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LEXICAL BORROWING AND A COMPARATIVE APPROACH
TO FOREIGN LANGUAGE VOCABULARY INSTRUCTION

1.0 Introductory remarks

This paper evolves a set of premises for the implementation of comparative and historical studies in lexical borrowing in the teaching of foreign language vocabulary. Since it is concerned mainly with the theory of such a method, the pedagogical conclusions set forth later will evidently be of a tentative nature for the reader. However, a sequel to the present study, to be published in a later edition of this series, is going to demonstrate some practical classroom application of the method.

1.1 It is stressed here that the learner should be shown how to take full advantage of the vocabulary in L_2 which is related to L_1 lexical units owing to common genetic and cultural heritage or interborrowing. The grapho-phonemically related pairs of L_2 and L_1 items are often associated during the very early stages of language instruction for the purpose of illustrating the L_2 sound and spellings as well as providing the learner with enough easy vocabulary to enable him to communicate, if only in simple words, while practising the initial syntactic patterns /cf. Rusiecki, 1980 : 79 f. /. However, a similar teaching strategy can be maintained over later stages of instruction. The availability of lexical items with grapho-phonemic resemblance shared by L_2 and L_1 will depend heavily on the degree of affinity between these languages; an English learner of a Romance language will be able to enjoy a host of such correspondences, whereas a Polish learner of the same language, for that matter,

will find fewer familiar words. Nonetheless, the latter can develop his vocabulary considerably by way of isolating and identifying the Greek and Latin prefixes, suffixes and common stems which account for many lexical units in Romance languages. The same classical elements are often part of contemporary Polish vocabulary, except that these words are used more often than not in highly restricted styles and registers in comparison with the Romance usage. Reinforcing the intelligibility of this vocabulary by means of L_2 corresponding items is an interesting feedback, which makes a strong claim for the extension of the strategy in question.

1.2 A comparative method of vocabulary instruction is thus put forth in the present paper. Its basic objective is to implement a cognitive approach to learning those lexical units in L_2 which in their graphemic and/or phonemic representations correspond to certain items in L_1 . In other words, it aims at building up in the learner a conviction that not all of the L_2 vocabulary need be NONSENSE WORDS, as Ott et al. / 1976 : 40 / exaggeratedly claim. While perhaps nothing can prevent him from undergoing rote learning, part of the vocabulary can be acquired more meaningfully by him through taking advantage of familiar words in L_2 .

Manifest similarities between some L_1 and L_2 lexical units can undoubtedly facilitate the retention of corresponding forms; however, given a trifle leeway in this rather special area of vocabulary learning, the learner should by no means be led to believe that as a result the meanings are going to overlap completely. Therefore, it is equally important for the learner to realize that with respect to his native lexicon the familiar vocabulary of L_2 is subject to the same relative equivalence in terms of grammatical range, referential meaning and stylistic distribution as is the rest of the vocabulary. As a matter of fact, the similarity is often deceptive /cf. Weźna, 1977 /, which is an influential source of interference errors.

1.3 It is scarcely hazardous to assume that to a certain extent the learning of foreign language wordstock imitates some form of a comparative study of the L_2 and L_1 lexicons.

The process apparently assumes several phases. The first one is typically true for an unsophisticated monolingual beginner, who takes it for granted that, in Stockwell et al.'s / 1965/ words, "the primary difference between language consists of the words which are used in each, and that to learn a new language is essentially to learn a new vocabulary which consists of translation equivalents of the lexical items of the native language. Since the monolingual is aware only of the system of his own language, he assumes that it represents the "natural" concatenation of lexical items, and he therefore attempts to impose it upon the items of the foreign lexicon" /p. 265/. Clearly, such a strategy tentatively has one aim : to memorize the new labels for the elements of the learner's experience, which have thus far been represented by his native vocabulary. In his endeavour the learner will characteristically ignore the morphological, syntactic and semantic ranges of the words in the studied language. The meanings are believed to be identical, and if some of the graphic and phonetic shapes can be matched like the English dormitory and the Spanish dormitorio, it is only to such a learner's delight. There would be nothing wrong with findings of the above kind, but for a potential premature generalization that these easily identifiable correspondences can invariably be transferred positively from L_1 to L_2 .

It is here where the instructor could aid the learner's comparative study by pointing out the relative uniqueness of lexical co-occurrence rules for any content word in any language, illustrating the claim by drawing from the learner's already equated pairs. For example, if the learner has automatically associated his native English item minister with the corresponding Spanish form ministro, he can also be informed that in no Spanish-speaking country is the latter to be taken to mean "a Protestant official", who is more likely to be referred to as misionero, as his work in most Spanish-speaking communities is conceived of as missionary work. Consequently, the content expressed by ministro is only to be associated with "a cabinet official" / cf. Stockwell et al., 1965 : 271 /.

Having been deceived by more misleading lexical pairs of this sort and being instructed on the nature of semantic correlation between L_1 and L_2 lexical items, the learner advances to a higher stage in his comparative labour. He should by now be able to generalize more correctly from his observations and his attitude towards grapho-phonemic resemblance should be more critical.

The comparative approach to vocabulary instruction, as suggested in the present introductory remarks, ought not to be taken as promulgating a new theory in the teaching of foreign languages ; it is only postulating a more conscious effort on the part of both the teacher and the learner in dealing with the familiar vocabulary. Some feasible classroom applications of the method are presented in the final sections of the paper.

2.0 Lexical borrowing versus common etymology

As indicated by the title, in the present study attention is focussed largely, but by no means exclusively, on questions concerning the effect of lexical borrowing on the mode of foreign language vocabulary instruction. Due to mutual interpenetration of languages /cf. for instance Weinreich, 1968/, which is a process that goes on indefinitely, all languages contain loans. However, the degree to which a language may have to depend on foreign wordstock varies from extreme cases of pidgins and creoles, through languages such as Urdu - a synthetic tongue composed almost entirely of Hindi, Persian and Arabic words - whose lexis may be treated as nearly 100 percent borrowed, Albanian, which has borrowed over 90 percent of its vocabulary, less mixed cases such as English or Swedish, both of which have imported around 75 percent¹, Romanian, which stands in much the same relationship to the Slavic branch² as English does to the Romance, Finnish, representing languages which have borrowed only up to 20 percent of their words, yet which are still to be considered mixed in the same sense as any of the above classes, to cases of geographically and culturally isolated languages with few loans.

Undoubtedly, there is more to the question of lexical borrowing than just the percentage of foreign elements in a lexicon. For example there is a nationalistic and sociolinguistic context, usually expressed by puristic language policies discouraging the use of loans or even overtly aiming at uprooting them, but at the same time encouraging loans from the past of the vernacular /i.e. promoting ARCHAISMS/. Such activities have sometimes led to the fading of loanwords or to the rise at their expense of numerous LOAN TRANSLATIONS ; in many cases, however, the new acquisitions have survived as well established lexical units.

These aspects of lexical borrowing are of considerable importance for the branch of linguistics dealing with language change as well as for the histories of individual languages.

The present paper, though, will be concerned with them only insofar as we may need to account for the distribution of such variants as the German pair Telephon : Fernsprecher. A deeper analysis of the problem under consideration would inevitably go beyond the scope of our subject matter.

