

ПОРІВНЯЛЬНО-ІСТОРИЧНЕ І ТИПОЛОГІЧНЕ МОВОЗНАВСТВО

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DOI <https://doi.org/10.32782/2710-4656/2023.5/25>*Vakhovska O. V.*

Kyiv National Linguistic University

HOW ENGLISH CHANGED ITS VIEW OF SADNESS: MAKING SENSE OF THE EMOTION, DIACHRONICALLY

*This paper shows how in the history of English a new word *sād* (Middle English) came to replace the old word *unrōt* (Old English), the two words having the human qualia of sadness as their referent. The assumption this paper makes is that the word *unrōt* meaning 'sad' got etymologically demotivated in the continuous and repeated usage it had enjoyed among the language speakers, which through a peculiar combination of extra- and intralinguistic factors was one of the causes the word *unrōt* eventually lost its expressivity and disappeared from English altogether. The word *sād* with the original meaning 'sated, surfeited; satisfied' (Old English *sæd*) had undergone a semantic change, with the result that this word acquired its new meaning 'sad,' and in fact appeared more emotive as compared to *unrōt* when it came to naming the speakers' experience of sadness qualitatively. The word *sād* took the place of the word *unrōt*, which in effect was – and which then actually caused – experiencing sadness in other and different terms, ultimately with a change in the English worldview, whereby speakers of English started to literally feel, understand, and 'see' sadness in a different way.*

*The etymological motives that each in their own time brought the words *unrōt* and *sād* into English are in this paper reconstructed as the inner forms of these two words, and then shown as the archaic images of fire (the word *unrōt*) and of water (the word *sād*), as the diachronic semantic reconstruction took up the etymological analyses together with the image-driven etymological interpretations of the words. Fire (red and masculine) and water (dark blue and feminine) appear as the two different senses that speakers of English have historically come to make of the emotion of sadness, prompted by the peculiar mental imagery, which is archetypal, as well as by the peculiarities of the social and cultural dynamics of the linguistic community.*

Key words: *diachronic semantic reconstruction, emotion, etymological interpretation, language change, meaning, mental image, sense, word, word inner form, worldview.*

*To accept the possibility of causeless phenomena
and at the same time to seriously do science
is forbidden for a consistent mind*

I. A. Baudouin de Courtenay

*The point is not in only describing the life of different societies
but in exposing the laws thanks to which they function*

E. S. Markarian

The problem statement. This paper continues our research on the *linguistic manifestation of human emotions* [27; 30; 31; 32; 34] and is a sister paper to our earlier work [28; 37] where a distinction is drawn between the diachronic depth of concepts in the worldview, on the one hand, and their diachronic variation, on the other. Whereas *the diachronic depth* [38; 39] of a concept is the archaic image that moti-

vated the emergence of this concept *per se*, and also the emergence of this concept's name into the language [28], *a diachronic variation* [1; 8] occurs in concepts throughout their evolution in the worldview, with the understanding that a mental image [19] is a structure of non-propositional thought [9], and a fact of man's archaic consciousness [6; 12], while a concept is a structure of propositional thought

[4; 18], and a fact of man's modern consciousness [12; 22]. As 'most apparently nonimage-schematic concepts <...> seem to have an image-schematic basis' [20, p. 37–38], non-propositional thought has the property to convert into propositional thought, the reverse being also true [3; 29; 33], which makes use of the visual and auditory zones of the brain [2], and of the deep and shallow layers of the mind [18].

This paper¹ addresses semantic change over time, and assumes that concepts in their diachronic variation may come to take different names – these names are words of language, – and each new name a concept takes manifests a change in this concept's content. What is more, a new name does give a different diachronic depth to this concept, as this name is a word whose emergence into language was prompted by a peculiar mental image, and it is this image that makes the concept's diachronic depth. The assumption of this kind raises an issue, however. The issue is this concept's identity, i.e. the condition of this concept being itself, and not another, as this condition is then questioned [5], which we believe is rather metaphysical in the sense that answers to this kind of questions are inaccessible to the human mind and knowledge; cf. the limit set in mathematics.

