

The polysemy of the colour term *white* in English, Russian, Tajik and Uzbek

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Abstract

Colour is one of the central categories of both a conceptual and a linguistic world of image, correlated with an axiological and an esthetic assessment, a semiotic and value world of image of a given national culture, which allows us to talk about colour preferences, ethnic colour mentality, colour gaps and colour universals, that is, about the colour world of image. In addition, colours have senses specific to particular fields, from physics over printing to senses used in everyday life. In the present article, I carry out an analysis of the colour term *white* in English, and its counterparts in Russian, Tajik and Uzbek from the lexicological and lexicographical point of view, starting with a semasiological perspective, following Steinvall's (2002: 56) methodology. The conceptual space of the colour term *white* in lexicographic work tends to be kept compact rather than articulated in great detail, just like in the case of other types of colours, i.e. in an attempt to minimize polysemy, its senses are typically lumped, rather than split. The main aims were to investigate the differences in the representation of adjectives denoting white colour across languages and to compare monolingual and bilingual dictionaries with respect how they structure their meanings, as well as collocations and idiomatic expressions (often based on metaphors and metonymies). A number of field-like clusters of concepts related to the colour terms for *white* were established. Based on these findings, I proceed to make some suggestions for the improvement of the approach to colour terms for *white* and other colours in general use and pedagogical dictionaries.

Key words: the colour term *white*; polysemy; culture, metonymy; metaphor; pedagogical lexicography.

1. Introduction

Our world is full of natural colour. Against the background swathes of the blue sky, yellow sand, green grasses and white snow, we prize the fascinating hues of flowers, fruit, feathers and gemstones. Colours can be roughly divided into two types: chromatic colours, like red, blue, yellow; and achromatic colours, like white, black, and grey. Chromatic colours have all the attributes: hue, lightness, and saturation, but achromatic colours have no hue or saturation, they only have the attribute of lightness.

One might expect that the colour term *white* is not too exciting, as it is lacking variety and dynamicity. A completely white or blank surface is apparently uninformative, lacking contrast, and may therefore be considered to be without any contents. However, the fact is that studying the lexeme *white* can be extremely exciting because this word exhibits a lot of polysemy, even in the physical, literal sense, nothing said about its many figurative uses. This is obvious as soon as we consider the lexeme *blank*, a synonym of *white*. It is a word of Romance origin, and its cognates in French (*blanche*), Italian (*bianco*) or Spanish (*blanco*), exhibit a similar range of meanings, from the colour sense to the sense of emptiness, etc.

The present paper aims at *a.* documenting the richness of the network of various meanings of the English colour term *white* and its cognates from a cross-linguistic perspective, showing both similarities and differences, and *b.* suggesting how this complexity can be processed, i.e. idealized in a descriptive and in an applied linguistic context (lexicographic presentation, with a view to teaching). Specifically, I show:

- i. how different languages carve the semantic/conceptual space of white in different ways, presenting it by means of distinct, though related, senses, as reflected in dictionaries;
- ii. how pedagogical dictionaries simplify this picture because of their function and their limitations;
- iii. how their presentation can be improved and made more appealing from the point of view of language learners as users of pedagogical/learner's dictionaries.

These research questions are reflected in the structure of this paper. In Part 2, I briefly introduce two central theoretical notions used in the paper: the issue of universalism in colour research, and the notion of polysemy, in particular with respect to its presentation in the lexicographic practice. Part 3 is concerned with the lexicographic treatment of the polysemy of *white* and its cognates in the four languages. In Part 4, I offer some suggestions concerning potential improvement of the lexicographic treatment of colour terms in pedagogical dictionaries, as well as concerning their structure in general.

2. Theoretical background

The issue of how linguistic communities segment the colour spectrum and match the segments thus identified with particular lexical expressions has been a traditional battlefield for linguistic relativists and universalists (witness some classical works like Berlin & Kay, 1969; or more recent contributions like Hardin & Massi, 1997, Biggam, 2012, or Anderson et al., 2014). On

the universalist side, Berlin and Kay (1969) introduce the notion of the basic colour term (BCT), and propose that there are eleven such BCTs, viz. white, black, red, green, yellow, blue, brown, purple, pink, orange and grey. The first two of these and the last one are, as we said above, achromatic, the rest are chromatic. Kay and McDaniel (1978) later hypothesized the gradedness of categories, distinguishing between more robustly represented primary BCTs and less robustly represented secondary BCTs. Colours are arranged on a scale, with the seven stages reflecting the evolutionary order of their appearance in languages:

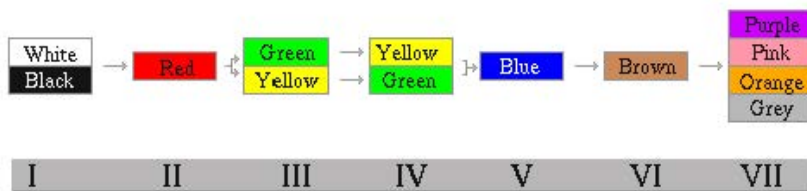


Figure 1. The major typology of seven stages (Berlin & Kay 1969).