Whether spontaneous or induced, borrowing is one of the main factors behind the changes in the lexicon, for it is bound to trigger off semantic change. The preexisting semantic relationships are modified since complete free variation with the native word is eventually levelled by the tendency toward having a "one meaning : one form" relation /Anttila, 1972 : 161 f. ; Lehmann, 1973 : 216 f./. Borrowing can also be viewed as one of the most important influences on language in general. Loans not only undergo adjustment to the new phonological circumstances, but themselves are capable of adjusting the phonological system of the recipient language as well / cf. for instance the establishing of the voiced spirants as phonemes in the southern dialects of Middle English under the influence of French and Scandinavian loans /. Lexical borrowing is as a rule more penetrative than either phonic or grammatical borrowing /Weinreich, 1968 : 56/. Owing to its

looser structure vocabulary is the domain of genuine linguistic borrowing /Meillet, 1921 : 84/.

Having thus delineated, albeit somewhat cursorily, the general effect of lexical borrowing, we may probe deeper into the lexical material available for our comparative approach.

2.1 Familiar vocabulary can be found in almost any studied language. Even though L_1 and L_2 may be genetically, geographically and culturally unrelated, they are still likely to share the phonetic and/or graphic realizations of some INTERNATIONALISMS, that is words which have circled the globe. Thus, an English learner is certain to encounter the corresponding forms of, say, logic, football or Soviet in the lexicons of Tamil, Indonesian, Tagalog and the like. Internationalisms plus derivations based on the previously acquired morphemes hardly meet Ott et al.'s criteria for nonsense words. And as we pass to the instruction in lexicons of more closely related languages, the belief expressed by the above-mentioned authors becomes less and less tenable. Comparing especially the languages descended from a common parent tongue we find a certain amount of COGNATES, i.e. related words which are directly and independently derived from the same etymon. This rather established linguistic definition of a cognate is hardly ever respected by writers of language instruction materials, who take cognates to mean just any related words in different languages. For example Lado /1955/ suggests the following interpretation:

"Cognates... mean words that are similar in form and meaning regardless of origin. The usual meaning of cognate is 'related in origin'. For us even if two words are not related in origin they will be called cognates if they are similar in form and meaning. Similarly, if two words have the same origin but are now so different that speakers do not identify them as similar, they will not be considered cognates for our purpose" /p. 32, footnote 16/.

The broader concept automatically includes loanwords, which generally outnumber the true cognates. Nevertheless,

from the point of view of foreign language teaching the overextension of the linguistic reading of the term cognate seems to be reasonable. After all, the learner is most likely to disregard the difference in the first place, as in his word-pairing strategy both cognates and loanwords are certain to meet his conditions of PHONETIC PLAUSABILITY /cf. Gleason, 1972 : 6/. In order to avoid any ambiguity in the subsequent sections of the present paper, let us tentatively assume a distinction between GENETIC /i.e. etymologically genuine/ and BORROWED COGNATES or LOANWORDS.

2.1. 1 As it was pointed out earlier, the proportion of genetic and borrowed cognates available in the lexicon of L_2 is conditioned by different types of proximity to L_1 , yet their worthiness for our comparative method may be determined by other factors than numerical values. We shall see for instance that genetic cognates are subject to many restrictions if they are to become part of the familiar vocabulary specially assembled for the teaching purposes. Below is a table containing cognates from five distantly affined cousin languages belonging to the Indo-European family. The English forms are included for the meaning reference.

No.	ENGLISH FORM	GERMAN	WELSH	ARMENIAN	POLISH	LITHUANIAN
1	ASH	Esche	onnen	haçi	jesion	úosis
2	BROTHER	Bruder	brawd	elbayr	brat	brotelis
3	DOOR	Tür	dor	durk'	drzwi	dùrys
4	/I/ EAT	esse	esu	utem	jeść	edu
5	EIGHT	acht	wyth	ut'	osiem	aštuoni
6	ELL/ELBOW	Elle	elin	oın	łokieć	ùolektis
7	FALLOW	falb	llwyd	alevor	płowy	paĩvas
8	FIVE	fünf	pemp	hing	pięć	penkè
9	HEART	Herz	craidd	sirt	serce	širdis
10	/I/ MILL	male	malu	malem	miele	malù
11	MONTH/MOON	Mond	mis	amis	miesiąc	mėnesis
12	NEST	Nest	nyth	nist	gniazdo	lįzdas
13	QUICK	keck	byw	keam	żywy	gývas

14	WOOL	Wolle	gwlan	gełmn	wełna	vılna
15	YEW	Eibe	ywen	aigi	iwa	jiēvā

TABLE I

COMMENT : The above table with assorted genetic cognates clearly illustrates our earlier doubt whether distantly related lexicons can offer much ample material for an unprepared learner to make use of in the comparative approach. Sound changes such as the centum : satem split, the Germanic consonantal shift, the Slavic resonant metathesis and others have obscured the genetic relationships of the cognates in Table I. Only in a few instances, e.g. /2/, /10/, do we find regularly evident similarities³; otherwise the corresponding nature of the above genetic cognates may appear obvious only to a linguist, armed with his intuition and knowledge of the comparative method, sound change laws etc.

For the sake of simplicity, the table has virtually ignored the semantic considerations, yet if we look closer at the meanings designated by the cognates we shall find for example that the Armenian form related to quick /13/ is actually an inflected verb meaning "I live" or that the Lithuanian formal equivalent of wool /14/ has a more restricted reference of "hair of wool". There are many more examples of this kind of sense development to be noticed among genetic cognates⁴.

Since among cousin languages we have to do with relatively few cognates, which moreover show distant grapho-phonemic and sometimes semantic similarity, we might be confined practically to numerals, whose meanings can be safely equated and whose forms remain fairly similar. Thus it could be argued that owing to this genetically conditioned similarity, however remote, it might be easier for a Danish speaker, for instance, to learn a set of Portuguese or Albanian numerals than the corresponding sets of Turkish or Estonian numerals. Compare Table II.

	INDO - EUROPEAN			NON-INDO-EUROPEAN	
	DANISH	PORTUGUESE	ALBANIAN	TURKISH	ESTONIAN
1	en	um	nji	bir	üks
2	to	dois	dy	iki	kaks
3	tre	tres	tre	üp	kolm
4	fire	quatro	katër	dört	neli
5	fem	cinco	pesë	beş	viis
6	seks	seis	gjashtë	altı	kuus
7	syv	set	shtatë	yedi	seitse
8	otte	oito	tetë	sekiz	kaheksa
9	ni	nove	nënt	dokuz	üheksa
10	ti	dez	dhjet	on	kümme

TABLE II

COMMENT : Due to common inheritance Danish, Portuguese and Albanian can be said to have sets of resembling basic numerals in that the initial consonants or vowels agree in five pairs for the former two and in six pairs for the latter two, while in /2/ and /10/ the Danish /t/ corresponds to the Portuguese and Albanian /d/. Besides, in /4/ the Portuguese quatro and the Albanian katër can be easily identified through associations with such Danish words as kvart, kvarter, kvartet and other doublets. As no such mnemonic devices can be employed when attempting to memorize the Turkish or the Estonian sets they might be included among nonsense words by our hypothetical Danish learner.

Making use of such correspondences, however, does not take our learner any further than the numerals or perhaps the days of the week and the names of the months. On the whole, little advantage can be taken of genetic cognates in L_2 if L_1 happens to be its distant cousin.

