

# English Words

*A Linguistic Introduction*

Heidi Harley

 Blackwell  
Publishing

English Words  
*A Linguistic Introduction*

Heidi Harley



© 2006 by Heidi Harley

BLACKWELL PUBLISHING

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA  
9600 Garsington Road, Oxford OX4 2DQ, UK  
550 Swanston Street, Carlton, Victoria 3053, Australia

The right of Heidi Harley to be identified as the Author of this Work has been asserted in accordance with the UK Copyright, Designs, and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs, and Patents Act 1988, without the prior permission of the publisher.

First published 2006 by Blackwell Publishing Ltd

1 2006

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Harley, Heidi.

English words : a linguistic introduction / Heidi Harley.

p. cm. (The language library)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-631-23031-1 (alk. paper)

ISBN-10: 0-631-23031-9 (alk. paper)

ISBN-13: 978-0-631-23032-8 (pbk. : alk. paper)

ISBN-10: 0-631-23032-7 (pbk. : alk. paper) 1. English language—Word formation. 2. English language—Morphology. 3. English language—Phonology. 4. English language—Semantics. I. Title. II. Series.

PE1175.H43 2006

425—dc22

2005028556

A catalogue record for this title is available from the British Library.

Set in 10/12<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> pt Palatino  
by Graphicraft Limited, Hong Kong  
Printed and bound in Singapore  
by C.O.S. Printers Pte Ltd

The publisher's policy is to use permanent paper from mills that operate a sustainable forestry policy, and which has been manufactured from pulp processed using acid-free and elementary chlorine-free practices. Furthermore, the publisher ensures that the text paper and cover board used have met acceptable environmental accreditation standards.

For further information on  
Blackwell Publishing, visit our website:  
[www.blackwellpublishing.com](http://www.blackwellpublishing.com)

# Preface



This textbook is intended as a thorough introduction to the study of English words from a linguistic perspective. It introduces students to the technical study of words in several areas: phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, language acquisition and historical linguistics, in that order. Some introductory material is covered in each section, to give students the theoretical tools they will need to proceed, and then those tools are employed to analyze the English vocabulary.

This book will be of interest to students who have a general interest in words – people whom Richard Lederer smilingly calls “verbivores.” They enjoy reading tidbits of word facts in language mavens’ columns, word games and etymologies, but have never taken a linguistics or structure of language course.

The text is designed to give students a command of the basic theory in each area, skill in analyzing and understanding English words, and the grounding needed for more advanced study in linguistics or lexicology. Ultimately, however, the aim is to provide students who will never take another linguistics-related course with a grasp of some of the basic methods and questions of the field, viewed through the window of words.

## Acknowledgments

This book would not have been possible without the help of a great many people. It wouldn’t exist had Andrew Carnie not suggested that I submit a proposal for it, building on my lecture notes for the cross-listed Linguistics/English 322 course, “The Structure and

*Preface*

Meaning of Words.” My students and colleagues at the University of Arizona provided invaluable feedback and expertise in many moments of uncertainty. I would especially like to thank Michael Hammond, Adam Ussishkin, Diane Ohala and Andrew Carnie for reading and commenting on portions of the manuscript. Several teaching assistants I have had over the years also provided feedback, including Bob Kennedy, Jason Haugen, Sarah Longstaff, Gwanhi Yun and Xu Xu. Thanks especially to Xu Xu for preparing the IPA transcription key. The three anonymous reviewers of the manuscript for Blackwell provided exhaustive comments that improved it considerably and also saved me from many mistakes; I am very grateful to them. The linguistics editors at Blackwell, first Tami Kaplan and then Sarah Coleman and Ada Brunstein, have exhibited a combination of patience, persistence and tact that both reassured and motivated a fairly skittish author. I also have very much appreciated Sarah’s and Margaret Aherne’s guidance and hard work throughout the publication process.