A language that has a word for a given colour concept, e.g. for blue, will have all the terms to the left of it, and possibly some or all to the right of it. It is clear from Figure 1 that the colour terms *white* and *black* are universally present in human languages.

In this article, I start from Steinvall's (2002) methodological framework distinguishing between the onomasiological and the semasiological perspective. The former perspective takes a concept as its starting point. It is concerned with how this concept can be expressed or codified. The semasiological perspective, on the other hand, takes a linguistic form as its starting point. It is concerned with the extension and delimitation of it. Steinvall (2002: 56) argues that questions regarding prototypes, polysemy, vagueness and homonymy are to be dealt with from this point of view. He links these two perspectives to the speaker-hearer situation. The speaker's view in a conversation is the onomasiological perspective because s/he has to determine how best to dress a particular thought. The speaker starts with a concept, or, more vaguely, an idea and can choose to refer to it in a number of ways. This perspective is thus related to the ideas of sense and reference because we can denote the referent through a number of different expressions, each with a different sense. From a cognitive perspective, this phenomenon is frequently analysed in terms of construal, in terms of the way we choose to view a particular situation or entity (Steinvall 2002: 59-60). From the semasiological perspective, s/he will have to find the, best interpretation of a presented form (Steinvall, 2002: 56). Moreover, Steinvall men-

tions the problem of vagueness and ambiguity in his discussion of the semiological perspective and in this respect talks about monosemy, polysemy and homonymy. He also argues that polysemy is only a marginal problem in the case of basic colour terms in general. The reason for this is inherent in the definition of basic colour terms since one of Berlin and Kay's original criteria explicitly eliminates all cases of polysemous terms (Steinvall 2002: 59). Steinvall (2002: 62) further asserts that in a wide sense it can be argued that the onomasiological perspective is concerned with lexical fields. He gives a definition of such a lexical field, i.e. "a collection of words that all name things in the same conceptual domain". However, Berlin and Kay were interested in the structure of the conceptual domain "colour", not as much in the designation of colour terms (the lexical field).

The other notion of importance in this article is polysemy, which can be defined as a phenomenon of a single lexical item exhibiting more than one meaning, such that these meanings are related. If unrelated meanings are expressed by the same form, we have a case of homonymy, a relationship between similar sounding or looking, but otherwise distinct lexical items.

Polysemy presents a serious problem for lexicographers because when a word has multiple related senses, they have to decide how many senses a word has that appropriate their own definitions. These senses "collectively explain how that word contributes to the meaning of all the individual events" (Atkins and Rundell, 2008: 272). These senses may be articulated in great detail, i.e. "split", or in a less detailed manner, i.e. grouped together or "lumped:"

The "lumpers" like to lump meanings together and leave the user to extract the nuance of meaning that corresponds to a particular content, whereas the "splitters" prefer to enumerate differences of meaning in more detail; the distinction corresponds to that between summarizing and analysing. (Allen, 1999: 61)

Splitting and lumping is an issue for lexicographers defining words with both technical and non-technical senses:

A related problem occurs when words – or senses of words – have a specialist meaning for one group of people as well as a general meaning. To an astrophysicist space is a continuum, and the nearest synonym we can think of is everything; to most people, space is what lies outside the earth's atmosphere. To the former, this planet is part of space: to the latter, it is not. Two senses, or two aspects of the same sense? (Moon, 1987: 175-176)

Some scholars have suggested that lexicographers often divide senses too finely (cf. Béjoint, 1990 for over-splitting in American dictionaries in particular). For example, Béjoint states that it is not necessary to split senses so finely because the context in which a word appears provides the reader with much of the semantic content needed to interpret the word (Moon, 1987:

174-175). The meanings of scientific terms, however, are largely independent of the context in which they appear (Béjoint, 1988: 358).

3. The lexicographic treatment of the polysemy of *white*

In general, most words are polysemous; they have more than one meaning. For any spelling (orthographic word), therefore, for which a lexicographer identifies multiple meanings, a decision must be made whether the different meanings arise from polysemy or because there are homographs. The lexicographer applies the criterion of etymology, and, according to dictionary policy, that of word class membership. If the criterion of etymology is satisfied, then multiple headwords are entered in the dictionary. If not, then a single headword is entered with multiple meanings or senses. In this section we show how dictionaries of English and of some other languages (Russian, Tajik and Uzbek) carve the semantic/conceptual space of the colour term *white* in different ways, presenting it as a network of distinct, though related, senses, i.e. as polysemous networks.

