . " For both Meryem and Nezat the	semantics	of the sign were simple ; it announced a move , and
5	A2007_005	relation to the old ones they have replaced , in terms of	semantics	, phonology , and/or written form . in other words , the
6	A2007_011	16 vol. 1 : 23-49 . Lyons , John . 1977 .	Semantics	, Vol. 1 . Cambridge : Cambridge University Press . Machin ,
7	A2008_001	a terminological error brings about a drastic change or deviation in the	semantics	, or conceptual template of the shop sign in the TL .
8	A2010_018	Hedberg and Zacharski , 'Cognitive Status ' , 274. 11 Lyons ,	Semantics	, 636. 12 Wetzel , 'Uti and Soto' , 'A Movable Self'
9	A2010_018	Gunter Narr Verlag , 1984 , 4960 . Lyons , John ,	Semantics	, vols 1 and 2 . Cambridge : Cambridge University Press ,
10	A2011_011	, , , , , , , , , etc .	Semantics	and associative fields of the common nouns which served as a basis
11	A2012_015	between English and the local language , which normally include morphology ,	semantics	and syntax but may also include pronunciation , pragmatics and discourse .
12	A2012_020	In P. Cole and J. Morgan (eds) Syntax and	Semantics	3 : Speech Acts 4158 . New York : Academic Press .
13	A2013_009	19 , 4363 . Jackendoff , R. (1983) .	Semantics	and cognition . Cambridge , MA : Massachusetts Institute of Technology .
14	A2013_018	Benjamins , 115133 . Lieber , Rochelle. 2005 . Morphology and Lexical	Semantics	. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press . Lipka , Leonhard. 2007 .
15	A2014_006	Blackwell . Lemke , Jay L. 1995 . " Intertextuality and Text	Semantics	. " In Discourse in Society : Systemic Func- tional Perspectives ,
16	A2014_012	marking tend to be firmly installed in the camp of relatively formal	semantics	and/or pragmatics , and usually do not have much to say about

These sequences of words, which occur more frequently than would be expected by chance, are identified as collocations. The words that frequently co-occur with the selected nodes are termed collocates. These are the lexemes that display a statistically significant association with the node. The identification of collocations relies on statistical measures, ensuring that the observed co-occurrences reflect more than mere coincidences and, instead, reveal recurring patterns within the language.

In one study, the collocations of the lexeme "war" were analyzed using two specialized corpora, consisting of articles from Eastern (475,506 tokens) and Western (531,973 tokens) news releases (Lőrincz, 2023). The GraphColl tool was employed to scrutinize the collocates of the lexeme "war." The outcomes of this collocation analysis are visually represented in Graph 6.1, providing a depiction of the identified collocates and their associations.

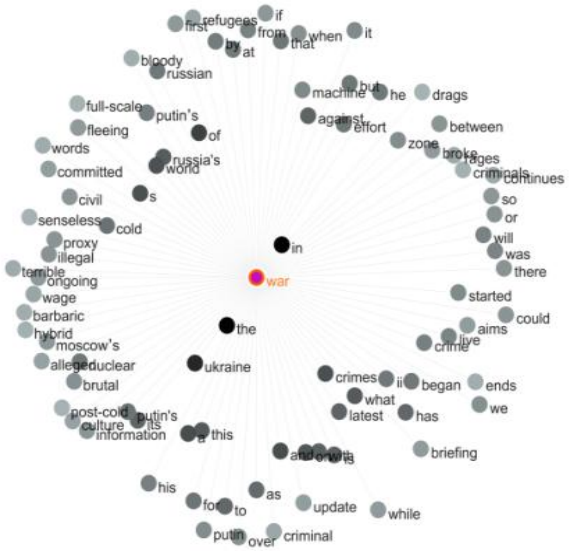


Figure 6. 1. Collocates of lemma “war” in the corpus

Additionally, the author provided statistical values that elucidated collocation patterns, as presented in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2. Collocates of the Node “War”

Position	Collocate	Statistical value	Frequency (collocate)	Frequency (corpus)
L	ukraine	23.102177785897524	1335	12671
R	crimes	22.0494867813496	320	362
L	world	19.37008032441109	297	1854
L	russia's	19.23159703187148	208	701
L	cold	18.452899126711827	94	111
R	effort	17.31769603244759	81	156
R	crime	16.646515191220473	59	96
L	putin's	16.396893845624206	93	447
L	nuclear	15.349660467699778	80	588

L	civil	14.68368443202131	28	40
R	started	14.673037740612518	42	136
L	proxy	14.42957171003764	29	53
L	brutal	14.216580423796588	34	99
L	illegal	14.124209536753465	31	80
L	ongoing	13.345192372778138	25	72

Overall, this methodology allows linguists to overcome subjective judgments and move beyond intuition, providing empirical evidence of the patterns inherent in word combinations within a language.

6.2. IDIOMS

KEY CHARACTERISTICS

Idioms (or phraseological units, phrasemes) are multiword expressions characterized by a figurative meaning and a fixed structure. They are typically researched in the field of phraseology. Key features of idioms include:

(a) Compositeness
(b) Figurative/metaphorical/transferred meaning
(c) Structural and lexical stability
(d) Institutionalization

Let us look at these characteristics in more detail. In terms of **compositeness**, most researchers agree that idioms consist of two or more words, with an average length estimated to be 3.56 words (Miller, 2020, p. 58). Idioms vary in complexity, including concise expressions like "from scratch," "piece of cake," "white elephant," "dog's life," "tall order," and "white lie." Still, other idioms may be more complex, e.g., "cost an arm and a leg," "make a song and dance about it," and "keep someone at arm's length."

However, some linguists argue against the inclusion of sentences in the category of idioms. Thus, proverbs, which are sentences in themselves, are excluded from the classic definition of idioms in some studies despite their figurative meaning. There is no universally agreed upon treatment of idiomatic sentences like "the ball is in your court" and "the cat is out of the bag".

The most prominent feature of idioms is their **figurative or transferred meaning**, where the overall sense of an idiom is not derived from the literal interpretation of its elements. Instead, idioms convey metaphorical or symbolic ideas. For instance, when we hear someone say that

they have “let the cat out of the bag,” we understand that they have unintentionally exposed the truth and it has nothing to do with an actual cat or bag. Similarly, if someone “washes their dirty linen in public,” the implication is that they discuss private or embarrassing matters in public, with no literal washing or linen involved. In these examples, the individual words' meanings are disconnected from the idiom's overall sense. Together, they create an image that has nothing or little to do with the literal meaning of the words. Nevertheless, the extent of opacity in the meaning of idioms remains a topic of discussion among linguists.

Structural and lexical stability stands out as a key characteristic of idioms as they operate as single units whose components cannot be changed. Altering the words within an idiomatic expression may lead to a loss of meaning or convey a different message. However, ongoing debates among researchers persist regarding the extent of variability permitted within idiomatic expressions. Some linguists assert that idioms are entirely invariable, encompassing syntactic, morphological, and lexical fixity. For instance, we can say "out of the blue," while expressions like "out of the green" or "out of the blues" would be considered errors. Similarly, one can "get cold feet" if nervous, but "warm feet" would be an inaccurate usage.

Despite claims of structural stability, it becomes apparent that certain idioms do allow for variability. Lexical variation can manifest by replacing the verb (e.g., put/place all your eggs in one basket, get/have/gain the upper hand, work/do wonders, run/take a risk, get/give/have cold feet), noun (burn one’s boats/bridges, a big bug/fish/frog/gun, the last drop/straw), or adjective and other modifiers (the final/last straw, a bad/rotten apple). Therefore, while idioms often exhibit stability, a degree of variability is plausible, typically influenced by the creativity and confidence of language users.

Institutionalization is a basic characteristic of idioms, reflecting their acceptance by a community of speakers as integral components of communication. Idioms begin their life in language as novel creations. However, through prolonged usage, recurrence, and their effectiveness in expressing common concepts and phenomena, they become institutionalized within speaking communities.

Nevertheless, the degree of institutionalization varies and does not necessarily lead to durability. Some idioms fall out of usage relatively quickly, while others achieve widespread acceptance and inclusion in dictionaries. But even this does not ensure frequent usage by speakers. Many idioms exhibit relatively low occurrence rates, with studies revealing that more than 70% have frequencies of less than 1 per million words in corpora of written English (Miller, 2020). However, idioms tend to be more frequently used in oral communication. For instance, one study demonstrated that an average frequency of three idioms per 100 words occurred in the speech of fourteen university lecturers (Liu, 2008).

It is important to note that assessing the frequency of usage of an idiom is challenging through quantitative measures. Discrepancies in numeric findings arise due to a lack of unanimity and confusion in terminology. Despite their infrequent occurrence, idioms play a crucial role in communication being widely understood even when not used verbally frequently.

IDIOMS VS. FREE WORD COMBINATIONS

The distinction between idioms and free word combinations is a complex issue in phraseology, complicated by the presence of collocations that share structural fixedness with idioms but lack their figurativeness (e.g., bitterly disappointed, take a shower, make a decision, fly a plane).

Linguists propose two criteria to differentiate between idioms and free word combinations:

(1) Semantic criterion: idioms create a special meaning which does not equal the sum of their individual components. As such, idioms exhibit semantic unity like words in that they always express a single concept regardless of the number of words an idiom may include. Let us consider two sentences:

She let the cat out of the bag about the surprise party.

She let the cat out of the house because it wanted to go outdoors.

In the first sentence, featuring the idiom "let the cat out of the bag," a unified concept of disclosing hidden information is conveyed. This phrase has shifted from its literal sense and is unrelated to the concepts of a cat or a bag. However, in the second sentence, all words are used in their literal sense. Despite using identical words as in the first sentence, such as "let the cat out of the...," it conveys a different message. Furthermore, it expresses multiple concepts: "cat" refers to a pet, and "let out of the house" indicates allowing the cat to leave the indoor space because it desires to do so. Unlike the idiom in the first sentence, the words in this sentence retain their meanings without undergoing a figurative shift.

Hence, idioms demonstrate semantic unity where the meaning is not a straightforward combination of the meanings of individual components. The idiom "let the cat out of the bag" conveys a metaphorical concept, while a free combination of words like "let the cat out of the house" maintains a transparent meaning.

(2) Structural criterion: As previously mentioned, idioms are, for the most part, structurally and lexically fixed. They function as single units, and consequently, their elements cannot be substituted, with some exceptions. For example, in the idiom "to hit the nail on the head," we cannot substitute any of its constituents and produce "to hit the screw on the head*" without

undermining its sense. In contrast, in a free word combination, we can substitute its elements more or less freely, as seen in "hammer the nails" or "hit a nail with a hammer."

Typically, no additional elements can be introduced into idioms. For instance, in the idiom "to spill the beans," no modifications like "to spill the beans and rice" are allowed. Conversely, in free word combinations, we can add words without affecting their general sense, as demonstrated in "He accidentally spilled all beans over the floor."

Idioms are also morphologically and syntactically fixed. Thus, in the idiom "to have a chip on one's shoulder," using the plural form, as in "to have chips on one's shoulders*," is incorrect. In free word combinations, we can freely change all their elements, as in "he has two scarves on his neck."

Even so, there are exceptions; for instance, both "white lie" and "white lies" are acceptable. "On second thought" (American English) and "on second thoughts" (British English) represent geographical variants of the same idiom.

Thus, these characteristics underscore the invariability of idioms, emphasizing that substitutions, additions, and grammatical changes are generally restricted. While exceptions exist, idioms typically maintain their traditional structure in speech.

SEMANTIC OPACITY OF IDIOMS

Opacity or non-transparency refers to the degree to which the meaning of an idiom can be deduced from the literal meanings of its individual words. This characteristic exists on a spectrum with varying degrees of opacity, resulting in fully opaque (demotivated) idioms, pseudo-opaque (partially motivated) idioms, and semi-opaque idioms.

Fully opaque idioms (demotivated idioms, phraseological fusions) cannot be interpreted based on the literal meaning of their components, as their meaning has been completely transferred. The idiom's meaning is not identical to the meanings of the words it comprises and cannot be deduced. For example, "tall order" denotes a difficult task, and the words "tall" and "order" do not convey the idea of a challenge literally. Other examples include "to spill the beans" (to reveal a secret), "to jump on the bandwagon" (to adopt a popular activity or trend), "a white elephant" (a valuable object that causes expense or trouble), "neck and crop" (altogether).

In pseudo-opaque idioms (partially motivated, phraseological unities), the meanings of the constituent words have been completely changed. Nevertheless, the idiom's meaning can still be inferred based on its component words. Examples include "to burn the midnight oil" (to work late into the night), "to break the ice" (to initiate a conversation in a social setting), "behind closed doors" (in a private place), "feel like a fish out of water" (feel uncomfortable or awkward

because of an unusual situation), "to grasp the nettle" (to force yourself to do something difficult or unpleasant), "a piece of cake" (an easy task), "to go in one ear and out the other" (to ignore something), and "a scaredy-cat" (someone who is easily frightened).

In semi-opaque idioms (semi-idiom, semi-literal idiom, phraseological combination, restricted collocation), one of the words is used in its literal sense, while the meaning of the other words is figurative, e.g., "to cost an arm and a leg" (to be very expensive), "to hit the books" (to study intensively), "to break the news" (announce important information), "to cry over spilled milk" (lament something that cannot be changed), "a white lie" (a lie that is not meant to cause harm), and "crocodile tears" (insincere tears).

Thus, the degree of opacity among idioms varies depending on how closely their overall meaning aligns with the literal meanings of their components. While this classification offers a useful framework, it is crucial to acknowledge that the division of idioms based on the continuum of semantic opacity is both vague and subjective. This ambiguity is evident in the terminological "chaos" present in the literature, as demonstrated above. Certain idioms may display characteristics of multiple categories depending on context and interpretation. Furthermore, the interpretation of idioms by individual speakers may be influenced by their level of language proficiency. Although this classification aids in understanding the general nature of idioms, it does not fully capture every nuance of the semantic aspects of idioms.

