

## IMAGERY SPACE OF RUSSIAN POETRY: A COGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE

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This paper focuses on revealing the nature of verbal poetic images from a cognitive perspective and aims at building an original typology of images in contemporary Russian poetry. It highlights cognitive mechanisms that lead to the emergence of novel poetic images which cause a possible breakthrough in the conceptualization of the world. In the framework of cognitive linguistics a poetic image is viewed as a textual construal and a cognitive structure which has two planes – conceptual and verbal. It is hypothesised that a verse represents a *poetic imagery space* that can be regarded as the medium where everyday concepts undergo modifications and become poetic images. The image landscapes of poetic texts differ from each other in the way poetic images are interwoven in them.

Conceptual analysis of the corpus data obtained from contemporary Russian poetry suggested figuring out two groups of verbal poetic images: the old (**archetypes** and **stereotypes**) and novel ones (**idiotypes** and **kainotypes**). *Archetypes* descend to archetypal image-schemas: “Господи, ты светишь таким светом /Что я не вижу тебя” (Аранзон) – GOD IS LIGHT. A poetic image acquires a status of *stereotype* due to the frequency of its use in a cultural community and the well-established identity of its authorship: *река жизни, море бед, очи ясные, лес дремучий, красна девица*. The cognitive operation of specification leads to deviation from the stereotype, to emergence of a new poetic image – *idiotype*. It is a complex image which reflects idiolect and idiostyle of the author, his/her peculiarities of world perception. *Kainotypes* like: “Иго – благо, Бремя – рай” (Королев), – are formed as a result of clashing the frames of knowledge entrenched in human’s conscience and those verbalized in a poetic expression. Such poetic images challenge or change our understanding or views of things, events, or phenomena of life.

Similar to the types of conceptual metaphors [Lakoff, Johnson 1980] the paper suggests classification of conceptual oxymora. It is proved that the degree of novelty of verbal poetic images is predetermined by the type of conceptual oxymoron that underlies their verbal form. The type of conceptual oxymoron is defined according to the kind of modality: alethic, deontic, epistemic, axiological [Doležel 1998, p.113-128] – embodied in the verbal structure of a poetic image. *Ontological* conceptual oxymora POSSIBLE VS. IMPOSSIBLE, ALLOWANCE VS. NON-ALLOWANCE related to alethic and deontic modality underlie archetypal and stereotyped verbal poetic images like “*sinful pleasures*”, “*awfully beautiful*”, formed on the basis of cognitive operation of overlaying an entity of the source domain onto the opposite entity of target domain. *Structural* conceptual oxymora KNOWLEDGE VS. IGNORANCE reflecting epistemic modality and *orientational* oxymora: HERE VS. THERE, HERE/THERE VS. NOWHERE, PAST VS. FUTURE, FUTURE VS. PRESENT which show spatial and time relations, underlie idiotypes and kainotypes: “Ты – моё будущее прошедшего” (Коцюба), “*вверх по лестнице, ведущей вниз*” (Горнон); “*Совершенство – скучно, совершенство – зло*” (Королев), – formed as a result of clashing or overlapping entities of source and target domains. They may be compared with similar verbal images from American poetry “*Progress is a comfortable disease*” (Cummings), “*The imperfect is our paradise*” (Stevence).

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## The Russian agentive passive construction with Subject–Agent–Verb word order and other less frequent patterns

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Most discussions of the Russian agentive passive construction concentrate on the “canonical” and, on the whole, most frequent word order pattern, viz. Subject–Verb–Agent in its function of thematizing the passive subject and rhematizing the passive agent. In addition, some studies consider passive clauses with the word order Agent–Verb–Subject (e.g., Björklund Forthcoming; Israeli 1997; Vanhala-Aniszewski 1992, 1994). Girke and Weiss (1980) mention two other possible variants of these word order patterns, viz. Subject–Agent–Verb and Agent–Subject–Verb. However, only the first variant is discussed, and only in one example. In this paper I will discuss these and other “unusual” passive word order variants, such as Verb–Agent–Subject.

As shown by Björklund (2003; Forthcoming) the patterns and tendencies of passivization vary considerably between types of action, such as the simple observable action of opening a door (*открыть/открывать дверь*), the observable but complex action of painting a portrait (*писать/написать портрет*), and the non-observable action of breaking the law (*нарушать/нарушить закон*). These same actions are also studied in the present paper. The material is gathered from *Integrum* (electronic collection of Russian and CIS mass media).

The analysis of the material shows that the three types of action demonstrate different frequencies and different contextual preferences, also when it comes to the less frequent passive word order patterns. For instance, the action *открывать/открыть дверь* in the perfective passive without auxiliary turned out to have Subject–Agent–Verb as its most frequent word order. However, in all these clauses the passive agent is *кем-то*. The main information of such a clause is that the door is open, but the demoted passive agent placed between the subject and the verb conveys in passing that this situation is the result of somebody’s action. When the painting of a portrait is rendered in the same tense and the same word order, e.g., *Портрет Юрием Казаковым написан с натуры*, the context is such that subject, agent and verb are given information. The crucial information is the adverbial at the end of the clause. When it comes to the breaking of the law, the corresponding construction is as frequent as the “canonical” word order pattern. The actual clauses occur in contexts where the idea of the breaking of the law and the agent are given information. The crucial issue is whether the law has been broken or not, e.g. *Значит, закон «Транснефтью» нарушен*, and *что закон судом не нарушен*.

In the paper, this and other “unusual” passive word order patterns and their communicative functions are discussed in cognitive linguistic terms.

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## On Regularities in Metaphoric Nomination in Military Lexis

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Based on linguistic evidence, it has been shown that military terminology, jargon and slang are largely metaphorical in their nature. Analysis of two thousand metaphoric derivatives in Russian and English military languages has revealed the most productive models of military metaphors, how these metaphors develop in military conceptual system and how they structure it. The most productive models are grounded in human sensory-motor experiences (term by G. Jakoff and M. Johnson 1980), functional similarities and associations between the secondary and the reference subjects. As a result of one-shot reference to a physical object, image or conception, a military metaphor can be logical and objective or it can be a product of culturally determined personal interpretation.

Metaphoric nomination in military language shows regularities governed by anthropocentrism. Physical interaction between a human being and the external world reflects the metaphoric view of one entity through the prism of others. One third of military metaphoric concepts are grounded in sensory experiences, such as sight, hearing, touch, smell and taste perception of the external world: *sheaf of fire* сноп огня; *railing* частокол, радиолокационные помехи (electronic radar countermeasures); *babble* радиопомехи (electronic radar countermeasures); *bomb sniffer* прибор обнаружения диверсионных мин; *salted weapon* ядерное оружие с повышенным уровнем образования радиоактивных осадков (nuclear weapon with high level of radioactive fall-out).

Within syncretic views of the external world, the human mind likens the properties of inanimate objects to the properties of living organisms. Semantic transformation within syncretism covers all forms of human physiology. Syncretic metaphor (term by G. Sklyarevskaya 1993) appears to be very productive in Russian and English military languages: *(gun) life cycle* 'жизненный цикл' системы вооружения; *tank survivability* живучесть танка; *aging (of equipment)* старение техники; *exhaustion (of military forces)* истощение в войне; *intoxication* 'интоксикация', распространение компрометирующего ложного сообщения (spread of compromising false information).

Besides sensory-motor experiences and syncretism, functional similarities to the reference subject represent consistent patterns in the metaphoric military nomination: *cat's eye* прибор ночного видения (night vision device); *security blanket* меры сохранения секретности; *monkey drop* высадка десанта с вертолета по веревочной лестнице (helicopter-borne rope-ladder landing); *oil spot concept* 'концепция расходящегося масляного пятна' (gradual expansion and strengthening of military and political control).

A model based on associations between the nominated and the reference entities is at the top of the regularities in the system of metaphoric nomination in Russian and English military languages. Each association is grounded in a basic image encoded in a concept as unit of thinking activity. Each basic image is superposed by cognitive features, which reflect the result of cognition and which are stored in the cognitive base of linguistic and cultural community. For example, in the metaphoric military derivative *war hawk* (someone who supports and defends launching a war) a basic image of the raptorial bird builds up associations with bloodiness and aggression which result in the metaphor with knowledge inference about the entity.

Associations with this or that entity of the external world can flare up as a result of psychological parallels; they can originate in the way we visualize actions or phenomena around us. For example, in the military metaphor *freezing of nuclear weapon production and testing* 'замораживание производства и испытания ядерных вооружений', a basic image of the frozen water is a prototype. A conception of 'frozen water', in other words 'solidified water', induces the feature of 'lack of fluidity'. Going through the intermediate stage of generalization ('lack of flow', 'lack of movement') and changing the subject area, the feature of 'lack of

fluidity' models an analogous feature of 'suspension', discontinuation', 'stoppage'. The resulted metaphor *freezing of nuclear weapon production and testing* highlights the psychological parallels between the freezing water and the stoppage of nuclear weapon production and testing.

Analysis of the functioning of military metaphors in Russian and English languages has shown that once emerged to nominate a subject of the military reality, a metaphor can further develop and structure the future actions of the nominated subject. Mentally converging two different entities a metaphor allows thinking about the nominated subject in terms of its prototype. For example, a military metaphor *destruction pocket, fire pocket* 'мешок' (окружение войск противника) and its prototype 'a pocket' (a 'sack' in Russian), have a common conceptual feature of 'a container made in such a way where only one side remains open'. What we do with the real subject can be metaphorically applied to the military entity. Realization of the conceptual feature 'where only one side can be open or closed' guides, structures and nominates the actions in relation to the encircled enemy: 'to put the enemy into the destruction pocket' *посадить врага в мешок*, 'to let the enemy out of the fire pocket' *выпустить врага из мешка*, 'to tie up' *завязать мешок*, 'to untie' *развязать мешок*. Thus, the metaphor highlights the result of human cognitive activity.

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**“A Study in Black-and-White”:  
The Binary Code in the Language of Communist Propaganda**

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Myth and ritual are generally associated with traditional cultures and religious practice. Soviet ideology, despite its hostility toward myths and religion, demonstrated many common features with mythological mode of thinking. This paper investigates the binary code of the Communist propaganda.

The cultural binary code was first discovered in pre-historic cultures, where every natural or social phenomenon had been identified as *Sacral* (rather positive) or *Profane* (rather negative), e.g. *Light vs. Dark, Top vs. Bottom, Life vs. Death, Kin vs. Alien*, etc. (Eliade 1979). The language of Communist propaganda has much in common with this old binary code, as it assigns sacral features to everything referred to *Свой* (Kin), and demonizes everything referred to *Чужой* (Alien).

Though the opposition *Kin vs. Alien* was reconstructed as far back as the Indo-European protolanguage (Benveniste, 1970), its essence has been transformed ever since. *Свой* may be translated as *Kin* only provisionally, because *Свой* in Communist propaganda does not mean “of common family, common blood”, but “belonging to common social class”. This opposition also resembles *Friend or Foe* identification in military code, and its relicts can still be observed (see Pleshakova, 2009 on the mythologized concept of enemy in the post-Soviet Russian language).

A fragment of the Communist binary code is presented in the table below.

<b>Свой (Kin)</b>	<b>Чужой (Alien)</b>
<i>Мы</i> (We)	<i>Они</i> (They)
<i>Социализм</i> (Socialism)	<i>Капитализм</i> (Capitalism)
<i>Восток</i> (East)	<i>Запад</i> (West)
<i>Новый мир</i> (New World)	<i>Старый мир</i> (Old World)
<i>Свет</i> (Light)	<i>Тьма</i> (Dark)
<i>Будущее</i> (Future)	<i>Прошлое</i> (Past).
<i>Рост</i> (Growth)	<i>Гниение</i> (Decay)
<i>Прогресс</i> (Progress)	<i>Реакция</i> (Reaction)
<i>Созидание</i> (Creation)	<i>Разрушение</i> (Destruction)
<i>Мир</i> (Peace)	<i>Война</i> (War)
<i>Равноправие</i> (Equality)	<i>Рабство</i> (Slavery)
<i>Труд</i> (Labor)	<i>Безработица</i> (Unemployment)
<i>Благополучие</i> (Well-being)	<i>Нищета</i> (Poverty)

This list is not all-embracing and can be easily extended. Communist propaganda attempted to match every event and every action to either part of this code; while the code itself was systematic, generating numerous mythologems (mythologized constructs). Some mythologems were based on the contrast, see any line of the table, e.g. *В старом мире – рабство. В новом мире – братство*. (In the old world there is slavery. In the new world there is fraternity.) Other mythologems were based on sameness, see any column of the table, e.g. *Социализм и мир неотделимы друг от друга*. (Socialism and peace are inseparable from each other.)

Moreover, this binary code generated the process of double nominations: different words were used for naming similar social and political objects, the choice depended on affiliating this object to *Kin* or *Alien*, e.g. *шпион* (spy) vs. *разведчик* (agent); *армия* (army) vs. *военищина* (soldiery); *революция* (revolution) vs. *переворот* (putsch); *правительство* (government) vs. *клика* (clique); *классовая борьба* (class struggle) vs. *полицейский террор* (police terror); *союзник* (ally) vs. *марионетка* (dummy), etc.

In fact, the binary code of Communist propaganda gave Soviet people the illusion of stability. Thus, when the USSR broke up and this monochrome picture was destroyed, many people felt lost without propaganda instructions and ready-made models of behavior.