Dictionaries (especially large and monolingual) reveal the multiple roles of certain colour words, pointing out any regional, chronological and contextual restrictions on each function and, in the process, illustrating how they operate within a particular cultural context which may not be obvious to a person from a different culture. To give example, if a Russian, Tajik or Uzbek speakers were to look up the English equivalent of *beliy*, *safed* or *oq* in a small dictionary, they would find the translation '*white*', and, perhaps, nothing more. Does that mean that our current speakers can now use English *white* like a native English speaker? Not at all. Obviously in every subculture, the colour term *white* often exhibits positive values. So we have tried to focus on dictionaries of different nationalities such as English, Russian, Tajik and Uzbek with some questions such as:

- Are there differences among dictionaries concerning the way they approach the colour term *white*?
- Are there any unique meanings connected with the colour term *white* in any of these languages?
- What are typical objects used to define the colour term *white*?

We start from Webster, which, not being a pedagogical dictionary, is understandably a most detailed one and can serve as a starting point for the analysis, distinguishing as many as 23 senses of the colour term *white* as an adjective. The same can be seen in Collins COBUILD Dictionary and the Oxford American Dictionary.

white (hwīt, wīt), *adj.*, **whit-er**, **whit-est**, *n.*, *v.*, **whit-ed**, **whit-ing**. —*adj.* **1.** of the color of pure snow, of the margins of this page, etc.; reflecting nearly all the rays of sunlight or a similar light: *Her white dress was dazzling in the sun.* **2.** light or comparatively light in color. **3.** (of human beings) marked by slight pigmentation of the skin, esp. Caucasoid. **4.** dominated by or including only members of the white race: *a white club; a white school.* **5.** pallid or pale, as from fear or other strong emotion: *He turned white with rage.* **6.** (in music) lacking color, resonance, warmth, etc.: *the white tones of the soprano's upper register.* **7.** silvery, gray, or hoary: *white hair.* **8.** characterized by snow; snowy: *Do you think we'll have a white Christmas?* **9.** lacking color; transparent. **10.** (politically) radically conservative. **11.** *Archaic.* blond or fair. **12.** blank, as an unoccupied space in printed matter: *Fill in the white space below.* **13.** (of silverware) not burnished. **14.** *Armor.* composed entirely of polished steel plates without fabric or other covering; alwhite. **15.** wearing white clothing: *a white friar.* **16.** *Slang.* honest; dependable: *That's very white of you.* **17.** auspicious or fortunate. **18.** free from spot or stain. **19.** morally pure; innocent. **20.** without malice; harmless: *white magic.* **21.** (of wines) light-colored or yellowish, as opposed to red. **22.** *Brit. Informal.* (of coffee) containing milk. **23. bleed white**, *Informal.* to be or cause to be deprived of all one's resources: *Dishonesty is bleeding the union white.* —*n.* **24.** a color without hue

Figure 2. The article on *white* in Webster Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary.

This is more or less also true of Russian, Tajik and Uzbek dictionaries (which are not intended as pedagogical tools), of course, with differences regarding what is split and/or lumped, and how it is ordered (see Appendix 1-4).

Pedagogical dictionaries characteristically tend to lump senses as well as omit some less salient senses, in addition to presenting them in an order that varies a lot from dictionary to dictionary. This can be clearly seen when we compare the presentation in the Big Five (the five most important English monolingual pedagogical dictionaries). Pedagogical dictionaries tend to lump, but even more importantly leave out certain things, i.e. simplify the picture because of their limitations and functions. However, as we can see from Table 1, they all tend to contain 4-5 other meanings.

They tend, in addition to characterizing the colour by referring to the typical objects exhibiting it, to refer to human race, to a light shade of a colour, the facial colour due to illness or emotion, the colour of hair, to refer to the colour of foods or drinks that contain milk, or are not purely white but grey, yellowish, etc. The numbers in red at the top of each sense in the table below identify the sense number in Webster Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary.

The order in which these are mentioned is not the same of course, but there are some more or less clear tendencies. Generally, it seems that the order follows the frequency of use, i.e. the senses that seem to be more frequent are presented before those that are less frequent. This may be probably confirmed by a specific corpus study, checking the frequency of certain collocations in a corpus or corpora.

Table 1. The basic and literal meanings of the colour term *white*.