2.1.2 In contradistinction to the cousin type of relationship sister languages can easily be felt to be related by an unsophisticated learner, for besides preserving very similar forms of words descended from

unattested proto-language etymons they share a large vocabulary which is not present elsewhere. Let us for instance analyse the following set of correspondences :

No.	ENGLISH	GERMAN	DUTCH	SWEDISH	DANISH
1	brown	braun	bruin	brun	brun
2	house	Haus	huis	hus	hus
3	mouse	Maus	muis	mus	mus
4	out	aus	uit	ut	ud
5	hand	Hand	hand	hand	haand
6	man	Mann	man	man	mand
7	go	gehen	gaan	gå	gaa
8	blue	blau	blauw	blå	blaa
9	foot	Fuss	voet	fot	fod
10	good	gut	goed	god	god
11	fowl	Vogel	vogel	fågel	fugl
12	bone	Bein	been	ben	ben
13	broad	breit	breed	bred	bred
14	drink	trinken	drinken	dricka	drikke
15	wife	Weib	wijf	viv	viv

TABLE III

COMMENT: The above cognates from five Teutonic languages are not just only similar ; the formal differences, which are not at all extreme, can in several cases be systematically described; if they are consistent, they can be generalized for the purposes of instruction, which could make the acquisition of a number of L₂ cognates a more meaningful process. Thus, sets 1-4 can be simplified to the following graphic and phonetic alternations :

	ENGLISH	GERMAN	DUTCH	SWEDISH	DANISH
spelling	<ou/ow>	~ <au>	~ <ui>	~ <u>	~ <u>
sound	[əʊ]	~ [aʊ]	~ [ɥj]	~ [tʰ:]	~ [u]

TABLE IV

In the same way sets 5-6, 9-10 and 12-13 could be described as systematically different. Since we are able to find such consistent correspondences it can be tentatively assumed that a speaker of one sister language ought to be in a position to learn with ease a whole set of cognate words from another sister language. At this stage of our reasoning we intentionally disregard the otherwise essential division of vocabulary into active and passive. Likewise, we are not at present concerned with those psychological aspects of vocabulary learning which cause near-identical lexical units in L_2 to be uninteresting to study.

We have not as yet dealt with the meaning content of genetic cognates, whereas in actual fact semantic considerations might eliminate from our rather overoptimistic estimate a number of items ; or at least we might have to admit conscious introduction of these L_2 items as dissimilar in meaning together with their appropriate semantic counterparts in L_1 . Several examples of this kind were to be found in Table I, except that they did not bear enough formal similarity and thus were altogether rejected. Now Table III is not completely free from members of individual sets whose sense development has brought about certain differences in referential meaning in comparison with the other members. For example fowl /11/ and Weib /19/ stand out from their sets from the point of view of semantic marking, to name only a couple of instances. Similarly the English word deer is etymologically related to the German Tier, Dutch dier and Swedish djur, but while the latter three designate the concept of "animal", their English formal counterpart does it only in a rather archaic phrase small deer /e.g. "mice"/, otherwise referring to "any of various hoofed mammals of which the males characteristically have seasonally shed antlers". Figure 1 represents another example in a more conspicuous, diagrammatic form.



FIGURE 1

COMMENT: Figure 1 represents the force of borrowing. A loan from an uncertain source, the word dog caused the native Germanic hound to assume the role of a marked HYPONYM. This is exactly parallel to the way in which animal diminished the range of deer, except that the new unmarked HYPERONYM dog was later imported by other languages, in which it exists as a hyponym of the surviving native term, denoting a canine species. Thus we get a reverse relationship between the genetic and borrowed cognate forms of English and its Germanic sisters. Partial overlappings of the above type are treated more extensively later in the present study /section 4.3.2/.

2.2 Loans of various sorts may well make up the largest portion of the lexical material shared by L₁ and L₂ that is available for our pedagogical comparative scrutiny. Within a general theory of lexical borrowing, such as the one propounded by Haugen /1950:212 ff.; 1972:79 ff./, we can speak of the following types of loans :

- /i/ LOANWORDS : both form and meaning are borrowed, with whatever degree of adjustment to the phonological system of the borrowing language, e.g. English howitzer / from German via Czech /, khaki / from Persian via Hindi /, tea / from a Southern Chinese dialect via Malay and French/.
- /ii/ LOANBLENDERS : part of the form is native and part is borrowed, but the meaning is borrowed fully, e.g. Pennsylvania Dutch substitution of the native suffix -ig for English -y, as in bassig

"bossy" or tricksig "tricky" ; American Portuguese alvachus "overshoes", in which the native prefix -al replaced the initial part of over-⁵.

/iii/ LOANSHIFTS, also known as LOAN TRANSLATIONS or LINGUISTIC CALQUES : the meaning is borrowed, but the form is composed of native material. Examples : German Halbwelt coined after French demi-monde, Swedish samvete copied from Latin conscientia, Polish ogniotrwały based on German feurefest, etc.⁶

In order to sum up what has been said thus far about the general typology of lexical borrowing let us consider the diagrammatic representation below, which is an adaptation of Anttila's larger table /1972 : 156, Fig. 8-1/.

	MORPHEMIC IMPORTATION	MORPHEMIC SUBSTITUTION	SOUND SUBSTITUTION
LOANWORDS	+	-	+
LOANBLENDINGS	+	+	+
LOANSHIFTS	-	+	-

FIGURE 2

COMMENT : As indicated by the last row of the above diagram, lexical borrowing can in fact blend into sound change. Sound substitution can range from zero to distortion of the input version beyond recognition, as is the case for instance with numerous English loans in languages with dramatically different phonologies, e.g. Japanese takushii "taxi", beisuboru "baseball", Hawaiian palaki "brush", Mele Kalikimaka "Merry Christmas", or American Finnish teipperi "diaper", karpitsi "garbage" /the examples are quoted here from Anttila, 1972 : 156 f./.

2.2. 1 The effect of borrowing on the structure of lexicon can be manifold. Here we shall only consider those aspects which are relevant for our comparative approach to L₂ vocabulary instruction.

It follows from the work of Scotton and Okeju /1973 : 871

ff. / that lexical borrowings do not necessarily introduce new items to the culture of the borrowing language, for borrowings infringing upon the core vocabulary of the recipient language are also quite common. Their data support the possible correlation of different types of lexical borrowing with differences in degree of social contact between neighbouring linguistic communities.

As illustrated by Figure 1, newcomers to the lexicon by and large re-model the pre-existing semantic relationships, the effects ranging from complete ejection of the older word / in which case no semantic change need take place / to renovation in referential meaning and the rules of lexical co-occurrence. Since the innovation and the older word cannot exist side by side as free variants, one of them becomes semantically and/or stylistically marked. It need not always be the older lexical unit, as the fate of deer or hound might be suggesting. For example Anttila /p. 161/ reports an interesting specimen of two neighbouring dialects, one Russian and one Finnish, each borrowing a term for "horse" from the other. The borrowed cognates варжа and koni have both assumed the function of decidedly marked hyponyms of the native лошадь and hevonen, respectively in the Russian and Finnish dialects.

Abundant lexical borrowing may result in the rise of a lexis with hosts of synonyms. English clearly exemplifies this effect with its Anglo-Saxon and Romance pairs of words capable of expressing nearly identical concepts. It is indeed possible to have in English reasonably equivalent versions of the same sentence or passage, one with Germanic words and one with Romance words. /1/ and /2/ exemplify this convenience / cited after Barter, 1970 : 58 /.

/1/ "GERMANIC ENGLISH" : I understand that you cannot find the things. You seldom let me help you to seek them.

/2/ "ROMANCE ENGLISH" : I comprehend that you are not capable of discovering the articles. You rarely permit me to aid you to search them.