This paper presents the case of the words *unrōt* (Old English) and *sād* (Middle English) that in the history of English² came to name SADNESS as an emotion concept. This case brings together **emotion names** as part of the linguistic worldview – the words *unrōt* and *sād*; **emotion concepts** as part of the conceptual worldview – the SADNESS concept; and **emotions** as human qualia – the emotion of sadness [27]. SADNESS in its diachronic variation in the English worldview has come to take at least two different names – the words *unrōt* and *sād*, – each name testifying to the historicity [23; 25; 42] of sadness, i.e. this experientially was a different emotion when named by different words: sadness felt different, as each new name makes any emotion feel different [10; 11; 41]. Our question is: is this sadness that we discuss in this paper? or are these sadnesses? Cf. [35, p. 183].

Moreover, the words *unrōt* and *sād* have different inner forms, i.e. the words were motivated, and in their own time were brought into English, by two different images: the word *unrōt* was prompted by the

image of fire, while the word *sād* was prompted by the image of water. If the archaic image that motivated the emergence of a concept into a conceptual worldview, as well as the emergence of this concept's name into the linguistic worldview, makes the diachronic depth of this concept, then the images of fire and of water make different diachronic depths, i.e. two different concepts must have emerged from these depths, and our question is: is this SADNESS that we discuss in this paper? or are these SADNESSES? Cf. [35, p. 184].

Fire is masculine, and water is feminine, which is archetypal [16], and invites us to adventurously extend the question, as a thought experiment, to our own identity: when we were a zygote, was it us? as a zygote potentially could develop with equal probability into a male and a female, and still the feminine took over, and we were born female, this male we could be but have never become – is this male us? when we were an embryo, was it us? when we were a newborn, an infant, a teenager, etc., was it us? we seven years ago – was it us? The organism has the condition of being itself, and not another, indeed. A further identity question could be when one chooses to change their given name as one feels their chosen name different – different names do make one's different personalities, and then what happens to concepts that come to change their names, too?

Major publications and recent research. The nature and function of language *per se* become the ultimate, immediate, and universal cause for any change that occurs in language through time, encompassing the speakers' communicative and emotive needs for expressing, respectively, their thoughts and their feelings with the help of language [7, p. 31–33; 43]. Both the communicative and the emotive factors in **language change** are extralinguistic, i.e. they originate in the world but not in the language, whereas the needs for change that arise in language by itself are treated as intralinguistic, or systemic, factors, determining in particular the number and functions of **lexical units** in language, as well as the redistribution of functions among these units, without a change in the world. The extra- and intralinguistic factors interplay in a complex way, bearing out the slow but constant change in the forms and meanings of individual words of language, and in the wordstock of this language generally.

A special role in the **semantic change** of the words of language belongs to the emotive factor [24], orchestrating the phonetic, morphological, and semantic **motivation in words** [26]. Phonetic motivation is a correspondence between the sound form and

¹ Fragments of our works [28; 37] are taken for reconsideration in this paper.

² In the authoritative etymological dictionary of the Germanic languages by V. V. Levitsky (2010), as cited in [28], Old English, Middle English, and Modern English, for example, are rubricated as different languages: Old English and Middle English are archaic Germanic languages, and Modern English is a modern Germanic language, which yet is not intended to deny an identity to the English language *per se*. What matters then is to choose, and to agree upon, a good criterion for rubrication.

the meaning of a word, e.g. *Zickzack* in German, with the sounds [i] and [a] symbolizing a sharp turn, which the referent of the word ontologically is [7, p. 30–31]. Morphological motivation occurs in words made of two or more components with a lexical and/or grammatical meaning of theirs [ibid.], e.g. Ukrainian *вчителька*, with its three morphemes *вчи-тель-ка* and the meaning ‘a female who teaches at school.’ Semantic motivation is the property of words to have their inner forms, in contrast to outer forms [ibid.].

Whereas the outer form of a word is this word’s phonemic or graphemic container (i.e. word outer forms are material: they are entities in the world), **the inner form of a word**, according to O. O. Potebnya, is the fragment of this word’s meaning (i.e. word inner forms are not material: they are entities in the mind) that at the time of creation motivated the emergence of this word in its peculiar outer form into this particular language [cited from 35, p. 180]; word inner forms inherently are culture-specific, e.g. the inner form of the Ukrainian word *ведмідь* ‘a bear’ is ‘a creature who eats honey’ (*мед* ‘honey’ and **ěd-* ‘to eat’), while the inner form of the English word *a bear* is ‘a creature who is brown’ (Proto-Indo-European **bher-* ‘brown, shiny, bright’).