MORPHOLOGICAL TYPES OF IDIOMS

Based on their grammatical functions, idioms are categorized into the following types:

(a) **Verbal idioms**: "kick the bucket," "burn the midnight oil," "open somebody's eyes," "hit the hay," "bite the bullet," "jump on the bandwagon," "make up one's mind"

(b) **Nominal idioms**: "a white lie," "a thorn in the flesh," "the jewel in the crown," "the elephant in the room," "a wolf in sheep's clothing," "a bull in a china shop," "birds of a feather"

(c) **Adjectival idioms**: "bright and breezy," "free and easy," "fair and square," "brand new," "cut and dried," "alive and kicking," "safe and sound," "spick and span," "sick and tired," "hot as hell," "pretty as a picture," "good as gold," "sharp as a razor," "clear as crystal," "smooth as silk"

(d) **Adverbial idioms**: "under the weather," "into the bargain," "by no means," "by all means," "in the nick of time," "on its last legs," "without fail," "at a stretch" (without

pausing), "under the weather," "in a nutshell," "by the skin of one's teeth," "with flying colors," "at the drop of a hat"

CLASSIFYING IDIOMS BY THE DOMAIN OF ACTIVITY OR THEME

Idioms can be classified based on the field of activity or the mental images they evoke. This principle of grouping idioms underlies various reference books, such as dictionaries of idioms. Here, we can observe numerous categories:

Body parts and bodily functions: "butterflies in one's stomach" (nervous or anxious feeling), "face the music" (confronting the consequences of one's actions), "all ears" (interested in hearing something), "all fingers and thumbs" (clumsy with manual tasks), "cost an arm and a leg" (be very expensive), "spend an arm and a leg" (spend a fortune), "bad hair day" (a day when things go wrong), "not bat an eyelid" (not react when surprised), "bite someone's head off" (criticize angrily), "have a close shave" (almost have a serious accident), "pull someone's leg" (play a joke on somebody), "have a big mouth" (be talkative), "give somebody the cold shoulder" (ignore them or reject), "dry as a bone" (completely dry), "fight tooth and nail" (fight energetically);

Food: "spill the beans" (reveal a secret), "cry over spilled milk" (lament something that cannot be changed), "a piece of cake" (something very easy to do), "put all one's eggs in one basket" (risk everything at once), "go back to the salt mine" (return to work), "cool as a cucumber" (calm and composed), "duck soup" (an easy thing to do), "hard nut to crack" (someone is reserved and secretive), "have a finger in the pie" (be involved in something), "pie in the sky" (unlikely to be achieved); "take with a pinch of salt" (not to believe that something is completely accurate or true), "a coach potato" (a lazy person);

Animals: "hold your horses" (wait or be patient), "let the cat out of the bag" (reveal a secret), "kill two birds with one stone" (accomplish two things with a single effort), "all bark and no bite" (talk tough but lack action), "at a snail's pace" (very slowly), "lead a cat and dog's life" (constantly argue), "a bull in a china shop" (very clumsy), "in the dog house" (in trouble with another person), "ants in one's pants" (unable to sit still), "cat nap" (a short sleep), "cat's got one's tongue" (someone is too shy to speak), "a copy cat" (doing something as someone else), "an eager beaver" (excited about doing a job), "have a cow" (be very upset, especially over something trivial), "get the lion's share" (get the largest part of something);

Colors: "out of the blue" (something unexpected or surprising), "feel blue" (feel unhappy), "see red" (become very angry), "red tape" (bureaucratic procedures and paperwork), "a red letter day" (an important day), "paint the town red" (celebrate and have a

great time), "caught red-handed" (caught in the act of doing something wrong), "green with envy" (extremely jealous), "get the green light" (get approval to start doing something), "green fingers" (be good at gardening), "black and white" (clearly defined; straightforward), "black market" (illegal business), "in the pink" (in good health or condition), "golden opportunity" (a chance that is likely to bring success), "a white lie" (a harmless lie), "grey area" (unclear situation);

Sports: "hit below the belt" (act unfairly or be dishonest), "play ball" (cooperate or go along with a plan), "throw in the towel" (surrender or give up; admit defeat), "out of the field" (something unexpected or surprising), "drop the ball" (make a mistake or fail to do something), "on the ball" (alert, competent, and well-prepared), "level playing field" (a fair and equal competition or situation).

This classification helps to convey meanings by associating idioms with various aspects of daily life.

6.3. SPECIAL GROUPS OF IDIOMS

In addition to idioms proper, phraseology studies special groups of idiomatic multiword expressions such as proverbs, sayings, binominals, trinominals, similes, phrasal verbs, and social or pragmatic formulae.

PROVERBS AND SAYINGS

Proverbs are expressions characterized by brief, pithy statements that provide advice, wisdom, or general truths about life, e.g.,

"Actions speak louder than words."

"Don’t count your chickens before they hatch."

"Every cloud has a silver lining."

Sayings, on the other hand, are well-known expressions that convey wisdom or widely accepted ideas, such as "two minds are better than one," "(a) penny for your thoughts," "misery loves company," and "talk is cheap." However, the distinction between proverbs and sayings is not rigid.

The key **features** of proverbs include:

Fixed structure: Similar to idioms, proverbs have a stable structure and are often passed down through generations with precise wording.

Collective experience: Proverbs often embody cultural wisdom, moral lessons, or advice, offering insights into human behavior, values, and experiences.

Conciseness: Proverbs convey significant ideas or lessons in just a few words.

The distinction between proverbs and idioms becomes evident when considering their structural and semantic aspects. Unlike idioms, which function in sentences as words, proverbs are complete sentences. In terms of semantics, proverbs encapsulate the collective experiences and wisdom of a community, serving various purposes such as issuing warnings, admonishing, providing advice, moralizing, and expressing criticism.

Issuing warning: "Look before you leap."

Admonishing: "Honesty is the best policy."

Advice: "A stitch in time saves nine."

Moralizing: "Actions speak louder than words."

Criticism: "People who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones."

While proverbs serve a communicative function, idioms have a nominative function, representing a single concept.

The question of whether proverbs are a subtype of idioms is controversial for several reasons. Some linguists argue that proverbs should be treated within the field of phraseology due to their metaphorical nature and invariable structure. Additionally, proverbs can transform into idioms, and vice versa. For example, the proverb "don't put all your eggs in one basket" transforms into the idiom "to put all one's eggs in one basket," and "a rolling stone gathers no moss" transforms into "a rolling stone," while "don't beat around the bush" yields "beating around the bush."

PHRASAL VERBS

Phrasal verbs are multiword verbs that consist of a verb and a particle (adverb or preposition), creating a specific meaning, e.g., "turn up," "give in," "go on." Unlike collocations, the meaning of phrasal verbs is not transparent, i.e. it cannot be deduced by merely looking at the individual words.

For instance, in the sentence "Jan broke off in the middle of the sentence," the phrasal verb "break off" means to stop doing something and does not literally involve shattering anything. However, in the sentence "She had to break off a piece of chocolate for each child," the same expression means physically breaking a piece, and the meaning is clear.

The degree of idiomaticity in phrasal verbs varies. Some maintain the individual meanings of their constituents, allowing for the deduction of their overall sense. For example, in

the sentence "She agreed to look after her neighbor's cat while they were on vacation," the meaning of "look after" can be deduced from its constituents. On the other hand, there are instances where the meaning of a phrasal verb is not readily deducible from its individual parts, as shown in these sentences:

(a) They had to put off the meeting due to unexpected issues (postpone).
(b) After years together, they decided to break up amicably (end a relationship).
(c) Can you hold on for a moment? (wait)

BINOMINALS AND TRINOMINALS

Binominals are pairs of related words, often separated by a comma or conjunction, such as "aches and pains," "bed and breakfast," "bread and butter," "dead or alive," and "home and abroad." **Irreversible** binominals maintain a consistent order of elements (e.g., "odds and ends"), while **reversible** binominals can swap with one another (e.g., "salt and pepper" or "pepper and salt"). The majority of binominals are irreversible.

If viewed semantically, binominals are multiword expressions whose meanings may not be compositionally deducible from their individual elements. While some binominals preserve their literal meanings, many are idiomatic units, like "nuts and bolts," "rags to riches," and "spick and span." The sequence of elements in a binominal is typically stable, with noticeable patterns in the arrangement. The first item is often considered primary or closer to the speaker's viewpoint, for example, "life and death," "rise and fall," or "home and abroad." Shorter words tend to take the initial position, as in "pins and needles," "goods and services," "do's and don'ts," and "top to bottom." Male terms usually precede female terms, as seen in "boys and girls" or "brothers and sisters."

Synonymous binominals are pairs of words in which both elements have similar meanings, amplifying the expression, e.g., "safe and sound," "first and foremost," "friends and allies," "pots and pans."

Echoic binominals consist of two identical words, employed to convey a sense of repetition or intensity, e.g., "stronger and stronger," "on and on," "more and more," "day by day."

Antonymic binominals are pairs of words that are antonyms of one another, e.g. "floor to ceiling," "head over heels," "day and night," "sooner or later," "back and forth," "now and then."

Less common but still present, **trinominals** are idiomatic expressions consisting of three elements belonging to the same word class and occurring in a fixed order, such as "beg, borrow

and steal," "blood, sweat and tears," "eat, drink and be merry," "here, there and everywhere," "hop, skip and jump," and "ready, willing, and able."

SIMILES

Similes, also known as idioms of comparison, are expressions that figuratively describe one thing by likening it to another, typically using structures with "as" or "like." While similes are commonly employed to describe people, their behavior, mood, and appearance, they are not restricted to these contexts.

Examples of similes with the "as … as" structure include:

"as black as hell/sin/midnight/ink/a crow"

"as blind as a bat/mole"

"as bold as a lion"

"as bright as day"

"as clear as crystal"

"as cool as a cucumber"

"as cold as ice"

"as cunning as a fox"

"as dark as night"

"as fat as a pig"

"as good as gold/new/as one's word"

"as harmless as a dove/kitten"

"as large as life"

"as nervous as a cat"

"as pale as a ghost"

Examples of similes using "like" include:

"eat like a horse"

"drink like a fish"

"have a memory like a sieve"

"sleep like a log"

"work like a dream"

SOCIAL FORMULAE

Social formulae, or pragmatic idioms, are conventional expressions used in social interactions and various communicative situations. Speakers recognize them as ready-made

blocks carrying cultural and social implications. Pragmatic idioms serve distinct social functions, facilitating the conveyance of politeness, respect, and adherence to social norms. They are part of pragmatic language use, contributing to the smooth flow of interaction in social contexts. Following are some examples of social formulae:

Table 6.3. Social Formulae

Category	*Formulae*
Introductions	How do you do?
	Let me introduce...
	Nice to meet you!
	Nice to see you!
Offering Help	How can I help you?
	What can I do for you?
Casual Greetings	What's up?
	Hi there!
	Long time no see
	How is it going?
Celebratory Wishes	Happy Birthday!
	Many happy returns of the day!
	Merry Christmas!
	Happy New Year!
Gratitude & Acknowledgment	Thank you for having us over.
	It was a pleasure meeting you.
Parting Expressions	Goodbye for now!
	See you later!
Expressing Concern	I hope you feel better soon.
	I wish you a speedy recovery.
	Take care of yourself.
	Get well soon.
Expressing Surprise	Well, I never!
	Can you believe it?
Expressing Irritation	What on earth?
	I could really do without it!
	Mind your own business!

SUMMARY

Multiword expressions (MWEs) are combinations of two or more words that are used as single units and have a specific meaning different from the individual meanings of the constituent words. **MWE** is an umbrella term encompassing idioms, collocations, phrasal verbs, proverbs and sayings, binominals and trinominals, and other types of fixed word combinations.

Collocations are combinations of words that frequently occur together. They are described as natural pairings of words that native speakers use as ready-made units. The meaning of collocations is transparent, with individual words typically maintaining their literal meanings, e.g., “ride a bike,” “play the piano,” “make a decision.”

Idioms (phraseological units/phrasemes) are multiword expressions with a figurative meaning and a fixed structure. They are commonly examined within the discipline of phraseology.

Among the **characteristics** of idioms are compositeness, figurative meaning, structural and lexical stability, and institutionalization.

Semantic opacity of idioms refers to the degree to which the meaning of an idiom cannot be directly deduced from the literal meanings of its words.

Fully Opaque Idioms: These idioms cannot be interpreted based on the literal meaning of their components, as their meaning has been completely transferred.

Pseudo-Opaque Idioms: While the meanings of constituent words have changed, the idiom's overall meaning can still be inferred based on its components

Semi-Opaque Idioms: One word is used literally, while the others have figurative meanings.

Morphological types of idioms include verbal idioms, nominal idioms, adjectival idioms, and adverbial idioms.

Idioms can be also classified based on the domain of human activity or theme, e.g. body parts, colors, food, sports, etc.

Special groups of idiomatic multiword expressions: proverbs, sayings, binominals, trinominals, similes, phrasal verbs, social formulae.

Proverbs are brief, pithy statements expressing advice, wisdom, or general truths. They embody cultural wisdom and moral lessons.

Sayings are well-known expressions conveying wisdom or widely accepted ideas (e.g., "talk is cheap").

Phrasal verbs are multiword verbs that include a verb and a particle, creating a specific meaning (e.g., put up, give in).

Binominals are pairs of related words that are often divided by a comma or conjunction (e.g., “safe and sound,” “first and foremost”).

Trinominals are idiomatic expressions consisting of three elements that usually belong to the same word class and occur in a fixed order (e.g. "hop, skip and jump").

Similes are idiomatic expressions that describe one thing by likening it to another, using structures with “as” or “like” (e.g., “drink like a fish”).

