FACULTY OF ARTS
CHARLES UNIVERSITY
IN PRAGUE

SCLC-2009

THE SLAVIC COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS CONFERENCE
of the Slavic Cognitive Linguistics Association

15–17 October 2009

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Contents

Program of the Conference

Thursday 15 October 2009

8:30 − 9:00 Early Welcome to SCLC 2009

9:00 − 12:30 PRE-CONFERENCE THEME SESSION

Cognitive and construction-based approaches to syntactic evolution

9:00 − 9:20	Oblique subjects in Slavic: From common Slavic to contemporary Russian (S. Clancy, University of Chicago)
9:20 − 9:40	Language change and population change. Are they related? (Christer Johansson, University of Bergen)
9:40 − 10:00	When subjects become objects (Nurit Melnik, Oranim Academic College)
10:00 − 10:30	Discussion
10:30 − 11:00	BREAK
11:00 − 11:20	Diachronic evidence for multiple constructional identities of reflexive permissives in Polish and Czech (Ruprecht von Waldenfels, University of Bern)
11:20 − 11:40	The history of existential *there* – an evolutionary usage-based perspective (Gard Jenset, University of Bergen)
11:40 − 12:30	Discussion

12:30 − 2:00 LUNCH

2:00 − 5:00 PRE-CONFERENCE WORKSHOP

Quantitative and corpus approaches to Slavic linguistics

2:00 − 2:45	Corpus workshop: Session 1
2:45 − 3:30	Corpus workshop: Session 2
3:30 − 4:00	BREAK
4:00 − 5:00	Corpus workshop: Session 3

5:00 − 6:00 CONFERENCE BEGINS

Registration

Opening Reception

Welcome to SCLC-2009

6:00 − 7:00 PLENARY LECTURE (in Czech)

Irena Vaňková, Charles University in Prague

Věc ve světě, slovo v jazyce (Fenomenologická východiska a pojetí významu v kognitivní lingvistice a etnolingvistice)

Thing in the world, word in the language (Phenomenological starting point and the concept of meaning in cognitive linguistics and ethnolinguistics)

7:00 − 9:00 CONFERENCE DINNER

Friday 16 October 2009

8:30 − 9:00 REGISTRATION

9:00 − 10:30 BLOCK 1

9:00 − 9:30	Syntactic reduction in sentence production: An analysis of Russian speech errors (Svetlana Gorokhova, St. Petersburg State University)
	Frequency versus iconicity revisited: Differential object marking and the length of aspect forms in Russian (Gertraud Fenk-Oczlon, University of Klagenfurt)
9:30 − 10:00	Word order and case marking in the acquisition of Czech: The role of naturalevent structure (Filip Smolík – Jiří Lukavský, Institute of Psychology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic)
	Verbal aspect and yes-no-questions in Russian (Hans Robert Mehlig, Christian-Albrechts-Universität)
10:00 − 10:30	This and ...this. On the emphatic function of demonstratives in Polish (Magdalena Rybarczyk, University of Warsaw)
	Subjectification and the East-West aspect division (Stephen Dickey, University of Kansas)

10:30 − 11:00 BREAK

11:00 − 12:30 BLOCK 2

11:00 − 11:30	Dimensional adjectives in Croatian: the interplay of semantic, cognitive and structural factors (Mateusz-Milan Stanojević – Nina Tuđman Vuković, University of Zagreb)
	Culturally specific versus universal references to emotion in Polish and English (Paul Wilson – Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, University of Łódż)
	Aspect of imperative in Russian and Slovene (Heleen Pluimgraaff – Egbert Fortuin, Leiden University)
11:30 − 12:00	Statistical profiling as a measure of idiomaticity (Julia Kuznetsova, University of Tromsø)
	The conceptualization of *zadowolenie* (satisfaction/being glad, pleasure) in Polish (Agnieszka Mikołajczuk, University of Warsaw)
	Functional types of aspectual triplets in contemporary Russian (Irina Mikaelian, Pennsylvania State University – Anna A. Zalizniak, Russian Academy of Sciences)
12:00 − 12:30	Yet another look at the category of animacy (Marija Stefanović, University of Novi Sad)
	Smile and laughter in Russian culture and language (Alexei Shmelev, Moscow Pedagogical State University)

12:30 – 1:00 SCLA Business Meeting

1:00 – 2:30 Lunch

2:30 – 3:30 Plenary Lecture (in English)

Laura Janda, University of Tromsø

Building words via metonymy: A comparison of Czech and Russian

3:30 – 4:00 Break

4:00 – 5:30 Block 3

4:00 – 4:30	Framing politics – metaphors in Serbian political discourse (Nadežda Silaški – Tatjana Đurović, University of Belgrade)
	Pejorative patterns: Negative word formation in Russian and Norwegian (Tore Nesset, University of Tromsø)
	Subject, subjecthood and subjectivity (Aki-Juhani Kyröläinen, University of Turku)
4:30 – 5:00	Semantic analyzability of idioms and the structure of underlying metaphor: Russian phraseology from a cognitive perspective (Dmitrij Dobrovolskij, Institute of Russian Language, Russian Academy of Sciences)
	The role of lexical stereotype and prototype in lexical pragmatics (Karoly Bibok, University of Szeged)
	A semantic functional analysis of the dative in New Czech (Enrique Gutiérrez Rubio, Palacký University)
5:00 – 5:30	The mythologized concept of enemy as a new Russian national construal of reality (Anna Pleshakova, University of Oxford)
	Conditional use of the perfective present in Russian (Egbert Fortuin, Leiden University)
	Double government in Polish: An interplay of semantics, pragmatics and discourse structure (Elżbieta Tabakowska, Jagiellonian University)

Saturday 17 October 2009

8:30 – 10:00 Block 4

8:30 – 9:00	Terminologisation and determinologisation in structural and cognitive linguistics (Ivana Bozděchová, Charles University)
	Multiple prefixation and the structure of verb stem in Russian (Ksenia Kisseleva, Russian Academy of Sciences – Sergei Tatevosov, Moscow State University)
	Describing motion events in Czech (Luděk Knittl, University of Sheffield)
9:00 – 9:30	Linguistic resources for sharing responsibilities: English, Polish, and 'mixed' couples dealing with everyday chores (Jörg Zinken – Eva Ogiermann, University of Portsmouth)
	Central meaning of the verbal prefix *vy-* in Russian (Maria Botvinnik, Moscow Municipal Pedagogical University)
	Crawling forward: A multidimensional scaling analysis of path and manner (Michele I. Feist, University of Louisiana at Lafayette – Steven J. Clancy, University of Chicago)
9:30 – 10:00	The nature and function the stereotype in transdisciplinary context (Jasňa Pacovská, Charles University)
	Za-prefixation in the Russian verbs of motion (Vitaly Nikolaev – Andrea Tyler, Georgetown University)
	Intratypological contrasts: Serbian and English through a cognitive linguistics prism (Luna Filipović, University of Cambridge)

10:00 – 10:30 Break

10:30 – 12:00 Block 5

10:30 – 11:00	Onomatopoeia's migration to the inflectional system in Czech: Suffix selection and its relationship to sound iconicity (Masako Fidler, Brown University)
	On the relation between ingressivity and decausativity: The Russian verbal prefixes *ZA-* and *PO-* (Svetlana Sokolova, University of Tromsø)
	The lexis, culture and concept of FATE (SUD'BA): A usage-based and contrastive study in Russian and Ukrainian (Dylan Glynn, University of Lund – Julia Antonenko, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv)

	Mind/body dualism, and Havel's genres
	(David Danaher, University of Wisconsin-Madison)
11:00 – 11:30	По + dative and other constructions with the meaning 'field of purposeful activity' in Russian
	(Martina Björklund, Åbo Akademi University)
	THINK and BELIEVE in Polish: A search for semantic motivation in construction patterns
	(Iwona Kokorniak – Małgorzata Fabiszak – Anna Hebda, Adam Mickiewicz University)
11:30 – 12:00	"Love" and "truth" in Czech, English, French and German: Humboldt's challenge to cognitive linguistics
	(James W. Underhill, Université Stendhal)
	Near-synonymy or the art of expressing roughly the same meaning
	(Dagmar Divjak, University of Sheffield – Antti Arppe, University of Helsinki)

12:00 – 1:30 Lunch

1:30 – 2:30 Plenary Lecture (in Polish)

Jerzy Bartmiński, University of Lublin

Językowy obraz świata jako problem etnolingwistyki kognitywnej

Linguistic worldview as a problem of cognitive ethnolinguistics

2:30 – 3:00 Break

3:00 – 4:30 Block 6

3:00 – 3:30	Russian causative connectives: *потому что* vs. *поскольку* vs. *потому как*
	(Alina Israeli, American University)
	Event structure of Czech verbs with the suffix *-nou-*: Jackendoff's perspective
	(Eva Lehečková, Charles University)
3:30 – 4:00	Pseudo-coordinative construction $(jít)$V1aV2 in the syntax of contemporary Czech
	(Svatava Škodová, Technical University of Liberec)
4:00 – 4:30	Subject-predicate inversion and its cognitive sources
	(Elena Paducheva, Institute of Russian Language, Russian Academy of Sciences)

List of Participants

Participants

- **Karoly Bibok**
  University of Szeged (Hungary)
  The Role of Lexical Stereotype and Prototype in Lexical Pragmatics

- **Martina Björklund**
  Åbo Akademi University (Finland)
  По + Dative and Other Constructions with the Meaning 'Field of Purposeful Activity' in Russian

- **Maria Botvinnik**
  Moscow Municipal Pedagogical University (Russia)
  Central Meaning of the Verbal Prefix *vy-* in Russian

- **Ivana Bozděchová**
  Charles University in Prague (Czech Republic)
  Terminologisation and Determinologisation in Structural and Cognitive Linguistics

- **Steven J. Clancy**
  University of Chicago (USA)
  Oblique Subjects in Slavic: From Common Slavic to Contemporary Russian

- **David Danaher**
  University of Wisconsin-Madison (USA)
  Mind/Body Dualism, and Havel's Genres

- **Stephen M. Dickey**
  University of Kansas (USA)
  Subjectification and the East-West Aspect Division

- **Dagmar Divjak, Antti Arppe**
  University of Sheffield (UK), University of Helsinki (Finland)
  Near-synonymy or the Art of Expressing Roughly the Same Meaning

- **Dmitrij Dobrovolskij**
  Institute of Russian Language, Russian Academy of Sciences (Russia)
  Semantic Analyzability of Idioms and the Structure of Underlying Metaphor: Russian Phraseology from a Cognitive Perspective

- **Michele I. Feist, Steven J. Clancy**
  University of Louisiana at Lafayette, University of Chicago (USA)
  Crawling Forward: A Multidimensional Scaling Analysis of Path and Manner

- **Gertraud Fenk-Oczlon**
  University of Klagenfurt (Austria)
  Frequency versus Iconicity Revisited: Differential Object Marking and the Length of Aspect Forms in Russian

- **Masako Fidler**
  Brown University (USA)
  Onomatopoeia's Migration to the Inflectional System in Czech: Suffix Selection and its Relationship to Sound Iconicity

- **Luna Filipović**
  University of Cambridge (UK)
  Intratypological Contrasts: Serbian and English through a Cognitive Linguistics Prism

- **Egbert Fortuin**
  Leiden University (Netherlands)
  Conditional Use of the Perfective Present in Russian

- **Dylan Glynn, Julia Antonenko**
  University of Lund (Sweden), Ivan Franko National University of Lviv (Ukraine)
  The Lexis, Culture and Concept of FATE (SUD'BA): A Usage-Based and Contrastive Study in Russian and Ukrainian

- **Svetlana Gorokhova**
  St. Petersburg State University (Russia)
  Syntactic Reduction in Sentence Production: An Analysis of Russian Speech Errors

- **Enrique Gutiérrez Rubio**
  Palacký University in Olomouc (Czech Republic)
  A Semantic Functional Analysis of the Dative in New Czech

- **Alina Israeli**
  American University (USA)
  Russian Causative Connectives: *потому что* vs. *поскольку* vs. *потому как*

- **Gard B. Jenset**
  University of Bergen (Norway)
  The History of Existential *there* – An Evolutionary Usage-Based Perspective

- **Christer Johansson**
  University of Bergen (Norway)
  Language Change and Population Change. Are They Related?

- **Ksenia Kisseleva, Sergei Tatevosov**
  Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow State University (Russia)
  Multiple Prefixation and the Structure of Verb Stem in Russian

- **Luděk Knittl**
  University of Sheffield (UK)
  Describing Motion Events in Czech

- **Iwona Kokorniak, Małgorzata Fabiszak, Anna Hebda**
  Adam Mickiewicz University (Poland)
  THINK and BELIEVE in Polish: A Search for Semantic Motivation in Construction Patterns

- **Julia Kuznetsova**
  University of Tromsø (Norway)
  Statistical Profiling as a Measure of Idiomaticity

- **Aki-Juhani Kyröläinen**
  University of Turku (Finland)
  Subject, Subjecthood and Subjectivity

- **Eva Lehečková**
  Charles University in Prague (Czech Republic)
  Event Structure of Czech Verbs with the Suffix *-nou-*: Jackendoff's Perspective

- **Hans Robert Mehlig**
  Christian-Albrechts-Universität (Germany)
  Verbal Aspect and Yes-No-Questions in Russian

- **Nurit Melnik**
  Oranim Academic College (Israel)
  When Subjects Become Objects

- **Irina Mikaelian, Anna A. Zalizniak**
  Pennsylvania State University (USA), Russian Academy of Sciences (Russia)
  Functional Types of Aspectual Triplets in Contemporary Russian

- **Agnieszka Mikołajczuk**
  University of Warsaw (Poland)
  The Conceptualisation of *zadowolenie* (satisfaction/being glad, pleasure) in Polish

- **Tore Nesset**
  University of Tromsø (Norway)
  Pejorative Patterns: Negative Word Formation in Russian and Norwegian

- **Vitaly Nikolaev, Andrea Tyler**
  Georgetown University (USA)
  Za-Prefixation in the Russian Verbs of Motion

- **Jasňa Pacovská**
  Charles University in Prague (Czech Republic)
  The Nature and Function of the Stereotype in Transdisciplinary Context

- **Elena Paducheva**
  Institute of Russian Language, Russian Academy of Sciences (Russia)
  Subject-Predicate Inversion and its Cognitive Sources

- **Anna Pleshakova**
  University of Oxford (UK)
  The Mythologized Concept of Enemy as a New Russian National Construal of Reality

- **Heleen Pluimgraaff, Egbert Fortuin**
  Leiden University (Netherlands)
  Aspect of the Imperative in Russian and Slovene

- **Magdalena Rybarczyk**
  University of Warsaw (Poland)
  This and ... *This*. On the Emphatic Function of Demonstratives in Polish

- **Alexei Shmelev**
  Moscow Pedagogical State University (Russia)
  Smile and Laughter in Russian Culture and Language

- **Nadežda Silaški, Tatjana Đurović**
  University of Belgrade (Serbia)
  Framing Politics – Metaphors in Serbian Political Discourse

- **Filip Smolík, Jiří Lukavský**
  Institute of Psychology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic
  Word Order and Case Marking in the Acquisition of Czech: The Role of Natural Event Structure

- **Svetlana Sokolova**
  University of Tromsø (Norway)
  On the Relation between Ingressivity and Decausativity: The Russian Verbal Prefixes *ZA-* and *PO-*

- **Mateusz-Milan Stanojević, Nina Tuđman Vuković**
  University of Zagreb (Croatia)
  Dimensional Adjectives in Croatian: The Interplay of Semantic, Cognitive and Structural Factors

- **Marija Stefanović**
  University of Novi Sad (Serbia)
  Yet Another Look at the Category of Animacy

- **Svatava Škodová**
  Technical University of Liberec (Czech Republic)
  Pseudo-coordinative Construction (*jít*)V1*a*V2 in the Syntax of Contemporary Czech

- **Elżbieta Tabakowska**
  Jagiellonian University of Kraków (Poland)
  Double Government in Polish: An Interplay of Semantics, Pragmatics and Discourse Structure

- **James W. Underhill**
  Université Stendhal Grenoble 3 (France)
  "Love" and "Truth" in Czech, English, French and German: Humboldt's Challenge to Cognitive Linguistics

- **Ruprecht von Waldenfels**
  University of Bern (Switzerland)
  Diachronic Evidence for Multiple Constructional Identities of Reflexive Permissives in Polish and Czech

- **Paul Wilson, Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk**
  University of Łódż (Poland)
  Culturally Specific versus Universal References to Emotion in Polish and English

- **Jörg Zinken, Eva Ogiermann**
  University of Portsmouth (UK)
  Linguistic Resources for Sharing Responsibilities: English, Polish, and 'Mixed' Couples Dealing with Everyday Chores

Plenary Lecturers

- **Jerzy Bartmiński**
  Maria Curie-Skłodowska University (Poland)
  Linguistic Worldview as a Problem of Cognitive Ethnolinguistics

- **Laura Janda**
  University of Tromsø (Norway)
  Building Words via Metonymy: A Comparison of Czech and Russian

- **Irena Vaňková**
  Charles University in Prague (Czech Republic)
  Thing in the World, Word in the Language (Phenomenological starting points and the concept of meaning in cognitive linguistics and ethnolinguistics)

Plenary Lectures

Linguistic Worldview as a Problem of Cognitive Ethnolinguistics

Jerzy Bartmiński

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Maria Curie-Skłodowska University (Poland)

The presentation will deal with the basic concepts of cognitive ethnolinguistics as it is understood and practiced by scholars associated with the journal *Etnolingwistyka* [Ethnolinguistics], published by Maria Curie-Skłodowska University Press in Lublin, Poland (vols. 1–20, 1988–2008). Since 2003 the journal has played the role of the mouthpiece of an ethnolinguistic team within the International Slavic Committee. The concepts include:

- the linguistic worldview (*językowy obraz świata*, JOS);

- the cognitive definition as an instrument of description of linguistic stereotypes;

- point of view and perspective;

- conceptual profiles;

- the conceptualizing (and profiling) subject;

- stereotype;

- values professed by individual and collective subjects.

The conception of the linguistic worldview (JOS) is applied to the study of various languages and constitutes a basis for a contrastive research project known as EUROJOS, initiated at the 14th International Slavic Congress in Ohrid, Macedonia, in September 2008.

Cognitive ethnolinguistics (the term has been proposed by Jörg Zinken) investigates language in relation to culture and the speaker as a conceptualizing subject: it pursues a "subject-oriented reconstruction". The reconstruction of a stereotype, for instance, includes "strong" (core) connotations (a mother is 'a woman who has a child') but also "weak" or "peripheral" ones, which belong to the social semantic norm (a mother 'loves', 'nurtures', 'raises children', 'forgives everything' etc.).

A privileged position in ethnolinguistic research is occupied by the *lexis* of a language, conceived of as a classifier of social experience. The lexis

provides access to the conceptual sphere of a given culture, the realm of conceptions and images crucial for that culture. Interesting aspects of lexis include the organization of lexical-semantic fields (colour, measurement or kinship terms, names of emotions, values etc.), axiological and semiotic oppositions (good/bad, close/distant, us/them, familiar/alien) or the semantic content of individual items, especially of "cultural key words".

An instrument used for the analysis of word meanings is the "cognitive definition", in a specific understanding of the term.

Ethnolinguistic dictionaries (*Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols*, SSSL 1996–1999, Lublin, or *Славянские древностии,* СД I–IV, 1994–2009, Moskva) provide linguistic-cultural portraits of the Universe, plants, animals and people – "signs of the spiritual culture" of Slavs (cf. Polish *niebo*, Russian *небо* 'sky, heaven'); they also describe the oppositions of us/them, human/animal, or left/right.