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## **Past Tense Debate: Brain-imaging Study of the Russian Verbal Inflection**

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For many years, acquisition of verbal morphology has been an issue of much debate in linguistic theory, studies of mental grammar representation, and cognitive processing. The “English past tense debate”, which addresses the issue of “nature vs. nurture”, explores whether the processing of regular and irregular morphology is driven by two distinct mechanisms, or by one single mechanism. The proponents of the Dual Mechanism Account claim that regular forms are computed by a rule-based system, while irregular morphological forms are processed in associative memory. The opposite view claims that both regular and irregular forms are processed in associative memory. Jaeger et al., (1996) has made an attempt to determine the cerebral localization of regular vs. irregular English verb processing, with the data discussed in support of the Dual Mechanism Account. However, Chandler & Skousen (1997) published their interpretation of the findings showing that Jaeger’s results are not in conflict with the Single Mechanism Account.

The rCBF was measured in twelve native right-handed Russian-speaking volunteers, age 22-29 who provided written informed consent for participation in the study using PET scans. Participants were asked to perform each task continuously for approximately 135 s, because a minimum of 90 s of stimulus data duration is required for a statistically valid image of brain activity.

Stimuli (4 word lists in black letters on a white background) were presented at random on a color monitor 1,5 m from the nasion. The stimuli were: the i-class semi-regular verbs (warm-up), singular nouns, irregular verbs, the aj-class regular verbs, the aj-class nonce verbs. During each of the four experimental conditions, subjects viewed the sequence of 65 words at a rate of one word every 2 s, with exposure time from 80 to 160 ms with 1850 ms intervals. Subjects produced 1<sup>st</sup> person singular past tense forms for verbs and plural forms for nouns.

The analysis supports rule-based processing of the regular verbs consistent with the Dual Mechanism Account. A significant rCBF increase in the anterior cingulate gyrus of the left hemisphere (24 BA) was shown for regular verb generation in comparison with all the other conditions (irregular and nonce-verbs and nouns). The localization of such functional activity indicates that regular verb processing also involves an error-detection system monitoring form adequacy, with rule-based procedures constituting the basis for this. A comparison of regular and nonce verbs shows not only the 24 BA area involvement, but also changes in the functional activity of subcortical nuclei (substantia nigra, pulvinar, subthalamic nucleus, ventral posterior medial nucleus): the brain uses different algorithms to process unfamiliar and familiar stimuli.

**Finding Constructions:  
A needle in the haystack, fish in a barrel, or forest for the trees?**

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Qualitative and quantitative approaches to automatically analyze and annotate natural language data have proven successful on many fronts. Goldsmith (2001, 2006, 2009) and Goldsmith's *Linguistica* software have demonstrated success in identifying inflectional morphology across languages from raw corpus data. The Brown, et al (1992) algorithm (as developed in software by Liang (2005)) and *Linguistica* were used in the current study to identify semantic categories based on word neighbors. The word classes and morphemes thus identified and the signatures, i.e., a database of which stems combine with which morphemes, were used here to successfully identify the part of speech of words strongly associated with the case marking morphemes of the immediately following one or two words. For Russian, this procedure yielded a semantic category in which 33 out of the 35 most frequent words (94%) in the category were prepositions. A further multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) on the prepositions and the morphology of the following words reveals clusters that correspond to case governance.

Although the research thus far has demonstrated that it is possible to identify some case constructions (prepositions and the cases they combine with), the ultimate goal of this research is to identify structure and meaning across the board for case marking systems in order to accelerate the acquisition of case data with inputs into corpus annotation and to broaden the range of languages studied with inputs into typological research within cognitive linguistics. Previous studies in Slavic case semantics (Janda and Clancy 2002, 2006) form a constructicon and a gold standard of case marking constructions for Russian and Czech and provide templates for possible unsupervised approaches to replicating this constructicon. Successful replication will feed into further research both within the Slavic languages (with immediate extensions to Polish and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian) and to other languages with case and/or adposition marking constructions. The current study aims to refine and automate the process of identifying case constructions so that the case marking systems (morphology and semantics) can be identified directly from corpora in an unsupervised fashion, enabling the expansion of these projects to include many more languages by accelerating the process of data collection and analysis.

However, finding structure in contiguous items such as prepositions and their noun phrases is fairly straightforward, but the challenges of Slavic word order and the variety of constructions pose many problems for unsupervised learning. For a particular verb, such as отвечать/ответить, one might propose the following construction:

[отвечать/ответить DAT на +ACC]  
'answer someone-DAT something-на+ACC'

However, a manual inspection for examples in Dostoevsky's *Бесы* revealed a plethora of constructions with this verb, such that the proposed construction might be something along the following:

[(не) отвечать/ответить (КОМУ) (на (КАКОЙ) вопрос) (, что) (QUOTE) (не...GEN)  
(КАК) (КОГДА) (что/что-нибудь/что-то) (ГДЕ) (КУДА) (ПОЧЕМУ)]  
'(not) answer someone/something/that/"QUOTE"/  
NEGATIVE/how/when/something/where/to where/why'

Unsupervised techniques also face the problems of word order and long distances, such as this example from Bulgakov's *Мастер и Маргарита* with the *столько, сколько* 'so much, as' construction spread out over three exchanges in dialogue:

- Но меня, конечно, **не столько** интересуют автобусы, телефоны и прочая...
- Аппаратура! - Подсказал клетчатый.
- Совершенно верно, благодарю, - медленно говорил маг тяжелым басом, - **сколько** гораздо более важный вопрос: изменились ли эти горожане внутренне?

"But I'm, of course, **not so much** interested in buses, telephones, and such..."

"Equipment!" prompted the checkered one.

"Absolutely, thank you," slowly spoke the magician with a heavy bass.

"**as** in a much more important question: have these city-dwellers changed internally?"

Constructional depth and richness and long distance relations pose seemingly insurmountable challenges for unsupervised methods. This paper will present the current results from this ongoing research in computational construction grammar and will also discuss the problems with automatic identification of case constructions when combined with manual analyses, annotations, and data collection.

I will discuss the nature of computational construction grammar as applied to the problem of identifying case constructions: are we looking for a needle in a haystack, i.e., are constructions difficult to identify, or are we shooting fish in a barrel (i.e., constructions are present at every level and merely need to be gathered up and classified?). Goldberg's assertion that all linguistic structure is "constructions all the way down" testifies to the ubiquity of constructions at every level of language. However, this situation all too easily yields a situation in which we cannot see the forest for the trees.

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## Can ‘transfer to nowhere’ become ‘transfer to somewhere’?: Linguistic relativity revisited

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In many cases the native language (L1) plays a determining role along which route the foreign language (L2) learning will be directed. However, the question remains open as to what extent the native language is involved in L2 representation and processing.

The present study investigated the transfer of gender-specific information from a gendered language (Russian) to a non-gendered language (English). Two groups of participants were tested – highly advanced Russian learners of English (L2) (n=23) and a group of native English controls (NS) (n=24) in a monolingual (English) self-paced reading (SPR) experiment. Since the grammatical category of gender is not present in English, the experiment required syntactic manipulation; therefore, pronominal agreement with animate and inanimate referents was selected as a target structure with marked (congruent and incongruent) and unmarked for gender condition (neutral). It was hypothesized that if the speakers of Russian transfer the grammatical gender information from L1 Russian to L2 English, they will find the ungrammatical sentences with the pronouns that correspond to the Russian gender marking of the noun to be grammatically plausible (e.g., *The squirrel / climbed the tree / where / SHE / found / hidden nuts.*) and would exhibit reduced latencies compared to the pronouns that do not (e.g., *The squirrel / climbed the tree / where / HE / found / hidden nuts.*). The results of the SPR task did in fact show a robust slowdown effect, observed in the incongruent condition in the L2 group. The results indicated that Russian speakers of English invoked Russian gender information, which created a processing block when the incongruent pronoun was encountered. This outcome provides strong support for the transfer of grammatical gender information at the processing level, even if the category is non-existent in the L2 grammar.

In order to eliminate the possibility that the effect stems from the conceptual or semantic component, two additional experiments were conducted – a Picture Classification task (PCT) and an English Word Classification task (WCT), which used the same target nouns as the SPR experiment. However, neither verbal nor non-verbal version of the classification task revealed any differences between the groups, indicating that gender information does not provide any bias in classification of objects or L2 lexical items, and the hypothesis about conceptual and/or semantic origins of gender effects could be dismissed.

Taken together, the results of the study provide strong evidence in favor of the resilient nature of the L1 processing routines that compete with the L2 knowledge and can in some cases override it. The results are interpreted within Kellerman’s ‘transfer to nowhere’ framework and in line with Slobin’s ‘thinking for speaking’ hypothesis.

**Ethnolinguistics and literature:  
the meaning of *svědomí* / *conscience* in the writings of Václav Havel**

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Associated with Václav Havel is a paradox that renders his writing an ideal candidate for comparative ethnolinguistic analysis (Bartmiński 2010). He is a Czech writer who has achieved world renown primarily through the English translations of his texts. A question follows: how do the translations of the original texts differ and how might these differences influence our interpretation of them? This is especially the case with regard to key words in the texts. While Wierzbicka (1997) uses the term “key word” in application to a language or culture, it is also productive to apply the same strategy to literature: to analyze words that occupy a key position in a given work – or even the entire oeuvre – of a given author because they exhibit a special organizational and semantic potential for that work or for that author’s whole system of thought. Given Havel’s paradox, a focus on key words begs the question of the extent to which the meanings of their English translations are, from an ethnolinguistic perspective, equivalent to the meanings of the Czech originals.

An application of ethnolinguistic analysis to literature ought to respect the texts as literature and strive to engage with the literary-critical discussion surrounding them. This is quite a different approach from using works of literature as resources in ethnolinguistic analysis proper, a valuable methodology in its own right. In the sense, however, that I am advocating it here, the application of ethnolinguistic analysis to literature may be considered a hybrid discipline in which a literary figure is investigated with help from an ethnolinguistic ground (see Gross 1997 and Danaher 2007). Ethnolinguistics is, then, a methodological tool that can contribute to the ongoing literary-critical dialogue.

Key words in Havel’s writings and thinking are not difficult to identify: they are words that Havel continually returns to because they act as metaphysical touchstones in his thinking. *Svědomí* is one of those words. It is a key word in Havel’s pre-1989 essays and forms the central motif of his 1984 essay entitled *Politika a svědomí*. It is one of a handful of words that comprise the core vocabulary in his philosophical letters from prison (*Letters to Olga*). It is also a touchstone concept in Havel’s post-1989 presidential speeches.

In analyzing Havel’s reframing of the meaning of *svědomí* and its relationship to, on the one hand, conventional Czech understandings of *svědomí* and, on the other, English *conscience*, I will trace the development of Havel’s thought and provide a comparative ethnolinguistic account to ground it. In the comparative analysis, I will focus on the etymologies of *svědomí* and *conscience* and the bearing that they have on the contemporary semantic value of each word in its respective language, on one common metaphorical conceptualization associated with both words (*the voice of conscience*), and finally on scholarly – as well as naive – evidence that speaks to the meaning of each.

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## Habitual Verbs in Old Czech and the History of Aspect

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There have been two hypotheses on the development of habitual verbs (e.g., *řikavat* ‘say’) in Old Czech. Širokova (1965) suggests that such verbs arose as a result of the loss of the aorist : imperfect distinction, which was complete in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Širokova specifically claims that such habitual verbs arose as a kind of substitute for the lost imperfect tense. Černyx (1969) disputes this connection, pointing out that the imperfect was lost well before habitual verbs became widely used. Černyx suggests that habitual verbs developed as a result of the loss of the past perfect in Czech (and also in Russian). Neither of these hypotheses is very satisfying, though Černyx’s link to the loss of the past perfect seems more plausible.

As Nikiforov (1952: 117) observes, in sixteenth-century Russian habitual verbs not only expressed habitual repetition but also the categorical negation of events, as shown in (1).

- (1) Starec Merkurej perepisnova spiska ko mne ne **prisylival**.  
‘The elder Mercurii did not send a correspondence list to me.’ (Rus; 16<sup>th</sup> cent.)

Further, Nikiforov (1952: 117) also discusses the use of habitual verbs in cases of “doubt, uncertainty in a question,” as shown in (2).

- (2) A velel emu... obyskati... xto k nej... **priezžival** ly i ee **bival** ly i **mučival** ly... i ee **grablival** ly, i xto ee iz podvor’ja i čeloveka ee Fedka **svažival** ly...?  
‘And he ordered him... to investigate... who might have come to her and beaten her and tortured her... and robbed her, and who might have abducted her and her husband Fedko from the courtyard...?’ (Rus; 16<sup>th</sup> cent.)

Note that in (2) the verbs express single events in uncertain circumstances, in a manner not unlike the modern imperfective general-factual. A semantic connection can be made between such temporal back-shifting and the function of the past perfect tense. Temporal back-shifting is also arguably common to the contemporary function of habituais to express a remote past (discussed by Danaher 2003).

Širokova (1965: 42) observes that Czech habituais were very common in negated contexts in the fifteenth century and later, cf., e.g., (3).

- (3) Tent’ **se nelekával**, aniž jest kdy v boji ustával.  
‘That one was not struck with fear, nor did he ever grow weary in battle.’  
(Cz; 15<sup>th</sup> cent.)

She does not adduce any examples that otherwise resemble the imperfective general-factual or the usage in (2). However, I have found a very few examples from the fifteenth century, in Jan Rokycana’s *Postilla*, that appear to refer to single events:

- (4) O Mariji Magdaleně tak se čte, že, když kněz k ní přišel, když měla umřít, když se jí tázal, kto jest, a ona řekla: »**Čítal**-li **jsi** kdy o oné hříšnici zjevné, o Magdaleně?« A on řekl: »**Čítal**.«  
‘Concerning Mary of Magdalene it is read that, when a prince came to her, when she was about to die, when he asked her who she was, she said: “Have you ever read about that known sinful woman, about Magdalene?” And he said “I have”.’ (Cz; 15<sup>th</sup> cent.)