Last but far from least, both my parents, Carolyn and Peter Harley, read through the entire first draft manuscript and provided detailed comments that have helped me no end. My husband, Art Torrance, read through the manuscript not once, but twice, thinking through each analysis and transcription, paying sharp attention to every comma and apostrophe, and saving future students from a great deal of unnecessary confusion. He also has supported me throughout the process with encouragement, snacks and late-night cups of hot chocolate. I cannot express my gratitude to him and them enough.

Needless to say, the many flaws that doubtless remain are entirely my responsibility!

Heidi Harley  
April, 2005

# IPA Transcription Key



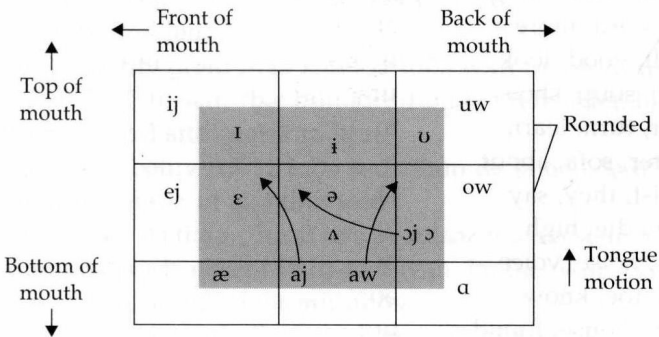
*Consonants of English*

□ voiceless      ■ voiced

place \ manner	labial	labio-dental	inter-dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stops	p b			t d		k g	ʔ
fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ		h
affricates					tʃ dʒ		
nasal		m		n		ŋ	
liquids (lateral) (non-lateral)				l ɹ			
glides		w			j		

*Vowels of American English*

□ tense      ■ lax



## Transcription of British English

As discussed briefly on page 41, there are many dialects of English with correspondingly many transcription systems. One of the most widely used and taught Englishes is the broadcasting standard of the United Kingdom, called 'Received Pronunciation', or RP for short.

In the text we use a transcription suited to American English, but for the benefit of readers who are interested in using the RP transcription system, the vowel symbols are presented in summary below (the consonants are essentially the same as those presented in the text). Also provided below are RP transcriptions corresponding to all the American English transcriptions in the text, organized by page number.

Most of the differences between the two transcriptions have to do with the different pronunciations of the two dialects, but a few differences are simply notational. For instance, rather than use the upside-down symbol /ɹ/ for the retroflex liquid, the more usual symbol /r/ is used. Similarly, rather than representing the affricates in 'church' and 'judge' with a ligature arc over the two symbols which make up their pronunciation, the RP custom is to print the two symbols closer to one another – that is, rather than /tʃ̣/ and /dʒ̣/, the RP transcription uses /tʃ/ and /dʒ/.

RP vowel	Transcription
sea, feet, me, field	i:
him, big, village, women	ɪ
get, fetch, head, Thames	e
sat, hand, ban, plait	æ
sun, son, blood, does	ʌ
calm, are, father, car	ɑ:
dog, lock, swan, cough	ɒ
all, saw, cord, more	ɔ:
put, wolf, good, look	ʊ
soon, do, soup, shoe	u:
bird, her, turn, learn	ɜ:
the, butter, sofa, about	ə
ape, waist, they, say	eɪ
time, cry, die, high	aɪ
boy, toy, noise, voice	ɔɪ
so, road, toe, know	əʊ
out, how, house, found	aʊ