COMMENT : One cannot draw a complete parallel between /1/ and /2/, for they belong to different modes of rhetoric /each suffering somewhat from deficiencies of style/; besides, the function words used in either version are of Germanic origin. Nonetheless, roughly the same message can be communicated alternatively without resorting to unduly artificial means. For the sake of linguistic comparison let us analyse /3/ and /4/ ; the content words in /1/ and /3/ are genetic cognates, whereas the content words in /2/ are borrowed cognates of their partners in /4/, directly or indirectly.

/3/ DUTCH : Ik versta dat U kan niet de dingen vinden.
Zelden laat U mij helpen om hun te zoeken.

/4/ FRENCH : Je comprends que vous n'êtes pas capable
de découvrir les articles. Vous me permettez
rarement de vous aider à les chercher.

Grzebieniowski /1962 : 75/ observed that in English the words of Romance origin are often marked stylistically with respect to their Germanic synonyms, which is for example felt in such pairs as ponderous : heavy, rigid : stiff, vigilant : watchful. The contrast between the two fundamental components of the contemporary English lexis can be appreciated in a more forcible way in /5/, which is a piece of Spanish prose compiled by Barter /p. 54/ apparently in order to comprise as many words common to English and Spanish as possible.

/5/ SPANISH : Un diá de septiembre un ambicioso y astuto capitán de infantería de origen inferior se presenta a un famoso general de caballería de una familia noble, y con afabilidad le ofrece un célebre camello negro de pura raza y de una velocidad extraordinaria.

El oficial superior responde con acrimonia y animosidad y repulsa la sugestión con reproches para su presunción.

COMMENT : In the above passage, the underlined lexical units, which are nearly all the content words used, have their

borrowed cognates in English. This makes the passage probably easily translatable, even by a monolingual⁷, if he can identify slightly different spellings of ofrece/r/, raza or presunción, given plenty of clues from the contexts. However, besides being able to conceive of pieces of Spanish prose with fewer corresponding lexical items and besides spotting among the borrowed cognates some instances of only partial overlapping⁸, a careful reader will notice that many a word in the passage may strike our unprepared monolingual as fastidiously formal from his English point of view because they are cognate with the English stylistically marked vocabulary, e.g. velocidad "velocity" /usually "speed"/, astuto "astute" /usually "clever"/, presunción "presumption" /usually "arrogance"/ etc.

The same effect is also felt strongly in the monolingual's reception of the English spoken or written by speakers of Romance languages. Aware of the numerous word pairs and able to apply the noun, adjective, adverb and verb forming suffixes, they frequently overtransfer their native vocabulary into English. In Richards /1974/ we find a sample of a French learner's speech with two instances of the negative transfer in question /among other interference and overgeneralization errors/. It is reproduced here in part under /6/.

/6/ A NATIVE SPEAKER OF FRENCH : "The piston is actionated by the steam and it is connected to a wheel which it makes turned. The steam . . . this engine has been discovered in the 18th century, but James Watt is the person who ameliorate it and who give it his actual form"
/p. 37 f./

COMMENT : The underlined uses in /6/ are manifestations of a strategy whose employer makes up borrowed cognates. The effect is, however, deficient ; actionate, the expected borrowed cognate of actionner, simply does not exist in English, while ameliorate can be the semantic equivalent of améliorer only in elevated registers.

2.2.2 In the foregoing considerations we have attempted to outline the types of problems resulting from the mere fact that due to interborrowing L_1 and L_2 usually share the occurrence of resemblant lexical forms, which constitute a special vocabulary from the point of view of teaching and learning L_2 lexical units. Naturally, we have not dealt with all aspects of lexical borrowing ; in fact, without going beyond the boundaries of the present study we could not afford to give even passing mention to such implications as interference resulting from gender and number assignment of loanwords / however cf. such studies as Fisiak, 1961 ; and Fisiak, 1975 / or the phonemics of loanwords / see however Haugen, 1949 ; Fisiak, 1962 ; and Fisiak, 1967 /.

2.3 It follows from the conclusions arrived at in sections 2.1 and 2.2 that, though different in number, genetic and borrowed cognates both can be included in the material to be taught comparatively, provided that individual representatives of either class satisfy the learner's / and not just the acute linguist's / similarity criteria at various levels. It can also be added that since our ultimate objective is pedagogical / and not linguistic / the difference between genetic cognates and loanwords need no longer be essential. Besides, we have no means of assessing the absolute learner ability to differentiate between the two classes of familiar vocabulary. Sometimes this would hardly be possible for a language student, as due to phonological and morphological assimilation processes many loanwords are virtually indiscernible as foreign acquisitions. For example Levkovskaja /1956 : 83 / lists a number of early / pre-15th century : LEHNWORTER / and late / post-15th century : FREMDWÖRTER / loanwords into German, which give support to the above statement, e.g. Tanz, Zelle, Eid, Fest ; Dolch, Gurke, Lärm, Onkel, Weste. Similarly, a native speaker of English is generally unlikely to suspect the very well assimilated loans such as wall or inch of non-Germanic origin as their mono-syllabic structures make them look more like the native day or roof than like the obvious borrowed items appendix and pendulum / cf. Grzebieniowski, 1962 : 33 /.

Many handbook authors who in their foreign language instruction materials consciously direct the learner's attention to cognate vocabulary appear to hold a similar view on the question of genetic and borrowed cognates. Consequently, we should not think it erroneous of Brichant /1968 : 4/, for instance, to recommend the English learner of French to associate île with island by means of analogy to such French and English pairs as forêt : forest, hôpital : hospital, hâte : haste etc., even though the circumflex accent in the French items representing the former presence of the character and the sound of "s" only accidentally implies the same relationship between île and island⁹. The latter word is of Teutonic origin /cf. for instance Old Norse eyland, Old Frisian eiland and Old English ēgland / and hence totally unrelated either to the French member of the pair or its Latin etymon insula¹⁰. However, from the standpoint of the English learner the historical facts are of less significance than the mnemonic device facilitating the acquisition of French lexical items.

3.0 Pedagogical implications

In the present paper we have been hitherto concerned mainly with the formal aspects of the resemblant vocabulary in L_1 and L_2 . In order to supplement the semantic background of the problem in question / previously dealt with in sections 2.1.2 and 2.2.1 / we are now going to add a few further comments, which will have immediate bearing on our comparative approach to the actual teaching methods.

3.1 As pointed out by Fisiak /1970 : 41/, in the course of lexical borrowing the following phenomena occur :

"Lexical items are never borrowed from one language into another as complete dictionary entries but only in concrete life situations in one of their senses, i.e. in the form of a concrete path. /.../ Lexical items which have more than one sense in the donor language have always fewer senses when they appear in the borrowing language. /.../ The semantic adaptation of loanwords in the borrowing language ...

affects the internal structure of... an entry modifying its paths by the addition or deletion of a semantic marker, distinguisher or restriction. This leads to the phenomena traditionally known under the headings of the narrowing, extension and shift of meaning."