Example (4) is a perfect example of the experiential imperfective general-factual, which is analyzed as minimally referring to a single event at some point in the past. As far as I am aware, such usage of habitual verbs is not characteristic of modern Czech.

Assuming that Jan Rokycana knew the Bible well, example (5) also refers to a single event, as the quoted statement occurs only once in Romans, chapter 8:

- (5) Neb stojí napsáno (k Římanům v VIII. kapitole, svatej Pavel **říkával**): »V němžto voláme, Abba, Otče«, totižto v Duchu svatém.  
'For it is written (Romans, in chapter 8, Saint Peter said [it]): "We call to you in it, Abba, Father," that is in the Holy Spirit.'

Example (5) does not represent general-factual usage as we know it, but does appear to refer to a single event. Perhaps the speech act is conceptualized as being in a remote past.

It is difficult to determine whether such examples represent outliers, or are rare simply because such contexts (especially general-factual contexts such as in ex. 4) occur very infrequently in medieval texts. Inasmuch as these examples are to be taken at face value, they shed some new light on the early stages of the existence of habitual verbs in Czech. In particular, they suggest that habituals in Old Czech were more like Old Russian habituals than has been previously thought (cf. also in this regard Berger 2009 on the modern situation), and that habituals may have been involved in early stages of general-factual usage, as claimed for Russian by Janko (2005) among others. If this is the case, the question then becomes why Czech habitual verbs lost these usage patterns, and how this is connected to the relative marginality of imperfective general-factual usage in modern Czech.

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## Functions of Onomatopoeia vs. the Bi-partite Discourse Model of Foreground/Background

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Existing literature highlights morphosyntactic features of SSEs that differ from those of other parts of speech. Among them are paucity of expected inflectional marking (e.g. Noss 1985: 249; Alpher 1994: 172; Childs 1994: 185) and frequent co-occurrence of SSEs with “dummy” verbs (Childs 1994: 187), i.e. “do,” “say,” and “go”. Czech data confirm such features (1, 2).

1. Nekonečné<sup>neut sg</sup> **šplouch** když padají zpět obloukem -) do moře. náhle je vylekalo<sup>pst neut sg</sup> hlasitě<sup>neut sg</sup> **bum!**  
‘the unending<sup>neut sg</sup> **šplouch** when [the dolphins] falls back in an arch-like path into -) into the sea. all of a sudden a loud<sup>neut sg</sup> **bum** startled<sup>neut sg</sup> them!’
2. Zvenku se ozvalo<sup>pst-neut sg</sup> **klip-klap**, jako když někdo tůká nehty na sklo okna.  
‘From the outside there was a sound of **klip-klip**, like when someone is tapping [his] fingernails on the windowpane.’

Czech OpEs share such properties with non-sound symbolic linguistic forms, e.g. direct quotations and indeclinables. As morphosyntactically marked members of language (and therefore are commensurate with the notion of *figure* (Croft and Cruse 2004: 56-9)), OpEs appear as discourse markers for foregrounded texts, e.g. indicating a sudden turn of events (3).

3. Sám sice na housle nehraje, ale byl to setsakra dobrý nástroj a navíc pro něho měl značnou citovou hodnotu. A **pic ho!** Najednou jsou v čudu. Prostě zmizely. (SYN2005)  
‘He doesn’t play the violin himself, but it was a damn good instrument and furthermore for him it had a significant emotional value. And **pic ho!** Suddenly it is gone. It simply disappeared.’

What is striking, however, is that OpEs can present a text that is neither figure/foreground nor ground/background:

4. Napsal jste pečlivě krásnou knihu, jak jste měl rád svého tatínka. [...] Vaše kniha tím končí. Co dál? **Bum. Bum. Bum. Bum.** To je zdola, z montérského pokoje. **Bum. Bum. Bum. Bum. Bum.** Bydlí tam ten hoch... Borek Trojan. (Syn2000)  
‘You wrote a beautiful book with great care [about] how you loved your father. [...] That’s the end of your book. What next?’ [**bum bum bum bum**] This is from downstairs, from the builder’s room. [**bum bum bum bum bum**]. That fellow... Borek Trojan lives there.’

(4) represents sounds that interfere with or compete with the foregrounded text (the quotation). This function found in Czech OpEs suggests we need to modify the bi-partite notion of foreground/background in discourse analysis (Hopper and Thompson 1980) and the concept of figure/ground. My discussion will be based on quantitative data and qualitative analysis of examples taken primarily from the Czech National Corpus.

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## Polish and English primary basic colour terms as cognitive categories: a corpus-based study

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Since the publication of *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution* (Berlin & Kay, 1969) a wealth of evidence has been presented in worldwide literature to either support or disprove the universal character of the eleven colour terms selected. Linguists have joined anthropologists in the quest for a definitive answer, by focusing on whether the implicational hierarchy is reflected in lexical data. However, most linguistic literature focuses on the notion of basicness, or upon investigations into individual languages. In contrast, the present study offers a parallel analysis of the semantics of six basic colour terms (BCTs) in two languages, Polish and English: *czarny* / *black*, *biały* / *white*, *czzerwony* / *red*, *zielony* / *green*, *żółty* / *yellow*, and *niebieski* / *blue*. The study combines a wide range of methods which guarantee the most detailed analysis. Cognitive semantic tools have been applied during the course of contrastive research based on extensive real-language data.

This semasiological examination of each BCT as a conceptual category adopts the main tenets of cognitive semantics as proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987), and Langacker (1987). Widely recognised American methodology is complemented by the Slavic approaches represented by Wierzbicka (1980; 1990; 1996), the Lublin School of Ethnolinguistics (Tokarski, 2004; Bartmiński, 2007) and Grzegorzczkowska & Waszakowa (2000; 2003) with a view to providing an exhaustive account of each category, and contrasting the conceptualisations reflected in the two languages in question and the factors which shape them.

The material for the research comprises large samples (1,500 - 3,000) of corpus citations provided by online electronic corpora: the PWN Scientific Publishers' Corpus of Polish and the British National Corpus. By integrating qualitative and quantitative methods and employing a wide range of academic and non-academic sources, the paper investigates the polysemies of respective BCTs in several steps: (1) the identification of the prototype(s) on the basis of collocational, etymological and lexicographic data; (2) the analysis of meaning extensions via the conceptual mechanisms of metonymy and metaphor; (3) the determination of the entrenchment of respective senses on the basis of corpus frequencies; (4) the influence of cultural factors on the salience of central and peripheral readings. The final outcome for each BCT is presented graphically as a network of related meanings – represented by nodes reflecting attested frequencies – which centre around a prototypical, perceptually salient entity which motivates the polysemous pattern of the whole category.

On the whole, the results confirm a considerable degree of conceptual affinity between the BCTs in contrast. *Niebieski* and *blue*, however, exhibit notable discrepancies which could be ascribed to environmental variations. Uniquely, the categories of *żółty* and *yellow*, seem to be motivated by cultural rather than perceptual factors. In this respect, the study provides relevant evidence for the validity of a mild relativist approach in the study of BCTs.

## Semantic substitution errors in normal speech: Some factors that determine the outcome of lexical competition in language production

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Using the data from Russian National Corpus and Russian Word Association Thesaurus, semantic substitution errors (slips of the tongue) naturally occurring in Russian normal speech were analyzed for word frequency, word length, target-error co-occurrence strength, and word association norms. The analysis involved a total of 1191 noun substitution errors collected by recording everyday conversations, telephone conversations, and live TV and radio programs.

A comparison of target and error word frequencies shows that overall, higher-frequency nouns tend to substitute for lower-frequency semantically related nouns. There appears to be a strong positive correlation between target frequencies and error frequencies within overall semantic substitutions, indicating that target word frequency affects the outcome of the error: to be a successful competitor against a target word, a semantically related item requires a higher frequency of occurrence in language use. The data runs counter to the view that probabilistic information about lexical units is available only at the lexeme (phonological encoding) level (Jescheniak & Levelt 1994; Jurafsky 2003 etc.), suggesting instead that such information may be coded at earlier stages of word retrieval such as the stage of lexical selection.

Based on the types of conceptual-semantic relationships between the target and its substitute, the target-error pairs of nouns were classified as either “co-hyponyms” or “other than co-hyponyms” by 20 undergraduate students of linguistics and 4 professional linguists.

A statistical analysis of target nouns reveals that their frequency and length characteristics differ depending on whether they elicit co-hyponym errors, e.g.

*Esli ja etot tort ukrašu dol'kami **apel'sina** → ...**limona***  
*If I decorate the cake with segments of an **orange** → ...**lemon***

*Daj mne **ložečku** → ...**nož***  
*Give me a **teaspoon** → ...a **knife***

or errors that represent other types of conceptual-semantic relationships between words, e.g.

*Nakanune **pobedy** tože pogibali naši soldaty → Nakanune **vojny**...*  
*Our soldiers were dying on the eve of the **victory** → ...on the eve of the **war***

– *Čto takoe libretto? – Tekst **operi**. → ... **pesni***  
– *What is a libretto? – The text of an **opera**. → ...**song***

On average, targets that elicit co-hyponym errors appear to have significantly higher frequencies and shorter lengths than targets that elicit errors of non-taxonomic type.

Since nouns that elicit co-hyponym errors were found to be “matched for length” with their substitutes, word length does not seem to be a significant variable predicting the outcome of co-hyponym substitutions. Conversely, with nouns that elicit errors of non-taxonomic type, both word frequency and word length (measured in syllables) appear to have a strong impact on the outcome of the error. In this case, the error is typically an associatively related word that belongs

to a cognitive frame evoked by the target and is often (though not necessarily) at the periphery of the target word's lexical-semantic field.

At the same time, co-hyponym target-error pairs are characterized by much higher measures of co-occurrence strength and of associative relatedness compared to target-error pairs of non-taxonomic type, i.e. the errors are typically closer to the centers of the targets' lexical-semantic fields.

In sum, semantic substitution errors in normal speech provide supportive evidence for the hypothesis that words' abstract representations compete for selection and that the word frequency effect plays a role throughout the process of lexical retrieval. Word length seems to matter when the target competes with a relatively weakly associated non-taxonomy item belonging to its cognitive frame but does not tend to affect the outcome of a competition with strongly associated co-hyponyms. The proposed paper will discuss some possible theoretical implications of these findings.

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## Slavic instrumental of affirmation

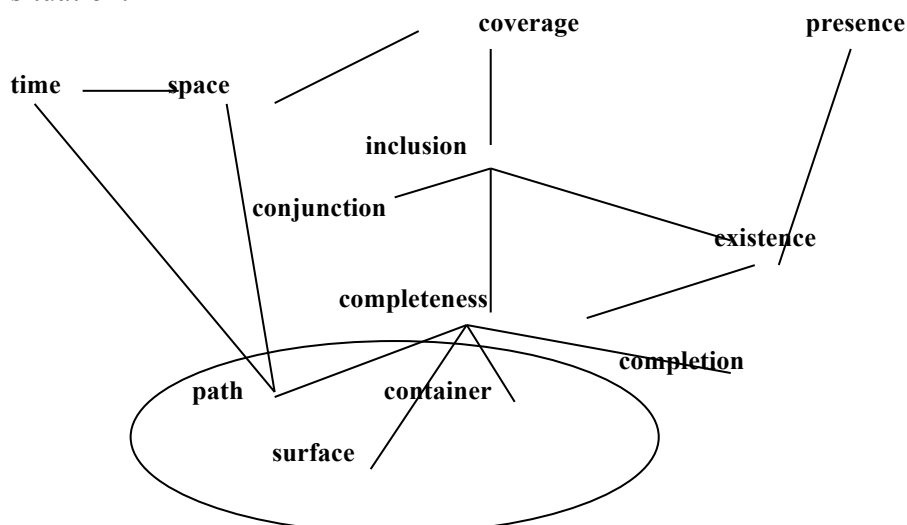
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In Slavic, a case-alteration between genitive and two other cases, nominative and accusative, in the presence of sentential negation is known as the genitive of negation. I will argue that apart from the genitive of negation, Slavic also makes use of the instrumental of affirmation. Using Slavic data, I will show that the instrumental is an inherently affirmative case, as opposed to genitive which has specialized in expressing partition, disjunction and negation. Because of their distinctive semantic properties, instrumentals and genitives are not only attracted by positive and negative contexts respectively, but they can also participate in the modality shaping of finite verb forms.

I will try to show that affirmative instrumentals can be classified, on the basis of the positive meanings they imply, as instrumentals of completeness, instrumentals of conjunction and instrumentals of existence. Furthermore, this semantic classification becomes more refined when image-schemas of CONTAINER, PATH, SURFACE and conceptual metaphors are included in the model. All of them can be linked to the physical relation of COVERAGE.

The positive meanings expressed by the instrumental and used in the assembly of affirmation constructions can be schematized as a semantic network with the image schema of COVERAGE placed at the highest position. All the other meanings and semantic relations are associated with it or derived out of it. Consequently, all affirmative meaning of the instrumental construction may be perceived as metaphorical extensions or alternative conceptualizations of the same situation:



The meanings listed above contribute to construing the propositional content positively. However, stronger forms of affirmation, where the possibility of negation is firmly excluded, require additional components, apart from the instrumental construction, to participate in the construction of affirmation. These subconstructions, strengthening the affirmative meaning of the instrumental, are fronting, doubling and quantification. All of them may be used in the construction of affirmative functions.