deer, here, fierce, near	iə
care, air, bare, bear	eə
poor, sure, tour, lure	ʊə

**RP transcriptions corresponding to American transcriptions in text, indexed by page number:**

- 1 wɒt ɪz ə wɜ:d
- 21 saʊnd ən 'fjuəri 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ fə'nɒlədʒɪ
- 33 'nʌʃəl, 'ʃeləʊ
- 43 'teɪkŋ, lɪtʃ
- 44 'pəʊlɪʃ, 'pɒlɪʃ
- 44 Exercise 2.7  
ðə 'bændɪdʒ wəz waʊnd ə'raʊnd ðə wu:nd
- 45 Exercise 2.7, continued  
ðeɪ wə tu: kləʊs tə ðə dɔ: tə kləʊz ɪt  
ðə blak dʌz 'fʌnɪ θɪŋz wən ðə dəʊz a: 'preznt  
tə help wɪð 'plɑ:ntɪŋ ðə 'faɪmə tɔ:t ɪz səʊ tə səʊ  
ðə wɪnd wəz tu: strɒŋ tə waɪnd ðə seɪl  
'a:ftər ə 'nʌmbə əv ɪn'dʒekʃnz maɪ dʒɔ: ɡɒt 'nʌmə  
ə'pɒn 'sɪnɪŋ ðə teər ɪn maɪ kləʊðz aɪ sed ə tɪə  
aɪ hæd tə səb'dʒekt ðə 'sʌbdʒɪkt tu: ə 'sɪəri:z əv tests
- 51 – Study Problem 1
- a. 'prefəs, ə'bɪlɪtɪ, 'waɪəlɪs, ɪn'telɪdʒəns, pə'laɪt, 'kaʊəd,  
saɪ'kɒlədʒɪ, ɪn'kredəbl', 'nekləs
- b. nʌm, kəm'pju:tə, ʃæm'peɪn, 'nɒlɪdʒ, æŋ'zərətɪ, dʒu:'dɪʃəs,  
'pɪkɒkɪt, 'sɪzəz, ʃʌŋ
- c. 'rɪstwɒʃ, waɪnd, fən'blədʒɪ, traʊt, 'ʃɪlɪŋ, brɪ'jɒnd, dɪ'leɪ,  
'deɪlɪ, 'θaʊznd, flɔʒ
- d. naɪf, ,reɪ'pɪ'tɪʃəs, 'plɑ:ɪəz, raɪd, 'æŋkə, 'dɪfθɒŋ, kɾʌm,  
'pɑ:θweɪ, ,kɒmplɪ'mentɪ, 'eksəsəɪz
- 52 – Study Problem 3  
lɪtʃ bɪlɪ:z fɪfθ ɡreɪd tɪ:ʃə kɔ:ld ɪz fədə wʌn ɪ:vniŋ. "aɪm sɒrɪ tə  
tel ju: ðɪs," ʃɪ: sed, "bət bɪlɪ: ʃɪ:tɪd ɒn ɪz kwɪz tædeɪ. hɪ: kɒpɪ:d  
frɒm ðə ɡzɪl sɪtɪŋ nekst tə hɪm."  
"aɪ dəʊnt bæɪlɪv ɪt," ɪz fədə sed. "hʌʊ də jə neʊ ðə ɡzɪl dɪdnt  
kɒpɪ ðɪ: ænsəz ɒf əv bɪlɪ:z test?"  
"wel," sed ðə tɪ:ʃə, "bəʊθ sets əv ənsəz wɜ: ðə seɪm ɔ:l ðə weɪ  
daʊn ðə peɪdʒ, eksept fə ðə last wʌn. fɔ: ðæt wʌn ʃɪ reʊt aɪ  
dəʊnt nəʊ, ən bɪlɪ: rəʊt mi: nɪ:ðə"
- 54 fəʊnə'lədʒɪkʃl wɜ:dz 'kɔ:lɪŋ ɔ:l 'skræbl' 'pleɪəz