The conception of the linguistic worldview embraces all three apices of Ogden and Richards' (1923) triangle: the linguistic sign (*pies* 'dog'), the mental image of a dog, and the class of real-life dogs. The three elements are considered in the onomasiological and/or semasiological perspectives.

The linguistic worldview conception has become the major idea of Polish cognitive ethnolinguistics, sometimes even considered "the central idea of cognitive linguistics" (Grzegorczykowa 2001, p. 162). It can be summarized as follows:

(a) The linguistic worldview is founded on the values professed by language speakers.

(b) The linguistic worldview embraces socially entrenched or stereotyped images.

(c) A stereotype, its content and the structuring of that content can be systematically captured by the cognitive definition.

(d) The linguistic worldview depends on the point of view and perspective on the world assumed by the conceptualizing subject.

(e) The base linguistic worldview is intentionally adapted in discourse and functions in subjective variants called *profiles*.

(f) Profiling is performed by the speaker (subject) of the utterance, who follows specific intentions and values.

A more comprehensive overview of ethnolinguistics is offered in Bartmiński 2006, 2007, 2009, Бартминьский 2005.

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Building Words via Metonymy: A Comparison of Czech and Russian

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Previous linguistic research on metonymy has focused on lexical phenomena, usually sampling isolated examples across languages (Kövecses – Radden 1998, Panther – Thornburg 1999, Peirsman – Geeraerts 2006, Seto 1999). The present study extends this line of research to the grammatical domain of word-formation. The purpose is to determine what systematic role metonymy plays in the grammar of a given language and how this role can be compared cross-linguistically.

Current research on metonymy describes it as either a shift of meaning that occurs within a single domain (Barcelona 2002, Kövecses 2002, Kövecses – Radden 1998, Panther – Thornburg 1999) or as a contiguity relationship (Seto 1999, Peirsman – Geeraerts 2006). I will adopt the definition in (1), which accommodates both sides of this debate:

(1) Metonymy is present when one item (a VEHICLE) is used to semantically access another item (a TARGET). The relationship can be stated in terms of the VEHICLE FOR TARGET roles.

Lexical metonymy includes examples like *we need a few good heads here* or *I need to check that in my Ožegov*, where *heads* serves as the VEHICLE for accessing entire human beings in a PART FOR WHOLE metonymy, whereas *Ožegov* serves as the VEHICLE for accessing the famous dictionary he authored in an AGENT FOR PRODUCT metonymy.

Although lexical metonymy has received considerable attention in the last decade, the existence of grammatical metonymy remains almost entirely unexplored. In this paper I will assert that the majority of derivational morphology is dependent on metonymy for its semantic structure.

A pilot study of Czech word-formation (Janda forthcoming) yielded a database of 237 metonymy types in Czech. Table 1 lists sample entries from this database:

The *břicho* 'belly' is a PART of the WHOLE *břicháč* 'pot-bellied person' it is used to reference and the *květ* 'flower' is what is CONTAINED in the *květináč* 'flower-pot'. The suffix *áč-Ø* is shared by these two metonymy designations. The suffix *ovn-a* can also signal CONTAINED FOR CONTAINER,

metonymy designation		word class designation		suffix	example	
VEHICLE class	TARGET class	VEHICLE's word class	TARGET's word class		VEHICLE word	TARGET word
PART	WHOLE	noun	noun	*áč-Ø*	*břicho* 'belly'	*břicháč* 'pot-bellied'
CONTAINED	CONTAINER	noun	noun	*áč-Ø*	*květ* 'flower'	*květináč* 'flower-pot'
CONTAINED	CONTAINER	noun	noun	*ovn-a*	*kniha* 'book'	*knihovna* 'library'
ACTION	AGENT	verb	noun	*ař-Ø*	*péci* 'bake'	*pekař* 'baker'
PATIENT	AGENT	noun	noun	*ař-Ø*	*zub* 'tooth'	*zubař* 'dentist'

Table 1: Sample entries from database of Czech suffixal derivation

as we see in the example of *knihovna* 'library'. The word *pekař* 'baker' identifies an AGENT through the VEHICLE of an ACTION, and the same *ař-Ø* suffix identifies *zubař* 'dentist' as the AGENT who works on the PATIENT *zub* 'tooth'.

These examples raise a number of issues. Each entry represents a unique type, which means that it has a unique combination of parameters (as specified in the five leftmost columns in Table 1). Aside from determining the word class of the TARGET, suffixes underspecify the types, since most suffixes are associated with more than one metonymy designation, as we see in the case of *áč-Ø* and *ař-Ø*. Note that *ař-Ø* associates with types that differ in both the metonymy and word class designations of their VEHICLES. Furthermore, metonymy and word class designations do not uniquely determine the choice of suffix; both *áč-Ø* and *ovn-a* can be used in the CONTAINED FOR CONTAINER metonymy that derives a noun from another noun.

The Czech pilot study identified some metonymies that had previously been overlooked in scholarship on lexical metonymy, failed to attest some metonymies found in lexical metonymy, and revealed a number of interesting asymmetries in how metonymies are distributed. The metonymy designations of Czech word-formation primarily involve three somewhat overlapping frames, namely PART/WHOLE, ACTION and its arguments and ENTITY/CHARACTERISTIC. In most cases there is clearly no one-to-one mapping relationship between metonymy designations and suffixes: a given designation can be associated with several suffixes and a given suffix can be associated with several designations. It appears, however, that it is not possible for a single suffix to signal both directions of a metonymy relationship (i.e., there is no suffix that signals both PART FOR WHOLE and WHOLE FOR PART). Though the vast majority of Czech word-formation does entail

metonymy, the derivation of diminutives and augmentatives is an exception to the rule, supporting previous claims in the literature that this kind of derivation does not form new independent words.

This empirical approach makes it possible to explore the distribution of metonymy designations and their associated word classes and suffixes and to compare these distributions across languages. The proposed paper will build upon the pilot study by adding and comparing a similar databases for Russian and integrating relevant research (in particular Paдučeva's 2004 work on metonymy).

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Thing in the World, Word in the Language (Phenomenological starting points and the concept of meaning in cognitive linguistics and ethnolinguistics)

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The paper deals with the relation between the current cognitively and anthropologically oriented approaches towards the language study and some aspects of the interpretation of language/speech in European phenomenological philosophy. Here the speech in its relatedness to the man assumes an utterly fundamental dimension. M. Heidegger as well as H.-G. Gadamer emphasize that the speech does not have the nature of the mere instrument. In speech, our understanding of the world is contained, a universal human horizon, i.e. the world embodied and de facto also created.

From the cognitive-linguistic perspective, the world can be seen in two basic conceptualizations. The first approach represents a sum of things distributed over a surface which can be "clearly cut" into parts and those parts then described as independent sectors of that surface. However, according to phenomenologists – i.e. in the other approach – the world is neither a sum of objects nor an area divisible in parts but the context and horizon of our conception. It is a specific relation which makes things mutually connected. The world is a "light in which we can see things" (J. Patočka).

Such an approach seems to be relevant in connection with the notion 'linguistic picture of the world' and in the context of reflections on the meaning known from the Polish cognitive ethnolinguistics. The meaning interpreted in this way derives itself from the human subjective experience and emphasizes connotations: not only linguistic ones (anchored in the system) but through the concept of the so called open definition of meaning also those realized in the texts only. They point to the semantic potentionality of the expression the specific character of which can be well illustrated in poetry.

In accord with J. Patočka, **the natural world** is the fundamental human horizon. Phenomenologists rigorously differentiate between a world which grows from the human subjectivity and which is based on the physical and sensory experience and a theoretical and objectivizing world: which is understood as derived and secondary. The proponents of phenomenology interpreted the appeal "back to things" as the very return to human experience.

In its study of meaning, linguistics has also for long neglected what people themselves consider meaningful (Lakoff – Johnson 1980). There was no interest in the fact that the way we talk can testify to the basic dimensions of our humanity: to the physical and sensory anchoring of our cognitivity, social and cultural conditioning of thought, to our values. It can be seen in the study and description of the word meaning based on the semic analysis and Aristotelian definitions (sister "a female sibling", tear "a secretion of the lacrimal glands", November "the 11th month of the year").

Quadruplicity determining, according to J. Patočka, basic human coordinates involves: "**body, community, language, and world**". Phenomenological elaboration of these great themes (mutually closely interconnected) turns out to be fundamental and a source of inspiration even for the study of meaning in terms of both the cognitive linguistics of American origin and Polish (cognitive) ethnolinguistics.

Nine aspects of the study of meaning
The meaning is viewed as. . .

(1) . . . characterized by physical and sensory anchoring ("body in the mind")

(2) . . . metaphorically founded ("metaphors we live by")

(3) . . . based on a story, scenario, parable ("literary mind")

(4) . . . based on the categorization ("women, fire and dangerous things") – primarily on the usual ("natural") categorization, secondarily on the theoretical categorization

(5) . . . revealing itself in the unity (complementarity) of denotative and connotative components

(6) . . . shared and dialogical

(7) . . . transforming from dialogic to social and anchored in the culture of the given community (as a common memory and a shared world with certain values)

(8) . . . contextually bound, representing an intersection of numerous contexts of the integration of the "thing" into the world / of the "word" into the language

(9) . . . revealing itself in the unity of the usual categorization and potential re-categorizations, of the conceptualization and potential reconceptualizations (noticeable in poetry)

Theme Session

THEME SESSION: Cognitive and Construction-Based Approaches to Syntactic Evolution

Organizer: Gard B. Jenset, University of Bergen

Participants: (alphabetically)

Steven J. Clancy: Oblique Subjects in Slavic: From Common Slavic to Contemporary Russian

Gard B. Jenset: The History of Existential *there*: An Evolutionary Usage-Based Perspective

Christer Johansson: Language Change and Population Change. Are They Related?

Nurit Melnik: When Subjects Become Objects

Ruprecht von Waldenfels: Diachronic Evidence for Multiple Constructional Identities of Reflexive Permissives in Polish and Czech

The study of diachronic data and evolutionary perspectives of syntax in different modalities presents unique challenges to the research community (cf. e.g. Comrie – Kuteva 2005 and Croft 2000). Studying diachronic syntax often requires the use of corpora, thus forcing researchers to face the questions discussed in Gries (2006) and Grondelaers et al. (2007) on how to incorporate empirical corpus-based methods in the various cognitive-functional approaches to linguistics. A number of problems present themselves when turning a cognitive-oriented research program towards diachronic questions, as discussed in e.g. Stefanowitsch (2006). However, there are also a number of statistical methods available to overcome some of these difficulties (cf. McMahon – McMahon 2006, Pagel et al. 2007). With its special emphasis on empirical methods, diachronic cognitive linguistics and diachronic construction grammar are particularly well suited for participation in the further development of empirical methodology in cognitive linguistics, as discussed in Geeraerts (2006). As such, the proposed theme session will contribute to a commencing discussion on how to develop and refine empirical methods for the study of syntactic evolution, combining traditional methods with statistics, lab work, and computational modeling.

The proposed theme session focuses on cognitive or construction-based approaches to changes in these structures in both spoken and written languages. It aims at bringing together researchers working on syntax in different modalities and with different methodological approaches, ranging from traditional philological methods to corpus-based methods, statistical modeling,

lab work and experimental-computational methods. This includes discussions on larger systemic changes (cf. Haig 2008), individual case studies, and discussions on how cognitive and constructional approaches contribute to the study of syntactic evolution.

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Oblique Subjects in Slavic: From Common Slavic to Contemporary Russian

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Barðdal and Eythórsson make the case in several studies (2003, 2005, to appear) for oblique subject constructions (those with non-nominative case-marking) in the Germanic languages, not merely as a contemporary development, but as part of an Indo-European inheritance of a range of possible subject constructions. Although the Slavic languages are greatly affected by so-called Nominative Sickness (cf. Barðdal – Eythórsson 2003) – a growing tendency to generalize nominative case marking for subjects to the detriment of oblique subject constructions – there are strong signs of inherited oblique subject constructions as well as new developments of non-nominative subject marking in Russian. Utilizing corpus data, this paper takes up the question of oblique subjects in Slavic, with regard to inheritances from Indo-European and with regard to the further evolution of subject constructions in Russian from its Common Slavic origins through Old Russian to Contemporary Russian, including both the standard language and dialectal data.

Cognitive Linguists are turning in increasing numbers to quantitative methods in their research. In the introduction to Gries – Stefanowitsch (2006, pp. 1–17), Gries outlines numerous studies utilizing quantitative and statistical methods, illustrating how the more intuitive practices of Cognitive Linguistics can be supported by "robust empirical and objective evidence" (p. 8). Divjak – Gries (forthcoming, 2006), Gries – Divjak (forthcoming) and Divjak (2006), as examples among many such studies, present compelling analyses of near-synonyms in Russian and English using behavioral profiling, ID tags, and cluster analysis. Clancy (2006) and Croft – Poole (2008) make the case for using the Optimal Classification method of Multidimensional Scaling (MDS-OC) as a rigorously defined mathematical method for revealing structure in language in a way that closely matches traditional Cognitive Linguistic analyses. Furthermore, these quantitative methods allow one to tackle large-scale problems that would otherwise be insoluble by introspection or empirical observation alone. Conceptual spaces and semantic maps created with MDS-OC provide a means of confirming, refining, or challenging those analyses, while acknowledging their strengths and fleshing-out their conclusions, giving teeth to the powerful insights of cognitive linguistics.

This paper will report on corpus data analyzed using these techniques as applied to the question of oblique subjects in Russian to provide a finer grained description and an alternative to the typical tests for subjecthood employed in formalist accounts of subjects (cf. Moore – Perlmutter 2000; Greenberg – Franks 1991), both oblique and nonoblique.

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The History of Existential *there*: An Evolutionary Usage-Based Perspective

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Despite the attention devoted to the so-called existential *there*, cf. Breivik (1990, pp. 18–113) and Levin (1993, pp. 88–91), there are still gaps to fill regarding its diachronic development. In present-day English, *there* has been dealt with in Lakoff (1987), while Grondelaers et al (2007) present a corpus-based study of *there*'s present-day Dutch equivalent *er*. Jespersen (1924) suggested that the subject status of *there* (1a) historically developed from the locative adverb *there* (1b), a hypothesis corroborated by Breivik (1990; 1997).

(1)   a)   *There* are lions in the zoo.

     b)   The lions are over *there*.

A fundamental problem persists: why did *there* evolve into a subject? I attempt an answer through a corpus-based study, where the results are interpreted in a usage-based construction grammar framework, cf. Goldberg (1995), Langacker (2005). To deal with large amounts of corpus data, I am using a number of advanced statistical methods, which reflects the growing concern for empirical methodology in linguistics in general, cf. Baayen (2008), Grondelaers et al (2007), and Pagel et al (2007).

My aim is describing and explaining the choice of *there* as a subject in English existential constructions (ECs) through a corpus-based study of historical English using regression and clustering techniques. By charting frequencies of use and variations in the construction over time, I will identify factors that might favor *there* over other locative adverbs in the "competition" for subjecthood, and model the development of the EC from Old English (OE) to early Modern English. My model assumes that frequency of use is the most important factor in determining why *there* achieved subject-like properties. To explain the proposed grammaticalization of *there*, cf. Breivik (1997), a process of replication and selection in the sense of Croft (2000) is hypothesized.

The analysis of the currently available corpus material shows 9198 locative adverbs (5323 or 58% of which are tokens of *there*), which have been extracted from the York-Toronto Corpus of Old English. The frequencies have been

fitted with a Zipf-distribution in the statistics package *R*, using the *language R* library, cf. Baayen (2008). The resulting statistics show a good fit (a large proportion of the variance is explained) with an adjusted R^2 very close to one. A Shapiro-Wilks test of the residuals shows that they have an approximate normal distribution. This suggests that frequency is an important factor, but that it cannot (and should not, due to the Zipf-distribution's sensitivity to sample size, cf. Baayen 2008) account for all variation alone, i.e., other linguistic and cognitive factors are needed to fully understand the history of *there*.

In all, frequency of use as modeled by the Zipf-distribution goes a long way in suggesting why *there* achieved subject status. However, there are clearly additional linguistic factors which need to be included in the analysis to provide a full picture of the evolution of *there*. A full analysis is attempted by investigating varying patterns of use in combination with a cognitive construction grammar framework.

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When Subjects Become Objects

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Keenan's (1976) prototype-based approach views subjecthood as a gradient category. Not all subjects exhibit the entire repertoire of subject coding and behavior properties associated with prototypical subjects in the language. One type of nonprototypical subject is found in sentence focus (or thetic) constructions. Lambrecht (2000) proposes the Principle of Subject-Object Neutralization according to which cross-linguistically in such constructions the subject tends to be grammatically coded with features "normally" associated with the object. In Lambrecht's words, these subjects "behave like objects".

This paper considers subject-object neutralization from a diachronic perspective. It presents the case of Modern Hebrew, a mostly SVO language, in which VS constructions are used to express existence and possession, as well as with unaccusative verbs. Subject-verb inversion is one manifestation of subject-object neutralization. However, the claim of the paper is that VS subjects are in the process of losing two additional significant subject coding properties: subject-verb agreement and nominative case. Thus, the subjects of the VS construction are evolving from subjects which *behave* like objects into subjects which have *become* objects.

Modern Hebrew, which was revived as a spoken language in the late 19th century, is currently undergoing considerable changes in its phonology, morphology, and syntax (Berman 1992; Ravid 1995). At this point in time, standard constructions occur alongside non-standard ones. The fact that non-standard VS constructions, where subject-verb agreement is neutralized, are used in unmonitored speech has been discussed in many papers (references suppressed for lack of space). Nevertheless, to my knowledge, there has not been an attempt at conducting a corpus-based study using statistical methods in order to assess the degree of entrenchment of this construction. This is the goal of this study.

Berman (1992) claims that non-standard constructions in child language can eventually become part of standard grammar, provided that they are used by all children, even after their exposure to formal language teaching and literacy, and partly by adults. Building on Berman's claim, I propose to view a synchronic spoken language corpus from a diachronic perspective

by comparing the use of the VS construction by preschoolers, school-age children, and adults.

The preliminary investigation reveals differences in use among the three populations. Moreover, the coexistence of standard and non-standard alternations within the same system enables us to conduct collexeme analyses to identify patterns of association between lexical items and the alternations (Stefanowitsch 2006). Thus, the proposed methodology provides a way of studying language change in real time.

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Diachronic Evidence for Multiple Constructional Identities of Reflexive Permissives in Polish and Czech

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The paper is concerned with the syntax of reflexive permissive constructions formed with the verb *to give* in the history of Polish and Czech, as exemplified in (1):

(1) Polish:

On	*dał*	*się*	*oszukać*
he	give-3SG	RFL-ACC	cheat-INF

'He let himself be cheated.'

Reflexive permissive constructions are, on the outset, compositional configurations of permissive constructions or verbs (to let) with a reflexive construction that signals that the causer (the participant that lets happen whatever is expressed by the infinitive) and the patient of the lexical infinitive is coreferent. As such, this is not remarkable. However, in Polish and Czech, this configuration offers a coding possibility otherwise not given for permissive causatives in these languages, namely the expression of the causee (the participant that is performing whatever is permitted; in (1), the unexpressed cheater) in a prepositional or instrumental phrase identical to the by-phrase in passive clauses; this constitutes a type II causative (Alsina 1992):

(2) Polish:

On	*dał*	*się*	*oszukać*	*przez*	*Piotra*
he	give-3SG	RFL-ACC	cheat-INF	by	Peter-GEN

'He let himself be cheated by Peter.'