Particular affirmation constructions inherit their properties from other constructions, leading to the rise of a hierarchical configuration with one or more dominant constructions. As a result, affirmation can vary in strength and degree, ranging from very weak forms to situations where the affirmative status of an action/state is strongly insisted on. The central semantic factor which ultimately motivates and shapes affirmation is the image-schema of COVERAGE. Thus, it turns out that this highly sophisticated, abstract, grammatical category – known as affirmation – boils down to a very basic physical property.

## The semelfactive suffix –anu–.

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The paper proposes to analyze the semantics and the possibility of formation of semelfactive –anu- verbs as opposed to –nu- verbs.

Zaliznjak (2006) lists altogether 51 –anu-verbs. A detailed analysis will show that in fact only 48 of them are –anu- semelfactives. However, an analysis of Russian National Corpus and some credible sources found on Google suggest that at least another 20 verbs should be added to Zalaznjak’s –anu- list.

Not all –anu-verbs have the same status in CSR. There are some that have no corresponding –nu- verb, for example \*долбнуть or \*психнуть.

Of those that have –nu-/-anu- pairs, there are several possibilities, which could all be brought under one generalized meaning: –anu- verbs increase the amount of the object or the intensity of the action.

For example, шагнуть means to make a step, while шагануть means to make a large step, which may lead to metaphoric steps as well. In this example the giant step is compared with an interplanetary march:

За столиками горячо обсуждают доклад Шибалина. Одни говорят за, другие против. Большинство первых.  
— Можно сказать, размахнулся! — На всю вселенную!  
— По всем планетам прошелся!  
— **Шаганул!**  
— Живых и мертвых колыхнул, затронул даже тех, которые еще не родились!  
— Всему человечеству открыл освежающую отдушину, а то ведь прямо задыхались! (Н. Н. Никандров. Путь к женщине.  
[http://az.lib.ru/n/nikandrow\\_n\\_n/text\\_0040.shtml](http://az.lib.ru/n/nikandrow_n_n/text_0040.shtml))

In the next example it is the intensity that warrants the –anu-verb:

а на следующем круге задние колеса неожиданно пошли в срыв, и машины закрутило. В следующее мгновение в меня врезался Жан, да так, что только обломки во все стороны полетели. **Тряхануло** так сильно, что я даже ощутил боль в голове и шее. (Борис Мурадов. Гран При Японии: прощальная гастроль (2001)// RNC)

The orphan –anu-verbs, those that do not have a corresponding –nu-verb, still exhibit the semantic element of exaggeration, for example:

Потому что Бога в нем нет! И сказал, что у меня тоже Бога нет! Что мы с ним — две стороны одной медали! Во как **сказанул!** Иезуит он самый страшный! Душу мне наизнанку вывернул! (Э. Володарский. Дневник самоубийцы)

The inability to form –nu-verbs in some instances can be explained phonetically, i.e. a consonantal cluster of three consonants or a combination, which has been traditionally not used at this morpheme boundary, such as [bn]. However, the availability of –anu- solves this phonetic

problem in cases where the semantic component of ‘excess’ is possible. Thus we find counterexamples to Dickey & Janda’s (2009) proposal that the suffix –nu- and the prefix s- are in complementary distribution. For example we find *игрануть* and *сыграть* and even *сыгрануть*, *хватануть* and *схватить*, and even *махануть*, *махнуть* and *смахать* meaning ‘taking a trip’. Of course, whenever two or three verbs are possible we find some distinction in usage and/or meaning, which I will also discuss in my paper.

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## “Hidden in Plain Sight: Prefix variation in Russian”

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The “pair” model of Russian aspect assumes that verbs exist as pairs, with one imperfective and one perfective partner. Under this assumption, the purely aspectual prefix is supposedly semantically ‘empty’ (Šaxmatov 1952; Avilova 1959, 1976; Tixonov 1964, 1998; Forsyth 1970; Vinogradov 1972; Čertkova 1996; Zaliznjak and Šmelev 2000). We can refer to this as the Empty Prefix Hypothesis. This traditional assumption obscures the fact that approximately 27% of Russian verbs that form such perfectives actually form not just one, but two or more of them. For example, *вzнуть* ‘get stuck’ forms two such perfective partners: *завзнуть* and *увзнуть*, both of which serve as aspectual correlates. *Грузить* ‘load’ has three perfective partners, again all with the status of aspectual correlates: *загрузить*, *нагрузить* and *погрузить*. There are even some verbs with four (e.g., *марать* ‘soil’, with perfectives *вымарать*, *замарать*, *измарать* and *намарать*), five (e.g., *мотать* ‘wind’, with perfectives *замотать*, *намотать*, *промотать*, *помотать* and *умотать*), and up to six such perfectives (e.g., *мазать* ‘smear; miss; soil; annoint’, with perfectives *вымазать*, *замазать*, *измазать*, *намазать*, *помазать* and *промазать*). An alternative, which we call the Overlap Hypothesis (Vey 1952; van Schooneveld 1958; Isačenko 1960, 159–172; Timberlake 2004, 410f.), suggests that semantic overlap between the prefix and the verb camouflages the meaning of the prefix, causing the illusion that it is empty when in fact it is not.

We use the term ‘prefix variation’ for this proliferation of prefixed perfective aspectual partners of imperfective base verbs. Despite the fact that this phenomenon is well attested in standard dictionaries (Evgen’eva 1999; Ožegov and Švedova 2001), it has been largely overlooked in the scholarly literature, which does not explore the extent of prefix variation. A few scholars have acknowledged that there are some ‘exceptions’ to the pair model of this type and they have even suggested that there may be semantic differences between alternate perfectives (Vinogradov 1972; Isačenko 1960, 159–172; Švedova et al. 1980, §1396), but there has been no systematic study of this phenomenon.

In addition to addressing a gap in our factual knowledge of the Russian aspect system, this paper engages relevant theoretical issues, such as synonymy, ‘empty’ prefixes, and allomorphy. For example, words such as *завзнуть* and *увзнуть* ‘get stuck’ can be interchanged in many contexts, so are they exact synonyms? What does the phenomenon of prefix variation tell us about the meanings of prefixes? Are the prefixes that form Natural Perfectives a set of semantically empty allomorphs that merely mark ‘+ perfective’ as has been traditionally assumed? If so, why would any verb use more than one prefix to form its Natural Perfective?

We present an empirical study of prefix variation in Russian, mapping out the overall phenomenon and then presenting detailed case studies of prefix variation illustrated with examples from the Russian National Corpus.

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## DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SINGULAR AND PLURAL GENERICS IN POLISH

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The present analysis is a work-in-progress report which seeks to examine, by looking at the corpus data, the singular and plural generic construals in Polish as well as the speaker's reasons for selecting one option over another with special emphasis on their respective overall meanings. Polish speakers have only two generic construals at their disposal for making reference to kinds:

- (1) *Kot jest mięsożercą.*  
cat is carnivore  
'The cat is a carnivore.'  
(2) *Koty są mięsożercami.*  
cats are carnivores  
'Cats are carnivores.'

The two above-mentioned sentences are roughly equivalent of each other, however, if we consider sentences with other kinds of entities, the differences between the two patterns become more apparent (Taylor 2002). The plural generic construal seems to be the preferred structure for probabilistic judgments (Dahl 1995) and very vague and impressionistic statistics (Lawler 1997), and leaves room for exceptions, as can be illustrated by the following examples:

- (3)  
a.  
*Psy są ssakami*  
Dogs are mammals.  
'Dogs are mammals.'  
b.  
*Polacy robią zakupy przez Internet.*  
Poles do shopping through internet  
'Poles shop online.'  
c.  
*Amerykanie wreszcie zniosą wizy dla Polaków?*  
Americans finally abolish visas for Poles?  
'Will Americans finally abolish visas for Poles?'

The generic referent in (3a) applies to all dogs without exception, the generic referent in (3b) applies to some Poles whereas the generic referent in (3c) applies perhaps to a few decision-making individuals. Because of the variety of applications, the second part of my analysis will concern the potential for manipulation of the plural generic construal in Polish by looking at choices available to the speaker in communicating his/her thoughts.

The theoretical framework of my study is Cognitive Grammar (CG) as developed by Ronald W. Langacker and his followers (see Langacker 1987, 1991). The three assumptions of CG that are of particular relevance to this research are the centrality of meaning, the meaningfulness of grammar, and the importance of a usage-based approach.

The discussion alludes to metonymies INSTANCE FOR TYPE and TYPE FOR SUBTYPE as well as the conceptual blending of instance and type (Radden 2009). The overall aim of the analysis is to show how cognitive linguistics can contribute to the understanding of generics.

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## The ways to re-narrate: development of the reported speech markers in Russian

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The topic of this study is development of the reported speech markers both in the Old and Modern Russian languages. Lexemes in question are separated in two groups:

### 1. *Говорят, у тебя, мол, есть компьютер.*

Markers from the first group are originated in specific verb forms within the independent clause (*рѣци, мол, дескать, грит*, etc). These core re-narrative markers are considered as a result of similar developments from specific verbal forms to damaged auxiliary items. The point where each item appears and, to all extent, disappears from the language are dated in the presentation. The data leads to conclude that there are syntactic parameters, which control transformation of a verbal form along the well-established grammaticalization path (*content word > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix*). However in the case the full path remains untrodden till the last. The causes of this shortened path as well as some arguments for defining a specific construction are discussed in details. To sum up, a clause headed by a speech verb is syntactically reanalyzed in such a way that the head loses its functions and transforms to a grammatical word, if not to a clitic.

2. The second group forms a class of evidential markers such as *яко(бы), тина/о*, etc, which are often used in a narrower meaning close to the re-narrative markers mentioned above. These lexemes are also observed as a result of the diachronic developments of two (Old)-Russian constructions. Respectively, they are developed in two stages, which are also dated in the presentation with all possible accuracy.

### 2a. *Говорят, тина у тебя есть компьютер.*

On the first stage a relative-demonstrative pronoun occupies the position that joins two clauses together. It introduces a reported speech, it functions as the conjunction, and it is finally reanalyzed into a conjunction. The well-described *jako-recitativum* is one example of this development, which produces as well as markers *что, тина/о*, etc. In this case, there is no syntactic reanalysis; rather the bi-clausal construction defines parameters, where a certain pronoun transforms into a new syntactic word.

### 2b. *Говорят, у тебя якобы есть компьютер.*

On the second stage some of the conjunctions started to be used outside the bi-clausal construction. As a result of syntactic reanalysis, they stop joining two clauses and become free particles. That is the case of *якобы*, which served as the conjunction in the conditional clauses in Old-Russian and is now an evidential particle, which expresses, among other, re-narrative meaning as well.

To conclude, development of the Russian reported speech markers can be efficiently generalized in three ways:

- from verbs of speech to particles through the syntactic re-analysis of the independent clause;
- from pronouns to conjunctions through a morphological reinterpretation;
- from conjunctions to particles through the syntactic re-analysis of the bi-clausal construction.

## To attach or to add: how does a Russian verb choose the submeaning of a prefix?

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Russian has an extensive system of spatial and aspectual prefixes. Each prefix has several submeanings. This paper explores the submeanings of the Russian prefix *pri-*. Its submeanings can be divided into four major classes (Dobrushina, Melina, Paillard 2001, Yakunina 2001, Baydimirova et al. to appear), see Table 1.

Class	Example	
	Base verb	Prefixed verb
ARRIVE	idti 'go'	prijti 'come'
ATTACH	delat' 'do'	pridelat' 'attach'
ADD	rasti 'grow'	prirasti 'increase'
ATTENUATE	glušit' 'deafen'	priglušit' 'muffle'

Table 1. Submeanings of the prefix *pri-*.

Each base verb when attached to a prefix focuses on a submeaning of a prefix. This raises the interesting theoretical question of whether 1) the submeaning of a prefix is chosen based on the semantic class of the base verb 2) a prefixed verb functions as a “prefabricated unit” and the submeaning of the prefix is specified for a given prefixed verb. In this study I use a computational approach to choose between these two hypotheses.

Let us assume that we have a special *pri-*robot, that given the base verb and its semantic class applies rules prescribed for it, such as “If I see a verb of impact, I choose the submeaning ATTACH”.

To choose from all the verbs compatible with the prefix *pri-* in the RNC (Russian National Corpus<sup>1</sup>) only those that are representative of the class I use the verbs that have more than 100 occurrences since 1950 (using Lyashevskaya & Sharov 2010). The robot uses the semantic classes marked in the RNC and derivational classes, which inform the robot whether a base verb is prefixed or not. Table 2 shows the semantic and derivational classes that have at least seven verbs among the base verbs that are compatible with the prefix *pri-*.

Type of class	Verb class	Description	Example	Number of verbs
Semantic	noncaus	non-causative	videt' 'see'	49
	caus	causative	brat' 'take'	47
	move	movement	bežat' 'run'	22
	impact	impact	bit' 'beat'	22
	create	create	vjazat' 'tie, knit'	9
	speech	speech	govorit' 'speak'	7
Derivational	nonpref	non-prefixed base	varit' 'cook'	104
	pref	prefixed base	otkryt' 'open'	18

Table 2. Distribution of the verbs with the prefix *pri-*.

The robot has simple rules like “Semantic class “Move” predicts the submeaning ARRIVE” plus a default rule predicting what submeaning to choose when the no semantic class is assigned. For

<sup>1</sup> [www.ruscorpora.ru](http://www.ruscorpora.ru)

the base verbs that are marked for several classes, which predict different results, robot uses a hierarchy of the classes.

Application of all the rules allows the robot to predict the submeaning correctly for 68% of the verbs. This shows that the semantics of a base verb is strongly correlated with the submeaning of the prefix. However based on these results we cannot claim that the prefix *pri-* in Russian is not polysemous since the submeaning of the prefix cannot be fully predicted based on the meaning of a base verb. This result is in accordance with modern cognitive linguistics as concerns morphology, which shows that speakers employ both computational rules and “prefabricated units” (see Dąbrowska 2004: 18-27).