These facts, in effect, yield the following types of possible semantic relationships between the lexical items of the donor language and their grapho-phonemic equivalents in the borrowing language / Figure 3 is a summary of a longer argument presented by Weźna, 1977 : 73 f. /:

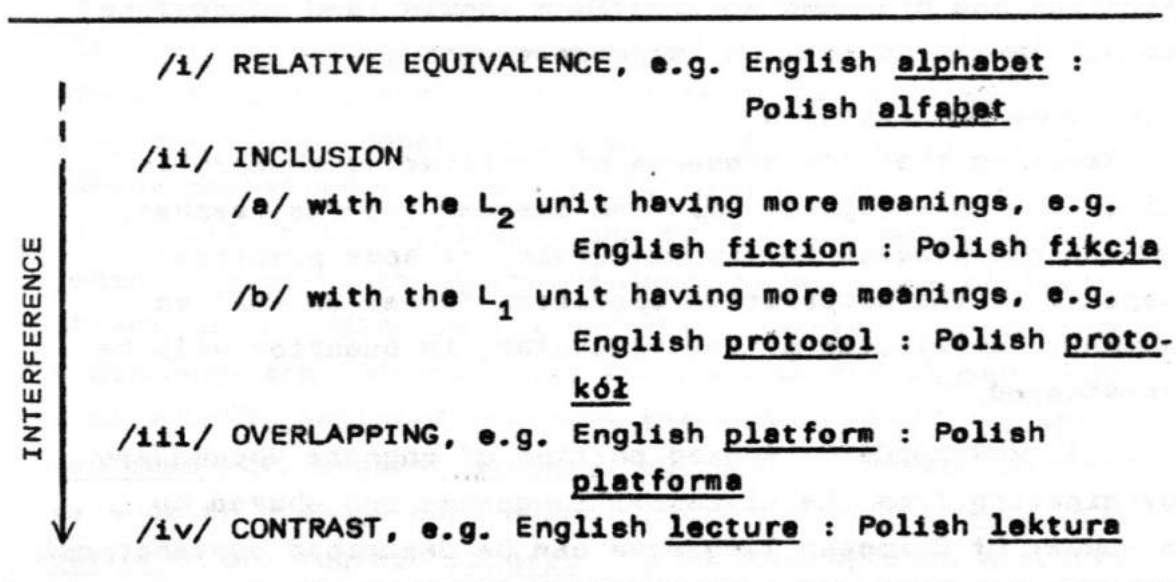


FIGURE 3

COMMENT : Interference increases from class /i/ to /iv/ ; the figure concerns both loanwords and genetic cognates.

3.2 It would follow from Arabski's /1979 : 32 ff./ analysis of lexical errors made by Polish learners of English that problems with, for instance, overlapping or contrasting L₁ and L₂ formally related items are scarcely more observable than are the effects of underdifferentiation or lexical shift. However, studies such as Abberton /1968/ and Majer /in preparation/ show that errors committed in the area of familiar vocabulary are frequent and remain persistent even in advanced students.

3.3 As regards the recipient of the instruction in ressemblant vocabulary, it might be added that his success with our comparative approach should be greater if besides scoring high on such uncontrolled learner variables as aptitude, intelligence, memory and motivation /cf. Jakobovits 1970 : 98 f. / he could meet the following criteria : /i/ some knowledge about human language as such ; /ii/ some awareness of language contact and linguistic evolution ; and /iii/ the number of languages already mastered or studied. The alternative variables may be suggesting a learner well advanced in a high level of instruction, best of all a student in a language institute, yet in actual fact, our findings and proposed applications should lend themselves to all levels of foreign language teaching.

4.0 Some applications

Assuming that the presence of familiar vocabulary in L₂ is to the advantage of both the learner and the teacher, we can now proceed to the discussion of some practical aspects of the comparative approach. Formal as well as semantic attributes of the vocabulary in question will be considered.¹¹

4.1 MORPHOLOGY. A good portion of cognate vocabulary originating from the classical languages and shared by a number of European languages can be described systematically in terms of consistent differences in spelling and pronunciation. This is especially possible with polysyllabic lexical units containing productive Greek and Latin affixes.

4.1.1 SPELLING. Compare Table V.

ENGLISH	FRENCH	ITALIAN	PORTUGUESE	SPANISH
-able	-able	-abile	-avel	-able
adorable	adorable	adorabile	adoravel	adorable
-tion	-tion	-zione	-ção	-ción
attention	attention	attenzione	atenção	atención
-ail	-ail	-aglio	-alho	-allo
detail	detail	dettaglio	detalho	detallo

TABLE V

COMMENT : The sample presented in Table V shows that some of the vocabulary descended from Latin and currently used by the speakers of English and Romance languages differs little in the spelling of stems, while the productive suffixes partly overlap and partly are dissimilar. Yet the correspondences between the suffixes can be internalized by the students if a conscious method of presentation of the material is selected by the instructor.

The aim of such a method will be to teach the correct spelling of borrowed cognates ; tables such as the one above will suffice to explain the difference in spelling for the development of the receptive skills, however.

EXAMPLE /i/ : The teacher prepares a list of native tongue words which are related in a predictable way to some L₂ words. The morphological constituents can be dissimilar but the differences contained in them must be consistent.

For instance the following generalization can be arrived at when presenting the correspondence between the English /L₁/ abstract nouns ending in -ty and their Spanish /L₂/counterparts. The learners are informed that the Spanish formal equivalents are invariably feminine and have the ending -dad, e.g. sociedad, obscuridad /cf. English society, obscurity/, except where the stem ends in a consonant, which yields the suffix -dad, e.g. libertad / cf. English liberty /. The teacher then dictates the English words and the students write their Spanish partners. When the exercise is finished, the teacher shows the correct answers on the overhead projector and explains some further exceptions, e.g. ambigüedad rather than the expected ambiquidad, or crueldad instead of crueltad.

EXAMPLE /ii/ : The instructor gives the students pairs of sentences ; the native version is complete, whereas its L₂ translation has to be filled in by supplying a cognate.

Allen and Valette /1977 : 162 f./ suggest the following exercise. The learners provide the French /L₂/ equivalents of the English /L₁/ verbs ending in -ish. The teacher reminds them of the French ending -ir, necessary to generate the proper form of the infinitive to be used in the finite

form. The learners are also told that a single "e" in English is usually written "é" in French. /7/ and /8/ are examples of this technique.

- /7/ a. The Indians perished.
b. Les Indiens _____. /périrent/
/8/ a. They are demolishing that wooden house.
b. Ils _____ cette maison en bois.
/démolissent/

4.1.2 PRONUNCIATION. It is hoped that someone studying a foreign language will not necessarily expect an L_2 word spelled exactly the same as some L_1 word to be pronounced the same as well. Nonetheless, the instructor had better be on the safe side and demonstrate the differences ; this can be done also for the purpose of making the students more familiar with the foreign sounds operating on the intimate spelling, especially in the early stages of instruction.

EXAMPLE /i/: Several English / L_2 / loanwords in Polish / L_1 / are selected, e.g. radar, bluff, U.F.O. etc., and their pronunciation is compared with the identically spelled sources in the donor language. The words are practised orally and the transcription is supplied. The students may be later encouraged to try and find some more examples on their own and present them for the rest of the class.

EXAMPLE /ii/ : The problems of pronunciation can be combined with the problems of spelling to form a general practice in the morphology of part of familiar vocabulary.

For instance, pointing it out to the French / L_1 / learners of English / L_2 / that the French nouns designating professions or active objects change the suffix -eur to -or in order to become the formally corresponding English nouns, the teacher ought to stress at the same time that the English equivalents take reduced endings ; the suffix contains no full vowel and the pronunciation of the liquid sound following the reduced vowel depends on the dialect and the phonetic context. An explanation of this kind may be followed by some practical exercises consisting in repetition or reading, but it is also advisable to sum up the sound and spelling transformations in the form of a table like the one below.