All three types of motivation are cued by the ability of units of different language levels to evoke images in the human mind [2; 3] exactly where these units are interpreted. This paper operationalizes **word interpretation** as a creative act of giving a meaning to a word and, vice versa, of manifesting a meaning via a word, whereby a mental image as a symbol is converted to the meaning of the word as a sign, and back: word interpretation as a meaning-making act is driven by mental images that represent in the human mind the phenomena of the world, and are the symbols for these [28]. Whereas words **describe** the world, mental images **depict** it [3], which we in this paper put down for the theoretical concept of **a national worldview** [q.v. 13; 14], whereby speakers of a language see, and experience, the world in a peculiar, culture-specific way prompted to them by this particular language [36]:

Man lives with his objects chiefly – in fact, since his feeling and acting depends on his perceptions, one may say exclusively – as language presents them to him. By the same process whereby he spins language out of his own being, he ensnares himself in it; and each language draws a magic circle round the people to which it belongs, a circle from which there is no escape save by stepping out of it into another [15].

By the general semiotic law of the inverse relationship between the extension and the intension of a linguistic sign [32, p. 38, drawing on Nikitin M. V.],

motivated words of language get continuously **demotivated**, as they lose their original motivators, expending with regular use the emotive load they once possessed, and give their place to new and other words that as yet are emotively loaded [7, p. 31–33, 456–465]. In the course of time, all the words in any language become demotivated, which has one of its psycholinguistic causes in the satiation, whereby the continued, long-term use and repetition of a word result into this word’s semantic attrition: the meaning of the word, together with its emotive load, gets obliterated [17, p. 421] and has no, or a much smaller, impact upon the speakers.

Language embraces arbitrariness for the relationship between the forms and meanings of words, but also inherently strives for a motivation in words, which is a panchronic and panlinguistic tendency towards **a substitution**, whereby words with an obliterated motivation get replaced by words with a vivid and transparent inner form [7, p. 462]. This in particular was the case in the history of the German language, for example, when the old name for the human head (*Haupt* < Germanic **haubida-* ‘a vessel, a pot > a head’) was substituted by a new one (*Kopf* < Germanic **kuppa* ‘a vessel, a cup > a head’) [40] with a bigger emotive load. In Modern German, the word *Kopf* has a number of synonyms, e.g. *Birne* ‘a pear > a head,’ *Ballon* ‘a balloon > a head,’ *Kürbis* ‘a pumpkin > a head,’ etc., that themselves are motivated words competing now with the word *Kopf* for the size of the emotive loads. As the word *Kopf* spends its motivation in the wide use it enjoys today, there is a possibility that one of the synonyms at some point in language evolution comes to replace *Kopf* as a new name for the human head in German [7, p. 462–463].

This apparently is a trade-off, as speakers in their use of language seek expressivity, choosing for this reason more motivated words, which leads to a more frequent usage of these words. This increase in the frequency of usage, in its turn, leads to a wear and tear, with a loss in motivation, and a reduced expressivity, of the words, which then results in a lower frequency of usage for these words, and ultimately in the substitution of these words by **new words**. **Old words** that lose out in the competition for expressivity either disappear from the language system completely, or relocate to the periphery of their lexical microsystem, or migrate to the other lexical microsystems of this language [7]. This competition, as much as the circulation of words that it causes, never stops in language, and is constitutive for semantic change.

The objective of this paper is to show how in the evolution of English a new word *sād* (Middle English)

came to replace the old word *unrōt* (Old English), the two words having the human qualia of sadness as their referent. The assumption this paper makes is that the word *unrōt* meaning 'sad' got etymologically demotivated in the continuous and repeated usage it had enjoyed among the language speakers, which through a peculiar combination of extra- and intralinguistic factors was one of the causes the word *unrōt* eventually lost its expressivity and disappeared from English altogether. The word *sād* with the original meaning 'sated, surfeited; satisfied' (Old English *sæd*) had undergone a semantic change, with the result that this word acquired the new meaning 'sad,' and in fact appeared more emotive as compared to *unrōt* when it came to naming the speakers' experience of sadness qualitatively. The word *sād* took the place of the word *unrōt*, which in effect was – and which then actually caused – experiencing sadness in other and different terms, ultimately with a change in the English worldview, whereby speakers of English started to literally see sadness in a different way.