IPA Transcription Key

- 60 hi:, strɪŋ, teksts  
62 træk, drɒp  
63, 64 'meni  
65 stɪk, traɪ  
66 kaʊ, laɪ  
68 læmp, spæmd, dæmz, ru:ɜd, blʌzd, ɔʃlɔʒd  
70 bɜ:pt, bɜ:ps  
71 du:, bi:, səʊ  
72 si:, aɪsi:ðə'dɒɡi:, si:ð, aɪs  
73 'fɪŋgə, 'æŋgə, 'tɪŋɡlɪ, 'ɪŋɡlɪf,  
74 aɪ wɪn geɪmz, θɪn 'gru:əl, paɪn grəʊsbɪ:k  
77 'mʌðə, ə'prɪə  
78 ɔʒən ɪz 'æɾəgənt, rəgənt  
79 bɪl ɪz 'baɪŋ ə gr'ta:, tɑ:  
82 beɪɪlzəbʌbhæzədɛvɪlputəsɑɪdfəmi:, bɪl ɪz 'baɪŋ ə gr'ta:, kɪs ðə  
skaɪ, kɪs ðɪs gaɪ  
87 li:f, kə'lekt, ɪn'heɪf, pə'li:s, 'fɪltə, səʊld, læp, 'mɪtkɪŋ, 'letə  
88 fɪ:w, 'teɪbʊ  
Exercise 4 is specifically about the pronunciation of American  
English, so no RP transcriptions are given.  
90 weə du: wɜ:ɪdz klʌm frɒm  
95 ɒləʒɪ  
96 r'ɪzəbəθ, eɪdz, sɑ:z, dɪ:əʊeɪ  
108 bɪ:nə  
111 pri: ænd 'sʌfɪksɪz ɪŋɡlɪʃ mɑ:'fɒləʒɪ  
112 kæt, kɪk ðə 'bʌkɪt, əd  
118 ən 'æpl, ə letə tə ɔʒən, sɪks əv wʌn  
119 ɪ:læktr, tɒks, əmfæt  
133 wæg, wæɡɪd, snɪft, 'bɒksɪz, wæɡd, pæt, weɪdəd, weɪd  
134 snɪft, ku:d, pleɪd, weɪvd  
136 ɪn grɪ:n, ɪŋɡlɪʃ, ɪn prɪnt, 'ɪmprɪnt  
143 'lɪtʃ  
144 ,mɑ:fə'ɒləʒɪkl ,ɪdɪ:əʊ'sɪŋkrəsi:z  
148 ɪz  
151 eɪfɪŋ, keɪfɪŋ, ɪŋ  
152 ə'sɪst, ə'sɪstənt, ə'sɪstənts  
154 et, ɪ:t, dʌkt, 'dʒu:z  
157 eɪɔʒd, eɪɔʒɪd  
159 haʊs, 'haʊzɪz, 'fɑ:ðə, waɪvz, naɪvz, wʊlvz, kɑ:vz  
163 ə'fɪʃl, ə,fɪʃə'li:z, 'tɒnsɪl, ,tɒnsɪ'lɑɪtɪs  
164 'kɒmplɪmənt, ,kɒmplɪ'mentɪ, kə'neɪdɪən, 'kænədə

- 169 ɪfaɪ, 'sɒlɪd, sə'lɪdɪfaɪ  
 172 'kju:ɪdɒs  
 174 ɑ:, wɜ:, ɪz, bi:, gʊd, 'betə, wel, bæd, wɜ:s  
 179 'ænələɪz, ə'næləsɪs, 'eɪnɪ  
 180 'mædʒɪk, 'eksprɪdaɪt, 'ɑ:tɪfɪs, 'mæɪs, mə'dʒɪfɪŋ, 'eksprɪ'dɪʃəs,  
 'ræʃɪŋ, ,ɑ:tɪ'fɪʃl, mə'lɪʃəs  
 185 'leksɪkl sɪ'mæntɪks ðə 'strʌktʃər əv 'mɪ:nɪŋ ðə 'mɪ:nɪŋ əv  
 'strʌktʃə  
 193 'evrɪ, ðə  
 196 ðæt, 'weðə  
 199 braʊn  
 218 'ʃɪldrən 'lɜ:nɪŋ wɜ:ɪdz  
 222 'ræbɪt, gævəgɑɪ  
 224 'ræbɪt, maʊs  
 225 maʊs, greɪ, 'ræbɪt, 'ræʊdnt, ɪə  
 226 'ænməl, ɪə, fɜ:, 'pɪ:tə  
 227 'ræbɪt, 'pɪ:tə  
 228 'pɪ:tə, 'ræbɪt  
 229 tə'mɒrəʊ  
 232 fɪə  
 239 'æksɪdənts əv 'hɪstri: ɪŋɡlɪʃ ɪn flʌks  
 270 fɪ:t, feɪt, faɪt  
 271 i: aɪ u:  
 272 ki:n  
 273 kaɪt, reɪt, kɪt, ræt, 'reɪtɪŋ, 'rætɪŋ  
 276 'kændl, ,ʃændə'liə, kæp, ,ʃæpə'reʊn, 'kɑ:sɪl, 'ʃætəleɪn, ʃeə, feɪz  
 lɒŋ, 'ʃeɪt, sə'rɪ:z, ʃeɪn, 'ʃɪ:njən, kæʃ, ʃeɪs