Social formulae, or pragmatic idioms, are conventional expressions used in social interactions. They serve specific social functions, conveying politeness, respect, and adherence to social norms (e.g., Happy Birthday!).

EXERCISES

MULTIWORD EXPRESSIONS IN ENGLISH

I. Discuss the following questions:

1) How are multiword expressions defined? What are their basic characteristics? What challenges do non-native English speakers face in predicting the meaning of multiword expressions? What are the main types of multiword expressions? What is the main difference between collocations and idioms?

2) How are collocations defined? What are their main features? Explain the concepts of predictability and strength of association in collocations. How has corpus linguistics facilitated the study of collocations? What benefits does it provide for linguists?

3) What does phraseology study? How are idioms or phraseological units defined? Describe their key characteristics. How do linguists differentiate between idioms and free word combinations? What is the structural criterion used to differentiate between them? Explain how the semantic criterion helps distinguish between idioms and free word combinations.

4) How are idioms classified? What does the opacity or non-transparency of idioms refer to? How are idioms categorized based on the domain of activity or theme? What are the morphological types of idioms?

5) What are some examples of special groups of idiomatic multiword expressions studied in phraseology? What are the principal characteristics of proverbs? What is the difference between proverbs and idioms? Why are the meanings of phrasal verbs not always transparent? Differentiate between binominals and trinominals. Provide examples of synonymous binominals and echoic binominals. What is the purpose of similes, and how are they typically structured? What are social formulae and their role in communication?

II. Select the most appropriate answer for each question from the provided options:

1. What is the overarching term for word combinations that commonly occur together in language?
    a. Idioms
    b. Complex predicates
    c. Collocations
    d. Multiword expressions

2. What distinguishes collocations from idioms?
    a. Collocations have figurative meanings.
    b. Collocations maintain structural stability.
    c. Collocations derive meaning from the combination of individual words.
    d. Collocations cannot be altered or substituted.

3. Which statement best describes the difference between collocations and idioms?
    a. Collocations have unpredictable meanings, while idioms have predictable meanings.
    b. Collocations have literal meanings, while idioms have figurative meanings.
    c. Collocations allow for structural variability, while idioms have fixed structures.
    d. Collocations are stored as prefabricated units in the brain, while idioms are not.

4. What is a defining characteristic of collocations?
    a. They have non-transparent meanings.
    b. They can be altered easily.
    c. They are predictable in usage.
    d. They lack conventionality.

5. What does the predictability of collocations refer to?
    a. The ease of understanding by native speakers.
    b. The frequency of word co-occurrence.
    c. The flexibility in word combinations.
    d. The randomness of word pairings.

6. Which of the following demonstrates a strong collocation?
    a. "Extremely interesting"
    b. "Rancid butter"
    c. "Quick food"
    d. "Strong rain"

7. What is the average length of idioms?
    a. 1.5 words
    b. 2.75 words
    c. 3.56 words
    d. 4.9 words

8. Which criterion distinguishes idioms from free word combinations based on the overall sense they convey?
    a. Compositeness
    b. Semantic criterion
    c. Structural criterion
    d. Institutionalization

9. What term describes idioms that have completely changed meanings but still allow inference based on their component words?
    a. Fully opaque idioms
    b. Pseudo-opaque idioms
    c. Semi-opaque idioms
    d. Demotivated idioms

10. What is a characteristic of idioms according to the structural criterion?
    a. They allow for grammatical changes.
    b. They can be freely substituted with similar words.
    c. They are morphologically and syntactically flexible.
    d. They function as single units without changes to their components.

11. How are idioms classified based on the domain of activity or theme?
    a. Based on their frequency of usage
    b. Based on their figurative meanings

c. Based on their morphological types
d. Based on the mental images they evoke

12. What is the primary characteristic that distinguishes idioms from free word combinations?
    a. Length
    b. Figurativeness
    c. Frequency of usage
    d. Grammatical complexity

13. What term describes idioms where one of the words is used in its literal sense while the others are figurative?
    a. Fully opaque idioms
    b. Pseudo-opaque idioms
    c. Semi-opaque idioms
    d. Demotivated idioms

14. Which of the following is NOT considered a special group of idiomatic multiword expressions studied in phraseology?
    a. Proverbs
    b. Collocations
    c. Trinominals
    d. Phrasal verbs

15. What distinguishes proverbs from idioms?
    a. Proverbs have transparent meanings.
    b. Proverbs are fixed sentences conveying collective wisdom.
    c. Proverbs maintain structural stability like idioms.
    d. Proverbs function as single-word concepts.

16. Which of the following best describes the purpose of phrasal verbs?
    a. To convey literal meanings without any figurative elements.
    b. To provide concise wisdom or advice about life.
    c. To create specific meanings through the combination of a verb and a particle.
    d. To express social greetings and pleasantries.

17. Irreversible binominals are characterized by:
    a. Their ability to swap elements with one another.
    b. Consistent order of elements that cannot be altered.
    c. Synonymous pairings of related words.
    d. Identical words used for repetition or intensity.

18. Which of the following is an example of an echoic binominal?
    a. "First and foremost"
    b. "Stronger and stronger"
    c. "Safe and sound"
    d. "Home and abroad"

19. Similes are primarily used to:
    a. Convey literal meanings.
    b. Express complex social norms.
    c. Compare one thing to another using "as" or "like."
    d. Provide fixed expressions for social interactions.

20. Social formulae, or pragmatic idioms, are expressions used primarily for:
    a. Conveying complex ideas concisely.
    b. Forming idiomatic comparisons.
    c. Facilitating social interactions and communication.
    d. Providing moral lessons and insights.

III. Decide if these statements are true or false, justifying your answer:

1. Multiword expressions can be predicted based on the meanings of their individual words. Collocations represent word combinations that frequently occur together in language.
2. The predictability of collocations refers to the randomness of word pairings.
3. Idioms are always transparent in meaning.
4. Fully opaque idioms cannot be interpreted based on the literal meaning of their components.
5. In pseudo-opaque idioms, the meanings of the constituent words remain unchanged.
6. Idioms typically do not allow for extensive variability in their structure and lexicon.
7. Proverbs and sayings are synonymous terms used interchangeably in linguistic studies.

8. Phrasal verbs are multiword verbs that consist of a verb and a particle.
9. Phrasal verbs always have transparent meanings that can be deduced from their individual components.
10. Similes typically use the structure "as … as" to compare one thing to another.
11. Social formulae are conventional expressions used in social interactions to convey politeness and respect.
12. Pragmatic idioms are primarily used in formal settings to convey complex ideas concisely.
13. Proverbs often provide moral lessons and insights into human behavior.
14. Trinominals are idiomatic expressions consisting of three elements belonging to different word classes.
15. Echoic binominals consist of pairs of words with similar meanings, amplifying the expression.

IV. Correct the common mistakes with collocations:

1. She did a mistake by trusting the wrong person.
2. He is good in playing the guitar.
3. I like to listen at classical music while I work.
4. Sam had a strong meal early in the morning.
5. She needs to make decision about which university to attend.
6. The movie theater is just within small distance.
7. We need to take a reservation for dinner.
8. The teacher explained the concept thoroughly on the lesson.
9. There is a beautiful sunset over the mountains on the picture.
10. After making his homework, Ted went out to play soccer.
11. He was riding a car, when he saw an accident.
12. I lost my bus, so I was late for school.
13. She was unaware of her fiancé's addiction in alcohol.
14. Researchers have not found the cure of cancer.
15. We arrived to the cinema on time.

V. Match the words in the two columns to form collocations:

1) high	**a) rain**

2) dead	b) an egg
3) make	c) tired
4) rancid	d) temperature
5) confirmed	e) bread
6) heavy	f) a wish
7) whisk	g) free
8) stale	h) view
9) scenic	i) bachelor
10) feel	j) butter

VI. Render the following Ukrainian and Hungarian collocations or lexemes into English, and observe the differences in their realization in different languages. Determine which ones have absolute or relative equivalents in English. Also, identify which of them can be expressed as non-collocational equivalents:

(a) Ukrainian

1. чорна кава
2. прогіркле масло
3. Північна Америка
4. занадто пізно
5. глибоко занепокоєний
6. отара овець
7. виправити помилку
8. заради кохання
9. протягом дня
10. висока будівля
11. на Паску
12. порошок для печива
13. лити як з відра
14. о пів на третю
15. у віці 12 років
16. купити за 100 гривень
17. картопляне пюре
18. мити посуд
19. для надійності
20. неозброєним оком

(b) Hungarian

1. fekete kávé
2. avas vaj
3.Észak-Amerika
4. túl késő
5. mély aggodalom
6. juhnyáj
7. kijavítani a hibát
8. a szerelem kedvéért
9. a nap folyamán
10. magas épület
11. húsvétra
12. sütőpor
13. esik, mintha dézsából öntenék
14. fél négykor

15. 12 éves korában
16. 100 hrivnyáért vásárolni
17. krumplipüré
18. elmosogatni
19. a biztonság kedvéért
20. szabad szemmel

VII. Classify the given idioms based on their level of opacity (non-transparency) into fully opaque, pseudo-opaque, and semi-opaque categories:

burn the midnight oil, neck and crop, to spill the beans, to jump on the bandwagon, behind closed doors, feel like a fish out of water, to grasp the nettle, a piece of cake, to go in one ear and out the other, a scaredy-cat, to cost an arm and a leg, to hit the books, to break the news, to cry over spilled milk, a white lie, crocodile tears, a thorn in the flesh, see red, lose one's heart to someone, lose one's way, red tape, shake a leg, a brown study, down-to-earth, paint the town red

fully opaque idioms	*pseudo-opaque idioms*	*semi-opaque idioms*

VIII. Group the following idioms into their respective morphological types:

under the weather, burn the midnight oil, safe and sound, under the weather, free and easy, a white lie, open somebody's eyes, a wolf in sheep's clothing, brand new, by no means, bite the bullet, at a stretch, jump on the bandwagon, spick and span, in the nick of time, good as gold, make up one's mind, into the bargain, a thorn in the flesh, sick and tired, the jewel in the crown, in a nutshell, the elephant in the room, a bull in a china shop, hit the hay, kick the bucket, smooth as silk

Verbal idioms	*Nominal idioms*	*Adjectival idioms*	*Adverbial idioms*

IX. How would you categorize the idioms in the provided sentences based on their theme? Explain their meanings and translate these sentences into Ukrainian/Hungarian:

1. His resignation came out of the blue; no one saw it coming.
2. She turned green with envy when she saw her friend's new car.
3. Dealing with all the red tape at the government office was frustrating.
4. The rules were black and white; there was no room for interpretation.
5. The thief was caught red-handed, stealing from the store.
6. After a week of rest, she was back in the pink of health.
7. Missing the job interview was a golden opportunity that he regretted.
8. Telling her the cake was delicious was just a little white lie.
9. It's Friday night. Let's go out and paint the town red!
10. The new policy left a lot of gray areas. No one knew exactly how to proceed.

X. Fill in the gaps with appropriate terms from the list provided below:

proverbs, sayings, binominals, trinominals, similes, phrasal verbs, pragmatic idioms

a) _____ are idiomatic expressions that describe one thing by likening it to another, using structures with "as" or "like" (e.g., "drink like a fish").
b) _____ are idiomatic expressions consisting of three elements that usually belong to the same word class and occur in a fixed order (e.g. "hop, skip and jump").
c) _____ are pairs of related words that are often divided by a comma or conjunction (e.g., "safe and sound," "first and foremost").
d) Social formulae, or _____, are conventional expressions used in social interactions.
e) _____ are brief, pithy statements expressing advice, wisdom, or general truths.
f) _____ are well-known expressions conveying wisdom or widely accepted ideas (e.g., "talk is cheap").
g) _____ are multiword verbs that include a verb and a particle, creating a specific meaning.

XI. Render these Ukrainian/Hungarian proverbs into English. Which of them have translational equivalents in one or more of the enumerated languages?

(a) Ukrainian

1. Що посієш, те й пожнеш.

2. Дарованому коневі в зуби не дивляться.
3. Яблуко від яблуні недалеко падає.
4. Біда ніколи сама не ходить.
5. Скажи, хто твій друг, і я скажу, хто ти.
6. Хто мовчить – той двох навчить.
7. Не все те золото, що блищить.
8. Хто рано встає, тому Бог дає.
9. Сльозами горю не допоможеш.
10. Золото і в попелі видно.

(b) Hungarian

1. Ki mint veti ágyát, úgy alussza álmát.
2. Ajándék lónak ne nézd a fogát.
3. Nem esik messze az alma a fájától.
4. A baj nem jár egyedül.
5. Mondd meg, ki a barátod, megmondom, ki vagy.
6. Hallgatni arany (beszélni ezüst).
7. Nem mind arany, ami fénylik.
8. Ki korán kel, aranyat lel.
9. Ami elmúlt, elmúlt.
10. Az arany a sárban is arany.

XII. Complete the following similes. Render them into Ukrainian/Hungarian:

a) as quick as …
b) as stubborn as …
c) as busy as …
d) as long as …
e) as bright as …
f) as clear as …
g) as cool as …
h) as cold as …
i) as cunning as …
j) as dark as …
k) as fat as …
l) as good as …
m) as green as …
n) as quiet as …

XIII. Categorize the following multiword expressions into their respective types:

come about; long time no see; talk is cheap; all cats are grey in dark; nuts and bolts; here, there and everywhere; East or West, home is best; what of it?; what will be, will be; rags to riches; drink like a fish; it's better late than never; boys and girls; (a) penny for your thoughts; sleep like a log; what next?; as harmless as a kitten; while there is life, there is hope; spick and span; blood, sweat and tears; break down; do's and don'ts; fall back upon; as you sow, you shall mow; misery loves company; actions speak louder than words; have a memory like a sieve; love is blind; no news is good news; live and learn; get out of my way; shame on you; easy come, easy go; as the call, so the echo;

Proverbs and sayings	*Binominals and Trinominals*	*Similes*	*Social formulae*	*Phrasal verbs*

XIV. Provide the idioms derived from the following proverbs:

1. Life is not a bed of roses.
2. The early bird catches the worm.
3. Every cloud has a silver lining.
4. A stitch in time saves nine.
5. Don't beat around the bush.
6. A rolling stone gathers no moss.
7. Birds of a feather flock together.
8. Don't put all your eggs in one basket.
9. Don't cry over spilled milk.
10. The last straw breaks the camel's back.