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## Семантическая деривация в русском варианте профессионального нефтяного подъязыка

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Язык нефтяников отличается особой экспрессией с типичными в структуре значения юмористическими, саркастическими, ироническими, уничижительными, неодобрительными оттенками

Характерной чертой многих единиц профессионального нефтяного подъязыка является мотивированность.

Метафорический перенос наименования с одного предмета на другой на основе их ассоциативного, внешнего сходства (формы, места, цвета, поведения, характера движения или звучания), неразрывно связанный с образностью, является неотъемлемой характеристикой словообразования в русском профессиональном нефтяном подъязке. Специальная лексика, «получающая» образную окраску, возникает при условии актуализации в его внутренней форме каких-либо признаков номинируемого объекта. Эффективным является сравнение находящегося в поле зрения номинатора объекта с ассоциативно представленным.

Проиллюстрируем примеры семантического переосмысления, при котором единицы приобретают новые смысловые значения, превращаясь в слова-омонимы. Например, **пустышка** *сухая скважина*.

Метафорическое переосмысление в русском профессиональном нефтяном подъязке наблюдается и в устойчивых словосочетаниях, фразеологизмах, поговорках: **гонять концы** *выполнять спускоподъемные операции*, **работать на отворот** *откручивать*.

В профессиональном нефтяном подъязке модель «не-человек» – «человек», реализуемый в следующих вариантах: «предмет» → "человек" не обладает высокой продуктивностью: **башмак** *тракторист*.

В субстантивном словообразовании модель переноса с «человека» на "не-человека" (олицетворение) продуктивна: **трубач** *трактор для укладки трубопроводов*, **мамка** (**папка**) *муфтовый конец*.

Модель «объект» → «объект» реализуется в вариантах:

1) «животное» → «устройство/аппарат/» **слон** *крупное углеводородное месторождение*, **грифон** *фонтан недоросток*.

2) «примитивный объект/ устройство» → «устройство/аппарат»: **квадрат** *ведущая труба при роторном бурении*, **скребок** *инструмент для отчистки НКТ (насосно-компрессорных труб) от парафина*.

3) «кухонная утварь» → «часть устройства»: **самовар** *головка сальникового устройства скважины*.

4) «растение» → «часть устройства»: **елка** *нагнетательная арматура*;

5) «продукт питания» → «вещество/устройство»: **колбаса** *АСПО (асфальтопарафиновые отложения) в нефтепроводе выдавливаемое при проведении промывки нефтепровода*, **каша** *эмульсия*.

6) «музыкальный инструмент» → "устройство/аппарат": **гитара** *приспособление для установки верхнего ролика при проведении геофизических исследований*.

7) «часть тела» → «часть устройства»: **палец** *защитная труба, за которой находится устройства с установленной на нем колонной бурильных труб*.

8) «предмет мебели» → «устройство»: **тумба** *памятник скважине после её физической ликвидации*

9) «предмет одежды» → «профессиональное явление/часть устройства»: **карман** *незацементированное пространство за эксплуатационной колонной между верхней и нижней границами цемента.*

Выявлена модель "примитивное действие человека" → "профессиональное действие", вербализуемая в однословных и многословных единицах: **нащупать** *определить местоположение цементного моста или забоя скважин бурильным инструментом.*

А также модель "примитивное действие человека" → "процесс функционирования устройства" **глотать** (Например, *глотающая скважина*) *поглощать воду цемент раствор.*

Метонимический перенос, совершаемый "на основании смежности, т.е. соприкосновения вещей в пространстве или во времени" [Реформатский 2002, 86], в русском профессиональном нефтяном подязыке достаточно продуктивен. Например: **керосинка** *нефтяной институт*, **полет** *разрушение флянцево-болотного соединения в результате, которого погружная установка падает в забой.*

Создание слов нетрадиционными способами, в которых основную роль играют фонетические преобразования – яркая отличительная черта словообразования в русском профессиональном нефтяном подязыке. Фонетические изменения в профессиональном нефтяном подязыке чаще основаны на каламбуре, фонетической мимикрии (замена слова паронимом) и контаминации. Например: **танкисты** *ТНК –BP*, **репка** *REBCO Russian Export Blend Cruel Oil (сырая нефть)*

Фонологическая норма подязыка в ряде случаев отличается от нормы русского общенационального варианта языка. Например, **добыча** *добы́ча*, **дóлото** *долотó*.

Выявлены слова-заимствования образуемые путем транслитерации: **спайдер** (от англ.) *элеватор, устройство для захвата труб*, **улак** (от тат.) *желоб для стока нефти.*

## Word stress in Russian and the perceptual advantages that it brings with it

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In the present study, word stress refers to the perceived prominence of a syllable in a polysyllabic word, and the way it manifests itself in speech is highly language-dependent. In Russian, word stress is “free”, both in terms of its placement in the word and its relationship to the morphemic structure (i.e., stress can fall on any syllable in the word and on any morpheme), e.g., *му́ка* – *мука́*, *ви́на* – *вина́*. The present study aims to test the predictions of the stress perception models put forward by Peperkamp & Dupoux (2002) and Altmann and Vogel (2002). According to these models, speakers of stress languages that have unpredictable, mobile stress should perceive stress patterns both in their own language and in nonnative languages with a higher degree of accuracy than speakers of languages with regular, transparent stress systems (e.g., French).

Using two perception tasks (identification task and sequence recall task) we compared stress discrimination and encoding by the native speakers of Russians, a language with nontransparent metrical system, with that by the native speakers of French and Persian, languages where stress is word-final. The results demonstrate that Russian speakers are significantly faster ( $p < 0.01$ ) on the identification task, and are significantly more accurate on the sequence recall task ( $p < 0.05$ ) than Farsi or French speakers, whose reaction time and accuracy scores do not differ significantly. The performance of Russian speakers is also compared to that of native speakers of English, another language with a relatively flexible word stress system. However, Russian speakers outperform English speakers on both parameters as well.

It follows from our findings that the surface regularity versus irregularity of word stress only partially accounts for stress perception ability, and that the function that stress performs in a language might be crucial as well. For example, unpredictable and lexically encoded stress in Russian serves important contrastive and constitutive functions, and is actively involved in word identification, recognition and speech segmentation (Svetozarova, 1998). In English, stress only has a partially contrastive function and is not as crucial in word recognition. Thus, the difference in the functions that word stress plays might bear consequences for stress perception.

Summarizing the findings, word stress in Russian seems to be a non-detachable aspect of the phonological information, which is encoded in the mind of the speakers at an abstract phonological level in the form of mental representations. In French and Farsi speakers, such representations are either absent or underrepresented, which makes them rely on immediate acoustic cues that inevitably fail when it comes to more cognitively demanding tasks. Finally, our findings may have implications for second language acquisition and pedagogy. We conjecture that learning word stress in Russian by speakers of a language with the dimensions that have a contrastive value (e.g., English) will pose less difficulty, but might be problematic for speakers of the languages where word stress does not play a crucial lexical role. (*Words: 482*)

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## Aspectual Triplest in Russian: When Simple Imperfectives are Used Instead of Prefixed Ones

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This paper will present the results of an in-depth study of the so-called aspectual triplets in Russian based on the data of the Russian National Corpus (RNC), the internet, and the database of aspectual pairs elaborated as part of the project “Exploring Emptiness”, hence called EE database ([http://emptyprefixes.uit.no./project\\_eng.htm](http://emptyprefixes.uit.no./project_eng.htm)).

Aspectual pairs of verbs are central for the grammatical category of aspect in Russian. They are a product of the mechanism of obligatory imperfectivization, or substitution that ensures the semantic identity of a perfective and an imperfective verb in the so-called Maslov contexts. There are two types of morphologically related aspectual pairs: Those that are formed by a prefixed perfective verb and its simple imperfective correlate (*napisat'* – *pisat'*, hence called ‘prefixed pairs’); and those that are formed by a prefixed perfective verb and a secondary imperfective derived from it by means of suffixation (*perepisat'* – *perepisyvat'*). While suffixation is not lexically selective and represents a highly productive mechanism functionally close to inflexion, prefixation typically changes both the aspect and the meaning of the verb. However, prefixed aspectual pairs are far from rare (they are around two thousand in the EE database). Traditional grammars explained this phenomenon by semantic emptiness of some prefixes. This emptiness has to be understood not as absolute but as relative, i.e. as the result of semantic overlap between a prefix and a base verb (cf. “hypothesis of Vey-Schooneveld”; see the recent empirical data to support this claim in Yanda, Nessel 2010), which allows for a prefixed perfective verb to function as a “natural” perfective of the corresponding simple imperfective (i.e. to form an aspectual pair with the latter). At the same time, the prediction was made that “natural” perfectives block the further derivation of a suffixed imperfective verb, cf. *ср. написать* → \**написывать*) (Yanda 2007).

It has however been shown that the actual aspectual landscape in Russian is not limited to aspectual pairs, but also includes aspectual triplets formed by morphologically related verbs such as *mazat'* – *namazat'* – *namazyvat'*. In triplets, the two imperfective verbs (*mazat'* and *namazyvat'*) are more or less close synonyms and compete for the status of aspectual correlate of the perfective verb. Since the actual emptiness of prefixes is relative and the suffixation has very little limitation, triplets represent a highly productive phenomenon in Russian. At the same time, actual semantic and functional relations between verbs within triplets can vary (Zalizniak, Mikaelian 2010).

We will show that a great number, if not most of natural perfectives not only correlate with a simple imperfective verb, but with a secondary imperfective too. Thus, the base verb *mazat'* has as many as six corresponding natural perfectives: *pomazat'*, *vymazat'*, *zamazat'*, *izmazat'*, *nazmazat'*, *promazat'*. Each of them with the exception of *pomazat'*, has also the corresponding suffixed imperfective, which is well attested by the internet data and the RNC.

We argue that the actual use of simple imperfective verbs as substitutes for prefixed perfective and/or suffixed imperfective verbs goes far beyond the data presented by the dictionaries and by the EE database. Consider, for instance, such triplets as *otmyt'* – *myt'*/*otmyvat'* <den'gi>, *zapisat'* – *pisat'*/*zapisyvat'* <na cifru>, *nakačat'* – *kačat'*/*nakačivat'* <myšcy>, etc. At the same time, in some instances, the suffixed imperfective should be considered as a better candidate for aspectual correlate (cf. *vyrvat'* – *rvat'*/*vyryvat'* <zub>,

*zagruzit'* – *gruzit'*/*zagružit* <video>). The use of the simple imperfective “instead” of the suffixed imperfective (Apresjan 1995) produces then a special semantic or stylistic effect. There are three main features that characterize this effect: (1) The verb and its complement constitute a more or less idiomatic expression. (2) The simple imperfective belongs to a lower or substandard register; thus *žeč' gorški* is a low-register use with respect of *obžigat' gorški* (“to fire pots”), *myt' den'gi* is cruder than *otmyvat' den'gi* (“to launder money”), and *pisat' pulju* is even lower than *raspisat' pulju* (“to play a game of preference”). (3) Simple imperfectives signal hermetic or jargon-like expressions: they are used in the speech of professional communities or communities of interest, cf. *varit' truby* instead of *svarivat'*, *gruzit' film* instead of *zagružit'* (“to download a film”).”

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## Metaphoric modeling of representation of *Health* in Non-professional Medical Discourse

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Within the framework of cognitive-discursive linguistics metaphor is considered as a universal mental mechanism that employs previously acquired knowledge. One of the most effective methods of studying metaphorisation is the composition of metaphor thesaurus. The language material in the thesaurus is divided in accordance with denotative descriptor and significative descriptor (a metaphor model), which build lexical meaning.

The metaphor model is determined as the conceptual domain (a source domain) which has some elements, linked by different semantic relation. The name of the basic concept connecting all the elements of the taxons becomes the “general title” of the whole metaphor model. Since the metaphor model is the result of categorization in non-professional discourse, the distinction of metaphor models was made using the definitions from dictionaries (Baranov A, Karaulov Ju, 1991). The fundamental category proves this to be metaphor schemata of the discourse, which is a set of basic metaphor models that include all metaphors found in a particular discourse. Dominating models represent the central part of the schemata while less representative metaphor models are considered to be the peripheral part of the schemata. Discourse is defined as an activity of processing and verbalizing of knowledge (Alekseeva L., Mishlanova S. 2002), that results in creating a concept, which comprises specific knowledge of various level of abstraction. The concept has a various range of verbal representations, which can fall into three forms: “language - system”, “language - text”, “language-competence” (Karaulov Ju. 1999).

The aim of the study is metaphor modeling of “language - competence” representation of the concept *health* in non-medical discourse.

209 adult participants: 1<sup>st</sup> group from Russia (N=109) and the a group of American adults (N=101) were asked to complete the sentence *Health is like...*

The associative field was structured in the form of the metaphor schemata. Conceptual analysis of the obtained associative fields was carried out on the basis of Thesaurus of Metaphoric Models of Medical Knowledge Representations. The main metaphorical models include: 1. HUMAN as a BIOLOGICAL BEING (e.g.: “wide smile as you feel so good”); 2. HUMAN as SOCIAL BEING (e.g.: “a vehicle for living as you live because you move”); 3. NATURE (INANIMATE): “sun light because – it comes and goes”; and, 4. NATURE (ANIMATE): “A cat because it lies around, purrs and makes you feel good”.

In conclusion, some cross-cultural differences in metaphorical representations of *health* were revealed for the Russian and American participants depending on their cognitive and socio-cultural experience. The research is rather promising for future investigations of the linguistic cultural and cross-cultural aspects of metaphoric modeling.