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English	Londman Dictionary of Contemporary English	Cambridge International Dictionary of English	Macmillan Dictionary for Students	Collins Cobuild Dictionary
1 having the colour of fresh snow or of milk	1 of a colour which is like that of a clean cloud in a sunny sky; of the colour of milk; of the colour which contains all colours b. pale in colour	1 (of) a colour like that of snow, milk or bone	1 something that is white is the same colour as milk or snow	1 something that is white is of the lightest colour that there is, the colour of snow or milk
3 belonging to or connected with a race of people who have pale skin	3 of a pale-skinned race	16, 19 the colour white for many people in the western world is seen as representing purity and goodness	3 [of the race of people with pale skin]	3 someone who is white belongs to a race with pale skins and of european origin
5 (of the skin) pale because of emotion or illness	5 pale with fear	21, 22 white is used in the name of various food and drink products, many of which are not pure white but slightly cream, yellow, grey or transparent	5 very pale in the face because you are frightened,, angry or ill	4 white is used of things relating to white people
21, 22 (of tea or coffee) with milk added	21, 22 (of coffee) with milk or cream	5 if you describe someone as being (as) so white as a sheet, you mean their face is very pale, usually because of illness, shock or fear	21, 22 [of wine, coffee, tea, bread]	(7), 5 if someone goes white, 4.1 their hair becomes white in colour because of ageing; they become very pale, for example because of fear, shock, anger, or illness; if someone looks as white as a sheet, they look very frightened, shocked, or ill.
	16,19 pure; showing moral goodness		16,19 completely fair or honest	22 contains milk or cream

Practically all dictionaries, English and Russian and Tajik and Uzbek, start with the literal meaning of white, which is the colour of physical objects mostly *milk*, *snow* and with adding other objects *chalk* or *cotton* (see Table 4). But the analysis shows that colour terms for *white* in various cultures in spite of traditionally perceived as a symbol of hope, kindness, love of purity and other concepts refer to human race, to exhibiting a light shade of a colour, the facial colour due to illness or emotion, the colour of hair, conservative/counter-revolutionary, to refer to the colour of foods or drinks that contain milk, or are not purely white but gray, yellowish, etc., some also the lack of colour.

Table 2. Explanation of the prototypical sense of the colour terms *white* and its counterparts in various monolingual dictionaries.¹

Language	Dictionary	Colour type		
English		White		
	CCEDAL	snow	milk	-
	OAD	milk	fresh snow	-
	OED	fresh snow	milk	-
Russian		белый (belyj) -ая, -ое; бел, бела, бело, бело, белы белы (-aja, -oje; bel, bela, belo, belo, bely, bely)		
	DRL	снега (snega) 'snow'	молока (moloka) 'milk'	мела (mela) 'chalk'
	EDRL	снега (snega) 'snow'	мела (mela) 'chalk'	-
Tajik		Сафед (safed)		
	ETRL	барф (barf) 'snow'	шир (shir) 'milk'	-
Uzbek		Оқ (oq) (oqh)		
	EDUL	қор (qor) 'snow'	сўт (sut) 'milk'	пахта (pakhta) 'cotton'

¹ The following abbreviations are used to refer to dictionaries included in the study: CCEDAL - Collins Cobuild English Dictionary for Advanced Learners; OAD - Oxford American Dictionary online; OED - Oxford English Dictionary; WEUD - Webster Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary; DRL - Dictionary of Russian language; EDRL - Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language; EDTL - Explanatory Dictionary of the Tajik Language; EDUL - Explanatory Dictionary of the Uzbek Language.

4. How can lexicographic presentation in pedagogical/learner's dictionaries be improved? Some modest suggestions

The question that remains to be dealt with now is how we might improve the presentation of the colour term *white* and related lexemes, and in fact in general the treatment of all polysemous items. We have two subtasks, one is the issue of ordering, the other has to do with the choice of senses to be included and the degree of their granularity, i.e. the generality or specificity of senses to be included (two or more sense occasionally lumped into one or split into several).

As for the former, we can rely on:

- a. the frequency of use;
- b. diachrony (the order of attestation of particular senses);
- c. organize the sense in some cognitively and psychologically plausible way, as a sort of network of related sense;

Ideally, all the three might produce the same result, but this is not always the fact in reality (in fact, it is very rare). From the pedagogical point of view, it would be rewarding to combine a. and c. in an adequate form, but c. may take precedence over a. In actual reality, b. and c. often converge, as we will see below.

As for the latter subtask, the order of granularity may be in part determined by our choice of c. in the first subtask. The output might look like a "story" describing a "conceptual journey," stepping from sense to sense in what appears to be a logical and convincing manner, but which may exhibit forks or branching at certain points. The first or the starting stepping stone is of course the literal sense that we find in most dictionaries under analysis, illustrated with reference to a prototypical object or substance saliently characterized by its colour. From there, we might choose two branches or paths (though there may be some convergences): one is a deviance from this prototypical situation of exhibiting the colour characteristic of the above objects or substances, the other is the lack of colour or transparency.

The links, or extensions, between points in these paths are mostly of metonymic or metaphorical nature. This is not surprising in view of what we know about the development of polysemy over time in general. In actual reality, lexicography has always relied on these two basic cognitive processes, although they were not explicitly recognized as such. As pointed out by Geeraerts (2007: 1160ff), cognitive linguistics is naturally suited to function as the backbone of lexicographic enterprise. The role of metaphor and metonymy in lexicographic practice has been highlighted in a series of monographs and articles, e.g. Nuccorini (1986), Moon (2004, 2005), van der Meer (1996, 1997, 1999) for metaphor, and Nikiforidou (1999), Wojciechowska

(2007, 2010a and b, 2012, 2015), Sweep (2012), Brdar, Brdar-Szabó and Buljan (2001), Brdar (2002, 2005) for metonymy.