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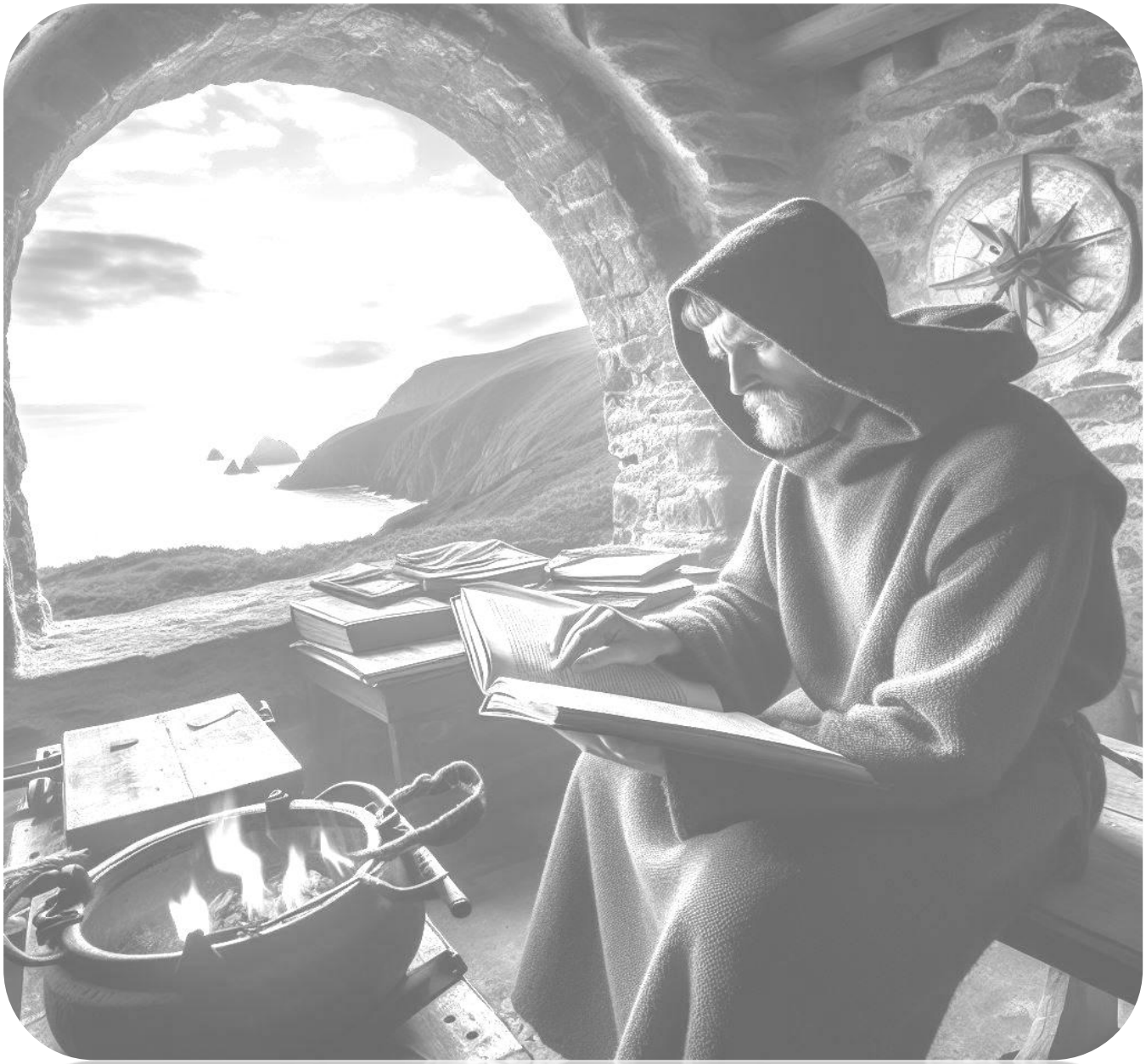
CHAPTER 7

THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH WORDS



English boasts an extensive vocabulary, surpassing that of any other language globally. This lexical wealth is attributable to the dramatic events in the nation's history and the characteristics of its speakers, which have shaped the development of its word stock. Throughout its existence, English has remained remarkably open to continual borrowings from diverse languages. Unlike some languages that actively seek to prevent foreign words from entering their vocabulary, English has historically welcomed such borrowings.

Hence, the openness of vocabulary stands as a defining feature of the English language, characterized by its willingness to incorporate words from other languages. It exhibits flexibility in adopting new words either without alterations or with slight modifications. Such linguistic receptivity has led to the borrowing of words from over 350 languages into English. While English retains its Germanic roots in terms of sound system and structure, a significant portion of its vocabulary originates from Romance and Classical languages (Crystal & Potter, 2024). Even so, many of the most frequently used words in present-day English can still be traced back to Anglo-Saxon origin.

7.1. BORROWED WORDS

DEFINITIONS

The concept of **borrowing** refers to the process where speakers imitate a word from a foreign language and adapt it, at least partially, to their language’s sound system or grammar (Jackson & Amwela, 2021). Borrowed words are adopted from one language (source language) and integrated into another (recipient language) without undergoing translation. **Borrowings** or **loanwords** are, thus, words assimilated into the language at various points in its historical evolution.

When linguists examine the evolution of words, they delve into the field of etymology. Thus, **etymology** is the study of the origin and history of words, including how their meanings, forms, and usage have evolved. It involves tracing a lexeme back to its earliest known or registered usage and understanding how it has evolved and been influenced by other languages.

Etymological investigation also includes the study of **cognates**, i.e., words that share a common origin and are similar in form across different languages. In essence, researchers exploring the etymology of a lexeme aim to uncover not only its historical roots and

development but also connections with similar lexemes in other languages originating from a common linguistic ancestor.

As a Germanic language, English has numerous cognates with other Germanic languages, as well as with Romance languages, e.g., water – wasser (German), mother – moeder (Dutch), house – hus (Swedish), music – musica (Italian). These and many other cognates shed light on the historical and cultural interactions between languages, demonstrating shared linguistic heritage and evolution.

ASSIMILATION OF BORROWINGS

When foreign words become part of the English language, they either undergo alterations due to the influence of the new linguistic environment or retain their original form. If these words undergo changes, which can vary in degree, they are classified as fully or partially assimilated borrowings. Assimilating loanwords involves adjusting them to fit the sound system, spelling, and grammar of the target language. Conversely, if they maintain their original form, they are termed barbarisms or unassimilated loans.

1. **Fully assimilated borrowings** adhere to the norms of pronunciation, morphology, and spelling of the recipient language without betraying their foreign origin, e.g., "window," "people," "face," "cherry," "plum," "cheese." They belong to the group of older loanwords.

2. **Partially assimilated borrowings** are subdivided based on the aspects that have not been changed.

- ✓ Graphically and phonetically not fully assimilated borrowings: words like "café," "protégé," "technique," "procedure," "choir," "regime" retain visual and phonological elements from their original languages.
- ✓ Grammatically not fully assimilated borrowings are found in examples like "analysis – analyses," "criterion – criteria," and "cactus – cacti," which still adhere to their original grammatical structure.
- ✓ Semantically not fully assimilated borrowings are words like "sombrero," "tequila," "goulash," and "maharaja," which denote objects and concepts characteristic of their country of origin.

3. B**arbarisms** are words that have not been assimilated by speakers and have equivalents in English, e.g., “de facto,” “per see,” “ad hoc,” “a priori,” “in vitro,” “alter ego,” “bona fide.”

Nevertheless, it is more common for borrowed words to adapt to their new linguistic milieu and gradually modify, leading to assimilation. The process of adaptation affects the phonetic, graphic, grammatical, and semantic aspects of words, as shown above.

TRANSLATION LOANS AND SEMANTIC LOANS

Borrowed words can be categorized based on the specific aspect that is borrowed. Occasionally, a word or phrase is borrowed from another language by literal translation. The components of the original word are translated into the borrowing language rather than taking the word directly. Such words are known as **translation loans** or **calques**. For example, the English lexeme "skyscraper" is a calque from the French "gratte-ciel" ("grate" – scrape, "ciel" – sky), "brainstorming" is a calque from the German "Gehirnstrum," and "loanword" is a calque from German "Lehnwort."

However, a language may also borrow not only a completely new lexeme but one of the new meanings of an existing lexeme, which is termed semantic borrowing or semantic loan. An example of this process is the Ukrainian word "миша" or Hungarian "egér," which denoted "mouse" in the context of animals. However, as the English "mouse" took on an additional meaning associated with computer technologies, Ukrainian and Hungarian speakers also extended the meaning of their existing lexemes "миша" and "egér" by analogy with English. In this way, Ukrainian and Hungarian adapted and extended the use of "миша/egér" to encompass its new sense related to computer technologies.

SOCIOCULTURAL DYNAMICS OF BORROWING

The process of borrowing unfolds under diverse circumstances influenced by sociocultural factors. It can occur when speakers of different languages have varying or similar socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds. However, most commonly, borrowing occurs when two languages come from dissimilar socioeconomic and political contexts, such as during invasions, colonization, or geopolitical interactions. In such cases, the dominant language may impose its vocabulary on the subordinate one, reflecting cultural assimilation. This process may involve adopting words to mirror the influence of a more powerful community of speakers. Alternatively, the adoption of loanwords can also take place between languages spoken by communities of similar socioeconomic and cultural standing. In this case, borrowing tends to be more reciprocal, with both languages influencing each other through the assimilation of words.

MOTIVATIONS BEHIND BORROWING

Words are borrowed for various interconnected reasons, broadly grouped into **linguistic** and **extra-linguistic**.

Close contact between speakers of different languages stimulates the borrowing process. Such interactions can result from various factors, including trade, international cultural relations, technological advancements, or invasions and conquests in earlier periods. Let us take a brief look at some of these factors.

Historical influences significantly impact the borrowing process. For instance, after the Norman Conquest of 1066, England became bilingual, leading to a substantial influx of French words into English vocabulary. Remarkably, English managed to preserve its linguistic structure, enriching its word stock rather than succumbing to the borrowed French terms.

Cultural dominance and social prestige are additional factors influencing borrowing. Turning back to the previous example, the Norman Conquest saw French emerge as the language of the aristocracy, synonymous with elite status. Elements of French were adopted by the English-speaking population as an intentional alignment with cultural dominance and social prestige.

Scientific progress and technological advancements further contribute to borrowing, for instance, during the Renaissance. Latin and Greek, as sources of terminological loanwords, played a crucial role in introducing academic and artistic terms into English during a period marked by increased knowledge dissemination.

Linguistic causes also underlie borrowing, especially when there is a gap in vocabulary. For instance, when English borrowed words like “mutton,” “beef,” or “pork” from Norman French, or “vine,” “cheese,” or “kitchen” from Latin, it was because their language lacked native terms for these newly encountered things.

Yet, the motivations for borrowing extend beyond mere lexical necessity. In numerous cases, words are borrowed when there is no apparent gap in the vocabulary or an immediate need for additional lexemes. This can happen when a language adopts a new word that conveys a concept similar to existing ones but introduces a novel connotation. This type of borrowing serves to expand groups of synonyms and enhances the expressiveness of the language. A notable example is the assimilation of the French lexeme "people" or the Latin term "population" alongside the native "folk." Although they denote similar concepts, the language has integrated these lexemes, each expressing distinct nuances of meaning.

7.2. TRACING ENGLISH BORROWINGS THROUGH A HISTORICAL LENS

To understand how English vocabulary evolved and why it demonstrates such extraordinary receptivity to borrowings, it is necessary to trace its development in the context of its speakers' history.

PRE-ENGLISH PERIOD

Around ***55 B.C.***, Roman raids of the British Isles commenced, marking the beginning of the Roman presence in the region. The year 43 A.D. saw the onset of Roman occupation with the establishment of the colony "Britannia." Celtic Britons, who inhabited the territories, tried to resist Roman rule through rebellions. However, after a series of conflicts, the two people eventually began to cooperate. As the Germanic tribes were on a lower level of civilization, they gained exposure to new and useful objects. Among the first lexemes borrowed from Latin were names of food items, like “butter,” “cheese,” “cherry,” “plum,” “pepper,” “beet,” and “wine,” reflecting the assimilation of newfound knowledge and cultural exchange between the Germanic tribes and Romans.

OLD ENGLISH PERIOD (450 – 1066)

5th century A.D.: Around 410 A.D., following the withdrawal of Roman legions from Britain, the first influx of Germanic tribes, predominantly the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, began to arrive. Although this migration initially appeared as a minor historical event, it proved to be profoundly significant, marking the beginning of English as we know it today. These newcomers spoke dialects within the Germanic branch of the Indo-European language family. Over time, this language evolved independently from continental Germanic languages, giving rise to what we now refer to as Old English.

The new settlers encountered resistance from the indigenous Celts, who inhabited the British Isles. Despite the Celts defending their lands, they were forced to withdraw into Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. The cultural interactions between the Celts and the invading Anglo-Saxons of the time were not conducive to a significant influence of the Celtic language on Old English. This impact was minimal, with only a handful of Celtic words entering during this period. Only some of these borrowed words have endured in English, such as “bin,” “gull,” “clan,” “peak,” “lake” and particularly names for places and rivers (e.g., Avon, Dover, Kent, Thames).