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## Locality and the Blocking of Analogy: Suffix Shift and *nu*-drop in Russian Verbs

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Although the notion of analogy is one of the cornerstones in historical linguistics, there are numerous knotty questions surrounding the concept. Exactly under what circumstances can analogy take place? In what cases is it blocked? How is analogy in language change related to general cognitive mechanisms? In this paper, we will compare two cases from Russian conjugation that shed light on these questions.

Suffix shift is the process whereby Russian verbs replace the unproductive /a/ suffix with the productive /aj/, thus creating secondary forms like *bryzgaet* instead of *bryzžet* or *bryzgat* 'splash'. This is an example of analogical change where verbs migrate from an unproductive to a productive pattern, resulting in significant vacillation in Contemporary Standard Russian (Nessel 2010). Another case of variation in Russian conjugation involves "nu-drop" verbs like *gasnut* 'go out (about light)', which displays vacillation between past tense forms like *gasnul* with the /nu/ suffix intact and forms like *gas*, which lack the suffix. On the face of it, *nu*-drop looks similar to suffix shift. The vacillating verbs like *gasnut* belong to an unproductive pattern and there is a similar productive pattern available in the grammar, namely that of "nu-preserve" verbs like *maxnut* 'wave once', which always retain the /nu/ suffix in the past tense forms.

On the basis of parallelism with suffix shift one would predict that the unproductive *nu*-drop verbs would adopt the productive *nu*-preserve pattern through analogy. However, a large-scale investigation of a database of about 35,000 examples from The Russian National Corpus ([www.ruscorpora.ru](http://www.ruscorpora.ru)) shows that this prediction is not borne out by the facts, insofar as forms with /nu/ (e.g. *gasnul*) gradually have become marginalized. The question is why. Why do /a/- and /aj/-verbs constitute a domain where analogy can take place, whereas the two types of *nu*-verbs seemingly do not form a domain for analogy? Based on recent work by Brian Joseph (2011), we argue that analogical change requires *local* domains. We furthermore suggest that locality crucially depends on semantic factors. Simplifying somewhat, the /aj/ and /a/ suffixes do not represent different meanings, while the two types of *nu*-verbs are semantically distinct, since *nu*-preserve verbs, but not *nu*-drop verbs, are semelfactive.

We offer a plausible account of why analogy is blocked in *nu*-verbs, but not in verbs undergoing suffix shift from /a/ and /aj/. Our hypothesis is that local domains of analogy must be semantically uniform and thus we relate analogy in historical linguistics to analogy as a cognitive phenomenon. In a number of experiments cognitive psychologist Dan Ariely and co-workers (REF) have shown that decision-making crucially depends on comparable alternatives, i.e. alternatives that reside in the same local domain. The analogical changes we discuss in this paper can be analyzed as examples of subconscious decision-making. As Joseph (2011:405) puts it, "speakers in the process of using – and thus of changing – their language often act as if they are in a fog by which is meant not that they are befuddled but that they see clearly only immediately around them, so to speak, and only in a clouded manner farther afield." In order for analogical change to take place a local domain that is semantically uniform must be established.

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## Conceptualization of Joy in Czech against the Polish Background

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Our contribution rests thematically as well as methodologically in so far published fundamental cognitive linguistics research of emotions, namely joy. In our work we relate namely to the works of A. Wierzbicka, Z. Kövecses and A. Mikołajczuk. We draw the biggest inspiration from the studies of A. Mikołajczuk because our aim is, first of all, to compare the Czech and Polish linguistic picture of joy. We examine what Czech and Polish conceptualization of joy has in common/ what is different, to what similarities / differences modelling of joy in Czech and Polish can lead.

Due to the fact that the issue of emotions belongs to significant topics of number of branches of psychology, the substrate of our research is the analysis of professional psychological literature; we observe how the discourse of psychologists about emotions can help us to unfold conceptualization of joy in everyday communication. It is necessary to point out that this practice brings valuable findings about linguistics, as well as psychology. We can discover, from the way we think about emotions, the way we speak about them, a lot about their essence. This approach moves us behind the boundaries of subjectivity, with which human emotionality is connected, and brings us to intersubjective generalization that is reflected in language stereotypes and in numerous metaphoric expressions.

The comparison of conceptualization of joy in Czech and Polish shifts us in the direction from intersubjective generalization to the cultural one. We presume that conceptualization of joy and its modelling is in many ways identical in Czech and Polish. Both languages are closely connected historically, culturally and geographically. This presents similarity that is based on highly analogical shaping of experience, its description, as well as evaluation, and also the one that forms a superstructure of deeper generally human anchorage in the world, as it is described in Lakoffian-Johnsonian schemes.

It is perceptible from everyday communication that we think about emotions on the scale of pleasure, the extreme poles of which are constituted by: pleasant – not pleasant (*hope – despair, courage – fear*). This point of view is also important for psychologists. Physicality, the relevance of which is revealed in, for example, psychosomatic phraseology, when language reflects the interrelatedness of mental and physical processes, is in space anchored in the fundamentals of these oppositions, which generate positive/negative connotations. If so called passive joy happens, e.g. when we are touched to the heart, tears can run down one's face (*tears of joy/happiness*), active joy is expressed in motional unrest, excess of motions (*to jump with joy*).

As adequately important, psychologists consider the scale of intensity, the extreme points of which are represented by high measure of excitement – low measure of excitement. This polarization of emotions is also documented in everyday communication (*joyful feeling – joyful excitement*), compare Polish examples: *szal radości* (crazy joy) – *nikła radość* (fleeting joy).

In the centre of our paper is the correlation of conceptualization of joy in Czech with the conceptualization in Polish, the author of which is A. Mikołajczuk. Her model ensued on the basis of three main aspects:

1. The subject of emotion.
2. The cause of emotion.

Criteria of classification:

- a) Gradation of classification: *satisfaction – happiness* (exceeds expectation).
- b) Intensity of emotion: *joy grows, we choke with joy, joy disappears*.
- c) The range of experience: *we are filled with happiness; good luck/happiness only touched us*.
- d) Temporal characteristics: *permanent happiness, explosion of joy*.

Types of joy:

1. Reactive joy is joy from something that corresponds to the norms, *joy from friendship*.
2. Activity joy is joy from the activity of a subject, *from exam*.
3. Sensuous joy is connected e.g. with aesthetic experience, comp. the phraseme *joy to look*.
4. Ludic joy is the most developed in childhood, *joy from play, playfulness*.
5. Joy against the background of comicality, we evaluate various situations as funny, *joy from fun*.
6. Joy without apparent reason, joyful tuning, *joy from life*.
7. Permanent happiness, total deep feeling, *happy life*.

Through our research, we have come to the conclusion that the conceptualization of joy in Czech has, with partial exceptions, its counterpart in Polish. We also managed to prove that the mother tongue not only confirms most psychological knowledge about emotions but also that numerous language evidence reveals further aspects of emotions.

Dmitrij Bykov and Metaparody through Conceptual Blending  
**The Case of “Contagious”**

The paper focuses on the revival of civic poetry in relation to the nation-building process in Russia that expresses itself through the discourse of empire-building (Rowley, 2000). In so doing the paper uses the case of Dmitrij Bykov’s work. The study shows that Bykov is interested in metaparody and the performance of the genre rather than the revival of the tradition per se.

‘Metaparody’ is the concept introduced by Gary Saul Morson (1989). As opposed to parody – double-voiced text, which clearly indicates which of their conflicting voices is to be regarded as authoritative, metaparody is a class of texts that are designed in such a way that readers do not know which arguments of a target or a parody they are expected to agree with. Thus, metaparody is a dialogical relation, an ultimately inconclusive dialogue.

Using the conceptual integration/blending theoretical framework (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002) the paper explores the performance of metaparody in Bykov’s work through the case-study of Bykov’s poem ‘*Zaraznoe*’ (Contagious) published in *Novaya Gazeta* in July 2009 in response to the official recommendation given by the Russian Chief Sanitary Inspector Onishchenko. Onishchenko strongly recommended Russian citizens not to go to the UK because of the swine flu epidemic.

The paper investigates the cultural (conceptual) network underlying the realization of metaparody in this text on the basis of linguistic, cultural and psychological evidence, including the results of experiments on associations and the analysis of questionnaires, conducted in Russia. 64 words-reactions and 16 completed questionnaires were obtained and analysed. The study also analysed readers’ comments available in the blog for the text ‘*Zaraznoe*’ on the website of ‘*Novaya Gazeta*’.

The case-study shows that linguistically and culturally rich ‘*Zaraznoe*’ with its sophisticated verse form may use metaparody to propagate nationalist and imperialistic ideas. The paper examines how specific aspects of linguistic, cultural and historical knowledge contribute to the emergence of metaparodic meaning behind Bykov’s text.

The lack of Bykov’s commitment to arguments of the parody appears to be not that surprising. It is true, as Rosalind Marsh (2007) argues that Bykov’s works and interviews show that he admires force and empire, and expresses strong nationalist revanchist views. It seems that the target discourse is very important to Bykov not only because it is worth discrediting, but because it is worth admiration. Although Bykov has a reputation of a writer – member of opposition, the study shows that he does not appear to be an ardent critic of the current political regime in Russia.

The paper reveals both important aspects of the construction of post-Soviet national identity and the significant aspects of conceptual integration’s usage as a core research method for cultural and literary (genre) analysis that would not otherwise be evident.

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Do all these eggs belong in the same basket?  
The morpho-semantic status of the Russian verbal prefixes

The status of the Russian verbal prefixes, which affect the lexical meaning and aspectual properties of a base verb, have been a source of debate. One major issue is that the prefixes often have more than one meaning, and many of these meanings do not lend themselves to a cohesive description or classification. Some scholars have argued that each prefix has one invariant meaning (Flier, 1975, Van Schooneveld 1978); others argue for semantic variety (Boguslawski 1963, Janda 1988). No study, however, seems able to entirely account for the idiosyncratic meanings that arise from the combination of prefix and verb.

In particular, problems lie in the so-called lexical prefixes, i.e. prefixes that add a spatial-lexical meaning to a verb, as opposed to superlexical prefixes, which have an operator-like function. It is only these lexically prefixed verbs that show idiosyncratic meaning, signifying that they are no longer semantically compositional.

I look at this problem from a morphological point of view. In the existing literature, it is assumed that prefixes are always processed as prefixes. However, working with Schreuder and Baayen's (1995) model of the mental lexicon, I start with the theory that during morphological processing, words may be accessed as whole words or may be broken into morphemes (parsing). It is not immediately clear that Russian speakers themselves actually access verbs with prefixes in a uniform fashion. It seems possible that lexically prefixed verbs are not accessed via this kind of internal structure to the same degree. Some prefixes may be processed as prefixes, others may be processed as part of the root, and others may have a status somewhere between the two extremes. Specifically, the model predicts that lexically prefixed verbs should bias towards whole word storage more than superlexically prefixed verbs, because lexically prefixed verbs (or rather, a subset of these verbs) show less semantic transparency. Significantly, if the verbs are not morphologically processed via decomposition, then the morphological and semantic connection to the root and affix are severed. This suggests that such forms do not belong in the same "semantic basket" as words that are decomposed.

I used a priming lexical decision task to determine whether there are differing degrees of decomposability among prefixes. The preliminary results, based on 14 participants, reveal that lexically prefixed words show significantly less priming effect than superlexically prefixed verbs ( $p < .001$ ), suggesting that the base verb is being accessed less when lexically prefixed verbs are processed. Priming effects for both types of prefixes imply that, while they both bias towards parsing, the lexical verbs are less biased towards parsing, and thus in relative terms bias more towards storage.

In short, using well-established ideas about the mental processing of complex words, this study shows that not all "prefixed" verbs show affixal structure and behavior to the same degree, thus presenting a morphological solution for what has been traditionally treated as a semantic problem.

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## ***Motherland* as key cultural concept in Russian and English: A comparative semantic and pragmatic analysis**

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The study presented explores **the similarities and differences between the linguistic representations of the concept *Motherland*** in Russian and English languages. The research focuses on the semantic and pragmatic aspects of this concept.

Patriotism and love of one's own country are important aspects of both American and Russian cultures. However, the linguistic representations of these cultural values are different in the English and Russian languages. The representatives of the two cultures choose different words to refer to their homelands. Seemingly equivalent terms have different connotations built into their meaning, and they are used in different contexts. Our research explores the specific similarities and differences in the word semantics and usage, which reflect the differences between the two linguistic worldviews.

The study was conducted within the **theoretical framework** of Cognitive Linguistics and Cross-cultural Communication. The works of Anna Wierzbicka on key cultural concepts were most important for research background.

The research **goal** was to analyze the similarities and differences in the semantic structure and pragmatic usage of English/Russian word parallels representing the concept *motherland*. The specific Russian terms included in the analysis are *родина* (birth land), *отечество* (Fatherland), *отчизна* (Fatherland, poetic), *страна* (country), and *Россия* (Russia). The English terms related to the concept are *motherland*, *fatherland*, *homeland*, *nation*, *land*, *country*, and *America*.

The **material** used for the study is taken from two online linguistic corpuses: *Corpus of Contemporary American English* and *Russian National Corpus*. Full searches on all the analyzed words were conducted. Over 12.000 examples of usage were included into analysis.

The **research methods** included qualitative and quantitative components. Elements of statistical method, key word analysis, semantic component method and context analysis were used.

The research **findings** were the following.