In my talk, I show that this coding possibility has been present in both languages for several centuries alongside the older dative coding option for the causee. I interpret these findings as reflecting two identities of this construction: as a compositional construction composed of reflexive and permissive, and as a valency-decreasing diathesis construction. I argue that traits already found in earlier stages and other Slavic languages, namely the regular

omission of the causee, are evidence of the second identity and explain the emergence of by-phrases with these constructions with their association with other valency-decreasing diathesis constructions, namely with the passive.

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Abstracts

The Role of Lexical Stereotype and Prototype in Lexical Pragmatics

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The present paper is built on a conception of lexical pragmatics which critically amalgamates the views of Two-level Conceptual Semantics (Bierwisch 1996), Generative Lexicon Theory (Pustejovsky 1995) and Relevance Theory (Sperber – Wilson 1995). Lexical pragmatics accepts, as a starting point in construction of word meanings in utterances, lexical-semantic representations which can be underspecified and allow for methods other than componential analysis. As words have underspecified meaning representations, they reach their full-fledged meanings in corresponding contexts through considerable pragmatic inference. One of these interpretation operations is what has been termed conceptual differentiation, which originates from Two-level Conceptual Semantics (cf. selective binding in Pustejovsky 1995 and contextual modulation in Cruse 1986). Conceptual differentiation modifies the underspecified meaning in slightly different ways within one and the same conceptual domain. The paper uses conceptual differentiation combining it with the notions of prototype and lexical stereotype (for the latter, see Gergely – Bever 1986).

I investigate the role which lexical stereotypes and prototypes play in connection with two kinds of linguistic phenomena in the field of verb meanings, which have so far not been studied so thoroughly as nominal meanings. First, it is demonstrated how lexical stereotypes and prototypicality conditions are relevant in the identification of denotation of such Russian verbs as, on the one hand, *rezat'* ('cut with pressing') and *rubit'* ('cut with a blow'), where prototypicality effects are brought about by several factors, as well as, on the other hand, *strič'* ('cut with pressing/mow/shear'), *pilit'* ('saw; file') and *brit'* ('shave'), where prototypicality is related to a single salient instrument (or a narrow range of typical instruments). Second, I use advantages of prototype theory to account for the appearance of adverbial (directional) phrases with Russian verbs originally not taking them. Cf.:

(1) *Prodavščica narezala kolbasu tonkimi kuskami na voščenuju bumagu.*

'The salesgirl sliced the salami into thin pieces onto the waxed paper.'

(2) *Mama naterla syr na gotovye makarony.*

　　'The mother grated the cheese onto the macaroni.'

　　My examination of these Russian verbs results in more adequate descriptions of their meanings than those in dictionaries. Moreover, these results can be reached only in a way followed in my research, which argues for a division of labor between the underspecified linguistic encoding in combination with lexical stereotype and prototype, on the one hand, and contextual interpretation, on the other hand.

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По + Dative and Other Constructions with the Meaning 'Field of Purposeful Activity' in Russian

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In an earlier paper (Björklund, forthcoming), I studied the possibilities and limitations of the extremely productive construction pattern that features a noun qualified by the prepositional phrase *по* + Dative to form expressions of the type *менеджер по рекламе* and *автомат по выдаче наличных*. I call this meaning of *по* + Dative 'field of purposeful activity', and I view it as a metaphorical extension of the spatial meaning of *по* + Dative 'path of movement over a surface or through space', which also communicates at least one goal (cf. Sullivan 1998, p. 64). As Laura Janda puts it in *The Case Book for Russian* (p. 108), *по* + Dative may express "movement 'along' metaphorical paths".

However, there are several other ways of expressing the meaning 'field of purposeful activity' in Russian, and the construction with *по* is often regarded as an intruder into the domains of other constructions. Starting from Janda's cognitive descriptions in *The Case Book for Russian*, I will discuss the following constructions: Genitive (A WHOLE), *в* + Locative (A PLACE in metaphorical domains), *о* + Locative (A PLACE, meaning 'about' in the domain of topics of conversation or thought), and *для* + Genitive (A GOAL in the domain of purpose), comparing them with the construction *по* + Dative.

My material is mainly drawn from *Национальный корпус русского языка* (www.ruscorpora.ru), but I also use other Internet resources. The results show that in some cases the construal of the field of activity as movement along a metaphorical path is clearly preferred. For example, only *менеджер по рекламе* can be found in the corpus, whereas search engines like Google also yield *менеджер рекламы* and *менеджер в рекламе*, but considerably less hits. In other cases two constructions are used about equally often. In the corpus we can, for instance, find both *автомат по выдаче наличных* and *автоматы для выдачи наличных* (one instance each). Google gives somewhat more hits for *автомат для выдачи наличных*, and the variant *автомат выдачи наличных* is also found (somewhat fewer hits than for the

construction with *no* + Dative). Other patterns of preference that emerge will also be discussed in the paper.

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Central Meaning of the Verbal Prefix *vy-* in Russian

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In cognitive analyses of verbal modifiers semantics, central case is often used to unite all the meanings of the modifier, including spatial and metaphorical ones. Central meanings are prototypical (Rosch 1973) and are not necessarily spatial. They "*immediately come to mind*" (Lindner 1981) and are in their "*common use*" (Lakoff 1987). The extended meanings around the central meaning are "*linked by the context*", according to Kustova (2004).

The current study attempts to find the central case meaning in semantics of the Russian verbal prefix *vy-*.

In its spatial use *vy-* denotes outward movement from one space (or container) into another (*koshka vybezhala na ulitsu, on vytaschil den'gi iz karmana*). Svetsinskaya (1997) states the meaning of *vy-* as denoting "movement from $S1$ to $S2$ whereas $S2$ is external and secondary in relation to $S1$". Dobruchina and D.Paillard (2001a) consider *vy-* as "movement from $S1$ to $S2$ whereas $S1$ is essentially different from $S2$". We claim that there is an idea of visibility in the semantics of the the verb-particle (*igrok vyshel na pole*), including metaphorical extentions (*vyyti suhim iz vody*).

Non-spatial meanings of *vy-* are based on the idea of an outward movement and carry the same idea of visibility.

Some examples:

- an object increases in its dimensions: *vygnut' spinu, vytyanut' ruki*

- information becomes available by speech acts: *vyboltat' sekret, vyskazat' mnenie, vykriknut' otvet*

- selection of an object or a visible part of it: *vysmotret' kogo-to v tolpe, vybrat' prezidenta.*

We hypothesize that in the examples mentioned above the idea of visibility is present in the semantics of *vy-*. We might expect that the boundary between the two spaces ($S1$ and $S2$) is the boundary of visibility.

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Terminologisation and Determinologisation in Structural and Cognitive Linguistics

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The paper briefly outlines, comments and illustrates a few new subjects (prototypicality, cognitive models, analogical comprehension, etc.) which cognitive linguistics offers to the traditional (structural and functional) theory of terminology and to the semantic analysis of specialized terms. Using the material of medical terminology, it focuses on the processes of direct and indirect nomination in their relation to terminologisation and determinologisation by making use of the findings both of traditional (structural and functional) lexicology and semantics and of the cognitive sciences. It therefore asks questions such as: What significance does information reflecting a naïve, non-specialised view of the world have for terms? How can such information be used in the study of categorisation and conceptualisation of the contents of terms (including metaphorisation as its basis) or in the field of pragmatic meanings of nomination, their changes and perception? A selection of terms and names relating to the human body, its parts and organs, to human health or diseases, etc., is used for confronting a naïve and scientific approach; this means that e.g. natural and scientific categories are confronted or the prototypical comprehension of meanings and concepts. The recognition of prototypical structure is assessed as part of the process of comprehending terms that are simultaneously assessed as units of natural language with a cognitive, referential or also interpersonal and intertextual function. The theoretical starting point about the task of corporeality in human cognition is applied in the analysis of the different kinds of reflection of cognition in medical terminology and hence also of the different kinds of picturing and capturing human corporeality in medical terms as the results of such partial cognition.

Mind/Body Dualism, and Havel's Genres

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How might cognitive science contribute to an understanding of genre? I will treat this broad question strategically through an examination of the genres that Václav Havel has engaged in as a writer and specifically by addressing the generally agreed-upon statement that Havel is – despite his astounding cross-genre productivity – "primarily a playwright".

Perhaps surprisingly, a way of unpacking this characterization and rendering it meaningful beyond the level of a superficial observation or critical cliché can be found in Mark Johnson's most recent book *The Meaning of the Body: Aesthetics of Human Understanding* (2007). Taking recent advances in cognitive science as a jumping-off point, Johnson develops a philosophical argument against mind/body dualism, and his argument also suggests a framework for understanding differences in literary genres that is directly applicable to Havel.

I will focus mainly on contrasting the conceptual contours of the essay-genre and the play-genre and will demonstrate how and why it is only through his plays that Havel's essential message – a message consistent with Johnson's cognitive treatment of meaning – can reach fulfillment.

Subjectification and the East-West Aspect Division

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Slavic aspectologists have frequently observed that the category of verbal aspect in Russian (and the other Slavic languages) is a very subjective category. One of the more interesting observations in this regard has been made by Holden (1990, pp. 150–151), who suggests that the development of Russian aspect is an example of the cognitive tendency to move away from the prototypical perception of events toward viewing reality from "alternative perspectives". However, the subjectivity of Slavic aspect has not in fact been discussed or developed beyond such parenthetical remarks as far as I am aware.

This paper attempts to analyze Russian aspect in terms of a very specific theory of subjectivity, Langacker's (1999, 2000) theory of *subjectification* (a revision of his 1990 version; not to be confused with Traugott's 1995 notion labeled with the same term). In a nutshell, Langacker's subjectification process consists of one whereby a relationship between a trajectory and a landmark becomes less and less motivated by the original, objective basis for its construal as such by a speaker has been replaced by a subjective basis residing "exclusively in the conceptualizer's activity" (Langacker 1999, pp. 152–153).

I identify subjectification in uses of various Russian perfective verbs in the sense that the "result" of the verbal situation is no longer construed as its "objective result". This is shown in the following pair of examples (cf. the discussion in Dickey 2006):

(1) *Ja **napisal**.PF pis'mo.*

   'I wrote a letter.'

(2) ***Popisal**.PF i rešil vot vpečatlenija v etot dnevnik pozapisyvat'.*

   'I wrote some and decided to write down my impressions in this diary.'

In (1), the result is the objectively construed, canonical result of letter-writing: a finished letter. In (2) the result is the satisfaction/state of mind of the subject that leads to the decision to keep a diary. In terms of Langacker's Cognitive Grammar, we may characterize Slavic perfective verbs as profiling the subjective motion of some trajector through a given process to a result

(i.e., the landmark). In (2) the landmark is not the result of the writing by any objective criteria; rather, the trajectory is related to another result, a reference point in the speaker's "here and now". This analysis of the Russian perfective in terms of subjectification is in fact a kind of "mirror image" of Langacker's (1999, pp. 156–159) analysis of the future auxiliary *go*, in which the reference point is the present relative to the future; in the case of Russian past-tense perfective verb forms, the reference point in the present is the final landmark. This subjectification analysis of Russian past-tense verb forms resembles that offered for the English perfect by Carey (1995), though she was working with the older version of subjectification presented by Langacker (1990).

This paper argues for a subjectification analysis of three areas of the Russian perfective category:

1. The usage of *po-* delimitatives, which do not profile canonical results but which nevertheless follow basically the same usage rules as telic perfectives.

2. The requirement for perfective verbs in sequences of Russian narratives, in which case the canonical results of telic perfective verbs overlap with subjectively construed states of affairs that cause subsequent events in the narrative, all of which are under the narrator's *control*.

3. The non-canonical results of *kosvenno-rezul'tativnye* verbs in Russian, e.g., *doležat'sja* 'lie to some negative consequence', which are derived hardly at all outside of East Slavic.

This paper argues that the creation of a large class of delimitative verbs in *po-* in Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian and Bulgarian (cf. point 1 above) was the first step in the subjectification of results of perfective predicates in these languages. This was crucial for the subjectification of results inherent in the requirement for perfective verbs in sequences of events (shared by East Slavic and Bulgarian). The most advanced stage of subjectification of the perfective category has been instantiated by East Slavic, in which reflexive-middle verbs of the *kosvenno-rezul'tativnyj sposob dejstvija* have become productive on a scale unknown in West and South Slavic. To sum up: the subjectification of the construal of results of perfective predicates has produced some crucial differences between East Slavic (and Bulgarian to a lesser degree) and a western group of Slavic languages (Czech, Slovak, Sorbian, Slovene) as well as Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian and Polish.

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Near-synonymy or the Art of Expressing Roughly the Same Meaning

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Near-synonymy or near-sameness of meaning is an intriguing linguistic phenomenon. In a semiotic system characterized by limited lexical resources, near-sameness of meaning seems aberrant: instead of economizing the expressive potential of the language by making a single lexical item express multiple meanings, near-synonymy decreases the language's expressive efficiency by allowing several lexical items to convey (roughly) the same meaning. Yet, what does "(roughly) the same meaning" really mean?

Recently, large-scale corpus-based studies on six Russian TRY verbs and four Finnish THINK verbs (Divjak, submitted; Arppe 2008) have explored the phenomenon of near-synonymy from different angles. A whole battery of statistical techniques, ranging from exploratory techniques to full-blown multifactorial predictive models, has been called to service to explore the similarity of near-synonymous items. Despite the high degree in similarity most near-synonyms display, statistical models manage to correctly predict the choice of one particular verb over one of its near-synonyms in more than half of all cases. And it is contextual information, i.e. structural and lexical information found within sentence boundaries, which allows these models to do so. For Russian, morphological TAM markers as well as the semantics of the subject and infinitive are crucial; for Finnish, the morphological makeup of the verb and the verb-chain it is part of, in combination with the semantic classification of the syntactic arguments linked to these verbs are essential.

In this paper, however, we will focus on contexts in which these Russian and Finnish verbs are virtually interchangeable, i.e. contexts in which the lexeme-wise probability estimates, derived with polytomous logistic regression from contextual features sets, are nearly identical. In such contexts, the six Russian TRY verbs or the four Finnish THINK verbs could be considered "true" synonyms. Yet, even when synonyms do name one and the same thing, they name it in different ways: synonyms present different perspectives on a situation. We will argue that viewing exemplar and prototype theory as two extreme ends of a continuum (cf. Verbeemen et al. 2007) helps us to explain how synonyms manage to convey a highly specific semantic content without a context that supports that meaning. In brief, we will provide

corpus-based evidence supporting the hypothesis that every encounter with a verb contributes to a "cloud" of exemplars from which salient properties are extracted. These properties become part of the lexeme-specific information for each verb – be it called ICM or prototypical usage – and are inferred even when those salient contextual properties are not available.

Such a categorization strategy explains how verbs retain their distinctive character even in the barest of contexts and how the choice for a specific near-synonym can seem marked in a given context. At the same time, it provides an empirical starting point for discussions regarding the lexical basis of grammar, by shedding light on how the lexicon could contain and give rise to a syntactic argument structure and its lexical preferences.

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Semantic Analyzability of Idioms and the Structure of Underlying Metaphor: Russian Phraseology from a Cognitive Perspective

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The aim is to show that the notions of *semantic analyzability* or *decomposability* of an idiom are related to the structure of the metaphor underlying its semantics. Analyzable idioms are expressions of which certain constituents have more or less autonomous meanings in the scope of the actual meaning, cf. *за деревьями не видеть леса* 'not to be able to adequately assess the situation as a whole while paying too much attention to unimportant details of the situation'. This idiom can be considered to be analyzable or decomposable: autonomous meanings can be ascribed to *деревья* (meaning roughly 'the details'), *не видеть* ('not to be able to adequately assess') and *лес* ('the situation as a whole'). In this case, we are dealing with a kind of homomorphism between the structure of the actual meaning and the structure of the underlying metaphor. Homomorphism of this nature is cognitively real, it means that the speakers who know this idiom are able to associate its constituent parts with the corresponding parts of its actual meaning. This leads to the analyzability or decomposability of such expressions including the impact on their discursive behaviour; cf. possible syntactic transformations such as *знания частностей, в котором теряется целое*; *знания деревьев, за которыми не виден лес*. Certain freedom in the discursive behaviour of idioms, including alterations of their lexical and syntactic structure, is typically considered to be the main argument in favour of their semantic analyzability, i.e. semantic autonomy of their constituent parts.

It is reasonable to assume that the semantics is the trigger for the syntactic behaviour of the idiom, and not vice versa. If so, the question arises as to how some idioms are perceived as consisting of relatively autonomous parts whereas others are not. To answer this question, it is necessary to address the underlying conceptual structure, i.e. the mental image standing behind the actual meaning. If the structure of the underlying metaphor homomorphically correlates with the structure of the situation-type, fixed in the actual meaning, the given idiom is semantically analyzable. To say that the structure of the underlying metaphor homomorphically correlates with

the structure of the actual meaning is to say that the participants of the source frame (partly) correspond with the participants of the target frame. In this case we are dealing with analyzable idioms. Cf. *испортить всю обедню, заварить кашу, выпустить пар, сидеть на двух стульях; не в бровь, а в глаз.* If the source frame is mapped on the target frame as a whole, and their lexically expressed participant-slots cannot be put into reasonable correspondences to each other, the idiom is perceived as being non-analyzable. Cf. *дать маху, точить лясы, откинуть коньки, накрыться медным тазом, не отходя от кассы.* As these examples show the idiom may be also well motivated in this case.

Semantic analyzability as well as motivation are cognitively based phenomena, which have no real predicting power. The speakers have to know the overall figurative meaning to be able to (re)construct the links between the conceptual structures involved in the content plane of a given idiom. The way in which they do it varies from speaker to speaker. Also, the degree of semantic analyzability is, to a large extent, an individual phenomenon, i.e. the same as motivation, it is based on interpretive strategies. The consequence is that here we are dealing with tendencies rather than with rules.

Notions such as semantic analyzability belong to the metalevel of linguistic description, i.e. this notion cannot be used to predict, for instance, the discursive behaviour of every particular idiom or to "technically" describe its variation, but it does explain how the underlying cognitive mechanisms work. Though not predictable in detail, the behaviour of idioms in discourse is not absolutely arbitrary. On the contrary, it reveals a certain cognitively-based dependence on relevant conceptual and semantic properties, and above all, the structure of the underlying metaphor.

Crawling Forward: A Multidimensional Scaling Analysis of Path and Manner

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Computational methods such as the Optimal Classification method of multidimensional scaling (MDS-OC) help linguists to reveal conceptual spaces and provide quantitative measures of semantic distance as a means of providing objective evidence for introspective judgments (Clancy 2006; Croft – Poole 2008; Feist 2008). In this paper, we present a pilot study aimed at determining whether evidence from MDS-OC will support and extend observations regarding Talmy's (1985, 2000) influential typology of lexicalization patterns in motion verbs.

We constructed a set of stimuli capable of eliciting linguistic construals of motion. Our stimuli exhaustively permuted 5 paths (aimless, circle, forward, through a door, up some stairs) and 5 manners (crawl, jump, run, twirl, walk), for a total of 25 short videotaped motion events. We then asked speakers of 13 languages (Bengali, Hungarian, Japanese, Tagalog, Thai, Danish, English, French, German, Polish, Romanian, Russian, and Spanish) to provide a brief, natural description of each event. After describing all 25 events, participants were asked to identify the main verb in each of their descriptions.

We submitted the entire set of 214 verb tokens to an MDS-OC analysis. The resulting 2-dimensional solution included a tight cluster representing *crawling* events, looser clusters representing *jumping* and *running* events, and a combined cluster representing *twirling* and *walking* events, underscoring the salience of manner for this language sample.

While the prevalence of manner-salient languages, such as Russian and Polish, in our sample precludes firm conclusions regarding the conceptual space underlying the lexicalization of motion events, we feel that the method shows great promise as a tool for the investigation of lexicalization patterns across naturalistic language descriptions.