# Contents



<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
<i>IPA Transcription Key</i>	xiii
<b>1 What Is a Word?</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Explaining <i>Word</i> in Words	1
1.2 Language Is a Secret Decoder Ring	4
1.3 Wordhood: The Whole Kit and Caboodle	7
1.4 Two Kinds of Words	11
1.5 The Anatomy of a Listeme	12
1.6 What <i>Don't</i> You Have to Learn When You're Learning a Word?	14
1.7 A Scientific Approach to Language	16
Appendix: Basic Grammatical Terms	16
Study Problems	18
Further Reading	20
<b>2 Sound and Fury: English Phonology</b>	<b>21</b>
2.1 English Spelling and English Pronunciation	21
2.2 The Voice Box	25
2.3 The Building Blocks of Words I: Consonants in the IPA	27
2.4 Building Blocks II: Vowels and the IPA	36
2.5 Families of Sounds and Grimm's Law: A Case in Point	45
Study Problems	51
Further Reading	53
	vii

<b>3</b>	<b>Phonological Words: Calling All Scrabble Players!</b>	<b>54</b>
3.1	Guessing at Words: The Scrabble Problem	54
3.2	Building Blocks III: The Syllable	58
3.3	Phonotactic Restrictions on English Syllables	61
3.4	From a Stream of Sound into Words: Speech Perception	71
3.5	Syllables, Rhythm, and Stress	75
3.6	Using Stress to Parse the Speech Stream into Words	78
3.7	Misparing the Speech Stream, Mondegreens, and Allophones	80
3.8	Allophony	83
3.9	What We Know about Phonological Words	84
	Study Problems	85
	Further Reading	89
	Notes	89
<b>4</b>	<b>Where Do Words Come From?</b>	<b>90</b>
4.1	Getting New Listemes	90
4.2	When Do We Have a New Word?	91
4.3	New Words by "Mistake": Back-Formations and Folk Etymologies	92
4.4	New Words by Economizing: Clippings	95
4.5	<i>Extreme</i> Economizing: Acronyms and Abbreviations	96
4.6	Building New Words by Putting Listemes Together: Affixation and Compounding	98
4.7	Compounding Clips and Mixing It up: Blends	101
4.8	New Listemes via Meaning Change	102
4.9	But Are These Words Really <i>New</i> ?	106
4.10	What Makes a New Word Stick?	107
	Study Problems	109
	Further Reading	110
<b>5</b>	<b>Pre- and Suf-fix-es: Engl-ish Morph-o-log-y</b>	<b>111</b>
5.1	Listemes	111
5.2	Making up Words	112
5.3	Affixal Syntax: Who's My Neighbor? Part I	124
5.4	Affixal Phonology: Who's My Neighbor? Part II	127
5.5	Allomorphy	130