Returning to our two paths, we see that we have a clear case of metonymic reasoning when we move from the concept of being transparent to being empty or without substance. Only a container with transparent walls that is not filled with anything will not obstruct the view. From there we can further infer metonymically that something that is empty/blank or without substance cannot be contaminated, i.e. it is pure. Purity can be literal or metaphorical. In the latter case it is metaphorically reinterpreted as innocence (INNOCENCE IS PURITY). However, emptiness can also be interpreted as lack of information, which leads to the sense of “unknown.”

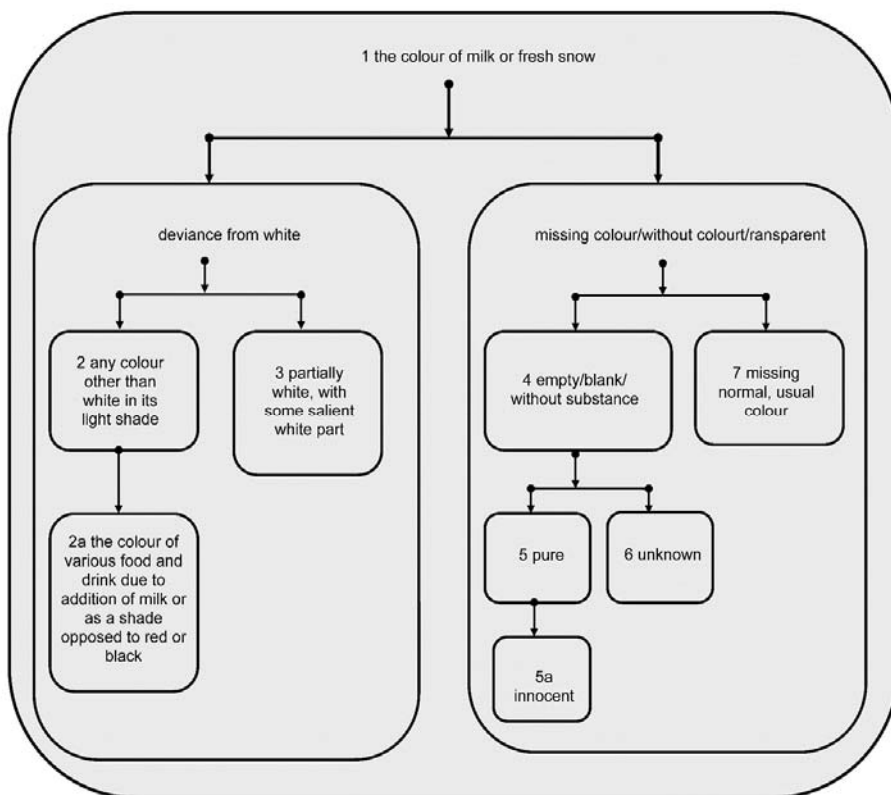


Figure 3. The structure of lexicographic presentation of the colour term “white” in pedagogical/learner's dictionary based on conceptual metonymies and metaphors.

In the other path above, the one characterized by the deviance from the total white, shift are metonymically motivated. First, if an object can be sali-

ently referred to by pointing out that it contains white colour in addition to other colours, e.g. that it contains white spots on a surface of some other colour, we can say that that salient part/property stands for the whole, even if this surface covered by other colour or colours happens to be larger and predominates. Put differently, all other colours are so to say assimilated into white. The same logic applies to the colour of various types of foods and drinks to which milk has been added. In both cases, metonymy assimilates a portion of the chromatic part of the spectrum into its achromatic part. This I why food and drinks, e.g. bread and wine, may also be called black in certain languages in case they exhibit a darker shade.

What we have just seen indicates that a cognitive linguistic account of how the senses of the colour term *white*, linking many of these as figurative extensions of each other by means of metonymies and metaphors, seems to be a promising candidate for the basis of an innovative, psychologically more plausible and appealing, method of their lexicographic presentation.

There are two recent technical innovations already present in pedagogical dictionaries of English that we propose to build on, i.e. integrate the cognitive linguistic network with these technical solutions. Specifically, they are:

- i. the quick menu boxes in *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* at the top of articles on polysemous items (set in a different colour).
- ii. the navigating system employed by *Longman Language Activator*, with its overview boxes;

One of the major recent breakthroughs in the organization of the microstructure of a dictionary is the use of so-called meaning menus introduced in the second edition of *MacMillan English Dictionary*. Entries with five or more senses have a special meaning menu at the top of the article for rapid access to the correct meaning.