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Frequency versus Iconicity Revisited: Differential Object Marking and the Length of Aspect Forms in Russian

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This paper addresses the hotly debated question whether the length of morphological forms is motivated by economy or iconicity. In using differential object marking and the length of aspect forms in Russian as examples I shall show that frequency is a better predictor for the length of morphological forms than are universal markedness or iconicity assignments.

Differential object marking (DOM) stands for the phenomenon that in a number of languages with overt case marking, not all direct objects are marked in the same way. Objects ranking higher on a relevant scale, e.g. the animacy scale or the definiteness scale, are more likely to be overtly case marked. To explain this phenomenon economy-based explanations are proposed, among others, in the literature (e.g. Haspelmath 2008): Inanimate direct objects are more frequent than animate objects and tend therefore to be zero-coded for economic reasons. The present paper shows that there not only are exceptions to these general economy-based explanation of DOM, but that these exceptions can again be explained by frequency distributions in the respective language system: One of the principles of DOM is that, if any patient is overtly case marked, then all patients ranking higher on the animacy scale are at least marked to the same extent (cf. Haspelmath 2005). In Russian we can find counterexamples to this principle in that feminine and neuter animate objects in the plural are zero-coded, while inanimate objects are overtly marked: e.g.

Ja vižu etix ženščin-Ø 'I see these women'

Ja vižu eti dom-a 'I see these houses'

These counterexamples can be explained by the high frequency of the genitive plural that is used to code animate direct objects. Zero-coding of the genitive plural is in any case an economical coding (Fenk-Oczlon 1990).

In Russian DOM is also controlled by gender. In the singular only masculine animate direct objects are differentially case marked. Although there

might be additional functional reasons – there was a case syncretism between the accusative and nominative singular – frequency again seems to be the decisive factor: Animate masculines have a higher token frequency than feminine animates, and in more frequently used categories we meet higher levels of differentiation (Fenk-Oczlon – Fenk 2008).

One might ask why in Russian the genitive instead of the dative is used to mark animate objects, since in a high number of languages with DOM (e.g. Spanish, Hindi, etc.) animate direct objects bear dative case. Again frequency-effects can be taken into account. Before the emergence of the genitive-accusative for animate masculines, objects in the genitive were already quite frequent and therefore familiar (Vlasto 1986, p. 209): In Old Church Slavonic any suitable verb could have partitive objects in the genitive e.g. *prijetu xleba* 'he took bread'. And in sentences with negative verbs the genitive was already in usage: e.g. *ne tvoritu zakona* 'he does not observe the law'.

That the length of morphological forms seems to be motivated by economy and not by iconicity could also be demonstrated on the basis of the Russian aspect-system (Fenk-Oczlon 1990). According to e.g. Jakobson (1939/1971) the perfective is the marked and the imperfective the unmarked aspect. Following the principle of iconicity the perfective should therefore be morphologically more complex. But this does not hold. When analyzing 67 aspectual pairs in terms of their frequency and their word length it could be shown that in 50 out of the 67 aspectual pairs the more frequent partner, perfective or imperfective, was also the shorter one. In six cases the inverse relationship held, in eleven cases no decision could be made.

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Onomatopoeia's Migration to the Inflectional System in Czech: Suffix Selection and its Relationship to Sound Iconicity

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Existing literature notes derivational- and inflectional-like behavior of onomatopoeic expressions (OpEs): e.g. specific components in English OpEs, just like derivational suffixes, create new sound symbolic words with some productivity (Rhodes 1994, pp. 289–90); ideophones may express plurality by means of infixation and prefixation in Semai (Diffloth 1976, p. 253). This presentation will examine contact points between uninflected OpEs and grammar in Czech from a slightly different perspective: sound-iconic selection of derivational suffixes that facilitate integration of "bounded" OpEs into the verbal system in Czech.

OpEs are "bounded" when they represent a closed unit of sound and/or motion; they often consist of a closed syllable with a final obstruent (e.g. *frk* 'small flat objects fluttering within a short temporal interval', *hrc* 'abrupt motion aimed at a specific entity'). They tend to co-occur with adverbials reporting sudden unexpected turn of events in discourse (e.g. *najednou* 'all of a sudden', *vtom* 'at that moment', which are thus often associated with the notion of boundary between two different states). Bounded OpEs are instances of a higher schema [BOUNDED] where a situation S which holds at time $t-1$ no longer holds at time t.

The schema [BOUNDED] is also instantiated by the productive verbal suffix -*nou*- on the lexical level (e.g. *(z)blednout* 'to become pale', *(z)bohatnout* 'to become rich'): change of state. Migration of bounded OpEs through -*nou*-suffixation into the Czech verbal system reflects consistency in the functions of both the root and the suffix. In addition, suffix -*nou*- is the only productive suffix that best preserves the closed syllable of the OpE root, thereby preserving the meaning of bounded-ness within the root itself: *cvak.nout, cvak.nu, cvak/cvak.nul*. Evidently, the suffix selection of bounded OpEs is consistent with sound-meaning association on more than one level.

Suffix selection for secondarily-derived imperfective verbs with bounded OpE-roots presents a slightly more complicated picture. The suffix -*a*- can be added to a bounded OpE root to report an open set of sound/motion units (e.g. *cvaknout* 'to click once' > *cvakat* 'to click indefinite times').

By virtue of being an imperfectivizing suffix, *-a-* obviously instantiates the schema [OPEN]. The suffix also reorganizes the syllable boundaries by opening the originally closed syllable of the root (*cva.kat, cva.kám, cva.kal*); the process liberates the verb forms from the original sound-meaning association [BOUNDED]. In view of a competing productive suffix *-ova-*, however, the motivation for the suffix choice is complete only after considering the sound-meaning association of the vowels /a/ and /a:/ themselves, which instantiate the schema [OPEN] by indicating dispersing energy over a wide area in OpEs (cf. *pšá* 'a call to drive away birds', *cha, chá* 'loud laughter').

My observations suggest the need to include sound iconicity in certain types of derivational processes in the usage-based model (Bybee 2001; Langacker 2002, pp. 261–288). Quantitative data from databases SYN2000 and SYN2005 from the Czech National Corpus and qualitative analyses of near-minimal pairs will be used in support of these claims.

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Intratypological Contrasts: Serbian and English through a Cognitive Linguistics Prism

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This paper presents the results of an intratypological study which was carried out in order to inquire whether the classification of Serbian and English as the same type in Talmy's typology (Talmy 1985, 1991, 2000) can be verified on the basis of extensive and attested corpus and experimental data. Serbian and English are classified as satellite-framed languages because when they lexicalize motion events, the manner component of the event gets expressed in the verb and path in satellites. This is in contrast with Romance languages, for example, which express path in the verb. Although the similarities predicted by the typology are found between English and Serbian lexicalization patterns (e.g. substantial use of manner verbs), a number of differences also seem to emerge.

In the Serbian translation of the English texts the information about manner is omitted on a number of occasions, very much like in Spanish (cf. Slobin 1996, 1997), or a less specific description is given compared to the one in the English original. Another interesting point is that the most frequent manner verbs in Serbian are those prefixed by deictic prefixes, which results in an additional piece of information being habitually present in Serbian original texts but absent from their English translation. For example, the verb *trčati* ('run') cannot be prefixed by a prefix indicating upward movement and a deictically prefixed verb has to be used instead (*ot-/do-trčati* = 'from/to-run'). I shall explain the processes that drive the lexicalization of motion events in Serbian, which are termed morphological blocking and combinatory potential (Filipović 2007). These two morphosyntactic processes restrict the freedom of verb-prefix combinations and the combinability of prefixed manner verbs with directional prepositions in motion expressions respectively. As a result, the use of manner verbs is much more restricted in Serbian than in English. I shall illustrate how morphological blocking restricts further imperfectivization in Serbian and thus blocks the use of manner verbs in situations like 'He was limping into the house'. Such events have to be rendered in Serbian using a directional verb (as in 'He entered the house limping'.), thus resembling the verb-framed pattern. Combinatory potential, which is measured by the number of different prepositions that can follow a verb, makes it possible to explain why certain prefixed manner verbs have much

higher frequencies in corpus and dictionary data. The two deictic prefixes *od-* ('from-the-speaker/scene') and *do-* ('to-the-speaker/scene') have the highest combinatory potential because they can combine with all the prepositions and can also be followed by more than one preposition at a time, thus providing the most economical lexicalization of complex motion events. In contrast, the prefix *pod-* ('under'), for example, has the lowest combinatory potential because verbs prefixed by *pod-* can only combine with its phonetically equivalent preposition (*(is)pod* 'under') and cannot be followed by more than one preposition. I shall also discuss the implications of the results for second language acquisition, translation and further cross-linguistic comparison with other Slavic languages such as Czech and Russian.

Conditional Use of the Perfective Present in Russian

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In Russian the standard way to express a conditional relation between two
situations is by using the conditional adverb *если* 'if', but there are also other
conditional constructions that do not contain an explicit conditional form.
One of them is the conditional perfective present construction, henceforth
also CPPC:

(1) *Расскажешь*.PP кому – убью! (В. Пелевин, Синий фонарь)

    '(If) you *tell* anyone, I'll kill you.'

(2) *Пересадят*.PP почку – откажет печень. *Прооперируют*.PP желу-
    док – оторвётся тромб. (Коммерсантъ- Власть, 35, 2000.09.05)

    '(If) they *transplant* a kidney, the liver will fail. (If) they *operate* on
    the stomach, a thrombus will come loose.'

(3) А почему бы вам не организовать продажу ваших вещей у нас, за
    Уралом? *Появятся*.PP костюмы – уверена, появятся и желающие
    их шить и носить. (Народное творчество, 2004.02.16)

    'And why not organize a sale of your things here at the other side of
    the Ural- mountains? (If/When/As soon as) the costumes *appear*, I am
    sure, those who wish to sow and wear them will appear as well.'

In recent years there has been an increasing interest in conditional con-
structions without conditional markers in Slavic (e.g. Fortuin – Boogaart, to
appear, who deal with the Russian conditional imperative; Voitenkova 2001,
who discusses several conditional constructions in Russian; and Dancygier –
Trnavac 2007, who provide an overview of conditional constructions without
conditional conjunction in Polish and Serbian). Even though the conditional
perfective present is mentioned or briefly discussed by several linguists, there
are no analyses that are specifically devoted to this topic, with the excep-
tion of the comprehensive overview given by Voitenkova (2001). However,
a corpus based study, which systematically analyzes the semantics and syn-
tax of the construction and tries to give an explanation for the semantic and
syntactic features of this construction, is still missing. The primary goal of

this paper is to provide such an analysis of the conditional perfective present construction, henceforth also CPPC:

(i) What is the meaning of the CPPC, and what are the specific usage types of this construction? What is the difference in meaning between the CPPC and other conditional constructions, specifically sentences with *если*?

(ii) What are the semantic-syntactic features of the CPPC (e.g. use of the perfective present, absence of correlators such as *mo* 'than' or *u* 'and', etc.).

(iii) How can we explain the specific semantic and syntactic features of the CPPC?

In answering question (iii) I will also briefly look at similar constructions in other Slavic languages.

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The Lexis, Culture and Concept of FATE (SUD'BA): A Usage-Based and Contrastive Study in Russian and Ukrainian

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One if the greatest challenges that Cognitive Semantics faces is developing rigorous and testable methods of analysis. The study of Idealised Cognitive Models (Lakoff 1987) represents the most difficult field of enquiry in these terms. This study assumes a usage-based model of language (Langacker 1988), and seeks to develop corpus-driven techniques for the analysis of conceptual structure.

How can we scientifically answer questions such as how are FATE and DESTINY conceptualised? Moreover, how can we answer these questions in a sufficiently fine-grained manner to allow us to identify changes in how these concepts are structured in a given culture or to contrast closely related cultures. Traditional approaches to Cognitive Models (Lakoff 1987, Wierzbicka 1997) have drawn on linguistic evidence, such as systematicity of source domain references for a given concept. However, the approach remains largely *ad hoc* and treats all language examples equally. This method falters for two reasons. Firstly, even combined with native speaker intuition, the use of lexicons and thesauri can only give a fraction of the complexity and subtly of language. For example, all expressions are treated equally, regardless of currency, axiology, or attitudes towards their use. Concepts in language and culture change, and this kind of change may be reflected in how speakers actually use expressions that may belong to an earlier era. Secondly, there is little or no way of verifying the findings. Corpus-driven research of semantic structure may not be more objective, but it affords various means for the verification of the results, through either repeat investigation or the use of confirmatory statistics to judge the accuracy and significance of the findings.

This study takes the Cognitive Corpus Methods for lexical semantic analysis developed recently (Schmid, Geeraerts, Gries, Divjak, Glynn) and applies them to conceptual analysis. To do this, we systematically examine the use of lexemes denoting FATE (*dolia*, *fart*, *rok*, *sud'ba*, *suždeno*, *učast*, *žrebij*, *zvezda* and Ukrainian equiv.) in both Russian and Ukrainian. The Ukrainian data are taken from a corpus of modern informal language compiled from on-line

personal diaries and from discussion groups on contemporary political issues. The Russian data are taken from the Modern Text and Spoken parts of the Russian National corpus, supplemented with comparable on-line diaries. In total, some 1000 examples are manually annotated for a wide range of formal, semantic, and discursive factors. The results of the analysis are then treated with multifactorial exploratory statistical techniques such as Multiple Correspondence Analysis. Certain findings are then treated using Logistic Regression in order to confirm the tendencies and ascertain the explanatory accuracy of the factors considered.

The findings clearly suggest that despite their similarity, Russian and Ukrainian differ on certain important points: Ukrainian conceptualises FATE as part of something; especially as something shared between people. Russian, on the other hand, conceptualises FATE as an 'effect' that a higher power has over one's life. Moreover, by examining the words belonging to more familiar registers and genres of language, an emerging Russian and Ukrainian understanding of these concepts is revealed. This lies in contrast to the literary concept that has been well studied. Future research needs to extend this study to consider these registers as well as diachronic factors to properly determine the diachronic results and confirm the hypothesis that such concepts are changing.

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Syntactic Reduction in Sentence Production: An Analysis of Russian Speech Errors

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This paper reports a study of about 200 Russian speech errors (slips of the tongue) that entail unintentional reduction of a target syntactic structure. The scope of such errors is typically a noun/verb phrase or a clause, e.g. a noun phrase is reduced to a single noun, with the stem of the modifier substituted for the stem of the head noun, and a compound sentence is reduced to a simple sentence, with the stem of a lexeme from the subordinate clause filling the slot of a word in the main clause.

Errors of this type can be captured by assuming that they occur when the computational load on the sentence production mechanism is too high to complete the lexical retrieval in time to fill all the slots of the target syntactic structure. It appears that in such cases an available entity intended for a less salient position in the structure may be assigned a higher grammatical function for the sake of ensuring the grammatical coherence of the utterance whereas its intended slot is left unfilled, which results in the reduction of the target syntactic structure.

Such structure reduction errors suggest the existence of feedback from the lexeme level to the lemma level because the intruder stem eventually surfaces as a grammatically acceptable word form which respects agreement rules: in many cases, it has to change not only its grammatical function but also its syntactic category to accommodate the constraints of the "alien" slot that it claims. Many of the structure reduction errors cannot be accommodated by the sentence production models that assume that syntactic information is represented exclusively at the lemma level (e.g. Levelt et al. 1999). Instead, they provide supportive evidence for the view that syntactic information is not immediately linked to lexical entries and can be processed independently (e.g. Chang et al. 2006).

A possible implication for sentence information structure is that the intruder stem which eventually fills the "alien" slot, claiming a higher syntactic function, seems to represent the most semantically and pragmatically salient information or the most salient meaning component.

In sum, it appears that during sentence production the processing mechanism strives to ensure the coherence of an utterance at all costs, so when the computational load is too high to retrieve all the target lexemes, it copes

with the problem by using the available lexemes to fill the more prominent slots of the syntactic structure at the expense of sacrificing the less prominent syntactic positions. The data suggest that syntactic structures are not necessarily lexically anchored and that entities representing semantically and pragmatically salient information are likely to claim higher syntactic functions.

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A Semantic Functional Analysis of the Dative in New Czech

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In this paper I analyze the 3,141 dative forms included in the corpus in order to observe the semantic functional configuration of the Czech dative in the language written in the middle of the XIXth century (both in dialogical and non-dialogical context). My theoretical framework is mainly based on George Lakoff's cognitive semantic development and, particularly, on Laura Janda and Steven Clancy's recently published work *The Case Book for Czech*. In their book, Janda and Clancy divide the semantics of the Czech dative into three basic meanings: 1) DATIVE, A RECEIVER, 2) DATIVE, AN EXPERIENCER and 3) DATIVE, A COMPETITOR. I have added a fourth type of the semantic functional structure: the transitional dative that relates and connects all three types of dative drawing a continuous semantic map of the Czech dative. However, with regard to the design of my own framework applied to the corpus, as well as for theoretical and more abstract considerations, I was heavily influenced by Janda's *A Geography of Case Semantics: The Czech Dative and the Russian Instrumental*.

For my analysis of the so-called New Czech (since approx. 1775) I have chosen The Grandmother (Babička) by Božena Němcová. This novel, first published in 1855, is an archetype of the Czech literature of the XIXth century. By studying this work I try to analyze the features of the Czech language of this century and compare them with the results obtained from the previous phases of the development of the Czech language – an early XIVth century chronicle, the Chronicle of Dalimil (Dalimilova Kronika), and the translation of Holy Gospels by Jan Blahoslav printed for the first time in 1564 – and with the Czech language spoken and written nowadays represented by Bohumil Hrabal's novel Closely Watched Trains (Ostře sledované vlaky).

Among the most remarkable conclusions of the analysis I observe a high degree of presence of the Czech verb *dát* 'give' in the texts. As a result, I confirm the arguments used by the specialists in order to proclaim the verb 'give' as the prototype of the dative case.

Another important conclusion is the enormous increase of the semantics DATIVE, AN EXPERIENCER in New Czech, mainly due to the high per-

centage observed in possessive dative and dative reflexive pronouns *si/sobě*, particularly if these express a benefit for the self.

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Russian Causative Connectives: *потому что* vs. *поскольку* vs. *потому как*

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If event/state *A* caused event/state *B*, the relationship between these two events/states is causative. *Она спит, потому что устала.* ('She is asleep because she is tired.') Being tired caused her to fall asleep. These states are connected by *потому что*, hence it is a causative connective.

The events/states *A* and *B* may not be directly connected; there may be a chain of intermediate events/states that explains the causative relationship. *Она спит, потому что работала ночью.* ('She is asleep because she worked at night.') This means *working at night* (*A*1) caused her *to be tired* (*A*2) and therefore she is asleep (*B*). *A*1 triggered *A*2 and *A*2 triggered *B*.

Поскольку on the other had has an explanatory function: *а сейчас он спит поскольку у них там ночь!* ('and now he is asleep because it is night over there'). The fact that *it is night* is not the immediate or intermediate cause of someone's being asleep, it is the background cause thus it explains why one is asleep at a given moment which happens to be night.

Потому как also typically appears in sentences that represent background cause. But in addition to having an explanatory function, it also has an illocutionary function. Talking about a pet animal: *Животное по большей части спит, потому как ведет ночной образ жизни.* ('The animal mostly sleeps [when one observes it] because it has a nocturnal way of life.') In other words, whenever one would look at the animal, presumably in the daytime it would be asleep because of its nocturnal life style. One may be surprised seeing the animal asleep all the time, while in fact it does have waking hours. *Потому как* explains statements that may be strange, not clear or not obvious to the hearer. It may seem strange or unusual that an animal is usually asleep. *Потому как* has the illocutionary function which could be summarized as follows 'you may be surprised by *X*, I will explain why *X*'.