As far as the frequency of usage is concerned, the most striking and obvious finding is that the Russian words *родина*, *отечество*, and *отчизна* are much more common in the analyzed body of texts than their English counterparts *motherland*, *fatherland*, and *homeland*. The following chart illustrates the comparative frequency of usage of the analyzed terms in Russian and in English.

*Table 1. Comparative word frequency. The 'frequency' parameter refers to the number of word usages per 10.000.000 words in the linguistic corpuses.*

Corpus of Contemporary American English		Russian National Corpus	
Word	Frequency	Word	Frequency
motherland	7.7	родина	124
homeland*	157	отечество**	130
fatherland	6.2	отчизна	6

\* In the overwhelming majority of examples the word 'homeland' was part of the phrase 'Homeland Security'

\*\* More than half of the examples with the word 'отечество' refer to the political party bearing this name.

The Russian word *родина* ('birth land') is most widely used when referred to Russia as homeland. It is commonly associated with mother ('родина-мать'), and is perceived as having traditionally "feminine" characteristics: it is thought of as obligation-free, forgiving, and warm. This is the most emotionally charged of the Russian terms. It is very personal and individual: it

can refer not only to the country as a whole, but to one's native town or village ('малая родина'). A person is allowed to have more than one homeland ('вторая родина').

The word *отечество* ('fatherland') usually implies the idea of a nation-state, has socio-political connotations, and is associated with obligations and duties. This is the concept that one has to defend, serve to, and protect. Though the word itself is of neuter gender, the characteristics associated with it are traditionally "masculine". Unlike 'родина', it is collective and unifying rather than individual and personal.

The word *отчизна* ('fatherland') is a very poetic, lofty word that usually refers to a mythical place of one's dreams, an idealistic version of the real country that exists only in one's imagination. It is the least common of the Russian terms.

As far as the semantic structure is concerned, in the words *родина*, *отечество*, and *отчизна* the pragmatic component of meaning dominates over the cognitive one. All three synonyms are emotionally charged irrespective of context.

The words *Россия* и *страна* are more stylistically neutral and primarily perform the referential function. The semantic structure of these words is dominated by the cognitive component. These words may acquire either positive or negative connotations depending on the situational and linguistic context (cf. 'эта страна' vs 'наша страна').

Another striking research finding is that in English the words *motherland*, *fatherland*, and *homeland* are generally not common when referring to America as one's native country. The words *motherland* and *fatherland* are very typical in descriptions of other nations and cultures, especially Russia and Germany, as equivalents of *Vaterland* and *родина*. The word *homeland* has official, bureaucratic connotations, and is chiefly used in the expression 'Homeland Security'

Unlike the Russian neutral word *страна*, the English words *country* and *state* are emotionally charged. They are associated with nation-state, and are often used referring to America when the idea of duty or service is implied (cf. Rus. *отечество*)

The words *land* and *America* are even more emotionally charged and are often used when pride, fondness or dreams are implied (cf. Rus. *родина* and *отчизна*).

To conclude, the concept *motherland* is extensively represented in both languages and can be considered a key cultural concept in both English and Russian. The specific lexical means of concept representation, however, vary considerably. The most striking difference is that English is more likely to use seemingly 'neutral' terms in emotionally charged contexts (*land*, *America*, *country*), while Russian utilizes words with emotional connotations already present in the semantic structure (*родина*, *отечество*, *отчизна*).

## Morphologically Related Perspectives in Russian Clusters

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In this talk, I present an analysis of multiple perfective partners with different verb suffixes in Russian.

The importance of morphological structures for a language like Russian is well-known. Each of the Russian aspectual clusters can contain a number of perfectives of various structures and of similar or different meanings. An attempt to group these perfectives into five aspectual classes was undertaken by Janda (see: Janda 2007, 2008 and her other publications). Morphologically related words are words with identical roots which like all morphemes “possess independent meanings” (Lopatin 1977:67). Since every Russian verb can be either imperfective or perfective, parallel verbs derived from the same root are opposed to each other, forming aspectual pairs and triplets, dual and multiple correlations, etc. Studies of variant forms of aspects (Emel’ianova 1974), multiple aspectual correlations (Tixonov 1998; Emel’ianova 1972), and especially numerous studies of aspectual triplets (Apresjan 1995; 1995; Marenkova 2003; Zalizniak and Mikaelian 2010, among others) usually treat parallel imperfective verbs, while dual and multiple Perfectives have not been given due attention probably because they occur not as frequently as imperfective opposites. Therefore, the present study treats mainly perfective triplets (such as *дёргать – выдергать / выдернуть звонки* 'pull out nails'; *катить – подкатить / подкатать* (брёвна под навес) ‘roll logs under the awning’, etc.). The materials for this study were taken from Tixonov’s two-volume dictionary supplemented by such dictionaries as BAS, MAS, Ušakov, and others. The present study proposes a typology of multiple oppositions, including prefixed and suffixed ones (*коченеть, окоченеть / закоченеть* ‘stiffen’; *выскакивать – выскочить / выскануть / выскатать* ‘leap out’, ‘jump out’). However, it is focused on the properties of parallel Perfectives of the less frequent suffixed type. It distinguishes suffixed oppositions of type A (verbs with the suffixes -nu- and -i-, as in *вкатнуть, вкатить* ‘roll in (once)’, on one hand, and of type B with the suffix -a- (as in *вкатать* ‘roll into’ (by several movements), on the other. It will describe Perfectives of type A and B first separately, including their quantities and structures (prefixes, suffixes, availability and type of Derived Imperfectives, syncretic or separate); and then as members of aspectual clusters, including relations to their bases, and to each other (shared senses, stylistic colorings, etc.). About 120 pairs and multiple opposites motivated by 15 base verbs are considered, as well as over 300 parallel pairs with the suffix -ну- and other suffixes. These parallel verbs may or may not share one or more meanings. The main semantic difference between types A and B is of phasal nature. Verbs of type B present the action as performed with several movements (в несколько приёмов) (see Isačenko 1960:307-9; Feldstein 2007:20-21). Compare: *втащить мебель (в квартиру)* ‘bring in the furniture by dragging’; *втащить мебель (в квартиру)* ‘bring the furniture in by dragging (with several movements)’. But even with different meanings (cf. *выглянуть в окно* ‘look out of the window’ and *выглядеть знакомого в толпе* ‘discover an acquaintance in the crowd’), they are still related because they share the same root and are included in the same aspectual cluster. Their different meanings are inherited from different senses of the base verb (*глядеть* ‘look’).

An interesting problem is syncretism of a Derived Imperfective which is simultaneously related to each of the dual Perfectives. According to Babajceva (1990:446), syncretism is “coincidence of functionally different grammatical categories and forms in one form, which appeared in the process of language development”. A regular syncretism of a Derived Imperfective related to prefixed Perfectives was noted in Isačenko (1960:307-9) and described in Feldstein 2007:20-21. Another interesting problem is quasi-synonymy of Derived Imperfectives and certain Perfectives of type B, both of which express a “multiphase” action: *вбрасывать, вбросать* ‘throw in (with several movements)’.

Cognitive processing of syncretic Derived Imperfectives deserves special study. However, it seems that the activation of the association of the Derived Imperfective with one or both

Perfectives depends on the type of the situation. In a concrete factual situation, the syncretic Derived Imperfective can correlate with either type of Perfective indiscriminately: *Когда я вошёл в спортзал, Петя удачно вкидывал (вкидал/ вкинул) мяч в сетку.* 'When I entered the gym, Petia was successfully throwing /threw the ball in the basket'. Conversely, in an iterative situation (1), Perfectives of type A (marked with -ну-) cannot be associated with the Derived Imperfective, while in the situation marked by praesens historicum (2), only Perfectives of type A can activate such an association. Compare:

- 1) *Он не раз в спортзале удачно вкидывал (вкидал; \*вкинул) мяч в сетку.* 'He often used to throw the ball in the basket successfully'.
- 2) *Вот он входит в спортзал, берёт мяч и сразу вкидывает его в сетку. → Вот он вошёл в спортзал, взял мяч и сразу вкинул (\*вкидал) его в сетку.* 'Here he enters/entered the gym, takes/took the ball and immediately throws/threw it in the basket'.

This study considered the relations between the parallel Perfectives in a cluster and determined the factors contributing to the competition of some opposites, which may end in the disappearance of one of the competing Perfectives (compare Apresjan's view that one variant is excessive 'избыточный', and finally "the variant form will naturally fall out from the language" (1995:32).

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**‘How is he *my president?*’ A discursive analysis of possessive pronouns in dynamic  
reference to President Lech Kaczyński**

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The aim of the present paper is to use the example of possessive pronouns in order to illustrate how nominal determination may reflect the intrinsically relational nature of the human species. The research reported here investigates various ways in which a reference-point construction, as characterized in Cognitive Grammar, is embedded in discourse context. A distinctive contribution of Cognitive Grammar is to treat grammatical elements as forms which symbolize meanings. Because grammatical elements, such as a possessive determiner, have very schematic meanings they can designate different states of affairs according to their use in context. Their proper study, thus, requires an analysis of naturally occurring speech. Including Langacker’s construal operations in the investigation of discourse is a desirable development in the Cognitive Discourse Analysis.

After the tragic plane crash on 10<sup>th</sup> April 2010, Polish President Lech Kaczyński was on everyone’s lips. The present study is based on a documentary recorded by the Polish TV during the time of national mourning, in which Polish people are talking about their country, their president, and the plane crash. In the documentary, speakers often employ possessive pronouns in reference to Lech Kaczyński. The specific referring expressions which are commonly recruited are *mój prezydent* ‘my president’ and *nasz prezydent* ‘our president’. I will try to explain why both are used very frequently and what communicative goals they fulfill.

The choice of referring expressions is often influenced not only by *who* speakers wish to refer to, but also by *how* this person appears to them and how he connects with speech participants. The plane crash and the death of Poland’s president, who was a controversial figure, created a very specific discourse context. The choice of a possessive determiner to designate Lech Kaczyński testifies to a certain perspective on the part of the speaker. The present analysis of the use of possessives in spontaneous Polish discourse provides a sample of how speakers reveal – by way of nominal reference – their perception of themselves, the interpersonal relations they engage in, and their national identities. On a more general level, the present study touches upon the complexities of referring and their social and interpersonal significance.

## Russian Folk Botany Revisited

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In earlier papers presented at SCLA conferences, we discussed the distinction between the “Russian folk botany”, which can be extracted by semantic analysis of linguistic data, and the “scientific botany” extracted by semantic analysis of the special-purpose language of botany. In addition, we considered the problem of interaction and interplay of everyday views and scientific ideas.

In this paper, we will give emphasis to the lexicographic description of the Russian names of plants and their parts. The explications of botanical terms in existing Russian explanatory dictionaries are inadequate in many respects. The paper proposes a theoretical basis for the lexicographic description of the names of plants and their parts. We claim that a complete lexicographic description should take account of the usage of “botanical words” in different terminological systems providing appropriate labels where necessary. Everyday word usage based on a naïve botanic taxonomy (that is, naïve conceptualization of the relevant fragment of reality) has little to do with biological nomenclature (we make reference to the famous “tomato case”, in which the United States Supreme Court addressed whether a tomato was classified as a fruit or a vegetable).

The difference between technical terms and everyday words is not the most important thing. It is the difference between the scientific and the naïve taxonomy that is of first importance. Placing apples, pears and rowanberries into one class, peaches, apricots and cherries into another class, and tomatoes, gooseberries and watermelons into yet another class would contrast with the naïve classification, which would rather place together apples, pears, apricots and peaches (as *фрукты*), on the one hand, and rowanberries, gooseberries and perhaps cherries (as *ягоды*) on the other hand. Watermelons and tomatoes do not belong to either class: watermelons are closer to *фрукты* while tomatoes belong to yet another class of *овощи*. This naïve taxonomy is reflected in the grammatical behavior of the words in question: names of berries are collective nouns (this does not hold for the generic term *ягода*) while names of fruit are countable.

The contrast between *фрукты* and *ягоды* is multidimensional. The main difference is in size: people normally hold *ягоды* with a thumb and one finger (usually index finger) while *фрукты* are normally held with a thumb and at least two fingers. To eat a *фрукт*, people usually bite off or cut off from it while *ягоды* are normally put into the mouth whole. Furthermore, many naïve speakers of Russian believe that *фрукты* grow on trees while *ягоды* grow on bushes/shrubs or herbaceous plants. This may be the reason to use the word *куст* ‘bush, shrub’ to refer to a rowan-tree: the phrase *куст рябины* is quite common in Russian texts.

However, one has to take into account that many of the “naïve” speakers are inclined to believe that the scientific model of the world and the corresponding word usage is more “correct” and pattern their own usage on the scientific one.

The status of different components of the definitions of “botanic words” should be different. In particular, the components referring to size, shape, color, taste, etc. are not distinctive features of the corresponding concepts: one can easily imagine that selectionists grew *сладкие лимоны* ‘sweet lemons’ or *квадратные арбузы* ‘square watermelons’ (to make easier the process of packing). Rather, those components are parts of common background knowledge about the referents of the corresponding noun: every adult native speaker of Russian would understand such expressions as *форма груши* ‘pear-shaped’, *величиной со сливу* ‘about the size of a plum’, etc. This may mean that there is a good reason to introduce these components into the definition with some additional components such as ‘people think...’, ‘people would say...’, ‘usually’, etc.

In the paper, we provide tentative definitions of some terms discussed in the paper to illustrate the suggested theoretical recommendations.

## **Modeling the mental lexicon of Russian learners: Why do words play tricks on them?**

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It is known that the mental lexicon of a second language (L2) learner is smaller than that of a native speaker (NS), although it grows with extended exposure and increasing language proficiency. However, not much is known about the structure and the organization of the non-native mental lexicon. The current project explores L2 lexical access, storage, and retrieval and focuses on American learners of Russian with oral proficiency ranging from intermediate to highly advanced. It investigates the effects of four factors affecting L2 lexical processing: lexical frequency, neighborhood density, semantic, and phonological associations.