The motives that each in their own time brought the words *unrōt* and *sād* into English are in this paper reconstructed as the inner forms of these two words, and shown as the archaic images of fire (the word *unrōt*) and of water (the word *sād*), which framed a diachronic semantic reconstruction taking up the etymological analyses together with the image-driven interpretations of the words. Fire and water appear as the two different senses that speakers of English have historically come to make of the emotion of sadness.

In what follows, we use the etymological works by K. Brugmann (1892), C. Onions (1966), M. Makovsky (1992, 1996, 2000, 2004), and V. Levitsky (2010) [cited from 28] in combination to reconstruct the original and the etymological meanings of the words *unrōt* and *sād* in English, as well as of the Proto-Indo-European roots **ar-* and **sá-* that these words respectively derive from.

Results and discussion. *Old English sæd* with the meaning 'sated, full, having had one's fill (of food, drink, fighting, etc.), weary of' ascends through the Proto-Germanic word **sathaz* 'full, sated' to the Proto-Indo-European root **seto-* < **sá-* 'to satisfy; satisfied; to satiate; satiated, full.' The syncretic meanings that emerge into the archaic man's sadness are 'to bend > to tie' > '(not) to move.' This is the movement of the water that comes from below the Earth; the water bends as it ties one up, filling them in. One feels heavy and bad, and does not move.

Proto-Indo-European **seto-* < **sá-* is the source also of Old Norse *saðr*, Middle Dutch *sat*, Dutch *zad*, Old High German *sat*, German *satt*, Gothic *saps*

'satiated, sated, full;' cf. also Latin *satis* 'enough, sufficient' and Ukrainian *cumuï* 'full, satiated, not hungry.' Throughout the Middle English language and early into the Modern English language, the noun *sadness* had the meaning 'solidness, firmness, thickness, toughness; permanence, continuance; maturity; sanity,' just as the adjective *sad* meant 'firmly established, set; hard, rigid, firm; sober, serious; orderly and regular.' The emergence of the meaning 'dejection of mind; depressed state, low spirits' for the noun *sadness* is dated by c. 1500, perhaps c. 1400. The semantic development of the word must have been 'heavy, ponderous' > 'weary, tired of' (i.e. 'full' mentally or physically, and thus feeling heavy), on the one hand, and 'serious' > 'grave, sober; dignified, solemn; discreet, wise; stern; trustworthy' (of a person, a group of nuns, etc.), on the other [21].

Movement emerges into the concept of sadness as the syncretic meanings (1) 'to bend' > 'to tie up:' this is one's fullness, heaviness, and immovability because of one's being tied up by water: the water bends before it ties one up; one is filled in with a thick liquid to one's brim; cf. Old Indo-Aryan *tanakti* 'to pull together; to clot' and Lithuanian *tankus* 'thick (of liquids);' (2) Indo-European **ker-/kes-* whose meaning (a) 'to bend, to cut' develops via enantiosemy into 'solid, hard' (i.e. 'unbending, difficult to cut'); cf. English *hard* and German *hart* 'hard, solid;' and (b) 'to beat' develops as 'to break up, to crush, to mill' > 'soil, ground;' cf. typologically English *grind* and *ground*; cf. also Old Indo-Aryan **ksam-* 'earth, soil' but *kosma* 'warm, wet;' Latin *mundus* 'the world, the universe' but Greek *μυδος* 'humidity, dampness;' Latin *humus* 'earth, soil' but English *humid*. The meaning 'earth, soil, ground' develops a semantic shift as 'low;' cf. Latin *humus* 'earth, soil' but *humilis* 'low.'

Indo-European words for perception as well as for internal experiences such as feelings and emotions (*to believe, to hope, to feel*, etc.) in a lot of cases correlate with words that denote the internal organs of the human body. In the archaic anthropomorphic model of the Universe, the human body is a microcosm: its internal organs are containers for the world-mind and seats for the Deity; cf. Latvian *just* 'to feel' but Old English *eosen* 'an intestine,' Latvian *ceret* 'to hope' but Latin *cor* 'the heart,' Latin *solor* 'to console' but Ukrainian *селезінка* 'the spleen;' cf. also Gothic *galaubjan* 'to believe' but Middle High German *lip* 'the stomach' and German *Leber* 'the liver;' Tocharian *A puk* 'to believe' but Old English *buc* 'the belly;' Gothic *wens* 'a hope' but Latin *venter* 'the belly;' English *hope* but Breton *kof* 'the belly;' Old English

raedan 'to think, to believe' but *réada* 'the stomach (of cattle);' Old English *sméagan* 'to think, to believe, to feel' but German *Magen* 'the stomach.'