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Multiple Prefixation and the Structure of Verb Stem in Russian

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Background. It has been recently proposed (Babko-Malaya 1999, Ramchand 2004, Svenonius 2004, DiScuillo – Slabakova 2005, Romanova 2006) that prefixes in Russian and other Slavic languages fall into two groups, **lexical** and **superlexical**. Superlexicals include the cumulative *на-* (*набрать грибов*), delimitative *по-* (*посидеть в кресле*), inchoative *за-* (*запеть песню*), distributive *пере-* (*перестрелять всех врагов*), repetitive *пере-* (*перечитать книгу*), completive *до-* (*дописать статью*), attenuative *под-* (*подустать*) and a few others. Superlexicals possess a stable and easily identifiable meaning (Babko-Malaya 1999), affect the argument structure of a verb stem in a predictable way (Svenonius 2004) and, most significantly, occur outside lexical prefixes if a verb stem happens to contain both a lexical and a superlexical item, cf. *на-за- бивать гвоздей в стену* and **за-на-*бивать*, *по-за- писывать диски* and **за- по-п исывать*, *пере- открывать все двери* and **от- пере- крывать*, etc.

Proposal. We argue that superlexical prefixes fall into tw distinct classes that differ as to how their distribution is constrained. One of those classes contains prefixes that show a **selectional restriction (SR)** on co-occurrence with the verb stem: the stem has to be imperfective, (1a). SR-prefixes are the cumulative *на-*, delimitative *по-*, inchoative *за-*, and distributive *пере-*. Another class of prefixes exhibit a **positional restriction (PR)**: in the hierarchical structure of the stem, the prefix has to be located below the secondary imperfective morpheme *-ыва-*, (1b). PR-prefixes include repetitive *пере-*, completive *до-*, and attenuative *под-*.

Discussion. Evidence supporting the above proposal comes from multiple prefixation and secondary imperfectivization facts.

Selectional properties of superlexicals. SR-prefixes can occur in combination with simplex imperfective stems (*на- вари -ть*, *по- чита-ть*, *за- бегать*, *пере- стреля- ть*) and secondary imperfective stems, (2). They are systematically ungrammatical if attached to perfective stems, either simplex, (3), or derived by prefixation, (4). PR-prefixes do not

exhibit selectional restrictions and readily combine with simplex imperfective stems in (5), simplex perfective stems in (6) and prefixed perfective stems in (7).

Positional properties of superlexicals. In hierarchical terms, PR-prefixes can only attach inside the secondary imperfective morpheme *-ыва-*, that is, must merge with a stem earlier than *-ыва-*. If a PR-prefix co-occurs with *-ыва-*, the overall stem is obligatorily imperfective, hence imperfectivization by *-ыва-* happens later than prefixation. This is shown in (8a–c) for verbs where the starting point of the derivation is a simplex imperfective stem. In (9a–c), prefixed perfective stems undergo the same derivation. Alternative (ungrammatical) derivations where prefixation and secondary imperfectivization occur in the reverse order are demonstrated in (9a'–c'). SR-prefixes are not subject to this restriction: (10a–c) illustrate verbs where SR-prefixes attach later then the secondary imperfective morpheme.

The above generalizations make a number of non-trivial predictions about a possible verb stem in Russian. Due to space limitations we only provide one illustration: if an SR-prefix attaches on top of a PR-prefix, then, hierarchically, the secondary imperfective morpheme must have merged in between, (11).

Conclusion. Constraints on prefixation discussed in this paper seem to confirm linguistic and cognitive reality of the hierarchical organization of the verb stem in Russian. It is this hierarchical structure that enables productive derivation of multiply prefixed verbs which obey at the same time severe morphological constraints.

Examples (non-elicited)

(1)   a. SR-prefixes: *[SR-prefix [Stem.[PF]]]

      b. PR-prefix: *[PR-prefix . . . [-ыва-. . . [Stem]]]

(2)   a. **На-[от-крыва]**.IMPF**-ли** детских садов целый город, а мебели не дают.

      b. Запустил программу, записывающую действия на экране, и немного **по-[запис-ыва]**.IMPF**-л**, что и как.

      c. Мальчик вдруг заиграл, **за-[заби-ва]**.IMPF**-л** и стал звездой всей Европы.

      d. Долго искал утилитки для подобной работы, **пере-[спраш-ива]**.IMPF**-л** всех друзей.

(3) a. ***На-[да]**.PF-**ла** (^{OK}**на-[[да]**.PF-**ва]**.IMPF-**ла**) ему пощёчин.

   b. *Посидим, **по-[реши]**.PF-**м** (^{OK}**по-[[реш]**.PF-**а]**.IMPF-**ем**) вопросы.

   c. *Ему показалось, что он наконец **за-[ощути]**.PF-**л** (^{OK}**за-[[о-щущ]**.PF **-а]**.IMPF-**л**) свою душу.

   d. *Я успел запустить семь или восемь самолетиков, **пере-[бро-си]**.PF-**л** (^{OK}**пере-[[брос]**.PF-**а]**.IMPF-**л**) все дротики в мишень.

(4) a. ***На-[от-кры]**.PF-**ли**

   b. #**по-[за-писа]**.PF-**л**

   c. ***за-[заби]**.PF-**л**

   d. #**пере-[спроси]**.PF-**л**

(5) a. Пока ещё не **до-[писа]**.IMPF-**нному** роману предстоит не долгая жизнь.

   b. Она не **пере-[чита]**.IMPF-**ла**, а переанализировала «Горе от ума».

   c. Индекс РТС умудрился даже немного **под-[рас]**.IMPF-**ти.**

(6) a. Получателям бюджетных средств пообещали **до-[да]**.PF-**ть** денег.

   b. Сначала все были «за», а потом вдруг **пере-[реши]**.PF-**ли**.

   c. А Юру, похоже действительно, **под-[обиде]**.PF-**ли**.

(7) a. Остальные приезжали до-[**об-суди**].PF-**ть** начатое во время занятий.

   b. Президент РФ **пере-[у-тверди]**.PF-**л** председателя Рязанского суда.

   c. Люди вынуждены искать, где **под-[за-работа]**.PF-**ть**.

(8) a. Сижу [[**до-[уч]**.IMPF].PF-**ива**].IMPF-**ю** философию.

   b. Я [[**пере-[дел]**.IMPF].IMPF-**ыва**].IMPF-**ю** весь план работы.

   c. Вода с пруда [[**под-[тапл]**.IMPF].PF-**ива**].IMPF-**ет** Березники в районе гаражей.

(9) a. Он [[**до-[заби]**.PF].PF-**ва**].IMPF-**ет** документы из анкеты в программу.

a'. *[**до-**[[**за-би**].PF-**ва**].IMPF].PF-**ть**

b. [[**пере-**[**за-пис**].PF].PF-**ыва**].IMPF-**ю** начисто партии бас-гитары.

b'. *[**пере-**[[**за-пис**].PF-**ыва**].IMPF].PF-**ть**

c. Стараюсь деньги не снимать, а [[**под-**[**накапл**].PF].PF-**ива**].IMPF-**ю**.

c'. *[**под-**[[**накапл**].PF-**ива**].IMPF].PF-**ть**

(10) a. Был чувак, который [**на-**[[**откры**].PF-**ва**].IMPF].PF-**л** уйму законов физики.

b. А я еще немного ногами двери [**по-**[[**откры**].PF-**ва**].IMPF].PF-**л**.

c. Парень чуток очнулся и [**за-**[[**откры**].PF-**ва**].IMPF].PF-**л**, выпучивая, глаза.

d. [**Пере-**[[**откры**].PF-**ва**].IMPF].PF-**л** все холодильники ЭлДжи.

(11) a. Нафантазировал, напридумывал, [**на-**[[**до-**[**пис**].IMPF].PF-**ыва**].IMPF].PF-**л**, но ведь все ключевые события изображены верно!

b. Надо еще несколько раз будет [**по-**[[**пере-**[**за-пис**].IMPF].PF-**ыва**].IMPF].PF-**ть** один и тот же DVD+RW.

c. В своё время [**по-**[[**под-**[**рабат**].IMPF].PF-**ыва**].IMPF].PF-**л** грузчи ком/монтажником.

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Describing Motion Events in Czech

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This study reports on how biological motion events are coded in Czech, and compares it with English. According to Talmy's (1985) typological framework, both Czech and English fall into the group of satellite-framed languages, which predicts the existence of similarities in how these two languages map concepts on to lexical items and grammatical categories.

The aim of this study was to explore how native adult Czech speakers, pre-school Czech children and adult L2 speakers of Czech describe more and less typical running, walking, crawling and climbing actions. The data were compared against a control group of monolingual speakers of English. It was hypothesised that biological motion events would predominantly elicit the use of basic-level verbs. The prediction was that Czech adults' responses would be more varied overall because of their broader vocabulary but for more prototypical events they would be more uniform across speakers. The children would use predominantly basic-level verbs with a greater variation among them within the different types of motion, as their semantic categories are less well established. The hypothesis for the L2 speakers' responses was that they would be less varied than those of native speakers'; more basic-level expressions would be used, especially in the case of less prototypical events. They will also be affected by native language transfer, for example in the case of the crawling and climbing verbs which shows a slightly different division of meaning in the two languages.

The study was primarily descriptive and data-driven. 30 pre-school Czech children, 20 native adult speakers of Czech, 10 speakers of Czech as a second language (L2), and 14 English adult speakers were tested using the set up presented in Dimitrova-Vulchanova et al. (in press). The experiment consisted of 46 short clips of animals and persons performing various actions. Out of these, 29 test items depicted more or less typical examples of the four biological motions – walking, running, crawling and climbing.

The results confirmed the hypothesis that all speakers prefer using basic-level verbs to describe these motion events. The descriptions of the Czech adults were more diverse than those of the English adults because Czech has a broader range of near-synonymous basic-level verbs. Some differences were found in how Czech and English divide and lexicalise the different motion categories. For example, there is a clear-cut distinction between English

crawl and climb while the Czech the verb *lézt* can denote both crawling and climbing motion events, and it can also be used for less typical walking events where the motion is slow or the body of the agent close to the surface. The L2 speakers transferred some of their English concepts into Czech, and, in contrast to the Czech adults, both the children and the L2 speakers unexpectedly preferred indeterminate verbs.

Another general trend in the data was the overt encoding of Path/Direction of motion where these were not prototypical.

The study provides a description of how the concepts of motion events are mapped on verbs in Czech, compares them with English, and also explores how the same process takes place in two different groups of learners. The findings can serve as a foundation for further research on Czech as well as other cross-linguistic investigations of dynamic spatial relations.

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THINK and BELIEVE in Polish: A Search for Semantic Motivation in Construction Patterns

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The aim of the paper is to present preliminary results of a study constituting part of a larger project concerning three concepts, i.e. REASON, BELIEF and EMOTION. The present study focuses on the first two concepts in Polish, lexically represented by verbs *myśleć* 'to think' and *wierzyć* 'to believe' and lexico-grammatical constructions that they go into in order to observe the contribution of aspect, object case and prepositional phrases to the meaning of the verbs.

First, some tendencies in lexico-grammatical patterns of the concepts of thinking and believing are analysed as they appear in the Polish PWN Corpus. Although the concepts are expressed by constructions larger than a word, we focus on the verbs *myśleć* 'to think' and *wierzyć* 'to believe' in the corpus so as to extract constructions in which the verbs appear. The investigation reveals some interesting construction patterns of the verb usage in terms of frequency, collocational fixedness, aspect marking and the choice of object. This corpus-based search has been undertaken with the view to determining whether particular usage patterns are arbitrary or whether the regularities are conceptually and semantically based. Relying on the postulates offered by Dąbrowska (1997), Janda (1993, 2004), Rudzka-Ostyn (2000), Tabakowska (1993, 2001) and others, the study shows a practical application of how analytical and synthetic case in combination with aspect contribute to verb semantics. The analysis depicts how construction patterns are semantically motivated and how the constituent linguistic elements complement one another, with their predicates contributing, in Langackerian terms, to the conceptualisation of the whole scene.

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Statistical Profiling as a Measure of Idiomaticity

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This paper introduces a new statistical method to investigating a construction. This method, which I refer to as statistical profiling, is an application of a statistical approach close to collostructional analysis developed by S. Gries and A. Stefanowitsch (Stefanowitsch – Gries 2003, 2005; Gries – Stefanowitsch 2004 and others). It explores which words occur in a slot of a construction most frequently and how that frequency list for a slot is changed if another slot is filled. Based on the construction grammar approaches (such as Fillmore 1988; Fillmore – Kay 1995; Goldberg 1995, 2006 and others) it can be assumed that significant change in the filling of a slot results from any restriction posed on that slot, therefore such change signals that we are dealing with a new construction that is characterized with new restrictions.

Let us consider an example of the Russian "in groups" construction. This construction consists of a subject, a verb and a plural noun in the instrumental case that refers to a way in which the subjects are grouped, see (1).

(1) *V   otdel'nyx   kvartirax   stalo   legče   sobirat'sja*
   in   one-family   apartments   became   easier   gather

   bol'šimi   gruppami.
   large   groups

In one-family apartments it became easier to gather in large groups.

[Aleksandr Zinov'ev. Russkaja sud'ba, ispoved' otščepenca (1988–1998)]

Table 1 shows the distribution of most frequent filler nouns for the "group" variable. The column labeled "corpus" shows how many examples of each group are found in the RNC[1]. The column labeled "gather" shows how many examples of that group are found with the verb *sobirat'sja* 'gather'. The column labeled "prediction" gives us the number of examples that would occur with the verb 'gather', if that distribution were similar to the overall distribution in the corpus. As you can see from Table 1 this verb is a typical filler for the verb slot (a chi square test shows $p = 0.13$)[2].

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[1] The Russian National Corpus (www.ruscorpora.ru)

[2] A chi square test shows that the difference in distribution is statistically significant if p is less than 0.05. Here the difference is not significant suggesting that *sobirat'sja* 'gather' does not significantly change the construction.

groups	translation	corpus	gather	prediction
gruppami	groups	77	27	33.06
tolpami	crowds	64	24	27.30
kučkami	clusters	34	23	14.52
stajami	flocks	17	7	7.26
stajkami	small flocks	6	4	2.75

Table 1: Distribution of groups in the "in groups" construction compared to "gather in groups"

Table 2 demonstrates how the group variable is connected to the subject variable. The column labeled "corpus" shows how many examples of each type of subject are found in the RNC. The column labeled "in flocks" shows how many examples of each type of subject are found with *stajami* 'in flocks' filling the "group" slot. The last column shows the number of examples that would occur with 'in flocks' if the distribution were similar to the overall distribution. It can be seen that among the subjects that can be used with 'in flocks', the highest values are obtained for birds, animals and fish, while the "in groups" construction most frequently is used with people as subjects. This difference is statistically significant (chi square test shows $p \leq 0.0001$). We can see that meaning of *staja* 'flock' has affected the restrictions on the subject variable, changing its type preference. Thus the "in flocks" construction is a more idiomatic construction which has restrictions on the variables the original construction does not.

type of the subject	corpus[3]	in flocks	prediction
people	83	3	21.58
inanimate objects	10	4	2.60
fish	3	2	0.78
plants	1	2	0.26
birds	1	8	0.26
insects	1	1	0.26
animals	1	6	0.26

Table 2: Distribution of subjects of the "in groups" construction compared to "in flocks"

To sum up, statistical profiling provides a measure of how far the con-

struction has moved on the scale of syntax vs. lexicon continuum (Croft 2001, p. 17). In addition it demonstrates what kind of restrictions on the variable the new construction has.

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Subject, Subjecthood and Subjectivity

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In my presentation, I explore the usage of one impersonal construction type in Russian. The theoretical framework builds on construction grammar (Goldberg 1995, 2006) and on the concept of subjectivity (Langacker 1990; Verhagen 2005). The discussion is based on corpus material. In this presentation, I will argue that the construction type manifests a subjective construal of an event, i.e. the event is construed from the point of view of the experiencer.

The construction type in question has distinct characteristics: the experiencer is encoded in the dative case, the verb is marked with the reflexive marker (*-sja*) and, additionally, a modifier is an obligatory element. The Example 1 demonstrates the typical manifestation of this construction type (cf. Janko-Trinickaja 1962; Zolotova 2000). However, the comparison of the Examples 2 and 3 shows that the subjective construction renders the event in a state. In Example 2, the experiencer lacks only the state of running, but the state does not prohibit performing the action. In contrast, using two actional events in conjunction with negation yields a semantically questionable sentence as in Example 3.

(1)

Но	*мне*	*почему-то*	*бега-ет-ся*	*на*	*таком*
But	I-DAT	some reason	run-.3.SNG.PRE-RM	PR	that

покрыт-ии	*лег-че.*
pavement-PREP	easily-COMP

'But for some reason it's easier for me to run on that kind of pavement.'

[Волжский Комсомолец (Самара). 04.02.2005]

(2)

Я	*бег-у*	–	*не*	*беж-ит-ся* [. . .].
I-NOM	run-1.SNG.PRE	–	not	run-3.SNG.PRE-RM

'I'm running – although I don't feel like running.'

[Коношские ведомости. 03.04.2003]

(3) ?

Я	*бег-у*	–	*не*	*бег-у.*
I-NOM	run-1.SNG.PRE	–	not	run-1.SNG.PRE

? 'I'm running – I am not running'

The presentation consists of two sections. In the first section, the concept of subjectivity is elaborated and, especially, how subjectivity pertains to this particular construction type. The theoretical basis of subjectivity is well-established in the cognitive framework. However, defining the subjectivity of this construction solely in terms of dative encoding would lead to a circular argumentation. Moreover, a theoretical account on subjectivity is faced with the situation of how to validate structurally the subjective status of a certain construction type. (cf. Aaron – Cacoullos 2005). Thus, if the construction type in question is, indeed, a manifestation of subjective construal of an event, then the construction type should be accompanied by structural cues which can be used to measure the degree of subjectivity. A set of structural features are proposed that are in return used in a corpus-based study to evaluate the possible subjectivity of this construction type. Thus, the analysis proposed in this presentation demonstrates that the non-canonical encoding of the subject of this construction is semantically motivated and, additionally, offers a theoretical model to access subjectivity from a cognitive corpus linguistic perspective.

In the second section, the subjecthood of the dative encoded argument is discussed. Although, the dative encoded argument does not trigger verb agreement, the dative argument shows behavioural patterns that are typically associated to canonical subjects in nominative-accusative languages, for instance the dative argument can be covertly encoded without changing the internal referential relation as is demonstrated in Example 2.

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Event Structure of Czech Verbs with the Suffix *-nou-*: Jackendoff's Perspective

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My paper deals with the lexical conceptual structure of the momentaneous events in Czech, represented prototypically by semelfactive verbs with the specific morphological marker – suffix *-nou-*, such as in

(1) *Pobaveně na mě mrknul.*
Amused, he winked at me. (once)

On the background of these instances, the paper sets itself three aims:

i) to examine the contexts in which (some) semelfactive stems allow for the non-momentaneous, i.e. durative (while still telic) reading, e.g.

(2) *Prádlo uschlo za hodinu.*
The laundry dried up in an hour.

ii) to examine the relation between semelfactives and the verbs ending at *-at* (*mrkat, kopat, cucat*), usually interpreted as either iterative, or durative (or even both) and said not to make a (proper) aspectual pair with the semelfactives.

(3) *Chvíli rychle mrkal(, až to smítko z oka vyplavily slzy).*
He winked (repeatedly) for a while (until the tears washed out the speck).