Interestingly, even the name of the English capital, London, has Celtic origins, derived from "llyn" for river and "dun" for fortified hill. Latin words also found their way into the Germanic dialects through Celtic intermediaries, enriching the vocabulary with words like “candle,” “chest,” “street,” and “wall.”

Already in this period, the language began to develop a tendency to borrow extensively from other languages.

7th century A.D. The year 600 saw the spread of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons, which was first introduced by St. Augustine, a missionary from Rome. Simultaneously, Irish missionaries introduced the Celtic form of Christianity to mainland Britain. As the language of the church was Latin, a new influx of Latin borrowings entered the English vocabulary. A significant number of ecclesiastical terms, religious rituals, and theological concepts became integrated into Old English, including words like "apostle," "priest," "monk," "bishop," "nun," "altar," "martyr," and "demon.”

Moreover, the introduction of Christianity led to the establishment of the first educational institutions. These early schools were usually run by the clergy, with priests serving as the first teachers. A useful addition to the English vocabulary in the form of borrowings from Latin became words like “master,” “school,” “scholar,” and “disciple.”

Overall, approximately 500 Latin words were borrowed throughout the Old English period (Jackson & Amwela, 2021).

8th – 11th centuries: The Viking invasions of the British Isles left a lasting impact on the English language. These new settlers from Scandinavia were skilled seafarers and warriors who raided the territories of the British Isles and eventually settled in its various regions. The prolonged interaction between the Anglo-Saxons and Vikings had several linguistic effects on Old English evident in the introduction of numerous Old Norse words. These borrowings not only reflected the Vikings' military presence but also their assimilation into local communities. Everyday life, trade, and maritime activities witnessed the adoption of Norse terms, including words like "husband," "get," "take," "call," "want," "hit," "both," "egg," "leg," "die," "law," "flat," and "knife." A distinctive feature of these borrowings is the presence of the "sk" sound cluster in the initial position, as seen in words like "sky," "skirt," "skill," "scrub,"

"skin," "scrape," and "scathe." Additionally, personal pronouns such as "they," "their," and "them" were assimilated into Old English. Furthermore, numerous settlements with Danish names, often ending in "-by," signifying "farm" or "town," emerged in England, examples being Grimsby, Whitby, and Derby. The period also witnessed a proliferation of personal names, especially those ending in "-son," such as Anderson, Wilson, and Peterson.

Since Old Norse, like Old English, belonged to the Germanic language family, many words in the two languages were cognates, sharing a common origin. Consequently, some Old English words underwent semantic shifts under the influence of cognates. For example, in Old English, "dream" originally meant "joy," but it acquired an additional meaning related to visions in sleep due to the influence of a similar-sounding Old Norse word. Additionally, numerous words ended up having duplicates when both languages had lexemes for the same objects or phenomena, leading to differentiation in word meanings, as seen in the case of "skirt" in Old Norse and "shirt" in Old English or "screw" and "shrew."

MIDDLE ENGLISH PERIOD (1066–1500)

The Norman Conquest of 1066 marked a significant departure from previous invasions as the ruling class spoke Norman French, a completely foreign language. This linguistic distinction defined the identity of the elite who spoke French. Consequently, Norman French became associated with power and prestige, while English remained the language of the lower classes, accentuating the social gap between the upper class and the common people. As a result, England gradually became bilingual, which had a tremendous effect on the English vocabulary.

Social distinctions found manifestation in the vocabulary. For instance, peasants who spoke English used words like "swine," "pig," "cow," "calf," "sheep," and "ox" to refer to the animals they bred, while the French-speaking elite, who consumed them, employed equivalents such as "pork," "mutton," "beef," "bacon," and "veal." English also assimilated a multitude of words related to government, law, finance, religion, art, literature, and medicine.

Governance: administration, government, parliament, power, state, council

Legal terminology: crime, court, justice, attorney, marriage, prison, judge, jury

Military terminology: soldier, war, battle, army, captain, sergeant, enemy

Over the next four centuries, Middle English gradually supplanted French, becoming the language of all social strata. As the Middle English Period was drawing to an end, the English vocabulary steadily developed distinct registers reflecting the different statuses and sources of words. Its first register consisted of basic words of Germanic origin, used in everyday communication by the common people. The second layer comprised formal words from Norman

French, spoken by higher social classes. Abstract words and terms borrowed from Latin and Greek constituted the third register, appearing in academic discussions or literary contexts. Figure 7.1 illustrates this stratification in the English vocabulary.

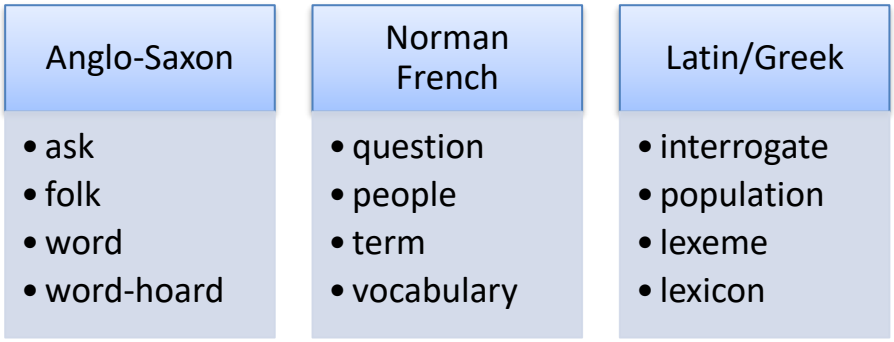


Figure 7.1. Stratification of Vocabulary

MODERN ENGLISH PERIOD (AROUND 1450-1500 – TO PRESENT)

Early Modern English Period: The year 1474 marks the beginning of the Early Modern English Period, with William Caxton introducing the printing press to England. This advancement in mass printing, coupled with the arrival of the Renaissance in England around 1500, led to a surge in literary works and a notable increase in Latin and Greek borrowings and neologisms. In contrast to the earlier borrowings, these were mainly words denoting abstract concepts and scientific terms. English assimilated words such as "theory," "physics," "democracy," "drama," "metaphor," "enthusiasm" from Greek and words like "medicine," "recipe," "library," "simile," "essence," "equal," "discuss," "admit," "imaginary" from Latin, to name a few.

This period saw the consolidation of the English vocabulary. It began to gain prominence in education, becoming the medium of instruction despite scholarly research still being predominantly written in Latin. The development of English in the final decades of the Renaissance was shaped by the contribution of William Shakespeare and the publication of the Bible in English (King James' Bible of 1611). Notably, Shakespeare introduced a multitude of newly coined or borrowed words, in this way enriching the vocabulary. Some of the words attributed to Shakespeare are "critic," "accuse," "amazement," "savagery," and "engagement."

Between 1530 and the Restoration in 1660, English experienced an unprecedented expansion in its vocabulary due to extensive borrowing, word formation, and shifts in meanings. Around the end of the 17th century, many "language purists" expressed concerns about the unpredictable changes in English. Although they attempted to prevent these changes in the language, they were largely ineffective.

Modern English Period: The onset of the Modern English era is marked by the year 1650. The publication of Samuel Johnson's comprehensive English dictionary in 1755 set off the process of standardizing the written language. In the 19th century, the scientific and industrial revolution led to the introduction of a new group of technical borrowings from Latin and Greek.

17th- 19th centuries: British colonization of North America, Australia, and other parts of the world played an unprecedented role in the global spread of English. As the British Empire expanded, its speakers came into contact with diverse languages and cultures, resulting in the adoption of their words into English. These events were paralleled by the rise of American English, beginning to emerge as a standard variety based on the dialect spoken in the Mid-Atlantic States by the 19th century. English also became established in the regions colonized by the British, such as Australia, South Africa, and India, gradually becoming the dominant language owing to factors such as trade, administration, and education. Over time, English integrated with indigenous languages and dialects, giving rise to its varieties in these regions, including Australian English, Indian English, and South African English, among others. This widespread exposure led to an influx of borrowings from diverse languages into English, such as "chocolate," "tobacco," "cacao," "potato," "tomato," "maize," "avocado," "koala," "canoe," and "hammock," to name just a few.

Table 7.1. Borrowings in English

Source of Borrowings	*Time Period*	*Examples*
Celtic	5th — 6th c. A.D.	*bard, cradle, druid, bin, gull, lake*
Latin		
Colonial Latin (spoken)	1st c. B.C.	*pear, plum, cherry, cheese, kitchen*
Religious Latin	7th c. A.D.	*altar, apostle, monk, candle, priest, bishop*
Classical Latin	Renaissance	*genius, library, medicine, primary*
Scandinavian	8th — 11th c. A.D.	*anger, egg, law, skull, window*
French	11th — 13th c. A.D.	*state, court, feast, peace, royal*
	Renaissance	*ballet, machine, police, romance*
Greek	Renaissance	*democracy, philosophy, theater, tragedy*
Italian	Renaissance	*balcony, carnival, opera, piano*
Spanish	Renaissance	*armada, guitar, plaza, tomato*
German		*rucksack, kindergarten, poltergeist, waltz*
Indian		*bungalow, karma, pundit, yoga*

7.3. NATIVE WORDS IN ENGLISH

English is a member of the Indo-European language family, connecting it to numerous languages spoken across Europe and Western Asia. Its common ancestor is Proto-Indo-European, spoken around 5000 years ago by nomads thought to have roamed southeastern Europe. It gave rise to Germanic languages (e.g., German, English, Swedish, Norwegian), Romance languages (e.g., French, Italian, Spanish, Romanian), Slavic languages (e.g., Ukrainian, Czech, Slovak, Polish), Celtic languages (e.g., Irish, Welsh, Breton), and Indo-Iranian Languages (e.g., Hindi, Sanskrit, Persian).

Native words in English originate from the language itself and were not borrowed from other languages. While they account for only around 20–25% of the English vocabulary, they remain essential for everyday communication. Native words are classified into three main layers from a diachronic perspective:

1. ***Indo-European words:*** This oldest layer of native words in English can be traced back to the Indo-European language family, from which English descends. These words form the basic word stock not only of English but also of all Indo-European languages. They cover a wide range of semantic domains, including family relations, natural phenomena, body parts, animals, plants, basic actions, numerals, and pronouns. Examples of these lexemes are provided in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2. Words of Indo-European Origin

Category	*Examples*
Kinship terms	son, mother, brother, daughter, father
Natural world	water, hill, star, wind, moon, sun, stone
Body Parts	eye, tongue, heart, tooth, foot, lip, ear, nose
Plants and animals	goose, wolf, corn, cow, cat, tree, birch
Verbs of action	sit, stand, know, work, do, come, be, bear
Qualities	new, sad, white, red, glad, hard, right, quick
Numerals	two, eighty, hundred, ten, one, twenty, three
Pronouns	I, my, you, who, that, he

2. ***Germanic words***: the Germanic layer comprises words that English shares with other Germanic languages. These words reflect the linguistic heritage of the Germanic peoples,

encompassing various aspects of daily life such as body parts, seasonal terms, natural phenomena, landscape features, dwellings, clothing, numerous adjectives, and verbs.

Table 7.3. Words of Germanic Origin

Category	*Examples*
Body Parts	arm, finger, head
Seasonal terms	summer, winter, week, time
Natural phenomena	storm, rain, flood, ground, sea, earth
Artifacts	bridge, house, coal, iron, cloth
Garments	hat, shoe, shirt
Animals and Plants	fox, oak, grass, horse, sheep
Verbs	buy, find, forget, have, make
Pronouns	each, all, such, self
Adverbs	near, forward, again
Prepositions	after, by, over, from, for, under, at

3. ***Anglo-Saxon words***: Words of Anglo-Saxon origin constitute the backbone of English, brought by the Germanic settlers (the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes) to the British Isles in the 5th century. These words have endured through the centuries, persisting in modern English usage. These words are represented in all layers of the vocabulary, encompassing both content and function words, epitomizing Englishness or "Anglicity" (Jackson & Amwela, 2021, p. 90). Anglo-Saxon words are typically characterized by concreteness and brevity, often representing tangible concepts or objects.

Table 7.4. Words of Anglo-Saxon Origin

Category	*Examples*
Humans	boy, girl, woman, lady
Body Parts	hand, foot, ear, chest, eye, heart, bone
Natural phenomena	hill, wood, field, land, meadow, hedge, sun, moon
Domestic Life	house, home, door, floor
Calendar	day, year, month
Animals	dog, cow, sheep, hen, goat, swine
Adjectives	good, dark, long, wide, black, white
Verbs	do, eat, go, see, think, love, live, help, kiss

In sum, native words play a crucial role in the English language, as they are semantically rich and actively contribute to word formation. One notable feature of native words is their developed polysemy, where single words express multiple meanings. For example, did you know that the "Oxford English Dictionary" lists 34 entries for the word "head" used as a verb? Moreover, native words exhibit high productivity by easily forming novel lexemes through composition, derivation, and conversion. Such productivity is partly facilitated by their morphological simplicity. Additionally, native words possess a wide range of lexical combinability and grammatical valency, allowing them to be employed in diverse contexts and fulfill various syntactic functions. Furthermore, native words are instrumental in the formation of multiword expressions, such as idioms, collocations, and phrasal verbs.

SUMMARY

The richness of English vocabulary is attributable to the dynamic history and cultural characteristics of its speakers. Throughout its evolution, English has demonstrated remarkable **receptivity to borrowings**.

Borrowing is a process by which a language adopts words from a foreign language into its vocabulary. It occurs for various reasons, such as historical interactions, cultural exchange, or technological advancements between different linguistic communities.

A **borrowing** or **loanword** is a word taken from one language and incorporated into another without translation.

Etymology is the study of the origin and history of words, including how their meanings, forms, and usage have evolved. It involves tracing the development of words from their earliest known or recorded usage to understand their historical roots and linguistic relations.

A **cognate** is a word in one language that is etymologically related to a word in another language, as both words share a common origin. Cognates often have similar forms or meanings due to their shared linguistic ancestry. These similarities can typically be traced back to a common root in an earlier language.