Longman Language Activator (1993) is basically an onomasiological dictionary, but its primary macrostructure is semasiological, i.e. it is alphabetically organized. This is visually signalled by a vertical bar in grey to the left of the list. Lexical items are listed in alphabetical order, followed by reference to one or more key words. At certain points, when it comes to one of its key concepts or key words, as they are called there, such as CELEBRATE, FAR, SAD/HAPPY, EASY, FALT/STH WRONG, etc., the dictionary switches to its onomasiological structure that begins with an access map that helps the user find the right key word, followed by a meaning menu with numbered meanings to choose from, after which number sections follow. This means that this dictionary has a hybrid macrostructure, the alphabetical macrostructure serving as a carrier for a series of word/semantic fields, integrating the onomasiological with the semasiological perspective.

count-er¹ /kaʊntə/ noun [C] ★★

1 long flat surface	4 way to oppose/ stop sth
2 object for board game	5 argument against sth
3 equipment that counts	+ PHRASES

1 a long flat surface where customers are served, for example in a store or bank: *You buy your tickets at the counter.* ♦ *the shop's well-stocked cheese counter* **1a.** a long flat surface in a kitchen where you prepare food. *Br E usually work surface* — *picture* → C3
2 a small round colored object that you use in a BOARD GAME — *picture* → C18
3 a machine or piece of equipment that counts something and shows the total: *the casino's high-speed coin counters* ♦ *a rev counter*
4 an action you take in order to oppose something or reduce its negative effect: *What measures are in place as a counter to this sort of aggression?*
5 something you say to reply to a criticism or argument: *a counter to unfair criticism*
over the counter drugs and medicines that are available over the counter can be bought without a doctor's PRESCRIPTION
under the counter bought or sold secretly and illegally

Figure 4. The quick meaning menu in MacMillan English Dictionary.

cavernous BIG 6
cease STOP DOING STH 1, STOP HAPPENING 1
cease to exist DISAPPEAR 3
ceasefire PEACE/NO WAR 4
ceiling LIMIT 1
celebrate CELEBRATE 1

CELEBRATE
 to show that an event or occasion is important by doing something special or enjoyable

1 to celebrate something
2 a special event that has been arranged to celebrate something

1 to celebrate something

celebrate	mark
commemorate	in celebration of
do sth in sb's honour/ honor	

celebrate /'selɪbreɪt/ to show that an event or occasion is important by doing something enjoyable, for example by having a party [v I/T]
Congratulations on your promotion – we must go out and celebrate! | **celebrate sth** *My mother bought a dozen bottles of champagne to celebrate my twenty-first birthday.* | **celebrate sth with sth** *Harry celebrated his thirtieth birthday with a meal in a posh restaurant.*
commemorate /kə'meməreɪt/ to do something to show that you remember, respect, and are grateful to someone who did something special or important in the past, especially someone who is now dead [v T]
The annual parade commemorates the soldiers who died in the two World Wars. | *The concert commemorated the singer's first recordings which were made in 1948.*
commemoration /kə,mə'meɪ'reɪʃən/ [n U] *Candles were lit in commemoration of Hiroshima's dead.*

Figure 5. The hybrid navigating system of Longman Language Activator.

These could be adapted graphically and content-wise in the form of boxes within boxes and integrated with what I have suggested in Figure 2 above. This would be the top of the dictionary article followed by the usual rest of the information, with individual senses ordered following the cardinal numbers preceding the short definitions at the top. What follows is a simplification/reduction that we think would be adequate in the case of a pedagogical dictionary. The print version could contain the table with arrows showing extensions, as in the figure we saw above, while in an electronic version the same could be achieved by means of the possibilities offered by the graphical user interface (GUI), i.e. by the change of colour, appearance or disappearance of parts of the structure on clicking or touching.

5. Conclusions

In this study we have established that the colour terms for *white* belong to key cultural concepts. They are in terms of their importance close to, if not on an equal footing as, the categories of space, time, movement. What we have shown here concerning the lexicographic treatment of the polysemy of the English lexeme *white* and its counterparts in Russian, Uzbek and Tajik is that there is lots of splitting and lumping senses, with more or less of overlap concerning the method of splitting and lumping as well as concerning the order of the senses identified. This is quite likely to be found in many monolingual dictionaries of other languages. The same is probably true of the lexicographic treatment of other colour-denoting words. What is more, it is almost certain that it applies to the lexicographic treatment of any lexical items. We have seen that a cognitive linguistic account of the network of the senses of the colour term *white* is a promising candidate for the basis of an innovative, psychologically more plausible and appealing method of their lexicographic presentation. The technical preconditions we combined in our proposal are already present in *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* in the form of quick menu boxes and in the navigating system employed by *Longman Language Activator*. We have tried to classify our collections, with the spontaneous approach to show not only the similarities and differences, but demonstrate the specific cultural values of each language. Additionally, we suggested how these can be further elaborated and enriched in printed and in electronic versions of dictionaries.