(4) *(Když jsem vycházel ze školy,) zrovna plival na chodník.*
When I was leaving the school, (at that moment) he spat at the pavement.

iii) to correlate the momentaneous/durative distinction to the telic/atelic distinction in Czech.

As for the theoretical framework, the paper focuses on the potential of the representation of the (continuously shifting) verbal meanings within Jackendoff's model of event structure.

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Verbal Aspect and Yes-No-Questions in Russian

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Impf verbal predicates denoting situations which are not conceptualized as progressive, as 'ongoing', allow two fundamentally different interpretations: an actual one and a non-actual one. Each of the two possible interpretations is based on a different conceptual level. In the actual interpretation, an impf non-progressive predicate refers to one or more concrete situations occupying a well-defined place in time and space; in the non-actual interpretation the predicate refers to the "type" of situation and thus to situations that are potentially locatable in time, but not related concretely on the time axis.

In my talk I would like to show in which way the distinction between actual and non-actual reference—between token- and type-conceptualization of situations—is relevant for aspect usage in *yes-no*-questions.

A *yes-no*-question in the impf aspect such as *Vy uže ↑delali remont v kvartire?* (literally: 'You already did renovation[s] in [an/the] apartment?') can, on the one hand, denote an actual situation. The actual interpretation of this question occurs when it refers to a situation that the speaker assumes is already known to the hearer, for example when the question refers to repairs that the hearer had planned or which were mentioned in the preceding discourse, as shown in (1).

(1)   – *Vy uže ↑delali*.IMPF *remont v kvartire, kak vy namerevalis'*.PF?
      – *Da, uže delali*.IMPF. *Ves' parket prišlos'*.PF *zanovo pereselit'*.PF.

      – 'Did you already do the renovation in the apartment, as you intended?'
      – 'Yes, we did. We had to relay the entire parquet.'

In this actual reading of the question, we have an instance of the so-called aspectual competition, as the question could also contain a pf verb:

(1a)   – *Vy uže ↑sdelali*.PF *remont v kvartire, kak vy namerevalis'*.PF?
       – *Da, uže sdelali*.IMPF. *Teper' vse v porjadke.*

       – 'Did you already do the renovation in the apartment, as you intended?'

– 'Yes, we did. Everything's okay now.'

In the context of an actual situation, the category of aspect functions to present the same situation from different perspectives. The impf aspect presents the situation from an internal perspective, whereby the process of the situation becomes the focus of the discourse. Thus, in the impf version the question concerns the way the situation in question proceeded and not its result. The potential culmination point inherent in the verbal situation is excluded from view, ignored. On the other hand, the pf version gives an external perspective on the situation, including its inherent limit. In contrast to the impf version, the pf question asks whether the culmination point was reached, and thus whether the result was achieved. In the actual interpretation, both the impf and the pf versions of the question refer to a unique, 'definite' situation, which the speaker assumes is known to the hearer. Thus, in a language with an article system such as English or German, the corresponding verbal noun must be definite in an existential-sentence paraphrase of the question:

(1b) Did **the** apartment-renovation take place already?

Hat **die** Wohnungsrenovierung schon stattgefunden?

However, questions such as *Vy uže ↑delali remont v kvartire?* also allow a non-actual interpretation. This would occur, for example, if the speaker were asking whether the apartment had ever been renovated before.

(2) – *Vy uže ↑delali remont v kvartire?*
  – *Da, uže delali. Daže dva raza.*

  – 'Did you already do a renovation in the apartment?'
  – 'Yes, we did. Twice even.'

In this second interpretation, the question in the impf aspect does not refer to a unique situation that the speaker assumes the listener knows about and can identify, but rather refers generally to the kind or type of situation denoted by the impf verb. Therefore, in an article language such as English or German, the corresponding verbal noun must be indefinite in an existential-sentence paraphrase of the question:

(2a) Has **an** apartment-renovation already taken place?

Hat schon **eine** Wohnungsrenovierung stattgefunden?

As in the non-actual interpretation the question is not related to a situation which is unique in the situational context, but to the type (kind) of the situation denoted by the verb, the answer *Da, uže delali* 'Yes, we did' is unclear as to whether the situation already took place on one or more occasions. All that is communicated is that a renovation of the apartment has taken place on at least one occasion. In contrast to the actual interpretation, the question in its non-actual interpretation cannot be switched to the pf aspect, because pf verbs always conceptualize the situation denoted as actual. That is to say, in the non-actual interpretation the aspect opposition is neutralized: in this case, the impf aspect does not express an internal perspective, but merely functions as the *genus proximum* of the category of aspect. Aspect use in *yes-no*-questions is a very clear example of how the functions of non-progressive aspect in Russian are hierarchically arranged. Situations that are conceptualized as non-actual do not allow aspect to distinguish between the internal and external perspectives. These canonical functions of the aspects are only possible if the situations in question are conceptualized as actual, i.e., when the corresponding verbal predicates, in terms of referential semantics, refer not to the type of situation but to one or more tokens.

Functional Types of Aspectual Triplets in Contemporary Russian

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The paper presents the results of a study on the functioning of the so called aspectual triplets in contemporary Russian. The Ožegov – Švedova Dictionary was used to make a list of potential triplets. The actual functioning of each triplet was then investigated using the Russian National Corpus and the Internet.

The term "aspectual triplets" applies to a chain of morphologically related verbs such as *mazat'*.IMPF1 – *namazat'*.PF – *namazyvat'*.IMPF2 where: 1) IMPF1 is a simple imperfective verb; PF is a prefixed perfective verb formed on IMPF1; IMPF2 is an imperfective verb formed by suffixation on the perfective one, and 2) IMPF1 and IMPF2 are more or less close synonyms.

We proceed from the assumption that aspectual correlation in Russian is triggered by the mechanism of obligatory imperfectivization (Mikaelian – Shmelev – Zalizniak, 2009). It is a functional mechanism that forces the speaker to replace a perfective verb with an imperfective one in contexts where perfective verbs are not allowed. These are the so-called Maslov contexts, i.e. narration in historical present or description of an iterative situation. This mechanism generates aspectual correlates for perfective verbs, such that imperfective verbs should be considered as derived from the corresponding perfective verbs independently of how the actual morphological derivation occurred. Thus, in historical present, one would say *Prixožu, vižu, pobeždaju* 'I come, I see, I conquer' instead of *Prišel, uvidel, pobedil* 'I came, I saw, I conquered' thus replacing the verbs *prijti, uvidet', pobedit'* by the verbs *prixodit', videt', pobeždat'*. In this series, the verb *pobeždat'* is morphologically derived from *pobedit'* by suffixation, the verb *prixodit'* presents a case of stem suppletion, and the verb *videt'* is functionally derived from *uvidet'* by deprefixation, while the actual morphological derivation occurred in the opposite direction.

In our paper, we demonstrate that, far from being marginal, as they are often considered, the triplets represent a highly productive phenomenon. Indeed, they are generated by the same functional mechanism that generates aspectual correlates for virtually any perfective verb.

Depending on the semantic and functional relation between IMPF1 and IMPF2, at least four types of aspectual triplets are distinguished:

1. A relatively rare case where IMPF1 and IMPF2 are almost perfect synonyms (*gibnut'/pogibat'*). It means that, save for some stylistic nuances, the two verbs can substitute for each other in all contexts without loss or addition of meaning or register.

2. IMPF1 and IMPF2 are close, but not complete synonyms. This is the most frequent, but also the most controversial case that led to many discussions (Апресян 1995, Петрухина 2000, Храковский 2005, Ясаи 2001, and others) . They will be also central for the present paper.

   Cf. *pročitat' – čitat'/pročityvat'* 'to read'; *vyučit' – učit'/vyučivat'* 'to learn'; *podmesti – mesti/podmetat'* 'to sweep' [the floor]; *vylečit' - lečit'/vylečivat'* 'to cure'. In some cases, IMPF1 and IMPF2 are partial synonyms, but do not have the same aspectual properties. Thus IMPF1 *lečit'* can both denote a process ('to treat' [a disease, a patient]) and its successful accomplishment ('to cure' [a disease, a patient]), while IMPF2 has only the second meaning. In other cases, both IMPF1 and IMPF2 can function as imperfective equivalents of the perfective verb, but IMPF1 requires a more coercive context for it. Quite often, a clear stylistic difference contrasts the two imperfectives.

3. IMPF1 and IMPF2 are partially distributed according to different submeanings of the perfective verbs and, respectively, to the different complements it can take: *skleit' – skleivat' dva kuska bumagi* (but not *kleit'*) 'to glue two pieces of paper together'; *skleit'– kleit'/skleivat' korobochku* 'to make a paper box [using glue]'; *razdelit' – delit' nasledstvo* (but not *razdeljat'*) 'to divide the heritage', *razdelit' – delit'/razdeljat' studentov na gruppy* 'to divide students into groups'.

4. IMPF1 and IMPF2 are in complementary distribution according to different meanings of the perfective verbs, cf. *sšit' – šit' platj'e* 'to sew a dress' (but not *sšivat'*) and *sšit' – sšivat' dva kuska vmeste* (but not *šit'*) 'to sew two pieces together'. In such cases, the morphological triplet splits into two pairs.

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The Conceptualisation of *zadowolenie* (satisfaction/being glad, pleasure) in Polish

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The purpose of this paper is the presentation of the conceptual structure of *zadowolenie*, as it is apparent in the Polish language (and texts). The source of linguistic material being studied in my work is the Corpus of Polish created by the Scientific Publishing Company PWN (a middle version of the corpus – with over 40 million text words – has been used in the analysis) and lexicographic resources (dictionaries of general Polish, including set phrases and synonyms).

The study of the Polish conceptualization of *zadowolenie* (satisfaction/being glad, pleasure) is a continuation of my research on the general concept *radość* (joy/happiness) in modern Polish, the results of which have been published in the monograph *Obraz radości we współczesnej polszczyźnie* [The conceptual image of joy/happiness in modern Polish] (Mikołajczuk 2009). The theoretical basis of such research is determined by structural semantics on the one hand – discovering semantic relations between Polish lexical items which belong to the lexical field of emotions, especially positive feelings (Buttler 1977, 1978/1979; Nowakowska-Kempna 1986) – and cognitive semantics on the other hand – with its theory of conceptual metaphors, metonymies, metaphtonymies and cognitive models (Lakoff – Johnson 1988[1980]; Lakoff 1993; Kövecses 1998, 2003, 2008) – including Slavonic studies (for example Nowakowska-Kempna 1995, 2000) and works which combine both structuralist and cognitivist approaches (Bartmiński 2006; Pajdzińska 2004; Wierzbicka 1999a, 1999b, 2004).

The analysis of corpus and lexicographic data allows the researcher to distinguish various aspects of the conceptualization of psychological states to which the noun *zadowolenie* – as a word central to the concept being discussed – and other lexemes correlated to it (especially the adjective *zadowolony*) are applied. As a result of this research it is also possible to show a set of cognitive models which are regularly used in Polish in the conceptualization of *zadowolenie* (satisfaction/being glad, pleasure), some of them being based on metaphoric and/or metonymic processes. Other benefits of the analysis are both the indication of the position of *zadowolenie* in the general category *radość* (joy/happiness)-like-emotions, and the opening out of some interesting perspectives of comparative research on the concept *zadowolenie* and its

correlates in various languages (and texts). Not only linguistics, but also all those disciplines which try to find a way of learning about the phenomenon of positive emotions and of mutual understanding while discussing them (for example psychology, sociology, anthropology, philosophy) need to know the similarities and differences in the conceptualization of psychological phenomena to which linguistic items such as *zadowolenie* and *radość* refer; they also need to see the categorization of emotions as a multidimensional process, and they should realize the variability of emotional models and linguistic ways of their expression. This is especially important in the dialogue between and among different cultures as well as in dialogues within national, European and human communities.

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Pejorative Patterns: Negative Word Formation in Russian and Norwegian

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Thinking positively is a virtue, but not necessarily in word formation, because pejorative word formation patterns inform linguistic theory in non-trivial ways. The aim of this contrastive study of Norwegian and Russian is to contribute to the theoretical understanding of metonymy and word formation. First, I propose that metonymy is pervasive in (negative) word formation. Second, I show that metonymy interacts with metaphor, and that there are instances of doubly metonymical patterns. Third, I suggest that we need a theory that accommodates non-compositional and unanalyzable structures. I will explore word formation in terms of morphological constructions (Booij 2005) and show that such constructions can be insightfully represented as schemas in the sense of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 2008, Tuggy 1992, 2005). Finally, I show that Russian and Norwegian obtain similar effects by different means, and that these means receive systemic motivation in the grammars of the two languages.

Radden and Kövecses (1999, p. 21) define metonymy as "a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same cognitive model". In *the bathtub was overflowing*, where it is really the *water* in the bathtub that is overflowing, the bathtub is the vehicle we use in order to access the relevant water in our mental representation of reality. Traditionally, most examples that have been discussed in the literature on metonymy are lexical. However, metonymy also plays an important part in word formation. Consider *nomina agentis* like *lžec*, *løgner* and their English equivalent *liar*, where the suffix tells us to access a person through a salient characteristic – in this case the tendency to tell lies. Although telling lies is bad, there is nothing pejorative in the word formation pattern per se; agentive suffixes are used with both positive and negative characteristics. However, some patterns are predominantly pejorative. For example, so-called common gender (*obščij rod*) nouns in Russian tend to characterize people with regard to negative characteristics: *xanža* 'hypocrite', *mjamlja* 'irresulute person' and *plaksa* 'cry-baby'. In Norwegian, a particular compounding pattern is used for a similar effect: *urokråke* 'wiggle-wort (about a child)', *hengehode* 'killjoy', *vriompeis* 'difficult

person'. The meaning of such words is often non-compositional and involves complex interaction of metaphor and metonymy.

A comparison of negative word formation in Russian and Norwegian shows that similar meanings are found in both languages, but they emerge from different word formation patterns. While suffixation is characteristic of Russian, Norwegian employs compounding to a much larger extent. The differences are not arbitrary. For instance, the Russian common gender pattern hinges on a close relationship between syntactic gender and declension class, and a Norwegian parallel is therefore not likely. These systemic differences notwithstanding, Norwegian and Russian word formation shows many similarities. From the perspective of word formation, both languages illustrate that vices are more interesting than virtues.

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Za-Prefixation in the Russian Verbs of Motion

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Russian verbal aspect is a complex phenomenon. In this paper we understand aspect to be represented by the opposition of perfective and imperfective verbs. Many simplex Russian verbs are imperfective with prefixation constituting a major means of forming perfective forms. An intriguing fact about perfectivizing prefixes is that the majority have phonologically identical cognates which function as prepositions in modern Russian. In her ground-breaking work on Russian aspect and prefixation, Janda (2007) identified aspectual category in terms of a cluster model, which aims to account for patterns in meaning distribution of derivationally related aspectual verb forms. Her work, however, does not address the possible connection between the semantics of cognate prefixes and prepositions. Inspired by the symbolic thesis, which claims that language is best described in terms of symbolic relations holding between phonological and semantic structures (Langacker 1987), we argue that motivated polysemy of functional morphemes is not accidental. In fact, given the systematicity of phonological correspondence between the prefixes and the prepositions, one should expect to find correspondences in the conceptual structure of the cognate prefix-preposition pairs.

We explore this claim in regards to prefix *за-*, as it perfectivizes determined and non-determined verbs of motion. Determined verbs designate a motion to a destination or endpoint (*бежать* – 'run', imperfective, highlighted endpoint). Non-determined verbs designate the activity of a motion, with an unidentified destination or multiple destinations (*бегать* – 'run', imperfective, backgrounded endpoint). Prefixation of motion verbs is associated with two major changes in the meanings of the resulting form: perfectivization and, oftentimes, shifts in meaning. A corpus analysis reveals that when *за-* prefixes to determined motion verb stems, the resulting perfective form takes on a "completed" sense (e.g. *забежать*); with non-determined verb stems, the resulting perfective form takes on a "starting" sense (e.g. *забе́гать*). Thus, prefixal *за-* is associated with what appear to be contradictory meanings.

Our hypothesis for why this may be the case draws from Talmy's spatially-based theory of aspect, Tyler and Shakhova's (2008) analysis of the polysemy

network of the preposition *за*, and conceptual blending (Fauconnier – Turner, 1998). Talmy identifies perfective aspect as denoting bounded events and imperfective as unbounded events, on analogy with spatial boundedness. Tyler and Shakhova argue for representing preposition *за* as a spatial configuration involving an oriented LandMark and a Trajector located "behind" the LM, thus providing a spatial scene potentially construed as bounded by a beginning point, the LM, and an end point, the TR. Assuming a connection in the conceptual structure of the cognate preposition *за* and perfective prefix *за-*, we find it compelling that a morpheme with an underlyingly bounded spatial meaning introduces boundedness to the conceptual structure of the verbs it perfectivizes. Following conceptual blending, the emergent meaning of the *за-* prefixed form is determined by the nature of the verbstem input space. With determined verbs, whose semantics involves a highlighted endpoint, the completed sense emerges; with non-determined verbs whose semantics involves a backgrounded endpoint, the starting sense emerges.

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The Nature and Function of the Stereotype in Transdisciplinary Context

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This contribution aims at presenting **stereotype** as a concept the study of which requires the application of transdisciplinary approaches. Our approach is based on the nature of cognitive linguistics which is a transdisciplinary branch of study itself. In this connection, linguistics occurs in the broad context of transdisciplinary science which studies the nature and functioning of the mind. In the wide spectra of the disciplines involved, attention will be mainly paid to the cooperation of cognition-oriented and culture-oriented linguistics, psychology, theory of communication, and sociology.

We will concentrate on the concrete manifestations of the interaction of these disciplines in the concept of stereotype. Even though individual disciplines put emphasis on different aspects of stereotypes, a general definition can be formulated at an intersection of these differences. Our main focus is to reveal a common underlying basis.

Stereotype as perceived by **cognitive linguistics** is an integral part of the natural language. It is not based on the real properties of objects, only on the prominent ones. Stereotypes thus represent schematic and one-sided "pictures in human mind", i.e. views that are often created before the objects themselves are known.

In the **psychological paradigm**, these properties of stereotypes evoke the term "attitude" because evaluating attitudes are components of connotative meanings that are determining for the stereotype. Psychology defines attitudes as acquired prerequisites of response. They are stable systems of evaluation that facilitate our orientation in the world. Not always do they correspond to our opinions, i.e. to what we really think. Mostly, they correspond to what we *should* think to achieve harmony with cognitive balance and surroundings.

Cognitive and cultural linguistics also point out the danger of a distinctive form of attitude, i.e. **prejudice**. When judging other people, prejudices do not allow for any other explanation than that which has already been rooted. Their constitution is fundamentally influenced by our education and cultural background.

Emotions also play an important part in creating connotative meanings. They represent central phenomena of our mental life and are, therefore, an

important topic of psychological research. Positive emotions facilitate an extended cognitive context – a greater number of unusual associations arise, categories of wider range involving even peripheral phenomena are used. On the contrary, negative emotions lead to a limited cognitive performance and increased use of schematic and stereotypical judgment.

The **theory of communication** which deals, apart from production, also with the reception of messages, i.e. with their transfer to the mental structures of an addressee, points out that reception is often influenced by stereotypes. They give rise to mistakes in attribution. It is an active process involving our intentionality and stereotypes.

Sociology uses the notions of **role**, **scenario** and **scheme**. They again express something given beforehand, something that has been learnt, mainly in the sense of our behavior towards the others. Apparently, we play a great number of roles in everyday life according to pre-arranged scenarios and in harmony with well-established schemes.

In conclusion, we will delimit the features of stereotypes common to all the mentioned disciplines. That is, our characterization will support a transdisciplinary nature of this concept.