When a word is borrowed, it normally changes to align with the phonological, morphological, and syntactic norms of the receiving language.

Borrowed words can be fully or partially assimilated or remain unassimilated as **barbarisms**. **Fully assimilated borrowings** adopt the pronunciation, morphology, and spelling of English, while **partially assimilated** ones retain some elements of their original language.

Native words in English account for around 20–25% of its vocabulary, including three layers:

Indo-European words, constituting the oldest layer, trace their origin to the Indo-European language family, from which English descends.

Germanic layer reflects the linguistic heritage of Germanic peoples.

Anglo-Saxon words originate from Old English, the language spoken by the Anglo-Saxons from the 5th to the 11th centuries. They form the core of the English language, symbolizing its Englishness. These words typically lack cognates in other languages descending from the Indo-European language family and Germanic languages.

EXERCISES

THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH WORDS

I. Discuss the following questions:

1. What is one of the defining features of the English vocabulary? Why does English have such an extensive vocabulary, especially compared to other languages?

2. How is the process of borrowing defined in linguistics? What is etymology, and how does it relate to the study of vocabulary? What are cognates? Provide their examples in English.

3. How does the assimilation of loanwords occur? How do fully assimilated borrowings differ from partially assimilated borrowings? What are barbarisms, and how do they differ from the other two groups of borrowings?

4. Comment on the difference between translation loans and semantic loans. Provide examples of the two groups.

5. What factors influence the process of borrowing in languages? Under what circumstances does borrowing normally occur between languages? What role does a dominant language play in the process of borrowing? What is the impact of borrowing when it takes place between languages of similar socioeconomic backgrounds?

6. What are the main periods in the development of English? What events marked the beginning of the Roman presence in the British Isles? How did the spread of Christianity influence English vocabulary? How did the Viking invasions affect English? What was the influence of the Norman Conquest on the linguistic landscape of England? What language did the elite speak following the Norman Conquest? Why did England become bilingual, and how long did it last?

7. What marked the beginning of the Modern English period? How did British colonization impact the spread of English around the globe? How did the contact with indigenous languages during colonization affect English vocabulary?

8. What is the estimated percentage of native and borrowed words in English? What are the main groups of native words in English? What characterizes words of Anglo-Saxon origin? How do native words contribute to word formation? What morphological features of native words facilitate their productivity?

II. Select the most appropriate answer for each question from the provided options:

1. Which factor contributes to English's extensive vocabulary?
   a. Resistance to foreign words
   b. Historical events and openness to borrowing
   c. Limited interactions with other languages
   d. None of the above

2. What is the study of the origin and history of words called?
   a. Lexicography
   b. Philology
   c. Etymology
   d. Semantics

3. What is an example of a fully assimilated borrowing in English?
   a. Café
   b. Window
   c. Regime
   d. Technique

4. Which languages contribute most to English's vocabulary apart from Germanic roots?
   a. Asian and African
   b. Romance and Classical
   c. Native American and Australian
   d. Pacific and African

5. What term describes borrowing words by translating their components?
   a. Loanwords
   b. Calques
   c. Cognates
   d. Triplets

6. Which is an example of a translation loan in English?
   a. Brainstorming from German
   b. People from French
   c. Vanilla from Spanish
   d. Musica from Italian

7. What is the main driver of reciprocal borrowing between languages?
   a. Varying socioeconomic levels
   b. Similar socioeconomic and cultural standings
   c. Lack of interest in other languages
   d. None of the above

8. What was the impact of the Norman Conquest on English vocabulary?
   a. Decrease in loanwords
   b. Increase in loanwords from German
   c. Major influx of French words
   d. Minor changes in the language

9. What drives the borrowing of words during periods of scientific progress?
   a. Lack of interest in other languages
   b. An abundance of native terms
   c. Need for academic and artistic terms
   d. Decline in knowledge dissemination

10. What marked the beginning of the Modern English Period?
   a. The arrival of the Renaissance
   b. The publication of the King James Bible
   c. The introduction of the printing press
   d. The publication of Samuel Johnson’s English dictionary

11. Which event contributed significantly to the spread of English worldwide?
   a. William Caxton introducing the printing press
   b. The spread of Christianity in England
   c. British colonization of various parts of the world
   d. The Norman Conquest

12. Which of the following pairs of words both have Celtic origins?

a. Lake, Dover

b. Romance, police

c. Kindergarten, rucksack

d. Ballet, opera

13. Which factor contributed to the stratification of English vocabulary during the Middle English period?

a. The spread of Christianity

b. The introduction of the printing press

c. British colonization

d. The Norman Conquest

14. Who contributed significantly to the development of the English vocabulary during the Early Modern English period?

a. William Caxton

b. St. Augustine

c. William Shakespeare

d. Samuel Johnson

15. Which of the following is a major source of borrowing in English during the Renaissance period?

a. Celtic

b. Spanish

c. Classical Latin and Greek

d. Middle Eastern languages

16. Which layer of native words forms the basis of the English language?

a. Indo-European words

b. Germanic words

c. Anglo-Saxon words

d. All of these

17. What is a key characteristic of Anglo-Saxon words in English?

a. Complexity and sophistication

b. Simplicity and concreteness

c. Exclusive use in legal terms

d. Predominant use in scientific terminology

18. Native words account for approximately what percentage of the English vocabulary?

a. 50–60%

b. 10–15%

c. 20–25%

d. 30–35%

19. What is the oldest layer of native words in English?

a. Germanic words

b. Anglo-Saxon words

c. Romance words

d. Indo-European words

20. Which of the following statements best describes the Germanic layer of native words in English?

a. It encompasses a variety of loanwords from different languages

b. It forms the core of the English language, symbolizing its Englishness

c. It reflects the linguistic heritage of the Germanic peoples

d. It mainly consists of scientific and technical terms

III. Fill in the blanks with the appropriate missing words. Some of them should be used more than once:

assimilated, Germanic, etymology, Indo-European words, barbarisms, Anglo-Saxon, oldest, borrowing, native, borrowings, cognate, receiving

1. A (a)_____ or loanword is a word taken from one language and incorporated into another language without translation.
2. (b)_____ is the study of the origin and history of words, including how their meanings, forms, and usage have evolved.
3. Borrowed words can be fully or partially (c)_____ or remain unassimilated as (d)_____.

4. A (e)_____ is a word in one language that is related to a word in another language due to a common origin. These words often share similar forms or meanings because of their shared linguistic ancestry.
5. Throughout its evolution, English has demonstrated remarkable receptivity to (f)_____.
6. (g)_____ is a process by which a language adopts words from a foreign language into its vocabulary.
7. (h)_____words in English account for around 20–25% of its vocabulary and comprise three layers:
    - (i)_____, which form the (j)_____ layer and trace their origin to the (k)_____ language family, from which English descends.
    - The (l)_____ layer reflects the linguistic heritage of Germanic peoples.
    - (m)_____ words originate from Old English, the language spoken by the Anglo-Saxons from the 5th to the 11th centuries. These words form the core of the English language and represent its Englishness.
8. When a word is borrowed, it normally undergoes changes to align with the phonological, morphological, and syntactic norms of the (n)_____ language.

IV. Decide if the following statements are true or false. Justify your response:

1. Cognates are words that share a common origin and form across different languages.
2. Unassimilated loanwords are also known as barbarisms.
3. Translation loans involve borrowing words directly without translation.
4. The Viking invasions had a minimal impact on the English language.
5. The language of the church during the spread of Christianity was Old English.
6. William Caxton’s introduction of the printing press marks the beginning of the Modern English Period.
7. French was the primary language of the elite class in England following the Norman Conquest.
8. Germanic words form the largest layer of native words in English.
9. Anglo-Saxon words in English are typically characterized by concreteness and brevity.
10. Native words in English are semantically rich and cover a wide range of lexical combinability.

V. Fill in the missing dates for each period of the history of English vocabulary and borrowings based on the information provided in this chapter. Write down briefly the events associated with each period:

Period	***Events***
Pre-English Period	
Old English Period	
Middle English Period	
Modern English Period	

VI. Examine the table below outlining key events in the history of English vocabulary and borrowings. Supply the missing dates in the appropriate spaces:

Main Developments in the Vocabulary of English

Period	*Events*
Pre-English Period	Roman raids of the British Isles commence.
	Roman occupation of Britain begins, leading to the establishment of the Roman colony "Britannia."
	Roman influence introduces Latin borrowings into the vocabulary of the indigenous Celtic Britons.
Old English Period	Migration of Germanic tribes, including the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, to Britain begins.
	Interactions between Anglo-Saxons and Celts lead to minimal Celtic influence on Old English vocabulary.
	Spread of Christianity among Anglo-Saxons leads to the introduction of Latin borrowings related to religion and education.
	Viking invasions introduce Old Norse borrowings into Old English, influencing vocabulary and causing linguistic shifts.
Middle English Period	Norman Conquest brings Norman French influence to English vocabulary, marking a significant shift in social dynamics and language use.
	Over the next four centuries, Middle English gradually supplants French as the dominant language, with distinct registers emerging based on social class

	and linguistic origin of words.
Modern English Period	Introduction of the printing press to England by William Caxton.
	Renaissance influx leads to an increase in Latin and Greek borrowings, particularly in academic and scientific terminology.
	English vocabulary experiences expansion and change, spurred by cultural, scientific, and industrial developments.
	Onset of the Modern English era.
	Samuel Johnson's comprehensive English dictionary sets a standard for the language.
	Industrial revolution leads to further technical borrowings from Latin and Greek.
	British colonization leads to the global spread of English, with new varieties emerging in regions such as North America, Australia, South Africa, and India, incorporating borrowings from indigenous languages and dialects.

VII. What events are associated with these dates?

1474, 7th century A.D., 5th century A.D., 55 B.C., 1650, 1755, 8th – 11th centuries, 1066, 43 A.D., 19th century

VIII. Below are several words that have been borrowed various languages. Try to determine the language of origin for each word without consulting any resources:

(a) croissant
(b) kimono
(c) salsa
(d) tsunami
(e) yoga
(f) karaoke
(g) graffiti
(h) pajamas
(i) taco
(j) safari

IX. Identify words of Latin origin in the following sentences:

1. The dish combined fresh cherry tomatoes, creamy butter, and pepper-seasoned chicken.
2. The scholar was busy reading the old book he found in the library.
3. We visited the local monastery to speak with a wise monk.
4. The congregation gathered around the altar to hear the sermon delivered by the priest.

5. Children learn the basics of arithmetic and reading in the primary school.
6. We were relieved to find the kitchen stocked with cheese, butter, and a bottle of wine.
7. He was prescribed a new type of medicine to help him recover.
8. The warm light from the candle gave the room comforting ambiance.
9. The bishop spoke ardently about the importance of compassion in everyday life.
10. He was praised for his genius in solving the complex problems.

X. Examine the pairs of words listed below, noting any differences in meaning between them. Discuss how the given etymological doublets were formed:

(a) Example – sample
(b) Shirt – skirt
(c) Senior – sir
(d) Word – verb
(e) Naked – nude
(f) History – story
(g) Canal – channel

XI. Group the words below into fully assimilated borrowings, partially assimilated borrowings, or barbarism. For partially assimilated borrowings, specify which aspect (graphic/phonetic, grammatical, or semantic) is not fully assimilated:

- "analysis"
- "criterion"
- "café"
- "regime"
- "plum"
- "people"
- "sombrero"
- "face"
- "choir"
- "cherry"
- "ad hoc"
- "in vitro"
- "protégé"
- "cheese"
- "procedure"
- "window"
- "technique"
- "a priori"
- "goulash"
- "bona fide"

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CHAPTER 8

LEXICOGRAPHY

8.1. LEXICOGRAPHY AS A DISCIPLINE

Lexicography is a branch of linguistics dealing with the theory and practice of compiling, writing, and editing dictionaries. Lexicographers study the structure, content, and history of dictionaries, as well as the principles and methods of their compilation. Lexicography plays a crucial role in documenting and standardizing languages, as dictionaries provide authoritative records of vocabulary and promote linguistic accuracy.

LEXICOGRAPHY VS. LEXICOLOGY

Lexicography and lexicology are related fields that study words and vocabulary, although their focuses differ. Lexicology is the theoretical study of words, examining their meaning, structure, usage, relationship with other words, and historical development. Lexicography, on the other hand, is interested in the practical aspects of creating dictionaries that catalog a language's vocabulary, providing definitions, pronunciations, etymology, usage examples, and other relevant information. It involves making decisions about which words to include, how to define them, and how to organize entries. Thus, lexicography is more concerned with the production of dictionaries than with the theoretical aspects of words themselves.

However, lexicography as a distinct discipline is much older than lexicology, originating in ancient civilizations. While lexicography developed independently of other linguistic disciplines, it laid the groundwork for the emergence of modern lexicology and other linguistic subfields. The impact of linguistic disciplines on lexicography has been more recent. In particular, the insights provided by lexicology help lexicographers approach the compilation and organization of lexical data in dictionaries more systematically. By drawing on lexicological research, they can create dictionaries that are more accurate, comprehensive, and reflective of language change.

TYPES OF LEXICOGRAPHY

Lexicography falls into theoretical and practical types. **Theoretical lexicography**, or metalexicography, focuses primarily on research associated with dictionaries. More specifically, it is the study of dictionary organization, analysis, or explanation of the vocabulary of a specific language and the connections of words in a dictionary. It aims to develop theories about the structural and semantic associations among lexemes in a dictionary to compile more effective

dictionaries. **Practical lexicography** is the applied discipline of compiling and editing dictionaries, focusing on producing accurate and comprehensive reference sources for language speakers (Figure 8.1, based on Hartmann, 2003, p. 2).