Indo-European words for perception often correlate with the meaning 'a liquid;' cf. Latvian *just* 'to feel' but Latin *ius* 'a liquid;' English *to feel* but Indo-European **pel-* 'liquid;' Latin *sentire* 'to feel' but Old English *seað* 'a sea;' Macedonian *чувствуваат* 'to feel' but Indo-European **gheu-* 'to pour; moisture.' The meaning 'a liquid, a fluid; a juice' develops from the meaning 'to beat > to smash, to crush > moisture.' In archaic view, one's consciousness, with a clear awareness of the surrounding world, depended on the dryness of the air that one inhaled: dryness was believed to strengthen the intellect, contributing to the power of one's mind; cf. German *Tropfen* 'a drop' but *Tropf* 'a fool;' Ukrainian *дурь* 'pus' but *дурень* 'a fool.' This way, humans by virtue of their intellect were distinguished from animals that inhale the air from the ground and eat wet food.

Folk belief is that when one is asleep or taken by afflictions of the body as much as of the soul, one's vital organs shrink and contract, exuding a liquid; cf. Old English *mætan* 'to sleep' but Latin *madeó* 'to be wet, to make wet;' Indo-European **suep-* 'sleep' but Tocharian A *wip-* 'moisture, water' and Old English *wæpan* 'membrum virile' (literally, the organ that is moistening, making wet); Old English *slæpan* and German *schlafen* 'to sleep' but Indo-European **lei-* 'to pour, to moisten' > 'sticky fluid; grease,' as in Old English *lempit* 'a vessel;' English *dream*, German *traumen* 'to see dreams' but English *stream* and German *Rahm* 'cream.' On that, physical and mental illnesses were connected with bad liquids of the human organism; cf. French *goutte* 'a drop' but English *gout*. One's sadness apparently was caused by the secretions of their spleen; cf. *spleen* (obsolete) 'a human organ conceived of as the seat of spirit and courage or of such emotions as mirth, ill humor, melancholy, etc.; ill humor, peevish temper, or spite; melancholy; caprice.'

The adjective *sad* had developed its modern meaning 'unhappy, sorrowful, melancholic, mournful' by c. 1300: in this meaning, **Middle English** *sād* (its variants are *sad* and *sad(d)e*) as a more emotive word came to replace **Old English** *unrōt*, the negative derivative of *rōt* with the meaning 'joyful, cheerful, glad' (< Proto-Indo-European **ar-* 'to burn, a fire' > **rei-* 'colorful, mottled (about a fire)' > 'red,' with the understanding that this was the sacred fire: one felt joy when performing the ritual action at the sacred fire, worshiping the Deity; one felt sadness when not in this performance), which introduces into the concept of sadness the inter-

play of the images of *fire* and of *water*, the two elements forming the bases for many archaic beliefs, as they are each other's opposites.

Red was a magical color as it symbolized the sacred fire *per se* and also was its first chakra, meaning creation and birth; cf. Old Norse *reðr* 'membrum virile' and also Ukrainian *podumu* 'to give birth.' The light of the sacred fire was opposed to the darkness surrounding the Universe; this was a manifestation of the opposition of good to evil; cf. Old Indo-Aryan *ratra* 'the night.' Red stood for the divine movement and was the symbol of passion, purification, and joy in one's union with the Deity, which took place in the ecstatic rupture of pagan rituals performed by the fire. Both the fire and the red color that symbolized it were the masculine.