	FRENCH	ENGLISH
SPELLING	<-eur>	<-or>
PRONUNCIATION	[øʀ]	[aɪ]/[ə]
	accélérateur	accelerator

TABLE VI

4.1.3 That a conscious comparative approach to the teaching of morphology of similar grapho-phonemic structures in L_1 and L_2 is requisite will become clear when we consider the observation made by Wełna /1977 : 74 f./. There exists a chance that on the strength of the easily apperceived parallelisms of semantically and formally corresponding Polish / L_1 / and English / L_2 / suffixes and prefixes such as, respectively, -yzm/-izm and -ism or a- and a- the Polish learner of English might arrive at false translations, e.g. *authentism / the correct equivalent is authenticity ; cf. Polish autentyzm /, *artism / artistry ; cf. Polish artyzm / and *apolitical / non-political ; cf. Polish apolityczny/¹². The negative transfer of this type is unidirectional as it only affects the translation from Polish to English.

If the danger of interference on the level of morphology is to be diminished, the teacher should make generalizations about the isomorphism of certain L_2 and L_1 lexical items and introduce the commonest exceptions before the learner has a chance to overgeneralize.

4.2 LOAN TRANSLATIONS. It follows from Figure 2 that most linguistic calques by definition contain no formal importations. Thus, their status in terms of lexical borrowing consists in the translation of foreign morphemes into their native semantic counterparts. Because calques look and sound native they are hardly felt to be loans.

Loan translations are often preferred to loanwords for various linguistic and extra-linguistic reasons, the latter presumably ensuing from nationalistic language policies and puristic tendencies. Owing to such orientation Czech is reported to have fewer loanwords than Polish, despite

considerable lexical borrowing from German. However, the feat of having resisted a number of potential loanwords was accomplished at the expense of having allowed many calques / Rybicka, 1976 : 91 /.

A number of loanshifts currently existing in European languages are translations of Latin polymorphemic structures. Some typically classical calques are listed in Table VII.

LATIN	omnipotēns	aequilibrium	versimilis
DUTCH	almachtig	evenwicht	waarschijnlijk
GERMAN	allmächtig	Gleichgewicht	wahrscheinlich
SWEDISH	allmäktig	jämvt	sannolik
LATVIAN	visspēcīgs	līdzsvars	varbūtējs
POLISH	wszemogący	równowaga	prawdopodobny
HUNGARIAN	mindenható	egyensúly	valószínű

TABLE VII

Calques can be employed in the course of translative exercises whose primary objective is to practise other aspects of L₂ usage, for instance grammatical structures. The instructor should encourage his students to guess the forms of calques in L₂, provided that they can arrive at the corresponding items safely, that is without having to vacillate in view of any changes occurring at constituent boundary. Calques such as English overweight /noun/ : German Übergewicht, German Zeitschrift : Polish czasopismo, English round-table : Italian tavola rotonda, or German Übersetzen : Swedish översätta seem to meet this requirement.

4.3 DECEPTIVE WORDS. Misleading lexical pairs are often mentioned as a serious obstacle in inferring from the similarity of the grapho-phonemic representations. Having in mind a French or a Spanish learner of English, Politzer and Politzer /1972/ even wrote that these words "are the price the learner must pay for the advantage he is gaining by approaching English from a cognate language background" /p. 231/. Table VIII presents some very common "faux amis

du traducteur"¹³ which this kind of a learner might have to face.

SPANISH	realizar	= "achieve"	≠	realize	ENGLISH
	asistir	= "be present"	≠	assist	
	actualmente	= "at present"	≠	actually	
	intervenir	= "supervise"	≠	intervene	
FRENCH	deception	= "disappoint- ment"	≠	deception	
	garder	= "keep"	≠	guard	

TABLE VIII

Deceptive words /cf. Weźna, 1977 : 75 f. for definition and broader discussion/, such as above, are causes of interference at the level of semantics. In the following sections we are going to discuss a few teaching techniques expedient in handling deceptive words with the highest potential degrees of interference /cf. Figure 3/.

4.3. 1 CONTRAST. Politzer and Politzer /1972 : 231/ advise singling out deceptive words for specific exercises in which the actual meaning of the L₂ would-be equivalent and the correct semantic partner of the L₁ word implied by the former are contrasted.

EXAMPLE /i/ : French /L₁/ learners of English /L₂/ are warned of the misleading character of the formal similarity of, say, librairie and library ; presently, the instructor provides some pairs of differentiating contexts, e.g. /9/.

/9/ a. Mr Smith is buying his book in the BOOKSTORE.

b. He is borrowing some books from the LIBRARY.

In order to test the acquisition of such contrasts occasional multiple choice exercises, cloze procedure trials and translations can be carried out.

EXAMPLE /ii/ : Depending on the time allotted for the study of vocabulary, the teacher might use some more sophisticated explanation to account for the contrast of meaning between the similar graphophonemic structures in L₁ and L₂. Certain etymological and cultural facts can be drawn to the attention of the learner, and they may facilitate the

learning process. For instance the deceptive words from the previous example share enough of a common semantic field, owing to the etymologically embedded Latin word liber "book", not to be accidentally different.

Following this method an instructor in Spanish /L₂/, when establishing the relative semantic equivalence between arena "sand" and English /L₁/ sand or Polish /L₁/ piasek, could refer his students to "a place strewn with sand where contests and other spectacles were held", a meaning going back to the times when Latin was a living tongue. Indexical and/or symbolic sense developments of this type should be purposely pointed out by the teacher whenever possible, for such mediators might catalyze, as it were, the proper association of forms and meanings. It is only in the cases such as Polish karnacja "complexion" /cf. also French carnation, Italian carnagione, etc./ versus English carnation /now meaning "any of the cultivated varieties of the clove pink"/ that we have to do with apparently accidental contrasts.

EXAMPLE /111/ : Visual aids can be employed to illustrate the typical contrasts. Figure 4, which is an extension of the idea contained in Table VIII, is a diagram that can draw an English /L₁/ learner of German's /L₂/ attention to some fact about the comparison of the two lexicons in the simplest way.

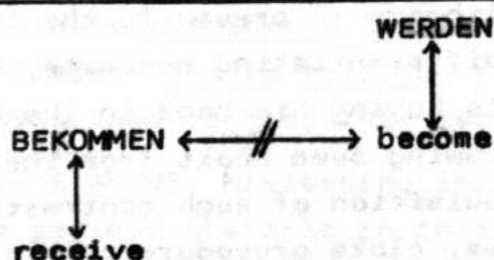


FIGURE 4

4.3. 2 OVERLAPPING. According to Stockwell et al. /1965 : 275/, partly deceptive words, i.e. overlapping L₁ and L₂ items, present even severer problems for the student of a foreign language. Incomplete overlapping of meanings

may indeed be very confusing, for since in at least some contexts the L_1 meaning can be transferred into L_2 positively the learner is in no position to predict which collocations are going to be congruent. It seems that while manipulating the overlapping lexical units endlessly in the actual classroom situation the teacher who normally does not resort to presuming upon the students' native language will not succeed in presenting these cognates adequately without frequent recourse to L_1 .

EXAMPLE /1/ : Besides pairs of contrasting contexts, such as those suggested for totally misleading items, visual aids can be employed by the teacher. Figure 5, which is part of a larger diagram compiled by Stockwell et al. /p. 274 f./, may serve as a useful source of reference for both English students of Spanish and Spanish students of English. To be sure, the figure below is inevitably a simplification, just like any diagram of this sort. Yet as no lexicographic source ever offers such relationships, this way might be the simplest if the teacher intends to prepare his class for the pitfalls in the area of familiar vocabulary.