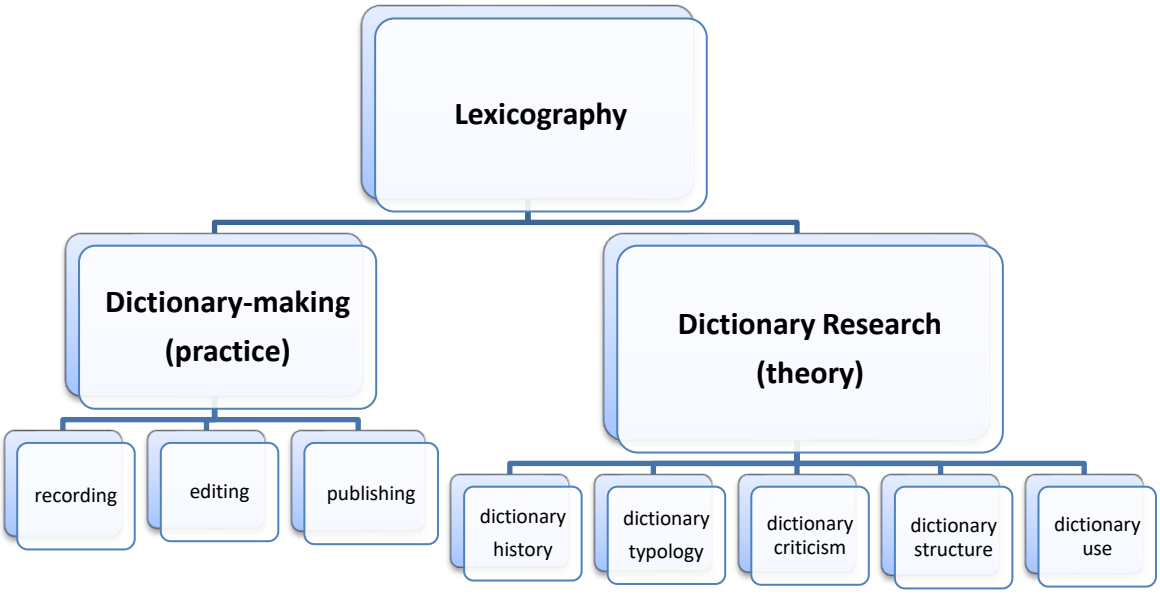

Figure 8.1. Practical and Theoretical Lexicography

DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES IN LEXICOGRAPHY

Driven by the digital revolution, lexicography has seen radical transformations in recent decades. The technological shift in lexicography has revolutionized the production, accessibility, and utilization of dictionaries. The rise of digital technologies has led to the availability of electronic dictionaries, which has given birth to electronic lexicography. Computational lexicography and corpus-based lexicography are the two main branches of electronic lexicography.

Corpus-based lexicography is an approach to dictionary compilation and analysis using linguistic corpora. A corpus is a large digital collection of authentic language samples, both written and spoken, systematically collected and analyzed to represent a specific language. Lexicographers extract information from the corpus related to word frequencies, collocations, contextual examples, and semantic relations to create dictionary entries. Corpus-based dictionaries are data-driven and evidence-based, drawing on the wealth of linguistic data available in the corpus. Entries in such dictionaries are supported by empirical evidence, allowing for the capture of authentic language usage, tracking language changes over time,

identification of social and regional variations, and evidence-based description of linguistic phenomena.

Computational lexicography focuses on the design and application of computational methods for the analysis and management of lexical data. Its major goal is the creation of electronic dictionaries or other language recourses, such as thesauri, lexicons, or ontology in electronic formats. Computational lexicography encompasses a wider array of activities compared to corpus-based lexicography, addressing issues such as semantic analysis and representation of lexical information, including modeling word meanings, semantic relations, lexical categories, and domain-specific knowledge. Data is structured and stored as digital repositories, which can be utilized in Natural Language Processing (NLP). Computational lexicography finds applications in various domains, including machine translation, natural language understanding, text mining, and language teaching and learning.

BRIEF HISTORY OF LEXICOGRAPHY

While the term lexicography was coined in the 17th century, the practice of cataloging lexemes has much earlier roots, dating back to Mesopotamia around 3200 BCE. Around this time, Sumerians compiled the earliest known monolingual wordlists in cuneiform script on clay tablets. These wordlists were used for teaching cuneiform writing, laying the foundation for future lexicographical practices.

English lexicography traces its history to the late 6th century CE, coinciding with the spread of Christianity to the British Isles. As clergy members needed to learn Latin to read the Bible and conduct religious rituals, they created glossaries to aid in understanding Latin texts. Early glossaries primarily defined Latin terms using simpler Latin words, with English equivalents appearing infrequently. Around the beginning of the 11th century, Abbot Aelfric compiled a thematic glossary listing Latin words alongside their Old English counterparts, covering topics such as the sun, moon, earth, sea, God, angels, heaven, and more. The given glossary, known as the London Vocabulary, marked a shift in focus from explaining Latin terms to providing their English equivalents. Over time, further vocabularies were developed, becoming more systematically organized and comprehensive. There was a growing emphasis on presenting English translations rather than merely explaining Latin terms outright. By the end of the 14th century, school curricula incorporated English, where it was utilized for translating Latin exercises.

Fast forward to the 13th century, an English-born Parisian teacher John of Garland coined the term "dictionarius" to describe an elementary Latin textbook, marking a significant event at the dawn of lexicographical development.

The 17th century witnessed the emergence of the first English monolingual dictionaries, such as Robert Cawdrey's "A Table Alphabeticall of Hard Uzuall Wordes" in 1604. These dictionaries aimed to explain words for native speakers, reflecting a growing interest in standardizing English.

In the 18th century, English lexicography experienced a pivotal moment with the publication of Nathan Bailey's "Universal Etymological English Dictionary" in 1721. Bailey's dictionary, along with subsequent revisions, highlighted the increasing interest in compiling lexical resources.

However, it was Samuel Johnson's seminal work, the "Dictionary of the English Language," published in 1755, that truly transformed English lexicography. Johnson's dictionary, containing approximately 43,000 entries and extensively supported with quotations from esteemed authors, established a new standard for precision in dictionary-making. His primary aim was to exemplify the most effective usage of words while upholding the integrity of the English language.

In the 19th century, Noah Webster, a pioneering figure in American lexicography, made a groundbreaking contribution to dictionary development. Webster's inaugural dictionary, "A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language," was published in 1806. His seminal work, "An American Dictionary of the English Language," which appeared in 1828 and is commonly known as Webster's Dictionary, represented an effort to codify American English and differentiate it from British English. One of its notable features was spelling reform, advocating for "color" over "colour" and "center" over "centre." Webster's name remains synonymous with dictionaries in the United States today.

The 20th century saw the rise of learner's dictionaries, such as the "Concise Oxford Dictionary," "Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English," and "Collins Cobuild Dictionary," tailored to the needs of English language learners. Finally, in the digital era, lexicography has undergone further transformations, with dictionaries increasingly available in electronic formats.

8.2. DICTIONARIES

DEFINITION

The term “dictionary” derives from the Latin “dictio” (the act of speaking) and “dictionarius” (a collection of words). A **dictionary** is a reference book that lists words and explains their meanings or provides their equivalents in another language. Dictionaries include information about the word’s meanings in the form of definitions, pronunciation, and spelling, as well as their alternative forms like regional variations, word class, grammatical forms, functions, synonyms, and antonyms. They may also include usage examples to demonstrate how words are used in context.

While closely related, the term **lexicon** is not identical to the notion of a dictionary. In its literal sense, a lexicon refers to a dictionary as a repository of words with their definitions. However, linguists use it in more abstract terms to denote the entire inventory of linguistic units, encompassing not only individual words but also morphemes, phrases, or other elements.

LEXICOGRAPHICAL PROCEDURE

Dictionaries are regularly reviewed and updated to include new meanings of existing words and newly coined terms. Lexicographers continually monitor linguistic developments, perusing texts for shifts in the meaning of existing lexemes or the emergence of novel lexemes. Whenever they encounter a neologism or an unconventional use of a word, it is documented in a searchable database along with its contextual information. After that, comprehensive research is conducted across multiple databases to evaluate the word’s frequency, usage patterns, and significance. If a word meets the criteria for inclusion in a dictionary, a definition is generated. However, before its inclusion in a dictionary, the proposed definition undergoes a thorough review process to ensure accuracy and clarity.

TYPES OF DICTIONARIES

Dictionaries can be classified based on the content, format, target audience, purpose, and size. Dictionaries fall into two main groups: encyclopedic and linguistic, though discriminating between the two is not always easy. **Encyclopedic dictionaries** cover various branches of knowledge or specific subjects in alphabetical order. They focus on factual information in contrast to linguistic data. **Linguistic dictionaries**, by contrast, deal with lexical units and their

linguistic characteristics, such as pronunciation, meaning, usage, and origin. In a nutshell, while a dictionary primarily serves to explain words, an encyclopedia elucidates topics or concepts.

Linguistic dictionaries come in different forms, catering to diverse audiences and linguistic needs. Let us have a closer look at how such dictionaries are categorized:

General-purpose dictionaries are designed for native speakers of the language, offering comprehensive coverage of the lexicon. They serve as authoritative references for word meaning, spelling, and usage.

Specialized dictionaries cover specific parts of the lexicon, providing more detailed information about them. Each aspect of lexical investigation can have its dictionary. Some examples of specialized dictionaries include dictionaries of synonyms, slang, neologisms, collocations, idioms, phrasal verbs, pronunciation, etymology, geographical varieties, and dialects. Numerous dictionaries accommodate the vocabulary of distinct fields of knowledge, covering technical terms. Among these are legal, medical, literary, financial, economic, engineering, computer science, and chemical dictionaries, among others. They provide definitions, explanations, and translations of terminology within given knowledge domains.

Based on the language of entries, dictionaries can be **monolingual**, providing explanations in one language, **bilingual** or trilingual, offering translations or guidance in other languages.

Learner's dictionaries cater to specific user groups at various proficiency levels ranging from beginners to advanced learners. These dictionaries provide simplified definitions of words, offering clear explanations that are easier for language learners to grasp. Additionally, they typically include numerous example sentences that illustrate how words are used in everyday communication, aiding learners in understanding their context. Phonetic transcriptions are often provided to assist with pronunciation.

Furthermore, some learner's dictionaries incorporate colored illustrations or visual aids to provide additional context or aid in comprehension. Pictorial dictionaries, for example, are organized topically, covering subjects such as animals, plants, buildings, and technology. These resources are utilized not only by language learners but also by children learning to read.

Depending on their size, dictionaries can be **unabridged** (containing 400,000 to 600,000 entries), **semi-abridged** (containing about 200,000 to 350,000 entries), or **abridged**. The latter fall into three categories:

(a) **desk size** (containing 60,000 to 100,000 entries), offering comprehensive coverage while remaining practical for everyday usage;

(b) **concise**, providing essential information in a more portable format;

(c) **pocket size**, which is compact enough to fit in a pocket, providing on-the-go reference.

Dictionaries can be diachronic and synchronic. **Synchronic** dictionaries focus on the present-day meaning and usage of words, while **diachronic** dictionaries track the development of vocabulary through history.

A **thesaurus** is a reference book that organizes words based on their meanings, offering a variety of alternative expressions with similar meanings (synonyms) to assist language users in finding the most appropriate word to convey their message. Unlike traditional dictionaries that provide definitions, thesauruses present words in groups or lists based on their semantic relations, such as broader or narrower terms or simply as synonyms or antonyms. Thesauruses can be arranged conceptually, where words are grouped into categories based on their meanings, or alphabetically, where synonyms are listed under each entry.

The evolution of dictionaries from traditional paper-based formats to electronic versions has brought about significant advancements. **Electronic** dictionaries, with their multimedia features, interactive elements, and updating capabilities, have revolutionized the way lexemes are organized and definitions are written. This transition has enabled lexicographers to adopt computational and corpus-based lexicography, allowing them to address subjectivity and human intuition in dictionary compilation.

By leveraging web analytics data, lexicographers can identify which lexemes or meanings are searched more frequently. This information enables them to refine definitions and rearrange senses, ensuring that dictionaries meet the evolving needs of users more effectively. Despite the prevalence of online dictionaries, it is worth noting that **print** editions continue to serve as the foundation for their digital counterparts.

SELECTING AND LISTING ITEMS IN A DICTIONARY

No dictionary can claim to be entirely comprehensive, encompassing every single word in a language. Selecting vocabulary items is a highly complex task for lexicographers, as they must constantly make choices about which words to include and which to exclude. Unabridged dictionaries aim to provide a systematic inventory of a language by recording every existing word. They endeavor to encompass the full breadth and depth of vocabulary, including archaic words, nonce-words, neologisms, specialized terms, and regional variations. Such dictionaries serve as definitive and reputable references for the language. Abridged dictionaries, on the other hand, are more selective. Instead of striving for completeness, their editors focus on choosing words more likely to be sought out by users. These dictionaries prioritize common words and

frequently used expressions relevant to everyday communication. They aim to serve as user-friendly reference tools, meeting the immediate needs of their readership.

Beyond the common core, dictionaries may include specialized terms from various fields like science, technology, business, and popular culture. Lexicographers must also consider including colloquial expressions, slang, and other variations to reflect mainstream trends in language development.

DICTIONARY ORDER

Dictionaries are commonly associated with alphabetical organization to simplify the search for words. However, most dictionaries do not strictly adhere to it, employing the so-called method of nesting, which involves including related lexemes within the entry of the main headword. Thus, instead of creating separate entries for every derivative, compound, or related term, lexicographers nest these words under one entry. For instance, derivatives like “runner” and “running” can be nested under the headword “run.” Similarly, compounds like “runaway” or idioms containing “run” can also be included as part of this entry. This approach helps users find related words more efficiently.