5.6	Closed-Class and Open-Class Morphemes: Reprise	136
	Study Problems	138
	Further Reading	142
	Notes	142
<b>6</b>	<b>Morphological Idiosyncrasies</b>	<b>144</b>
6.1	Different Listemes, Same Meaning: Irregular Suffixes	145
6.2	Root Irregulars	153
6.3	Linguistic Paleontology: Fossils of Older Forms	155
6.4	Why Some but Not Others?	164
6.5	How Do Kids Figure It Out?	166
6.6	Representing Complex Suffixal Restrictions	168
6.7	Keeping Irregulars: Semantic Clues to Morphological Classes	170
6.8	Really Irregular: Suppletive Forms	173
6.9	Losing Irregulars: Producing Words on the Fly	175
6.10	Productivity, Blocking, and Bushisms	177
	Study Problems	180
	Further Reading	183
	Notes	184
<b>7</b>	<b>Lexical Semantics: The Structure of Meaning, the Meaning of Structure</b>	<b>185</b>
7.1	Function Meaning vs. Content Meaning	186
7.2	Entailment	189
7.3	Function Words and their Meanings	190
7.4	Content Words and their Meanings	197
7.5	Relationships and Argument Structure: Meaning and Grammar	204
7.6	Argument Structure	206
7.7	Derivational Morphology and Argument Structure	209
7.8	Subtleties of Argument Structure	210
7.9	Function vs. Content Meanings: The Showdown	212
7.10	How Do We <i>Learn</i> All That?	214
	Study Problems	215
	Further Reading	216
	Notes	217

<b>8</b>	<b>Children Learning Words</b>	<b>218</b>
8.1	How Do Children Learn the Meanings of Words?	218
8.2	Learning Words for Middle-Sized Observables	222
8.3	When the Basics Fail	226
8.4	Morphological and Syntactic Clues	226
8.5	Learning Words for Non-Observables	228
8.6	Syntactic Frames, Semantic Roles, and Event Structure	229
8.7	Agent–Patient Protoroles	231
8.8	Functional Listemes Interacting with Content Listemes	232
8.9	Simple Co-Occurrence? Or Actual Composition?	233
8.10	Yes, but Where Do the Words Come from in the First Place?	236
	Study Problems	236
	Further Reading	237
	Notes	238
<b>9</b>	<b>Accidents of History: English in Flux</b>	<b>239</b>
9.1	Linguistic Change, and Lots of It	239
9.2	Layers of Vocabulary and Accidents of History	249
9.3	A Brief History of England, as Relevant to the English Vocabulary	249
9.4	55 BC to 600 AD: How the English Came to England	250
9.5	600–900 AD: The English and the Vikings	253
9.6	1066–1200: Norman Rule	255
9.7	1200–1450: Anglicization of the Normans	256
9.8	1450–1600: The English Renaissance	259
9.9	1600–1750: Restoration, Expansion	262
9.10	1750–Modern Day	263
9.11	The Rise of Prescriptivism: How to Really Speak Good	266
9.12	English Orthography: The Latin Alphabet, the Quill Pen, the Printing Press, and the Great Vowel Shift	267
9.13	Summary	276
	Study Problems	276
	Further Reading	278
	Notes	279
	<i>Glossary</i>	281
	<i>Works Consulted</i>	290
	<i>Index</i>	291



# What Is a Word?

*/'wʌt ɪz ə 'wɔːd/*

In this chapter, we look at the intuitive notion of what a word is and see that there are several perspectives on wordhood. A word has different properties depending on whether you're looking at it phonologically, morphologically, syntactically or semantically. Essentially, we end up with two different notions of word: a *listeme* – a sound–meaning correspondence – and a *phonological word*, a sound unit on which the spacing conventions of written English are based. Finally, we distinguish between necessary and conventional aspects of wordhood.

## 1.1 Explaining *Word* in Words

Stop. Before reading any further, get out a sheet of paper and a pencil (or fire up a word processor, or just introspect), and try to compose a definition of the word *word*.