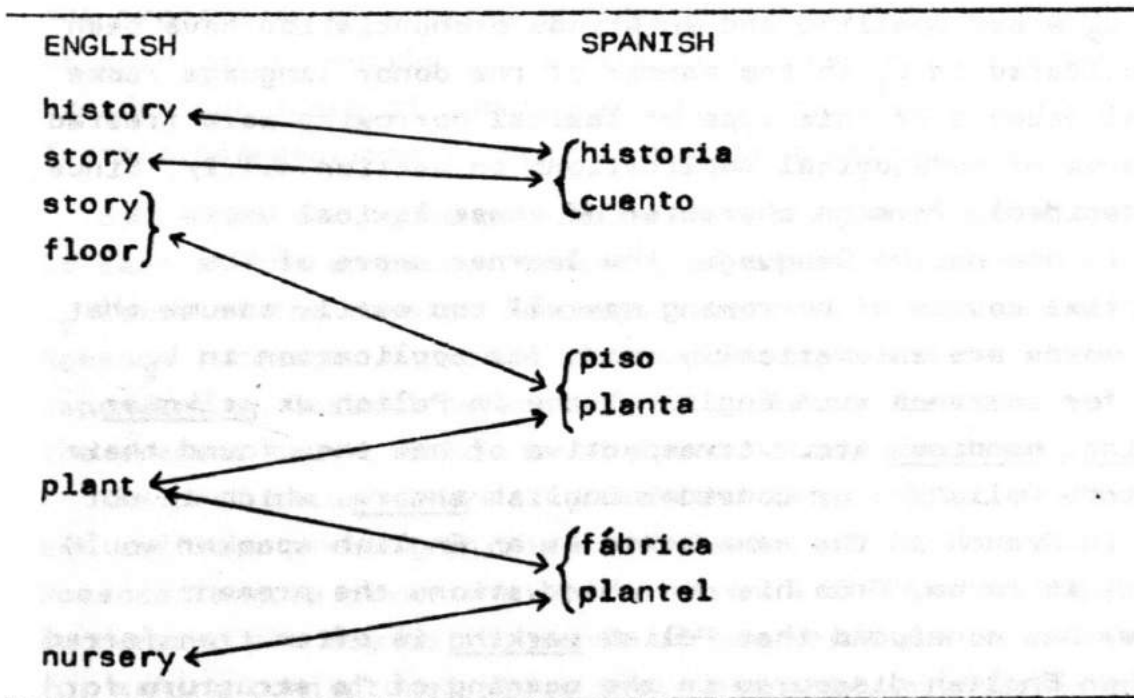


FIGURE 5

EXAMPLE /ii/ : Another form of the diagrammatic explanation of the overlapping meanings and readings may be Bolinger's modification of the branching tree. His presentation of the primary and secondary senses of the English noun virtue and its formal equivalents in some Romance languages is shown in Figure 6 with slight alterations /1975 : 231/.

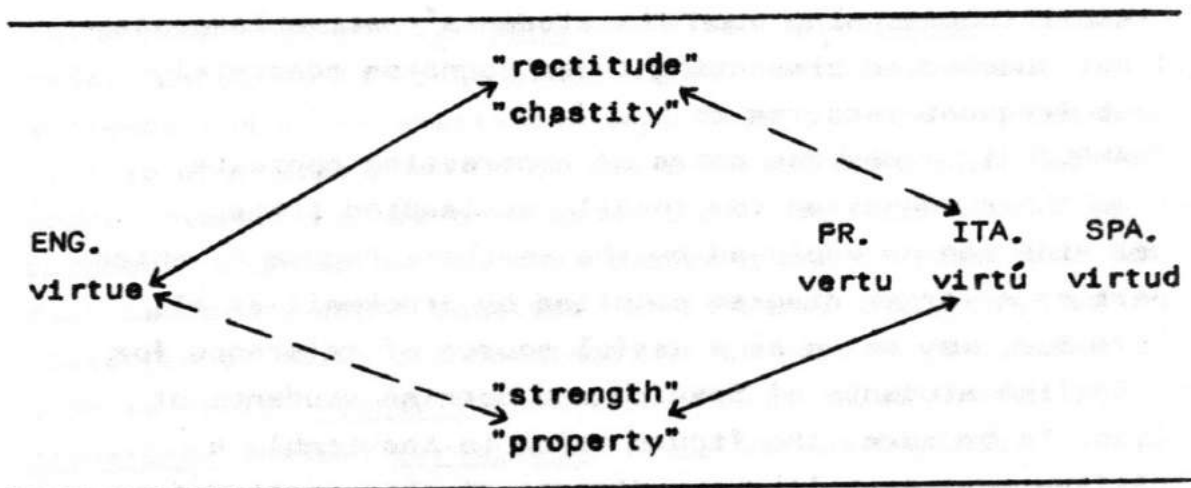


FIGURE 6

4.4 GRAPHIC LOANWORDS. The teacher would also be well advised to warn his students, even quite early in the course, of the not infrequent deceptive nature of those loanwords from L_2 whose spelling and sometimes pronunciation have been consolidated in L_1 in the manner of the donor language /some formal aspects of this type of lexical borrowing were treated in terms of pedagogical applications in section 4.1.2/. Since the decidedly foreign character of these lexical units is felt in his native language, the learner aware of the potential source of borrowing may all too easily assume that such words are automatically ready for application in L_2 . Take for instance such English loans in Polish as walkower, dansing, handicap etc. /irrespective of how they found their way into Polish/ ; or consider English encore, which is not used in French in the same sense as an English speaker would expect it to be. From his own observations the present writer has concluded that Polish parking is often transferred into an English discourse in the meaning of "a structure for cars before the learner is given a chance to find out that what he ought to be using instead is known to English

speakers as car park or parking lot.¹⁴ This type of interference is reported to be lasting until advanced stages of L₂ acquisition /e.g. by Abberton, 1968/, at least in the shape of performance slips.

4.5 FALSE LOANWORDS. Though perhaps of secondary importance, lexical items in L₁ believed to be L₂, but not existing in the L₂ lexis, can be causes of interference, too. They are usually coined of already borrowed elements in L₁ according to L₂ lexical patterns and ascribed to suppositional L₂ sources /Bantaş, 1977 : 124/, e.g. false English loanwords in Romanian: recordman "record-holder", clubman "club member", tennisman "tennis player" etc.

Just like graphic loanwords, the items under consideration are easily identified as potential importations, which is tantamount to automatic negative transfer. For that reason, the instructor in L₂ should offer his students some generalization upon encountering instances of this kind of interference.

5.0 Final remarks

The solutions outlined so far have sufficiently emphasized the importance of lexical borrowing and kindred vocabulary as such for L₂ vocabulary instruction. However, in order to broaden our scope of inquiry we might try to delineate some further perspectives for our comparative method.

5.1 Some very good prospects of vocabulary expansion can be seen in the conscious teaching of classical elements of L₂ lexis if the foreign language taught is English or a Romance language. An issue in its own right and only partly dependent on lexical borrowing, it could not be taken up in the present paper, which is of introductory character.

The productive nature of Greek and Latin roots, prefixes and suffixes present in the vocabularies of English and Romance tongues gives the learner from a different language background the key to thousands of new words /or at least for making conjectures about their meaning/, especially when studying the L₂ for special purposes /e.g. technical and scientific registers/. The learner will often find that the

same classical word formation devices make up some portion of his native language, but the resultant vocabulary is rarely represented among the most frequently used lexical units. It ought to be made clear, however, that we do not necessarily mean such common internationalisms as those compared in Table IX. They will doubtless be part of our comparative presentation of L₂ vocabulary, but only as individual units within the familiar vocabulary of the target language.