An alternative approach to organizing dictionaries is arranging them thematically, similar to thesauruses. While such a topic-wise arrangement does not provide detailed linguistic explanations, it reveals sense relations more clearly. The thematic approach to dictionary arrangement has a longstanding tradition and remains useful, especially for language teaching and understanding vocabulary in specific contexts.

ORGANIZATION OF DICTIONARIES

Dictionaries comprise entries containing information about pronunciation, syntactic characteristics (e.g., word class), morphological aspects, etymology, definition, context, compound words and derivatives, idioms, spelling variations, stylistic markers, taboos, etc. The scope of provided information depends on the dictionary’s size and purpose.

Headword: The main item of an entry is the headword itself (lexeme/lemma), often displayed in bold or a special font. It includes information about its pronunciation in the form of transcription, and sometimes its regional variations are given.

Syntactic and morphological information: In terms of syntactic information, dictionaries specify the word class (part of speech) of each entry. Learner’s dictionaries may give additional details, such as whether a noun is countable or uncountable or whether a verb is transitive or

intransitive. Although not all morphological aspects of a headword are presented in dictionaries, they commonly indicate irregular inflections specific to certain words, such as “child” – “children,” “ox” – “oxen,” “better,” “best,” or “have,” “had,” and “has.” This includes irregular plural forms, past tense forms, comparative/superlative degrees, and derivational affixes. Additionally, dictionaries may highlight compound words and multiword expressions.

Definitions: By far, the most important information concerns the semantics of the word. The principal task of a lexicographer is to provide the meanings of words in the form of definitions. However, in the case of English vocabulary, which is continually developing new senses, it is a complex undertaking. Lexicographers come up with word definitions after an extensive analysis of examples of their use. Determining the different senses of words or their number is inherently subjective. This process involves analyzing collected contexts in the form of quotations or examples generated from corpora. The lexicographer then categorizes these contextualized instances of use into groups based on similarities or differences. Sometimes, ambiguous categories need to be discarded. Additionally, figurative developments of meaning, such as metaphors like “the wing of the building” or “the neck of the bottle,” can complicate sense relations. In cases where a word’s meaning is more abstract, lexicographers may use synonyms or synonymic phrases. For example, “exhilarating” may simply be described as thrilling, invigorating, or causing excitement.

Contemporary dictionaries, as a rule, present the central meaning or the most common meaning first, followed by less frequent or obsolete, to enhance their usability. Some dictionaries, however, arrange meanings according to the frequency of use, known as the “semantic count” method. By this, they provide users with the most commonly encountered meanings first. In developing definitions, lexicographers aim to accurately and succinctly convey each sense. The wording of definitions is normally simple and unambiguous.

Contextual information: Dictionaries also include information about the word’s use to provide guidance regarding its appropriate usage in different contexts. This includes illustrating the word’s functioning in communication based on citations. Additionally, it comprises indications of formality, such as whether a word is considered formal, informal, colloquial, slang, or even taboo. Dictionaries may also specify the fields to which lexemes are restricted, helping readers understand the appropriate contexts for their usage. For instance, “algorithm” is often categorized under the field of computer science, indicating its specialized usage within programming.

Spelling: In addition to definitions and contextual information, dictionaries also offer information about spelling. Many English words have variations in spelling, often reflecting differences between regional varieties like British and American English (Table 8.1).

Dictionaries have historically played a significant role in standardizing English spelling conventions. Thus, Noah Webster implemented simplifications that have become standard in American English. Dictionaries record these variations to provide comprehensive spelling information.

Table 8.1. Spelling Variations between British and American English

British English	American English
colour	color
centre	center
organise	organize
theatre	theater
realise	realize
travelled	traveled
defence	defense
catalogue	catalog
analyse	analyze
programme	program
cosy	cozy
litre	liter
jewellery	jewelry

Etymology: Dictionaries differ in the depth of etymological information they provide. While all dictionaries indicate the direct origin of each word, some delve further back into its history, tracing it to its source whenever possible. In English, this often involves establishing whether the lexeme originated from an Anglo-Saxon base or if it was borrowed from another language at a certain point in time. Additionally, some dictionaries go as far as providing cognate words from related languages.

SUMMARY

Lexicography is a branch of linguistics concerned with the theory and practice of compiling, writing, and editing dictionaries. It involves the study of the structure, content, and history of dictionaries, as well as the principles and methods of their compilation.

Types of Lexicography:

Theoretical lexicography, also known as metalexicography, focuses primarily on research associated with dictionaries.

Practical lexicography is the applied discipline of compiling and editing dictionaries.

Main highlights in the **history** of lexicography:

- ✓ Ancient Mesopotamia (3200 BCE): Sumerians created early monolingual wordlists in cuneiform script.
- ✓ Late 6th Century CE - Early 11th Century: Clergy members in the British Isles developed glossaries for understanding Latin texts. Abbot Aelfric compiled the London Vocabulary, shifting focus to English equivalents.
- ✓ 13th Century: John of Garland coined "dictionarius" for Latin textbooks.
- ✓ 17th Century: Emergence of first English monolingual dictionaries.
- ✓ 18th Century: Nathan Bailey's "Universal Etymological English Dictionary" (1721). Samuel Johnson's seminal "Dictionary of the English Language" (1755).
- ✓ 19th Century: Noah Webster's "An American Dictionary of the English Language" (1828).
- ✓ 20th Century: Rise of learner's dictionaries for English language learners.

A **dictionary** is a reference book that lists words and explains their meanings or provides their equivalents in another language.

Types of dictionaries:

(a) Encyclopedic Dictionaries: focus on factual information.
(b) Linguistic Dictionaries: present lexemes and their linguistic characteristics, such as pronunciation, meaning, usage, and origin.
(c) General-purpose Dictionaries: offer comprehensive coverage of the lexicon, including word meaning, spelling, and usage.

(d) Specialized Dictionaries: cover specific parts of the lexicon in detail, including dictionaries of synonyms, slang, neologisms, collocations, idioms, phrasal verbs, pronunciation, etymology, geographical varieties, dialects, and technical terms in fields like legal, medical, literary, financial, economic, engineering, computer science, and chemical domains.

(e) Monolingual, Bilingual, and Trilingual Dictionaries: provide explanations or translations in one, two, or three languages, respectively.

(f) Learner's Dictionaries: cater to language learners at various proficiency levels, offering simplified definitions, numerous example sentences, phonetic transcriptions, etc.

(g) Diachronic and Synchronic Dictionaries: track the development of vocabulary through history or focus on present-day meanings and usage of words.

(h) Thesauruses: organize words based on meanings, assisting in finding the most appropriate word. Thesauruses can be arranged conceptually or alphabetically.

(i) Electronic and Print Dictionaries: while electronic dictionaries offer multimedia features and interactive elements, print editions are the reliable foundation for their digital counterparts.

Dictionary entries typically include the headword, pronunciation, definitions, syntactic and morphological information, contextual information, spelling variations, and etymology.

EXERCISES

LEXICOGRAPHY

I. Discuss the following questions:

(a) How is lexicography defined? What are its primary tasks? How does it contribute to documenting and standardizing language? How do lexicography and lexicology differ in their focus? How did lexicography influence the emergence of modern lexicology?

(b) What is the main goal of theoretical lexicography? What is practical lexicography focused on? How have digital technologies transformed lexicography?

(c) Where can the earliest roots of lexicography be traced? How did the spread of Christianity to the British Isles impact the development of English lexicography? When was the term “dictionarius” coined, and by whom? What impact did Nathan Bailey’s “Universal Etymological Dictionary” have on lexicography? Discuss the influence of Samuel Johnson's "Dictionary of the English Language" on the development of English lexicography. What contribution did Noah Webster make to American lexicography?

(d) Explain the etymology of the term “dictionary.” What kind of information do dictionaries typically provide? What is the difference between the terms “lexicon” and “dictionary”? How are dictionaries classified based on their content, format, target audience, purpose, or size? What is a thesaurus? What do specialized dictionaries provide information about?

(e) What challenges do lexicographers face when selecting and listing items in a dictionary? How are dictionaries typically organized? What method of organization do most dictionaries use to simplify the search for lexemes? What types of information do dictionary entries typically contain?

II. Select the most appropriate response from the provided alternatives:

1. Practical lexicography focuses on:
   A. Language teaching methods

B. Language translation tools

C. The compilation and editing of dictionaries

D. Theoretical analysis of words

2. What is the main goal of theoretical lexicography?

A. Conducting research associated with dictionaries

B. Conducting research associated with vocabulary

C. Conducting research associated with lexicon

D. Translating words between languages

3. Digital technologies in lexicography have led to:

A. Decline in dictionary usage

B. Slower production of dictionaries

C. The emergence of electronic lexicography

D. A decrease in lexicographic research

4. Lexicography helps in:

A. Documenting and standardizing languages

B. Pronouncing words correctly

C. Writing essays

D. Teaching languages

5. Electronic lexicography involves:

A. Teaching lexicography online

B. Writing dictionaries for the internet

C. Creating dictionaries in digital formats

D. Both B and C

6. Corpus-based lexicography relies on:

A. Internet searches

B. Extensive research

C. Linguistic corpora

D. Data analysis

7. Who authored "A Table Alphabeticall of Hard Uzuall Wordes"?
   A. Nathan Bailey
   B. Noah Webster
   C. Robert Cawdrey
   D. Samuel Johnson

8. What was one of Noah Webster's notable contributions to American lexicography?
   A. He focused solely on Latin terms.
   B. He advocated for spelling reform.
   C. He wrote the first English monolingual dictionary.
   D. He excluded regional dialects from his work.

9. How did Samuel Johnson support his dictionary entries?
   A. With simpler words
   B. With quotations from esteemed authors
   C. With illustrations
   D. With etymological analysis

10. What was the primary focus of Noah Webster's dictionary?
   A. Differentiating British English from American English
   B. Including Latin terms with English definitions
   C. Including only regional American dialects
   D. Providing synonyms and antonyms for each word

11. How do lexicographers monitor linguistic developments?
   A. By writing dictionaries and textbooks
   B. By perusing texts for shifts in word meaning
   C. By focusing on one specific genre
   D. By translating words

12. What do general-purpose dictionaries aim to provide?
   A. Detailed information on specific subjects
   B. Translations of technical terms
   C. Comprehensive coverage of a language's lexicon
   D. Information on the origins of words

13. What type of dictionary would you use to find information about specific parts of the lexicon?

A. General-purpose dictionary

B. Specialized dictionary

C. Monolingual dictionary

D. Bilingual dictionary

14. What are the different sizes of dictionaries?

A. Unabridged, semi-abridged, abridged

B. Monolingual, bilingual, trilingual

C. General-purpose, specialized, learner's

D. Synchronic, diachronic, electronic

15. How are linguistic dictionaries typically organized?

A. Chronologically

B. By frequency of use

C. Alphabetically

D. Thematically

III. Decide if the following statements are true or false. Justify your response:

1) Lexicography involves making decisions about which words to include in a dictionary.
2) Lexicography as a discipline is younger than lexicology.
3) Practical lexicography involves producing reference sources for language speakers.
4) Abbot Aelfric's glossary marked a shift from explaining Latin terms to providing English equivalents.
5) Samuel Johnson's dictionary contained over 100,000 entries.
6) Lexicographers only focus on documenting existing words, not new ones.
7) Specialized dictionaries offer more detailed information about specific aspects of the lexicon.
8) Dictionaries are always organized alphabetically.
9) Dictionaries record spelling variations between different regional varieties.
10) Encyclopedic dictionaries focus on linguistic data rather than factual information.

IV. Match the types of dictionaries listed in the first column with their descriptions in the second column:

Type of Dictionary	*Description*
1. Encyclopedic Dictionary	a. offers translations or guidance in multiple languages
2. Linguistic Dictionary	b. provides simplified definitions and example sentences for language learners
3. General-purpose Dictionary	c. uses colored illustrations or visual aids to help with comprehension
4. Specialized Dictionary	d. contains a comprehensive and systematic inventory of a language
5. Monolingual Dictionary	e. more selective, focusing on common words and frequently used expressions
6. Bilingual/Trilingual Dictionary	f. focuses on factual information about specific subjects in alphabetical order
7. Learner's Dictionary	g. provides information about pronunciation, meaning, usage, and origin of lexemes
8. Pictorial Dictionary	h. designed for native speakers, offering comprehensive coverage of the lexicon
9. Unabridged Dictionary	i. focuses on a specific part of the lexicon, such as synonyms, idioms, or technical terms
10. Abridged Dictionary	j. provides explanations of words in one language

V. Choose at least two concise dictionaries and observe how the following lexemes are presented:

chair, go, double-decker, see red

For each lexeme, make notes of the following information:

(a) What type of information is provided (e.g., pronunciation, word class, usage examples, register (formal, informal), etymology)?

(b) How many headwords do they include?

(c) How many meanings are provided for each headword? Are they listed in a particular order?

(d) How are multiword expressions treated? Are they listed under a specific headword, or do they have separate entries?

(e) Compare your observations between the different dictionaries. What similarities or differences did you notice in the way they provide information about each lexeme?

VI. Comparing encyclopedic and linguistic dictionaries:

Consult an encyclopedic dictionary (e.g., Crystal, D. (2008). *A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics* (6th ed.). Blackwell Publishing.) and a linguistic dictionary to look up the terms "language," "word," and "vocabulary." How do they differ in terms of information provided? Consider the depth, scope, and focus of the definitions. What similarities and differences can you observe?

VII. Look up the following idioms in your dictionary. Identify which word each idiom is listed under and discuss with your group how different dictionaries present the idioms.

(a) "break the ice"
(b) "hit the nail on the head"
(c) "let the cat out of the bag"
(d) "piece of cake"
(e) "cost an arm and a leg"
(f) "go the extra mile"
(g) "kick the bucket"
(h) "miss the boat"
(i) "take the bull by the horns"
(j) "paint the town red"

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Маріанна Леврінц
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Маріанна Леврінц

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СПОЧАТКУ БУЛО СЛОВО...

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