Red had blue as its counterpart, standing in opposition. **Blue** as the last chakra of the sacred fire was the symbol of vanishing and death, as happens when one transitions into a different state; the places where humans could dangerously lose their selves, caught into the lower world, were marked up by the blue fog. Movement got lost in the blue color, too, as if drowning and dissolving in it. Blue was the feminine, and, opposed to fire, stood for water; cf. Tocharian A *wip-* 'to be wet' but Old English *wip* 'a woman;' Latin *aqua* 'water' but Armenian *eg* 'a woman;' Indo-European **seu-* 'liquid' but Latvian *sieva* 'a woman;' Indo-European **kel-* 'liquid' but Tocharian A *kuli* 'a woman.' Water compared to sound, as they both flow, and stood for human speech, whereas the roar of the fire was the voice of the Deity; cf. Tocharian A *war* 'water' but Indo-European **yer-* 'to make sounds;' Latin *sanguis* 'blood' but English *song*. Indo-European words meaning 'water' often correlate with the meaning 'dark, black;' cf. Latin *aqua* 'water' but *aquilis* 'dark, black;' Irish *dubron* 'water' but *dub* 'black;' Tocharian A *war* 'water' but Gothic *svarts* 'black;' Swedish *dunken* 'wet' but German *dunkel* 'dark.'

Water was a phallic symbol as water gave life, equalling the semen of the Deity; various liquids, including blood, were used in pagan rituals as a sacrifice (cf. German *wetzen* 'to whet' and English *wet* and *whet*) and also for ritual libation, inducing the ecstatic states of mind; cf. English *blood* but Old Indo-Aryan **bhola* 'charmed, spell-bound.' Water, as much as the blue color that stands for it, symbolized the unconscious; cf. German *blau sein* 'to lose consciousness' and French *ne voir que du bleu* 'not to see anything' (literally, 'to see only the blue color'); cf. also Icelandic *blundr* 'sleep' and English *blunder*. When one is sad, they in English are said to be in the blues, too. The word *water* ascends to the Proto-Indo-European root

*aw- ‘to weave < to bend’ as in pagan beliefs water was a wickerwork: water was bending and weaving (cf. Indo-European *seu- ‘liquid’ and ‘to bend, to weave,’ *au- ‘water’ and ‘to weave;’ Indo-European *ner- ‘to weave’ but Old Indo-Aryan nar- ‘water’), and formed a net, ensnaring people.

Fire and water formed a divine unity, relating to both life and death in their cosmogonic opposition (cf. Indo-European *leibh- ‘water, fluid’ but German *Leben* ‘life;’ Indo-European *eus- ‘to burn’ but Old Indo-Aryan as ‘life’), which gave rise to the archaic distinction between good fire and good water, on the one hand, and bad fire and bad water, on the other; cf. Old Indo-Aryan nar- ‘water’ and Icelandic *nara* ‘life’ but German *Narr* ‘a fool.’ Good fire and good water gave life and purified, rejuvenating one and restoring their vitality; this fire and this water originated in the upper world; cf. Old English *swegle* ‘burning, fiery,’ *swegel* ‘the sun’ and Gothic *swikns* ‘clean’ (literally, purified by fire). Bad fire and bad water had their source in the lower world; cf. Latin *inferna* ‘hell, realm of shadows’ and Old Indo-Aryan *indu* ‘a drop of juice,’ where *erna is the anagram of *nar- ‘water.’ This fire and this water caused harm and inflicted death, tying up one’s vitality as one was locked in the flames of fire, or ensnared in the net of water; cf. German *Angst* ‘fear’ < Proto-Indo-European *angh- ‘narrow, tight’ < *ag-/*eg- ‘fire,’ which evokes the image of a person locked tightly into the flames of the fire that grip and stifle, causing suffocation there is no escape from.

People, in archaic beliefs, populated the middle world, where the world tree grew, connecting the lower, middle, and upper worlds, as it had its roots in the Earth (dark blue) but stretched its branches to the Sky (light blue). The world tree stood for the Deity, and also symbolized the androgyne as the masculine and the feminine in their oneness; cf. the personification of trees in myth and archaic fairy-tales where trees walk, talk, etc., their branches are arms, and their roots are legs. Just as trees have their juices, humans were believed to have juices in their bodies, too. This being the case, the sadness designated by the word *sād* is an organismic state when one is full of bad juices that come from the Earth, from the lower world

that the Earth encapsulates. This sadness is related to liquid and sound, and is the feminine. Its color is dark blue. Sadness is compression, as the liquids of one’s body thicken and clot. Sadness is an ecstatic state of mind, and is an altered state of consciousness wherein one feels heavy and dark.