---

**Exercise 1.1** Compose a definition of *word*.

---

Throughout this text, there will occasionally be exercises inserted in the middle of discussion. You should stop and try to answer them before reading on. Answers to the exercises are often given in the text immediately below; you'll be able to compare the response you came up with to the discussion in the text, and think about any differences between the answer in the text and your own answer.

## What Is a Word?

Here's one possible first try:

### Definition 1

*word*: a sequence of letters that we write consecutively, with no spaces.

How does that definition compare with your own? Yours is probably better. One thing that is obviously wrong with this one is that it depends crucially on the conventions of writing. Languages have words before they're written down. Let's try again, trying to eliminate the reference to writing:

### Definition 2

*word*: a sequence of sounds that we pronounce consecutively, with no pauses.

Hang on a minute – when we're talking, there's not usually any pauses between words. (Try listening for a moment to someone talking. Is there a pause before and after every word? Where *are* the pauses?) We do know, though, that it is at least possible to put pauses between words when talking. Imagine you are speaking to someone for whom English is a second language, and who is hard of hearing besides. To give them the best chance of understanding you, you ... would ... probably ... talk ... rather ... like ... this, inserting big spaces between words. (People talk like this when dictating, as well.) You certainly wouldn't insert spaces inside them. No one would say "y ... ou ... wou ... ld ... pro ... b ... abl ... y ..." etc. Maybe we can use the *possibility* of spaces in our definition:

### Definition 3

*word*: a sequence of sounds which *can* be pronounced on its own, with pauses on either side.

Hang on again! A word is not just any old sequence of sounds that can be pronounced on its own. According to that definition, *spimble* or *intafulation* or *pag* are words, and so are *raise your arm* or *how are you* (you can pronounce them with space on either side, can't you?). The former, however, are sequences of sounds that don't have any meaning associated with them, and the latter are sequences of sounds that have too much meaning associated with them. Intuitively, the former are not words, and the latter are groups of words.



To help make the text clearer, when we're discussing the linguistic properties of some word, the word will appear in italics. This indicates that the word is just being mentioned – that is, being discussed – rather than being actually used. This mention/use distinction is hard to keep track of when it's not indicated by some distinguishing feature, such as italics.

It seems fairly clear that we have to include meaning in our definition. The sounds that make up, for instance, the word *word* have a certain meaning in combination that they don't have by themselves, or when they appear in other words (like *water* or *murder*). So the *w* sound in *word* doesn't mean anything by itself, nor does the *-ord* sequence, but together, they have a meaning, even if it's a meaning that's hard to pin down. So for our final try, let's look at the relevant definition in the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*, which is listed as definition number 12a in their entry for the word *word*:

*Definition 4 (final)*

*word*: A combination of vocal sounds, or one such sound, used in a language to express an idea (e.g. to denote a thing, attribute, or relation), and constituting an ultimate minimal element of speech having a meaning as such; a vocable.

This is probably fairly close to the definition you came up with, albeit perhaps with a few extra elements. The crucial part that we didn't have in our earlier versions is the bit about the "ultimate minimal unit of speech having a meaning as such."

So consider our example word, *word*. The *w* doesn't have a meaning by itself, nor does any other individual sound. The first three sounds, which we spell *wor* in the word *word*, do have a meaning of their own (spelled *were*, the past plural of the verb *to be*), but that meaning is not a part of the meaning of *word* – that is, the meaning of *word* does not include the meaning of *were*. Other subsets of the sound sequence (*or*, *rd*, *ord*) are similarly unrelated in meaning or meaningless. *Word*, then, is a minimal unit of speech having a meaning.

This definition works to eliminate our counterexamples above from consideration as possible "words." *Spimble*, *intafulation* and *pag* are units of speech that don't express any idea, and *raise your arm* and *how are you* are units of speech that have a meaning, but they aren't