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Appendix 1

Collins-COBUILD-English-Language- Dictionary	The Oxford American Dictionary
<p>white /wait/, whiter, whitest; whites</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. adj Something that is white is of the lightest colour that there is, the colour of snow or milk. 2. adj Someone who is white belongs to a race with pale skins and of European origin. 3. adj White is used of things relating to white people. 4. adj If someone goes white, 4.1 their hair becomes white in colour because of ageing; 4.2 they become very pale, for example because of fear, shock, anger, or illness. 5. adj White coffee contains milk or cream. 6. adj White wine is pale yellowish in colour. 7. adj White blood cells are the cells in your blood which you use to fight infection. 8. n The white of an egg, especially a hen's egg, is the transparent liquid that surrounds the yolk. 9. n The white of someone's eye is the white part of their eyeball. 10. n Whites are white-coloured clothes that you wear for playing some sports, for example tennis or cricket. 	<p>white /hwit, wit/ adj</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. resembling a surface reflecting sunlight without absorbing any of the visible rays; of the color of milk or fresh snow. 2. approaching such a color; pale esp. in the face (turned as white as a sheet). 3. less dark than other things of the same kind. 4. a of the human group having light-colored skin, b of or relating to white people. 5. albino (white mouse). 6. a (of hair) having lost its color, esp. in old age. b (of a person) white-haired. 7. colloq. innocent; untainted. 8. (in comb.) (of esp. animals) having some white on the body (white-throated) 9. a (of a plant) having white flowers or pale-colored fruit, etc. (white hyacinth) b (of a tree) having light-colored bark, etc. (white ash). 10. (of wine) made from white grapes or dark grapes with the skins removed. 11. Brit, (of coffee) with milk or cream added. 12. transparent; colorless (white glass). 13. hist. counterrevolutionary or reactionary (white guard; white army) . <p>1 a white color or pigment. noun 2 a white clothes or material (dressed</p>

	<p>in white), b (in pi.) white garments as worn in tennis, etc.</p> <p>3 a (in a game or sport) a white piece, ball, etc. b the player using such pieces.</p> <p>4 the white part or albumen around the yolk of an egg.</p> <p>5 the visible part of the eyeball around the iris.</p> <p>6 a member of a light skinned race.</p> <p>bleed white drain (a person, country, etc.) of wealth, etc.</p>
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Appendix 2

Dictionary of Russian language A.P. Yevgenyeva	The Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language by S. I. Ojegov and N. Yu. Shvedova
<p><i>Белый</i> –ая, –ое; бел, бела, бело и бело, белы и белы</p> <p>(Beliy –aja, –oje; bel, bela, belo i belo, bely i bely) ‘white’</p> <p>1. Цвета снега, молока, мела (1. Stveta snega moloka mela) ‘the colour of snow, milk, chalk’</p> <p>2. Очень светлый (ochen svetliy) ‘very bright’</p> <p>Белые руки (beliye ruki) ‘white hands’</p> <p><i>I</i> Светловолосый, со светлой кожей (svetlovolosyj, so svetloy kodzej) ‘blond(e), human group having light-colored skin;</p> <p><i>II</i> Светлокожий (как признак расы) (svetlokodzej kak priznak rasj) ‘relating to white people (as a sign of race)’</p> <p>Белая раса (belaya rasa) ‘white race’</p> <p>3. Ясный, светлый (jasnij, svetliy) ‘vivid, bright’</p> <p>(о времени суток, о свете) (o vremeni sutok, o svete) ‘about day, light’</p> <p>4. Чистый (chistiy) ‘clean’</p> <p>Белая половина (в избе) (belaya polovina (v izbe)) ‘a part of clean hut’</p> <p>5. в первые годы Советской власти: контрреволюционной, действующий против Советской власти или</p>	<p><i>Белый</i> –ая, –ое; бел, бела, бело и бело, белы и белы</p> <p>(Beliy –aja, –oje; bel, bela, belo i belo, bely i bely) ‘white’</p> <p>1. Цвета снега или мела (1. Stveta snega ili mela) ‘the colour of snow’, or ‘chalk’</p> <p>Белая бумага (belaya bumaga) ‘white paper’</p> <p>Белый парус (beliy parus) ‘white sail’</p> <p>2. Светлый (svetliy) ‘bright’</p> <p>Белый хлеб (пшеничный) (beliy khleb (pshenichnyj) ‘white bread’ (wheaten)</p> <p>Белый гриб (beliy grib) ‘white mushroom’</p> <p>Белое вино (beloye vino) ‘white wine’</p> <p>Белые ночи (beliye nochi) ‘white night’</p> <p>3. В первые годы гражданской войны: относящийся к вооружённой борьбе за восстановление законной власти в России (v pervjye godj grajdanskoy voynj: odnosyatshijsya k voorujyonnoy bor'be za vosstanovleniye zakonnoy vlasti v Rossii) ‘counterrevolutionary’</p> <p>Белый офицер (belij ofitser) ‘white officer’</p> <p>4. белый, -ого (beljy, -ogo) белогвардеец (belogvardeyets) ‘white guard’</p> <p>5. Со светлой кожей (как признак расы) (svetloy kodzej (kak priznak rasy))</p>