Subject-Predicate Inversion and its Cognitive Sources

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In Russian, moving a word or a constituent from the end of a sentence to its beginning usually engenders the inversion of the word order in the remaining Subject-Predicate combination (SP-inversion):

(1)   a. Этот *вопрос вставал* передо мною не однажды.

      b. Не однажды *вставал* передо мною этот *вопрос*.

(2)   a. *Собака укусила* мальчика.

      b. Мальчика *укусила собака*.

The main starting point of this paper is that the word order is to be regarded as inseparable from prosody – from the place of phrasal accent and its type (raising / falling), i.e. from what is called in Падучева 1985/2008 and Янко 2001 *linear-intonational*, or *linear-accentual* structure of a sentence ('linejno-akcentnaja struktura'), LA-structure.

Semantic relationships between (a) and (b) sentences in examples (1), (2) can be accounted for by transformations that are applied to their LA-structures. The following two transformations are in the scope of my attention (cf. Ковтунова 1976, Падучева 1985/2008):

- **expressive preposition**, i.e. fronting of a constituent preserving the phrasal accent customary for the end of a sentence, as in (2b)

- **thematic preposition**, i.e. fronting of a constituent with a change of the intonation contour: the fronted constituent looses its rhematic falling accent and acquires the thematic raising one, as in (1b).

Both transformations tend to be accompanied by subject-predicate inversion.

Some types of the fronting accompanied by subject-predicate inversion can be found even in languages with the so called fixed word order, such as English. Locative inversion, for example, is widespread in English, see, e.g., Levin - Rappaport Hovav 1995. In Russian subject-predicate inversion is not

limited to fronting of locative constituents: many other types of constituents display the same kind of behavior.

In the frame of syntactic approaches to SP-inversion (as, e.g., in Levin - Rappaport Hovav 1995) the final goal was to find co-occurrence restrictions on SP-inversion. Namely, to find lexical and syntactic limitations on SP-inversion conditioned by fronting of a locative phrase. My goal is to find **cognitive sources** of the phenomenon of SP-inversion: what it is motivated by.

In an ordinary Russian sentence, with a prepositive subject, as in (1a), the subject NP is the Theme, the predicate is the Rheme, which provides the sentence with a two-component LA-structure. Thematic preposition of the Rhematic center creates a new Theme. And by default the old subject and the remnants of the old predicate VP unite into one integrated Rheme. In this way a sentence with a fronted constituent acquires a new LA-structure, also two-component one. Subject inversion, namely, transferring of the subject NP into the final position prevents disintegration. More than that, it provides integration. In fact, it contributes to formation of a new Rheme as a united, i.e. non-disintegrated constituent. **Final position of an NP contributes to communicative integration of the rhematic constituent – while the NP in the preposition contributes to disintegration**.

The notion of non-disintegrated Rheme ('nerasčlenennaja rema') is well known for a sentence as a whole. For example, in (3) the change of word order (and accent!) transfers a two-component, disintegrated LA-structure into LA-structure consisting of one non-disintegrated Rheme.

(3)   a. Весна наступила = [Весна]T [наступила]R
       b. Наступила весна = [Наступила весна]R

Examples (1), (2) demonstrate that one and the same integrative device is at work on the level of a sentence and a constituent. When the Theme is already chosen, there are two possibilities for the remaining part of the sentence – it can either be integrated into one LA-structure component, as in (4b), or disintegrated, as in (4c). In this second case we get a three-component LA-structure. Example (4) demonstrates these two possibilities:

(4)   a. *Хозяин* дома *открыл* дверь.
       b. Дверь *открыл хозяин* дома.
       c. Дверь *хозяин* дома *открыл*.

Sentence (4b), with SP-inversion, exemplifies our familiar binary LA-structure, the same as in (1), (2). Meanwhile (4c), with non-inverted word

order, has a different LA-structure – and a different meaning. In terms of TR-structure, in (4c) the NP *дверь*, Theme 1, becomes the focus of contrast; hence the implication that something else (e.g., the window) remained shut. This difference of interpretations is represented as follows (T1 and T2 are, correspondingly, the 1st Theme, contrastive one, and the 2nd, ordinary, Theme, see Падучева 1985):

> b. Дверь *открыл хозяин* дома = [Дверь]T [открыл хозяин дома]R
>
> c. Дверь *хозяин* дома *открыл* = [Дверь]T1 [хозяин дома]T2 [открыл]R

In Levin - Rappaport Hovav 1995 it is claimed that active (unergative) verbs are also admissible in locative inversion sentences – which fact contradicts the initial widely accepted hypothesis that only inactive (unaccusative verbs) license SP-inversion. The explanation is that SP-inversion provides the sentence with existential (i.e. stative) meaning. In fact, this is the case in example (5).

> (5) a. На перекрестке *машина остановилась*.
>
>   b. На перекрестке *остановилась машина*.

Existential sentences are notorious for their non-disintegrated TR-structure. Thus, locative inversion is just a particular case of the generalization suggested.

Still examples (6) and (7) demonstrate that the type of the verb is not irrelevant for the SP-inversion.

> (6) a. *Коля пришел* на рассвете;
>
>   b. На рассвете *пришел Коля*.

> (7) a. *Коля ушел* на рассвете.
>
>   b. На рассвете *Коля ушел*.

Sentence (6) displays introductory meaning ('vvedenie v rassmotrenie'), which is cognate to existentiality, hence obligatory SP-inversion in (6), which is not obligatory in (7).

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The Mythologized Concept of Enemy as a New Russian National Construal of Reality

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The idea of national unity, which has recently been strengthened in Russia, often presupposes the emergence of mythologized concept of enemy. Formation of the new mythologized concept of enemy manifests a rise of nationalism in post-Soviet Russia, the phenomenon which despite being extremely vital, influencing modern Russian culture, language, economy, politics, etc., and having received much attention in academic literature and beyond, still remains insufficiently explored and understood[1].

The paper investigates this form of Russian nationalism from a new cognitive-based perspective. It explores the post-Soviet mythologized concept of enemy as a new national construal through a case-study of novel Russian metaphors' meaning construction in real discourse, metaphors that underlie this concept of enemy formation: e.g. *oborotni v pogonakh* ('werewolves in epaulettes') – about corrupt officers of law enforcement agencies, *oborotni v shokolade* ('werewolves in chocolate') – about oligarchs, *"Edinaia Rossiia" sdelaet wse, chtob k vyboram ne ostalos oborotnej, vampirov, goblinov, orkov, kriugerov, ved'm i bab iag* ('"United Russia" will do everything in order to eliminate all werewolves, vampires, goblins, orcs, krugers, witches and baba iagas by the time of election') – about policies towards people and political parties who have dissented from the opinion of Kremlin. This paper focuses on the metaphors' cultural history elucidating their relations to the past Soviet cultural, ideological and discourse traditions (e.g. the mythological "werewolf-enemy" concept from the Stalinist era in Lotman 1997).

In order to examine the metaphors' cultural and historical motivation the paper further develops and applies an innovative multidisciplinary research methodology based on conceptual integration (Fauconnier – Turner 2002) that draws on methods and theoretical concepts taken from cognitive science and linguistics, discourse analysis, cultural history, historical linguistics and conceptual history. The paper investigates the emergent structures,

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[1]One of the recent attempts to elucidate the background of this problem has been an on-going large international research project "National Identity in Russia from 1961: Traditions & Deterritorialisation" (http://www.modlangs.ox.ac.uk/russian/nationalism/index.htm).

which metaphorical conceptual systems produce over their cultural time, using a new approach to the interweaving of research principles and methods from "the rethinking of metaphor" advanced theoretical approach (Fauconnier – Turner 2008) and the "discourse history" approach (Musolff 2007), enriched by cultural history methods including analysis of (folk) narratives, literary texts and films in their relations to present and past traditions of Russian nationalism (Kelly 2005, Oushakine 2007, Smith 2009, Stepanov 2004, Yurchak 2006).

Following Benedict Anderson's most notable work on nationalism and nation (Anderson 2006, on a concept of national unity also see Fritzsche 2004) this paper understands nations as imagined communities, and languages, cultures and history as important dimensions in nation-making and nation-developing. Drawing upon the central theoretical concepts discussed in Anderson's "Imagined Communities", the paper elucidates how the post-Soviet Russian mythologized concept of enemy has been imagined as a form of national unity and realized linguistically, and argues that conceptual integration can be viewed as forming a basis or an essential part of studies on nationalism because of its crucial ability to deal with highly creative and imaginative structures and to take into account cognitive, cultural, social, linguistic and historical dimensions in their construction.

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Aspect of the Imperative in Russian and Slovene

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In recent years there has been increasing interest in both the differences and similarities between aspect in Slavic (e.g. Stunová 1993, Dickey 2000). Especially since Dickey (2000) a wide range of data on different Slavic languages has been provided. Until now, however, the imperative has been relatively neglected within the domain of study of Slavic aspect, with the exception of Benacchio (2004, 2005).

In this paper, we want to present the results of our contrastive analysis on Russian, part of the so-called Eastern aspectual group of Slavic languages, and Slovene, which is part of the western group (see Dickey 2000 for this typology). The data were collected by using both Russian and Slovene translations of English texts from the ASPAC (Amsterdam Slavic Parallel Aligned) corpus. In addition to that for Russian, the National Russian Corpus was used.

In our paper we will discuss issues such as aspectual choice in the context of repeated events, the importance of lexical meaning, and the question of whether politeness plays a part in the choice of aspect in Russian. The results of our comparison may shed further light on the differences between aspect in East Slavic as compared to West Slavic.

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This and . . . *This.* On the Emphatic Function of Demonstratives in Polish

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The present analysis is a work-in-progress report which investigates the emphatic function of demonstratives in Polish. It is part of a larger research whose aim is to identify and describe some implicit patterns of influencing the speaker-hearer relation in discourse. The discussion alludes to a common metaphor PHYSICAL CLOSENESS IS EMOTIONAL CLOSENESS, and the explanations rely on motivational iconicity captured in the slogan "The more form, the more meaning" (cf. Van Langendonck 2007, Croft 2003). Demonstratives function as grounding elements and they situate object of conceptualization in the region proximal or distal from the speaker. The analysis investigates the communicative import of Polish noun phrases in contexts similar to (1), where a demonstrative acquires a specific emphatic interpretation. It no longer contributes to categorization of the nominal concept it is associated with, but rather communicates the speaker's emotional stance towards the referent in question.

(1) a. *Co* **ten** *Olszewski* *wyprawia* *to* *ludzkie*
        what **this** Olszewski does this human

        pojęcie *przechodzi.*
        comprehension goes beyond

        'The way Olszewski acts is indescribable.'

     b. *Ach* **te** *kobiety!*
        ah! **these** women

        'Women!'

     c. *Weź* **tą** *rękę!*
        take **this** hand

        'Take your hand!'

     d. ***Ten*** *dzieciak* *znów* *się* *spóźnia.*
        this kid again REFLEXIVE be late

        'This kid is late again.'

It is argued that demonstratives may be used by a speaker of Polish to implicitly communicate some emotion. This function is most prominent in

combinations of a demonstrative with e.g. a personal pronoun (cf. Majewska 2004), but in a more subtle way it is also present in nominals in which a demonstrative is the only modifier.

The present discussion may contribute to an account of demonstratives in cognitive linguistics. Moreover, if demonstratives have potential for communicating emotions and attitudes, then their role should be recognized in the studies of the implicit negotiation of the speaker-hearer relation in discourse. Through the consideration of varied phenomena including "subjectivity", "perspectivization" and "intersubjectivity", the present analysis cuts across linguistic subdisciplines such as grammar, semantics and discourse.

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Smile and Laughter in Russian Culture and Language

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Many languages (in particular, most Slavic languages) have closely related words for "laughing" and "smiling". The speakers of those languages think of smiling and laughing as closely related activities; they think of a smile as a "weak" or "rudimentary" laughter or draw no sharp distinction between them. Russian is probably the only language that lexically distinguishes three levels of showing good spirits (and being not serious): *ulybka* 'smile', *smex* 'laughter', and *xoxot* '(loud) laughter'.

In addition to the three basic terms, the Russian language has words for special types of smile and laughter (most of them have negative connotations). Typically, for a smile the underlying emotions are relevant (*uxmylka* 'nasty grin'; *usmeshka* 'ironic grin') while the verbs denoting various sounds of laughter tend to disapprove unpleasant laughter (*fyrknut'* 'to produce a chortle', *xixikat'* 'to giggle', *gogotat'*, *rzhat'* 'to guffaw'). However, the Russian verb *xoxotat'* and the corresponding noun *xoxot* refer to loud and unrestrained, full-blown laughter, which is regarded with no disapproval. It has no animal-like connotations; people do not perceive it as rude or coarse. A typical collocation with the noun *xoxot* is *zdorovyj xoxot* 'healthy burst of laughter'. Both males and females perform the laughter referred to with the words *xoxotat'* and *xoxot* (in particular, it is a typical female behavior, again in contrast to "guffaw"). The nouns *xoxotun* (masculine) and *xoxotun'ja* or *xoxotushka* (feminine) refer to people who often laugh in this way; they imply a positive attitude to the person.

Unlike many other cultures, the Russian culture encourages loud laughter (*xoxot*) and more often than not discourages smiles (*ulybki*). This attitude is consistent with the strong emphasis that the Russian culture places on sincerity and open expression of emotions and with the whole system of the Russian non-verbal etiquette. The paper will present linguistic evidence for such attitude including etymology (*ulybat'sja* 'smile' from the word for skull with allusion to bared teeth) and the use of the words for laughter and smile in the present-day Russian discourse.

Framing Politics – Metaphors in Serbian Political Discourse

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The political language characterising the previous regimes of Josip Broz Tito and Slobodan Milošević in the former Yugoslavia and Serbia and Montenegro was widely regarded as obscure, mystified and largely abstract. In the last two decades, however, the contemporary Serbian political discourse has been marked by extensive use of metaphors as a device of public discourse.

This article, set within the theoretical framework of Conceptual Metaphor Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis, focuses on the use of metaphors in Serbian political discourse in the periods prior to and after two critical parliamentary elections, held in January 2007 and May 2008, in which issues of the utmost importance for the future of Serbia were raised – economic reforms, membership talks with the EU, Kosovo, and the cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

The data collection for this analysis was compiled from the leading Serbian dailies (Glas javnosti, Danas, Večernje novosti, Blic, Press, Kurir, Dnevnik) and political weeklies (Vreme, Evropa, NIN) published between 2006 and 2008 as well as from the web site of the radio and TV B92, one of the most influential news media in Serbia.

The qualitative analysis of the examples has shown that the political discourse characterising the pre-election periods of both parliamentary elections was marked by the pervasive use of SPORT and WAR metaphors, which stressed competitive, violent and pugnacious aspects of political activities (with several submetaphors such as POLITICAL SCENE IS A BATTLEFIELD, POLITICAL PARTIES ARE ENEMIES, ELECTIONS ARE A BATTLE, POLITICAL PARTIES ARE FOOTBALL TEAMS, ELECTIONS ARE A FOOTBALL MATCH, etc.). Since no political party succeeded in gaining an absolute majority in either of the mentioned elections, post-electoral coalitions had to be formed between parties of rather (or entirely) different ideological values. In the post-election period, therefore, the tangled relations between political parties were conceptualised by the POLITICS IS LOVE metaphor (illustrated by the submetaphors THE POLITICAL COALITION IS A MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE, A BAD COALITION IS A BAD MARRIAGE, A POLITICAL PARTY THAT IS

NECESSARY SO AS TO FORM THE RULING COALITION IS A MAR-RIAGEABLE GIRL, etc.) and the POLITICS IS BUSINESS metaphor (exemplified by the following submetaphors - POLITICS IS A STOCK MAR-KET, POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS ARE TRADE, POLITICIANS ARE TRADERS, etc.). On the surface, what this conceptual shift suggests is that belligerent and fiercely competitive aspects of WAR and SPORT from the pre-election periods are now superseded by romantic, tranquil and entrepreneurial aspects of LOVE and BUSINESS. However, a more thorough analysis of the metaphorical expressions shows that both LOVE and BUSI-NESS concepts, as mapped onto politics, carry extremely negative connotations, as being mainly motivated by vested interests, financial benefits or dubious horse-trading. Metaphors which conceptualise POLITICS as SPORT, WAR, LOVE and BUSINESS in Serbian political discourse thus function as a powerful rhetorical device which may create social reality as being undisputed, all stemming from the very nature of metaphors to highlight some features of that reality, while at the same time hiding others.

Word Order and Case Marking in the Acquisition of Czech: The Role of Natural Event Structure

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Word order in Czech and in most other Slavic languages is relatively flexible and it is typically used to express the distribution of new and old information in the sentence. At the same time, one word order is unmarked and neutral with regard to the context. In the case of transitive constructions, this is the subject-verb-object word order. From the developmental point of view, it is an interesting question whether the unmarked word order is acquired first and the contextually marked orders appear later, or whether the flexibility of word order is present from the earliest stages of the syntactic acquisition. Theoretically, the question is relevant as it may clarify the role of cognitive precursors of language acquisition and the role of linguistic input in the acquisition process. The paper contrasts the results of an experiment examining sentence comprehension in 3- and 5-year-olds with data on the use of different word orders in spontaneous production of 2-year-olds.

The experiment examined the role of word order and case inflection in the interpretation of Czech transitive sentences by children and adults. Participants listened to simple transitive sentences while watching picture pairs with the same characters performing the same action, but with the opposite assignment of the subject and object roles. Sentences varied in word order (SVO, OVS), and in whether the initial noun was case-ambiguous or not. Word order and case inflection appear to have only weak, if any, immediate influence on 3-year-olds sentence interpretation. The performance in 5-year-olds revealed sensitivity to both word order and inflection, similar to the performance of adults. However, 5-year-olds appear to be driven by word order more than adults. Surprisingly, processing of OVS sentences in adults was not different from SVO sentences as long as the initial noun was unambiguously inflected for case. The results are discussed from the viewpoint of the competition model, and a processing basis for some of the children's deficits is proposed.

The experiment suggests that children can accommodate different word orders if the word orders are supported by explicit nominal morphology. To better understand the implications, the results were compared with longitudinal production data from 2 children aged 1;8 to 2;4. The data suggest highly flexible use of word order during the third year of life. However, both the experimental and the spontaneous data show that the SVO order is perceived as the default or unmarked order. The finding is discussed from the viewpoint of cognitive prerequisites of language acquisition. In particular, the special role of the SVO order is interpreted as a result of the natural event scheme that is mentally represented from the earliest age, and is used during sentence interpretation.

On the Relation between Ingressivity and Decausativity: The Russian Verbal Prefixes *ZA*- and *PO*-

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The Russian prefixes *za*- and *po*- are special in the sense that they can form both ingressives (verbs referring to the beginning of an action) and resultatives (verbs referring to a completed action). As it was shown in literature, we usually deal with the resultative meaning of these prefixes when they are combined with transitive verbs (*zarezat' čeloveka*, *pokrasit' dom*) and with the ingressive meaning when they are used within verbs referring to states (*zaskučat'*) (Dickey 2000, Łaziński 2008). Yet, it is not clear in which case which of the possible prefixes is chosen to form an ingressive. It was emphasized that *za*- is the most common prefix creating ingressive meaning (e.g. *zakričat'*, *zaxodit'*) while *po*- forms ingressives mainly with verbs of motion like *pobežat'* (Vinogradov 1947, p. 419; RG 1980, pp. 596–597; Petrukhina 2000, pp. 193–197).