The project set off to establish the frequency ranges corresponding to the lexical minimums in the intermediate-advanced range. The results of a translation task show that at least at the lower end of proficiency, word textbook status predicts learners' knowledge better than written corpus frequency. The findings in non-native speakers (NNSs) are further corroborated by the NS data: with corpus frequency held constant, NSs were more likely to judge words that appear in textbooks as more frequent in the language at large, compared to non-textbook words.

Next, we investigated whether the speed with which an L2 word is accessed is affected by its orthographic similarity to other words (orthographic neighbors). The data obtained from the Lexical Decision Task (LDT) show that NSs of Russian experience slight inhibition with the increase in the size of a word's neighborhood (as evidenced by the error rate results)—a finding consistent with the Search/Verification Model (Forster, 1976). L2 learners show no significant difference between the two conditions, which implies that the whole word neighborhood might not be available to them.

Two LDTs with priming were conducted to explore whether NSs and NNSs display any differences in how they access a lexical entry based on auditory input. The first priming experiment manipulated the semantic relationship between the words (Schvaneveldt & Meyer, 1973), e.g., *корова – молоко* ('cow' – 'milk'). The second one manipulated the phonological relationship and included pairs of words with initial overlap of at least three phonemes, e.g., *корова – король* ('cow' – 'king', *korova – korol*'). Items were selected in two frequency ranges, high and low. NNSs were slower than NSs to respond to semantically related words in both frequency ranges; however, there was a trend of improvement with increasing proficiency. This demonstrates that weaker effects in NNSs are due to weaker semantic associations among stored lexical entries and that with greater language experience the semantic network has a potential for strengthening.

The phonological priming experiment was followed by an exit translation task. It isolated the contribution of the phonological make-up of the word to L2 lexical access when the degree of familiarity with the word is taken into account. When the prime is known, L2 lexical access happens quickly and produces the familiar strong inhibition typically expected in NSs (e.g., Slowiaczek, Nusbaum & Pisoni, 1987). Conversely, when the learner does not know the lexical item serving as a prime, a reversal in the effect is observed. The latter finding suggests that phonological connections in the L2 lexicon dominate semantic connections, while the opposite is true for the native mental lexicon. L2 learners have fuzzy lexical representations, with both semantics and phonology overlapping for similarly sounding entries.

To summarize, the study has addressed the differences in native and L2 mental lexicon structure at the levels of semantics and phonology, as well as the complex ways in which frequency moderates their relationship.

## Croatian conditionals and epistemic stance

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In Croatian, *ako* ‘if’, and *kad(a)* ‘when’ appear with actual and hypothetical conditionals, *da* ‘if’ appears with counterfactuals (Silić and Pranjković 2005:348-349). Thus, *ako* + the present tense in (1) signals an actual conditional, *ako* + the past tense in (2) signals a hypothetical conditional, and *da* + the present tense in (3) a counterfactual conditional.

(1) **Ako** nas ujutro nitko ne **poveze**, otići ćemo vlakom.

‘Unless someone gives us a lift in the morning, we will take the train.’

(2) **Ako** ih **je** zaista **poslao** u Carigrad, bit će tu nešto drugo u igri.

‘If he really sent them to Constantinople, something else must be at play.’

(3) **Da** danas **moгу** ponovno birati, ne bih se nikada stranački angažirao.

‘If I could do it all over again today, I would never go into politics’.

The data looks parallel to English, where access and epistemic stance signaled by the tense used in the protasis yield different types of conditionals (Cutrer 1994:256-323).

However, there are additional facts to be taken into account in Croatian. For instance, the protasis allows a range of verbal forms in actual conditionals: perfective verbs in the present tense (1), the so-called second future (*Ako budu ovako igrati, onda će izgubiti* ‘If they play like this, they will lose’), and the future tense (*Ako će ovako igrati, onda će izgubiti* ‘If they play like this, they will lose’), whose meanings appear very similar. Similarly, the passive does not adhere to the prescribed tense formation: what is formally a present tense passive (*je napisana* lit. ‘is written’) may refer to a counterfactual situation requiring the past tense (*je bila napisana* lit. ‘was written’):

(4) **Da je** ta priča (...) **napisana** ‘realističkije’, ona zacijelo ne bi mogla biti objavljena 1978.

‘If that story had been written more realistically, it could not have been published in 1978.’

All this (and some other facts) suggests that epistemic stance in Croatian conditionals is based on the interplay of mood, tense, aspect, voice and conjunction, and that the conditional construction is not fully grammaticalized. Based on corpus data (Croatian National Corpus) we list the most frequent patterns (e.g. *ako* + the perfective present in the protasis, future tense in the apodosis; *da* + the past tense in the protasis, the conditional in the apodosis, etc.). We explain their workings in terms of cognitive grammar (e.g. in (1) the epistemic immediacy of the present tense and the perfective verb signal removal from the actual to the epistemically immediate virtual plain; in (4) the terminal prominence of the *n*-participle signals removal from the conceptualizer’s viewpoint and may refer to epistemic distance, etc.), listing some of the idiosyncrasies in the cross-Slavic perspective (e.g. the use of *kad* in conditionals; the use of the second future, etc.). On a more general scale, these coincide with aspectual data showing that Croatian is a transitional zone among Slavic languages (Dickey 2000).

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## Semiotic Principles of the „Magical Picture of the World“ in Erben’s *Kytice* (*The Bouquet*): A Cognitive Perspective

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All Czechs know *Kytice*, a collection of thirteen remarkable poetic ballads written in 1853. Two hundred years have passed since the birth of its author, Karel Jaromír Erben (1811-1870), but *Kytice* still lives on as both a readers’ favorite and as part of the Czech literary canon. It lives on not only in its original form, but also through various „cover-versions“, travesties, and parodies; besides many „serious“ works of Czech music and art, *Kytice* has inspired a famous piece of musical theater (Jiří Suchý’s 1972 production at the Semafor) and a film (František A. Brabec, 2000). Recently, *Kytice* has also been published in a comics version. *Kytice* was first issued under the title *Kytice z pověstí národních*, which directly connects it to the myth of the Czech nation. It embodies the Czech folk picture of the world and traditional Czech culture. After all, Erben knew folklore quite well: he collected, published, and studied it. At the same time, *Kytice* is not only an echo of folk art, but also a work of high poetry in a literary sense.

*Kytice* presents an original model of reality, a way of ordering the world that has its own special ontology and ethics – a **magical picture of the world**. This magical world is structured according to principles that can be revealed with help from cognitive linguistics and ethnolinguistics (Kajfosz 2008, Bartminski 2001, Niebrzegowska 1996) as well as from classical semiotics (Nöth 1990, Apeh-Tobin 1990).

This paper aims to interpret *Kytice* as a „handbook of semiotics“. In magical thinking, **similitude** and **contact** – or metaphor and metonymy in cognitive terms – are crucial principles underlying human cognition. Already with Jakobson we note the parallel between, on the one hand, the iconic sign (metaphor) – which Frazer equates with **imitative magic** – and the indexical sign (metonymy) or **contact magic**. This contribution will treat the semiotic principles of the magical picture of the world that inform *Kytice*, and will offer a potentially new reading of this significant Czech national work.

According to Kajfosz, in the magical picture of the world (as opposed to the „normal“ or „naive“ one), semiotic principles **take on ontological dimensions** in that **they direct the course of the world**. For example, in one poem (*Štědrý den*) two girls see their real future reflected in the water of a lake on Christmas Eve while in another (*Vodník*) images from a mother’s dream come to have a real influence on the future life of her daughter.

Already in the first three stanzas of *Kytice* – in the introductory poem of the same name – the „semiotic principle“ of the magical functioning of the world is realized. A dead mother returns to her children in the form of a flower, and they recognize her in this form – which is an embodiment of semiosis, the production and interpretation of a sign. On the grave grows not only a fragrant flower: the flower is merely a semiotic vehicle standing for something else, which is, for the children, their dead mother. The children recognize their mother „by breath“ and rejoice: the smell and shape of the plant (the signifier) evokes, in sense-perceptory form and for the children, their mother (the signified). The flower „signifies“ their mother in the sense that it actually is their mother – or rather the essence of her (her soul, her love, the maternal bond). Thus the name of the flower – „mateřídouška“ (*mother’s soul*), which is still current in contemporary Czech. The flower is an indexical sign: the children recognize what the sign means by the smell of the blossom, which signals their mother’s presence. A particular feature of the magical representation of the world lies in the fact that communication (in this case between a mother and her children) can occur despite the boundary between the worlds of life and death.

These worlds are really one world, both living and brought back to life by the possibilities involved in how we semiotically perceive it.

In the second part of *Kytice*, a first-person speaker intervenes in the text and introduces a parallel semiotic situation where one thing stands for another: here the Czech homeland itself is understood as a deceased mother who does not leave behind her children. She does not abandon them, but rather sends to them her soul concretized, embodied, and even immortalized in the „simple tales“ that make up the work. The tales may prove a comfort to her children, but only if they are able to recognize in them their homeland-mother – only if they are capable of decoding her message and uncovering its continued relevance.

The final poem in *Kytice* (*Věštyně*) offers several parables for the future of the Czech nation. The culmination occurs in the final part which speaks of an incomplete statue of a warrior on a bridge in Prague: the warrior still has his legs and stomach, but lacks a head and chest (a heart). All hope for the golden age of the Czech nation is in vain unless the hero manages to grow a „warm heart and proper head“. (Images of disfigurement and body parts are remarkably present in *Kytice* as a whole). In the concluding section of my presentation I will discuss how the text of *Kytice* – as a condensation of the Czech national myth – gives shape to conceptual metaphors and image schemas (especially *part/whole*, *linkage*, and *cycle*) and the semiotic function that these instantiate.

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## Derivational Models as Conceptual Construals

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This paper presents a methodology which links some insights of the Theory of Naming developed in East-European language studies (Теория номинации 1977; Кубрякова 1986; 1997; 2004 among others), and the ideas of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987; 2008 among others), one of the most influential American schools of cognitive linguistics. The discussed methodology is applicable for the analysis of different linguistic expressions – derived words, phrases, and sentences. The illustrative data comes from Russian and English.

Linguistic expressions, which are intended for evoking meanings retained in the mind, may be: (a) non-motivated, e.g. *человек* – *a man*, (b) motivated iconically, or by the **external/sound form**, e.g. onomatopoeia and sound symbolism: *шипеть* – *to hiss*, *любить* – *to love*, and (c) motivated by the **internal form** / Russ. внутренняя форма (А.А. Потебня), e.g. *красавица* – *a beauty*. The internal form, as a fragment of meaning immediately manifested by the sound form, relates to the meaning per se via contiguity (metonymy), likeness (metaphor), generalization or specification. The internal form of a linguistic expression has its structure defined as the **onomasiological model** (M. Dokulil). It has three constituents: the **basis**, or the target concept; the **feature**, or some property of the basis; and the **link** as the type of relation between the basis and the feature (Е.С. Кубрякова). E.g. “A VEHICLE (basis) has (link) THREE WHEELS (feature)”: *У велосипеда три колеса* > *трехколесный велосипед* > *трехколесник* / *The bike has three wheels* > *a three-wheeled bike* > *a three-wheeler*. According to E.S. Kubryakova (Кубрякова 1986), the onomasiological model is equivalent to derivational meaning.

The paper argues that the onomasiological model may be viewed as a conceptual construal where a particular propositional structure is modified by some cognitive operation(s). To be applicable for diverse linguistic data, a propositional structure should be highly schematic. This requirement is met by a limited set of propositions that belong to the five **basic frames** – the Thing, Action, Possession, Identification, and Comparison Frames (S.A. Zhabotynska). To become an onomasiological model, the propositional schema must acquire **trajector/landmark alignment** defined by R. Langacker (2008) as a **prominence** construal: the trajector and landmark are associated with primary and secondary focal prominence. Respectively, in an onomasiological model the trajector is the basis, and the landmark is the feature. Since each of the constituents of a propositional schema may become the trajector or landmark, one schema may give rise to several onomasiological models. E.g. the possession (inclusion) schema:

- (1) “**X-container** (trajector/basis) **has Y-content** (landmark/feature)”  
*В этой бутылке молоко* > *молочная бутылка* – *This bottle has milk* > *milk bottle*.
- (2) “**X-container** (landmark/feature) **has Y-content** (trajector/basis)”  
*Молоко находится в бутылке* > *молоко в бутылке* > *бутылочное молоко* – *The milk is in a bottle* > *the milk in a bottle* > *bottle(d) milk*.

The paper will discuss onomasiological construals for words derived within one and the same word class, and across word classes. A particular issue is hypostasis, or nominalization, i.e. representing a property as a thing. Such cases are modeled as follows:

- (3) **X-container/event** (basis) **has Y-content** [= Z is SUCH] (feature)  
*доброта* – *kindness* ‘somebody is kind’
- (4) **X-container/event** (базис) **has Y-content** [= Z-identified is Q-classifier] (feature)  
*детство* – *childhood* ‘somebody is a child’

Chain derivation (e.g. *первый класс* > *первоклассный* > *первоклассно* – *first class n* > *adj* > *adv*) exhibits basis-feature consecutive interplay in sequential propositional schemas arranged

lineally or/and radially. Typically, the number of conceptual levels employed in chain derivation does not exceed four, which may be explained by the cognitive phenomenon of subitizing (Kaufman, Lord & Reese 1949; Trick & Pylyshin 1989; 1991).