CLASSICAL GREEK	χάος	χαρακτήρ	λογική
BULGARIAN	хаос	характер	логика
BYELORUSSIAN	хаос	характер	логіка
CZECH	chaos	charakter	logika
DANISH	kaos	karakter	logik
DUTCH	chaos	karakter	logica
ENGLISH	chaos	character	logic
FINNISH	kaaos	karakter-	logikka
FRENCH	chaos	caractère	logique
GERMAN	Chaos	Charakter	Logik
ITALIAN	caos	carattere	logica
LATVIAN	haoss	/raksturs/	loģika
POLISH	chaos	charakter	logika
ROMANIAN	haos	caracter	logica
RUSSIAN	хаос	характер	логика
SERBO-CROAT	haos	karakter	logika
SPANISH	caos	carácter	lógica
SWEDISH	kaos	karakter	logik
UKRAINIAN	хаос	характер	логіка
etc.			

TABLE IX

Rather, by the classical elements to be specially selected for instruction we mean morphemes such as amphi-, ambi-, -anthrop/o/-, bi/o/-, circum-, con-, extra-, -morph/-form-, sub-, -terr/a/-, -ven/t/-, etc. Compounds made of these will often turn out to be easy to decipher upon the first encounter, given that the learner is able to

attach the correct meanings to Greek and Latin prefixes, roots /or stems/ and suffixes, e.g. English amphibious, anthropomorphous, circumvent, convene, extraterrestrial, subterranean etc. The question of teaching precisely these items has seldom been treated extensively so far, however studies such as Lee /1959/, Barter /1970/, Dechant /1970/ and Yorkey /1970/ can be invaluable sources of reference.

5.2 It likewise seems that studies in the optimum utilization of familiar vocabulary in L₂ should exert some influence on the criteria of selecting vocabulary for instruction materials. Advantage should be taken of the learner's LATENT BILINGUALISM /Rusiecki, 1980/, which compares borrowed cognates of whatever degree of assimilation and elements of linguistic folklore. To be sure, part of latent bilingualism is inevitably going to bring about interference at different levels due to unavoidable deceptive words, yet careful vocabulary selection followed by the teacher's comparative approach to familiar vocabulary can undoubtedly diminish this detrimental effect.

NOTES

- 1 Except that Swedish has borrowed mainly from Low German, so the loanwords /which have since assimilated/ do not stand out as much as the Romance items in the lexicon of English /Anttila, p. 172/.
- 2 Romanian borrowed heavily also from other sources, such as Turkish, German or Hungarian /Bantaş, 1977 : 122/.
- 3 Polish and Lithuanian have consistently alike forms in a few other cases, which is owing to greater genetic, cultural and geographical proximity of Baltic and Slavic languages. For comparison note the following cognates in Serbo-Croat /Slavic/ and Latvian /Baltic/ : /4/ EAT : jesti, ēst ; /8/ FIVE : pet, piecnieks ; /9/ HEART : srce, sirds ; /10/ MILL : mljeti, malt ; /11/ MONTH : mjeses, mēnesis ; /13/ QUICK : živ, dzīvs ; /14/ WOOL : vuna, vilna.
- 4 For instance Lithuanian smāugti formally comes pretty close to both English smoke and German Schmauch, but its semantic affinity with the two is only of indexical nature, as it means "to choke/with smoke/" /Klein, 1967 : 1462/.

- 5 These examples, however, will suffice to realize that leanblends will not play any important role in our theory, as they invariably rise in the speakers belonging to linguistic minority communities in every-day contact with the dominant language of the area. The conceivable relationship of these speakers toward the L₂ is entirely within the scope of second, and not foreign, language learning.
- 6 Loanshifts make up a number of lesser types. One of the most important is IMPERFECT CALQUE /cf. CALCO IMPERFETTO in Gusmani, 1974 : 39 f./, representing a number of loan translations which underwent a slight semantic change in the course of borrowing due to the choice of a synonym or an indexically related word instead of the expected direct semantic counterpart within the constituent structure of the new form. Compare, for example, the German forms WOLKENkratzer and LuftBRÜCKE with the original English skyscraper and air-lift, respectively. The German concepts are preserved in the versions of these calques borrowed into Polish drapacz CHMUR and MOST powietrzny.
- 7 Especially if we assume that the only etymologically non-related content word día and function words such as un/a, el/la, para, y, con etc. are all known by our hypothetical monolingual speaker of English through his Spanish LINGUISTIC FOLKLORE items, e.g. ¡Buenos días!, ¡Hasta la vista!, con permiso, etc. Particularly if this speaker lives in a community in which Spanish is spoken /e.g. in some areas of the United States/. For a broader discussion of linguistic folklore, see Rusiecki /1980/, whose work this term was borrowed from.
- 8 For example a few words used in /5/ may be somewhat deceptive in that they formally imply different words in English, e.g. origen "status", negro "black", or presentarse "to report /to s.b./". However, totally misleading items are absent; such as dinero, which implies dinner but means "money".
- 9 Obviously there is no chance similarity between French île and English isle; the latter comes from the former.
- 10 The English word island is an instance of SPELLING SPELLING /cf. Anttila, 1972/; an extra letter was added to it in order to make it look /but not necessarily sound/ more iconic with the unrelated but prestigious Latin word insula. Compare also other English instances of the same phenomenon such as doubt, debt and could.
- 11 Some of the earliest practical recommendations for the teaching of the familiar vocabulary of L₂ can be found in Anthony /1952-53/ and Anthony /1955/.

- 12 For that reason Paulston and Bruder /1976 : 183/ hold that such techniques should serve decoding of words for efficient reading and should not serve production through the process of word formation.
- 13 For discussion of this and other terms designating deceptive words see Weźna /1977/.
- 14 From the typological point of view the Polish /also Russian and Romanian, among others/ word parking can be treated as an instance of APOCOPE or ELLIPSIS /Bantaş, 1977 : 124/. Compare other clipped forms of English borrowings : Polish trencz and Romanian trenci from trench-coat, Polish cross /or ?kros/, Latvian kross and Romanian cross/s/ from cross-country race, Polish camping /also kemping or ?kamping/, Romanian camping and Estonian kämping from camping ground/site etc.

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Streszczenie

ZAPOŻYCZENIE LEKSYKALNE A KOMPARATYWNE PODEJŚCIE DO NAUCZANIA SŁOWNICTWA JEZYKA OBCEGO

Celem artykułu jest podkreślenie znaczenia, jakie dla nauczania i rozwijania słownictwa języka obcego mają zapożyczenia. W pierwszej, teoretycznej, części pracy przedstawione jest porównanie przydatności wyrazów pokrewnych i zapożyczeń w procesie przyswajania słownictwa, a następnie omawiane są leksykalne i strukturalne typy zapożyczeń. W drugiej, pedagogicznej, części artykułu postulowane jest świadome, lingwistyczne podejście do nauczania tej partii materiału leksykalnego. Przedstawiono szereg sposobów praktycznego zastosowania takiej metody, mających na celu z jednej strony maksymalne wykorzystanie gotowych powiązań formalnych, z drugiej zaś zapobieżenie wyciąganiu przez uczących się fałszywych wniosków co do znaczeń na podstawie czysto zewnętrznych podobieństw między wyrazami języka obcego a słownictwem języka rodzimego.