This we believe might have been a point in the word *sād* replacing the word *unrōt* in the designation of sadness, as *sād* is self-contained in its motivation, while *unrōt* apparently is not. The word *unrōt* means ‘not in the state of joy of the religious rupture,’ i.e. ‘not in the process of worship at the sacred fire.’ Whereas *rōt* means one’s fullness with good fire, which is symbolic, *unrōt* as a derivative means that one is not full of good fire but the word does not specify exactly what element, substance, etc. one is full of, and thus the experience is ambiguous. The word *sād* must have come to deliver this specification, disambiguating one’s fullness in terms of bad water.

Conclusions. This paper has assumed that a change in the meaning, number, and configuration of words in a language results from a complex interplay of extra- and intralinguistic factors, and shown that etymological motivation of words is a potent factor causing this change, too. The *prospect* of this paper is a diachronic exploration of the other emotion concepts each manifested with different words in the history of English, e.g. the HAPPINESS concept and its names *sæl* (Old English) and *happiness* (Modern English through Middle English to *hæp* ‘luck, chance, hap, fortune’ in Old English), and of the emotion concepts manifested with words of the other languages of the world, with the understanding that each emotion concept has a unique historicity to it, put on record by distinct emotion names.

The exploration opens up onto unprecedented cross-linguistic parallels, drawing in cultures in their historical development, too, as the (Modern) German word *traurig* ‘sad,’ e.g., has the same inner form as the word *unrōt* ‘sad’ in (Old) English (the image of fire), while the (Modern) Ukrainian word *сумний* ‘sad’ – the same inner form as the word *sād* ‘sad’ > *sad* in (Middle > Modern) English (the image of water), to mention but a few.

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Ваховська О. В. ЯК АНГЛІЙСЬКА МОВА ЗМІНИЛА СВОЄ БАЧЕННЯ СУМУ: ОСМИСЛЕННЯ ЕМОЦІЇ СУМУ В ДІАХРОНІЇ

У статті показано, як в історії англійської мови нове слово *sād* (слово середньоанглійської мови) замінило собою старе слово *unrōt* (слово давньоанглійської мови), при тому, що обидва слова мали один і той самий референт – квалія суму, що його відчуває людина як суб'єктивний емоційний досвід. У статті зроблено припущення, що слово *unrōt* зі значенням 'сумний' поступово етимологічно демотивувалося в процесі тривалого використання цього слова носіями англійської мови, що в особливому поєднанні зовнішньо- та внутрішньолінгвістичних факторів стало однією з причин того, що слово *unrōt* остаточно втратило свою експресивність і зникло з англійської мови. Слово *sād*, початковим значенням якого було 'ситий, наповнений; задоволений' (*sæd* в давньоанглійській мові), зазнало семантичної зміни, в результаті якої це слово розвинуло своє нове значення 'сумний', й виявилось більш емотивним, ніж слово *unrōt*, в якості найменування для суб'єктивного досвіду емоції суму, що його відчували носії англійської мови. Так, слово *sād* зайняло місце слова *unrōt* в англійській мові, що означало якісно інший суб'єктивний досвід суму як такий, й стало причиною такого іншого досвіду, адже разом зі зміною слова відбулася зміна в англійській мовній картині світу, за якої носії англійської мови почали розуміти, відчувати і 'бачити' сум по-іншому.

Етимологічні мотиви, кожен з яких у свій час відповідно мотивував виникнення в англійській мові слів *unrōt* і *sād* в особній зовнішній формі цих слів, у статті реконструйовані в якості внутрішніх форм цих слів й показані як архаїчні образи вогню (слово *unrōt*) і води (слово *sād*) шляхом діахронічної семантичної реконструкції, яка включала етимологічний аналіз цих слів й їхню керовану ментальними образами етимологічну інтерпретацію. Вогонь (червоний колір, чоловічий символ) і вода (синій колір, жіночий символ) постали тими двома образами, в термінах яких носіям англійської мови протягом історії розвитку мовної спільноти трапилося осмислити емоцію суму. Це осмислення було підказано архетипами колективного несвідомого, характерними трансформаціями яких у свідомості й є образи вогню і води, а також скеровано соціокультурною динамікою, показною саме для цієї мовної спільноти.

Ключові слова: внутрішня форма слова, діахронічна семантична реконструкція, емоція, етимологічна інтерпретація, значення, картина світу, ментальний образ, мовна зміна, слово, смисл.