<p><i>направленной против нее.</i> (v pervje godj Sovetskoy vlasti: kontrrevolyutstionnoy, deystvuyutshiy protiv Sovetskoy vlasti ili napravlennoy protiv neye) 'counterrevolutionary' <i>Белая армия</i> (belaya armija) 'white army' <i>Белый террор</i> (belij terror) 'white terror' 6. <i>белые, -ых Шашки, шахматные</i> <i>фигуры светлого цвета</i> (belye -ykh Shashki, shakhmatnye figury belogo steveta) 'draughts, white figures of chess' 7. <i>Как составная часть некоторых</i> <i>зоологических и ботанических</i> <i>названий.</i> (kak sostavnaya chast' nekotorykh zoologicheskikh i botanicheskikh nazvaniy) 'as a part of zoological and botani- cal name' <i>Белый гриб</i> (beliy grib) 'white mushroom' <i>Белый налив</i> (beliy naliv) 'sort of apple' <i>Белая акация, лилия</i> (belaya akatsi- ya liliya) 'white acacia, lily'</p>	<p>'relating to white people (as a sign of race)' <i>Цветные и белые</i> (stvetniye i beliye) 'colored and whites'</p>
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Appendix 3

The Explanatory Dictionary of the Tajik Language V-II. by S. Nazarzoda, A. Sanginov, R. Xoshim X. Raufzoda

Сафед 1. яке аз рангҳои асосӣ, ранги шир ё барф;

(Safed 1. yake az ranghoi asosi, rangi shir jo barf)

‘white’ 1. one of the main colour, the colour of milk or snow’

Сафедак 1. сафеди тозаву озода, ки нисбат ба духтарон ва кӯдакон гуфта мешавад. 2. як навъ гандум.

(safedak 1. safedi tozavu ozoda, ki nisbat ba dukhtaron va ko'dakon gufta meshavad. 2. yak nav' gandum)

‘white as clean and fresh, relate to girls and babies. 2. sort of wheat’

Сафедбахт хушбахт, баландиқбол; (safedbakht khushbaxt, balandiqbol)

‘fig. happy, successful (lucky)’

Сафедгун(а) сафедранг, сафед.

Safedgun(a) safedrang, safed. ‘white colour, white’

Сафедранг ба ранги барф, сафед.

(safedrang ba rangi barf, safed) ‘white colour of snow, white’

Сафедтоб 1. ранги ба сафедӣ моил. 2. он чи ба назар сафед метобад.

(safedtob 1. rangi ba safedy moil. 2. on chi ba nazar safed metobad)

‘white 1. close to white 2. thing connect to the colour white’

Сафедфом/сафедтоб (safedfom/safedtob)

Сафедча/сафедтоб (safedcha/safedtob)

‘The typical endings (-fom, -tob, -cha) in meaning adjectives of white’

Сафедчаранг камтар сафед, ба сафедӣ моил.

(safedcharang kamtar safed, ba safedy moil) ‘less white, close to white’

Сафедчатоб/сафедчаранг

(safedchatob/safedcharang) same meaning with *safedcharang* ‘less white, close to white’

Appendix 4

The Explanatory Dictionary of the Uzbek Language V-I by Z. M. Ma'rufov

Оқ (oq)

1. adj. қор, сут, пахта рангидаги

(qor, sut, paxta rangidagi) 'snow, milk, cotton'

2. adj. n. Ароқ (aroq) 'vodka'

3. adj. fig. his.

Подшо тарафини олувчи (podsho tarafini oluvchi) King defender

Контрреволюцион (kontrrrevoljutsion) counterrevolutionary

Оқ амалдорлар (oq amaldorlar) official person (officer)

4. adj. Охириги, тоза (okhirigi toza) 'last, clean(fresh)'

5. n. Гуноҳсиз, шаънига доғ тушмаган киши

(guhonsiz, sha'niga dog' tushmagan kishi) 'innocent'

6. n. Оқарган тук, мўй; соч ва соқолнинг оқарган қисми

(oqargan tuk, moy; soch va soqolning oqargan qismi) 'white hair(ed)
whited hair; hair and beard whited part

7. n. Кўзнинг оқи (ko'zning oqi) 'a visible part of eyeball'

8. n. Баъзи касаллик натижасида кўз қорачигида пайдо бўладиган оқили доғ, парда. (bazi kasallik natijasida ko'z qorachig'ida paydo bo'ladigan oqish dog', parda) 'white spot on eye' from the result of some disease'

9. n. Тухумнинг оқсил моддаси

(tukhumning oqsil moddasi) 'the white of an egg'