We argue that we also find ingressive *za*- and *po*- in decausative construction of labile verbs like *lit'*, *sypat'*, *valit'*, *kapat'*, *bryzgat'*. In the most general meaning the term "lability" refers to an ability to be used in several constructions of the sentence without special marking of diathesis change in the verb (Polinskaya 1986, p. 44). While most of the research on lability was done with the focus on the syntactic properties of verbs (Polinskaya 1986, Haspelmath 1993, Letuchy 2006, Iwata 2008), this work aims to analyze the correlation between lability and prefixation. The group of labile verbs in Russian is of special interest since it fills the gap between transitive and intransitive verbs and can be used in both constructions, causative (CAUS: Somebody rolls the ball) and decausative (DECAUS: The ball rolls), with and without the prefix:

valit' – 'overturn, tumble, fell'

CAUS:	*Puskaj*	*by*	***on***	***bykov***	*s*	*nog*
	Let	SUBJ PART	he-NOM	bulls-ACC	from	limbs-GEN

	valil
	fell-IMP PAST SG M

'He should rather strike down the bulls.'

DECAUS: *Za*   *oknom*   **valil**   **sneg**
Behind   window-INS   fall-IMP PAST SG M   snow-NOM
'It was snowing heavily behind the window.'

povalit'

CAUS: **On**   **povalil**   *nazem'*   *etogo*   **čeloveka**
He-NOM   fell-PF PAST SG M   to the ground-ADV   this-ACC   man-ACC
'He stroke that man down.'

DECAUS: *No*   **sneg**   **povalil-**   *ešče*   *gušče*
But   snow-NOM   fall-PF PAST SG M   still   thicker
'But the snow began to fall even more heavily.'

kapat' – 'drip, drop, trickle, distil'

CAUS: **Babuška**   *s*   *žalkim*   *licom*   **kapala**
Grandmother-NOM   with   pitiful-INS   face-INS   drop-IMP PAST SG F

sebe   *privyčnyj*   **korvalol**
herself   regular-ACC   corvalol-ACC
'With a pitiful face, grandmother was taking her regular corvalol.'

DECAUS: *S*   *kryši*   **kapala**   **voda**
From   roof-GEN   drop-IMP PAST SG F   water-NOM
'The water was dropping from the roof.'

zakapat'

CAUS: *Melkij*   **dožd'**   *s*   *neba*   *šel,*
Little-NOM   rain-NOM   from   sky-GEN   go-IMP PAST SG M

zakapal   *vs'u*   **Kat'u**-Acc
drop-PF PAST SG M   all-ACC   Katja-ACC
'There was a thin rain pouring from the sky, it soaked Katja completely.'

DECAUS: *I*   *točno*   *po zakazu*   **zakapal**   **doždik**
And   like   on request-DAT   drop-PF PAST SG M   little rain-NOM
'And as if on request a thin rain started to drop.'

When used with *po-*, *lit'*, *sypat'*, *valit'* gain the ingressive meaning in DECAUS and the resultative meaning in CAUS. The same is true for *kapat'*, *bryzgat'* and *za-*. In order to show that there is a correlation between the choice of the prefix and the labilty type of a given verb we present a case study of the verbs *valit' – povalit'* and *kapat' – zakapat'*. These verbs are interesting in the sense that they form ingressives in DECAUS and aspectual pairs in CAUS respectively. Our main assumption is that or the verb *valit'* CAUS is primary, for the verb *kapat'* DECAUS is primary, hence the difference in the prefix. In order to check this we have looked at the actual frequencies of the unprefixed verbs *valit'*, *kapat'* and their prefixed counterparts in both

constructions as represented in the Russian National Corpus (RNC). We treat past and non-past forms separately in order to see whether the grammatical form, as well as the prefix, has any effect on the distribution of the two constructions whithin the verb. For the analysis of *valit'* we have chosen all masculine singular forms since DECAUS contexts are possible only with mass masculine nouns in singular (*dym, sneg*). For *kapat'* these forms alone are not representative for which reason we have limited our data differently, i.e. taken the first 100 documents from the RNC. The results are presented in Tables 1 and 2.

	valit'		*povalit'*	
	DECAUS	CAUS	DECAUS	CAUS
total	617	273	321	266
non-past	263	173	24	31
past	354	100	297	235

Table 1: Frequencies of *valit'*

	kapat'		*zakapat'*	
	DECAUS	CAUS	DECAUS	CAUS
total	113	29	169	107
non-past	80	24	21	19
past	33	5	148	88

Table 2: Frequencies of *kapat'*

The generalized linear model applied to the distributions presented in Tables 1 and 2 proves that there is a strong correlation between the construction and the prefix: in both cases prefixes increase the number of CAUS constructions. For *povalit'* also the correlation between grammatical form and construction proves to be significant: in the non-past forms CAUS construction is more frequent. The degree of predictability for observed counts is very high (see Fig. 1 and 2).

Thus, the analysed data from the RNC support the idea that prefixes favour the use of CAUS and that *po-* is mostly used with labile verbs for which CAUS is primary (path oriented verbs) while *za-* is more common for states, for which DECAUS is primary. Ingressivity expressed by a prefix is in close relation with decausativity and a complete statistical analysis of prefixed and unprefixed labile verbs will help to shed light on the semantics of the prefixes *po-* an *za-*.
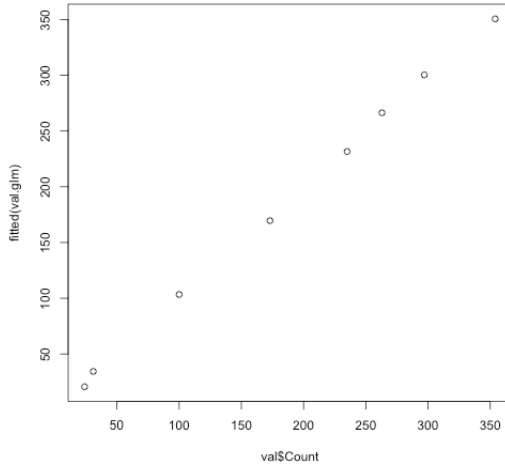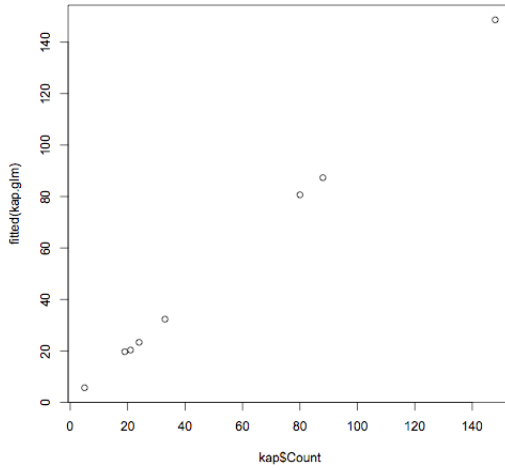
Figure 1: Predicted and observed counts for *valit'*

Figure 2: Predicted and observed counts for *kapat'*

124

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Dimensional Adjectives in Croatian: The Interplay of Semantic, Cognitive and Structural Factors

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Most traditional (Bierwisch 1970) and cognitive (Vogel 2004) analyses of dimensional adjectives (e.g. *deep*, *shallow*, *thick*, *thin*, *wide*, *narrow*) focus on their non-metaphorical senses. Moreover, spatial uses of pairs like *deep-shallow* are frequently cited as prime examples of antonyms. This paper is an investigation into the complete semantic structure of the Croatian dimensional adjectives *dubok* 'deep' and *plitak* 'shallow', taking into consideration their spatial (cf. a) and abstract (cf. b) uses:

(a) *Na tom je mjestu Bosut relativno plitak.*

'At this location the river Bosut is relatively shallow.'

(b) *Posljedica toga je duboki revolt i ogorčenost.*

'The consequence of this is deep revolt and bitterness.'

We propose a usage-based framework combining semantic, cognitive and structural factors. More specifically, we explore 1) how oppositeness of meaning is realized with respect to different senses of *dubok* 'deep' and *plitak* 'shallow', i.e. whether antonymy operates only on the level of their spatial meaning or whether it extends to other senses; 2) what are the form-meaning correlations with reference to the predicative and attributive uses of both adjectives (assuming that the syntactic patterns will reflect conceptual differences), and 3) which sense functions as central, in light of the frequency of pattern – conceptual entrenchment debate.

The data was extracted from the Croatian National Corpus. *Dubok* 'deep' exhibits a more elaborate semantic structure with more distinct senses than the adjective *plitak* 'shallow'. Consequently, their oppositeness of meaning is asymmetrical, being confined primarily to the spatial sense and less so to understanding and cognition senses (e.g. *dubok/plitak dijalog* 'deep/shallow dialogue'), confirming that antonymy is a matter of construal (Cruse – Togia 1995).

The adjectives exhibit clear form-meaning patterns: metaphorical uses of both *dubok* and *plitak* are predominantly attributive with values of 60% or more, while the spatial sense shows an equal distribution of attributive and predicative uses. Attributiveness may be related to the essential properties of the modified nouns, while predicative uses may refer to properties that are not intrinsic to the concepts described, but indicate one of the two extreme points on the deep-shallow scale. Antonymy of the spatial sense is thus reflected in the usage patterns, as is the existence of predominantly attributive uses of metaphorical senses of one adjective that in principle do not have their counterparts in the other adjective.

The most frequent sense of *dubok* is the abstract sense 'strong, difficult to change' (over 40% of examples; cf. (b) above), while the most frequent sense of *plitak* is the spatial sense describing the vertical dimension of a container with downward direction (60% of all examples; cf. (a) above). We argue that, contrary to the frequency – entrenchment correlation proposed by the usage-based model of language (Kemmer – Barlow 2000), other factors like embodiment play a decisive role in determining the central or prototypical sense. This is confirmed by an elicitation test given to 200 hundred native speakers of Croatian, whose responses unambiguously point to the cognitive centrality and entrenchment of the spatial sense, indicating 'container and/or fluid contents' as the typical referent noun.

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Yet Another Look at the Category of Animacy

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Our analysis of Serbian and Russian data that traditionally have been connected with marking of the category of animacy suggests that the accusative-genitive syncretism, which has been identified as a marker of animacy in these languages, serves as a marker of atypical objects, while the accusative-nominative form marks typical objects. Contrary to the expected formal marking of referentially animate objects with the Acc=Gen form, the distribution of this form is not identical with the semantic range of animacy. Likewise, the Acc=Nom form can be used not only for inanimates, but also for animates.

As the accusative-genitive form is generalised as a marker for atypical objects, i.e. typical animates, examples where it has been used for obvious inanimates helped us to establish a list of features that are equivalent with the atypicality of objects, i.e. typicality of animates.

The analyzed data do not permit establishment of a rigid hierarchy that would govern the choice of the accusative form in Serbian and Russian (and perhaps some other Slavic and, possibly, non-Slavic languages), since there are several features that most often occur in a sentence simultaneously. The object can (and it often does) acquire the accusative-genitive syncretism as a marker of its atypicality if it:

1. is referentially animate;

2. has a personal name;

3. is individuated;

4. is referential;

5. is in focus;

6. provokes a special attitude from the subject;

7. is supplied with a large amount of information.

However, the speaker's assessment of the object's typicality or atypicality (and therefore his/her marking of it with the appropriate accusative form)

in a particular situation can overrule the possible influence of all the listed features and still mark the object with the accusative-nominative or the accusative-genitive form. Therefore, the speaker's communicative need in a concrete situation is the ultimate cause for the choice of a given accusative form.

The list of features associated in previous research with marking of the category of animacy is actually the inventory of features that qualify atypical objects. Acceptance of this hypothesis makes the long lists of "exceptions" associated with the category of animacy unnecessary, since all of these "irregularities" are in fact results of the speaker's assessment of the object's proximity to his own perception of himself as the ultimate atypical object. Assignment of the accusative-genitive form to the object that (even temporarily) has the same or similar features as himself, equals the object's semantic "promotion" to a more noticeable unit, while assignment of the accusative-nominative syncretism signals the object's typicality or lesser similarity to the subject.

The category of animacy can be viewed as a part of the category of atypical objects, while the features most commonly associated with the category of animacy can change a usually typical or atypical object into its opposite, using the form of the accusative. This explanation leads to a semantically justified connection of numerous "counter-examples" for marking of the category of animacy to appropriate marking of (a)typical objects, regardless of their real-life status.

Pseudo-coordinative Construction $(j\acute{\imath}t)$V1aV2 in the Syntax of Contemporary Czech

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This text, based on the author's Ph.D. thesis, investigates two construction types in the Czech language system; they have in common a binary coordinative structure, using the Czech coordinator a ('and'), where two verbs are coordinated. These constructions are referred to as prototypical coordination (ProKoor) and pseudo-coordination (PseKoor) in the text.

The main claim is that even though these two types share the same surface structure (go)V1andV2, they do not represent the same phenomenon of coordination and it is necessary to divide them, as proposed.

I have proposed a two-part analysis. Firstly, PseKoor is analysed as a complex predicate formed on the level of syntax. This analysis immediately accounts for a number of properties of PseKoor which allows the comparison with ProKoor. Secondly, PseKoor is analysed as means of aktionsart, resp. as a variety coordination over substages of events. This also accounts for a number of characteristics of PseKoor, this time on the level of semantics.

In this way I also presented criteria for distinction between ProKoor on one side and PseKoor on the other side. I argued that ProKoor is a biclausal structure coordinating two separate events while PseKoor coordinates two verbs into one complex predicate and the coordinator a serves for a coordination in the frame of substages of the only event.

On the semantic level I characterised PseKoor as a complex event, the substages of which are coded into two conjuncts of the coordinative construction. It appears that the verb in the first conjunct denotes an event that expresses the preparation phase for the activity denoted by the verb in the second conjunct. The pseudo-coordinative verb in the first conjunct lexicalises a manner component in the internal event structure. The verb *go* in the first conjunct goes through the process of desemantisation and instead of the meaning of physical motion expresses dynamic aspects of the second event and the decision of the actor of the event to finish the second event. The explanation of PseKoor is given in the frame of cognitive grammar.

Double Government in Polish: An Interplay of Semantics, Pragmatics and Discourse Structure

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In contemporary Polish direct object is typically coded as the accusative or the genitive form of the noun (or the nominal), with the former being what Polish linguists describe as "the categorical form" in constructions with transitive verbs. However, cases of *dwojaki rząd* ("twofold government") are attested, with the motivation for the opposition being often unclear for both the theorists and the native speakers of the language. In grammar books, the difference between the two structures is described in terms of the "holistic" meaning of nouns in the accusative case as opposed to the "part-of-the-whole" meaning of the *genetivus partitivus*. However, closer scrutiny shows that the matter is much more complicated than that: the difference reveals itself as an intricate interplay of lexical semantics, aspectual meaning, the meaning of verbal prefixes, pragmatic factors and discourse structure.

In the presentation, the analysis (corpus-illustrated rather than corpus-based) will focus upon a single study: the priest's invocation following the intercessions during the Holy Mass, which is found to alternate between *Panie, wysłuchaj nasze modlitwy* ('Lord, hear our prayers.ACC') and *Panie, wysłuchaj naszych modlitw* ('Lord, hear our prayers.GEN'). The study was inspired by impressionistic folk reactions of the congregation.

A subject of numerous prescriptivist interpellations, the systemic difference in meaning resulting from twofold verb government has been explained by Polish linguists as a general diachronic tendency in the development of contemporary Polish, whereby one of the forms becomes obsolete. Interestingly, different sources list **either** of the two constructions as "getting out of use" or "archaic". On the other hand, simple Internet searching machines supply the interested searcher with corpora in which both structures are listed indiscriminately, that is, are treated as free variants, even though the level of entrenchment proves to be significantly lower for the construction with the accusative.

Searching for an explanation of these facts, I will list and analyse semantic, pragmatic and discursive factors considered as being responsible for the difference that holds between the two structures and compare the "holistic" cognitivist approach with some earlier works on government of transitive

verbs in Polish. In conclusion, I will present some general observations on the "conspiracy" between verbal aspect and case.

"Love" and "Truth" in Czech, English, French and German: Humboldt's Challenge to Cognitive Linguistics

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In recent decades cognitive linguistics has developed and expanded to take on questions from a wide variety of academic branches. While innovative research has opened up cognitive linguistics to questions of etymology (Sweetser) and rhetoric (Eubanks), multi-lingual corpus based research has remained rare in the States. It is for this reason that the Slavic Cognitive Linguistics Conference promises to be enriching and rewarding. As the home of the Prague Circle, Charles University, represented by contemporary scholars such as Ivana Bozděchová and Irena Vaňková, will be an ideal setting for taking debate into new dimensions and forcing English-speaking cognitive linguists to face up to a whole series of questions which proponents of multilingual approaches are dealing with. The comparison of languages not only enables us to ascertain whether similarities can be found, it also forces us to recognise that our own language system "patterns" a network of inter-relating concepts for us, and thereby frames the kind of questions we are capable of asking about language.

Many second generation cognitive linguists are still inclined to search for universals, while others prefer to analyse "language" (by which they mean "English") and to study its relationship to the brain without taking on board the differences between languages. In contrast to this, Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) invited us to contemplate the relationship between the evolving language system and the human mind. He suggested we should struggle to uncover the worldview (*Weltansicht*) in a language which allows us to conceive of ideas and thereby enables us to develop our own personal worldview within the creative space of language. It is in the spirit of Humboldt's worldview project that I intend to make a stance for a cross-lingual approach which seeks to uncover the way concepts are constructed (largely metaphorically) along different lines in different languages. I propose to compare and contrast the diverse strategies by which we construct our concepts of "love" and "truth" in English and the way in which French, German and Czech go about constructing similar concepts. What I hope to demonstrate is that those supposedly analogous concepts do not coincide fully with the

two concepts which remain fundamental for our vision of the world and our conception of our relations with others.

Culturally Specific versus Universal References to Emotion in Polish and English

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The main focus of the investigation is whether culture specific references to emotion in Polish are represented differently to their more universal counterparts in emotional dimensional structure. An evaluation of the similarities and differences between the emotional dimensions of Polish and English is also presented. The study is part of a wider investigation into the emotional patterning of a number of diverse languages, and is based on the methodology developed by Fontaine, Scherer, Roesch, and Ellsworth (2007). In addition to 24 universal prototypical emotion terms, Polish participants were presented with 8 culturally specific emotions. Each of these emotion terms were evaluated on scales representing 142 features that represent activity in all six of the major components of emotion ((a) appraisals of events, (b) psychophysiological changes, (c) motor expressions, (d) action tendencies, (e) subjective experiences, and (f) emotion regulation). A comparison is made between the culturally specific and universal references to emotion in Polish to determine how they are mapped onto the dimensional structure of emotion. The inconsistency found between the Polish and English conceptual structure of emotion is discussed in the context of cultural differences.

Linguistic Resources for Sharing Responsibilities: English, Polish, and 'Mixed' Couples Dealing with Everyday Chores

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Does the particular language somebody speaks make a difference for the way they lead their life? The paper presents results of a study addressing this question in a new way, by studying how linguistic activities are accomplished in two different languages: English and Polish. Specifically, the study focuses on the sharing of responsibilities for everyday chores. Because modal verbs in Polish are not necessarily marked for person, subjectivity in talking about daily chores can be left unmentioned in Polish. The following could be a fragment of a Polish conversation (translated literally): "One still has to send the letter" / "Oh well, then itself will take and send later". From an English perspective, the 'job' of agreeing "who does what" has not been done here. It might be that in Polish the point of conversation about daily chores often is not to agree "who does what", but to remind of a shared responsibility. Eighteen couples who participated in this study video-taped their breakfast conversations. Sequences in the conversation in which daily chores are addressed are analysed using the methods of Conversation Analysis. We also elicited video-stimulated comments from participants in order to find out more about the values which inhere in a particular way of sharing responsibilities. The presentation will provide an opportunity to discuss the potential of Conversation Analysis to address issues of 'linguistic relativity'.