



Metaphor in Grammar: Conceptualization of Time

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[Overview]

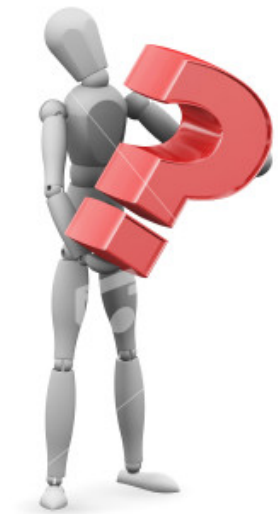
- Matter provides the source domain for the metaphor that motivates aspect in Russian
- PERFECTIVE IS A DISCRETE SOLID OBJECT vs. IMPERFECTIVE IS A FLUID SUBSTANCE
- Correlation between aspectual distinctions and count/mass, number distinctions

[Slavic Aspect:]

- Contrasts perfective vs. imperfective (no progressive and no neutral aspect)
- Is independent of tense and other verbal categories
- Implements imperfective (as unmarked) where other languages would have perfective
- Has a complex and seemingly incoherent array of uses

[Traditional Feature Analyses]

- Boundedness, Totality, Definiteness, Change vs. Stability, Sequencing vs. Simultaneity, Exterior vs. Interior, Figure vs. Ground, Punctuality vs. Durativity, Resultative
- Lack intricacy needed to account for uses
- Are ultimately new synonyms for perfective vs. imperfective



[The ICM of Matter]

- Conflates notions of count vs. mass, solid vs. fluid, hard vs. soft, shaped vs. formless, etc.
- Both more narrow and more richly textured than count vs. mass (basic level)
- Russian has made a heavy morphological investment in nominal distinctions relating to this ICM (individuation)

[The Two Types of Matter]

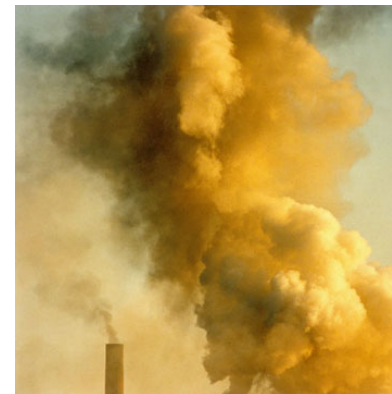
- **Discrete Solid Object:**
 - Nut
 - Apple
 - Chair
 - Pail
 - Truck
- **Fluid substance:**
 - Sand
 - Water
 - Air
 - Smoke

[The Two Types of Matter]

- **Discrete Solid Object:**



- **Fluid substance:**



Temporal Metaphors from General to Specific:

- TIME IS SPACE (well-documented, cf. Haspelmath 1997)
- A SITUATION IS A MATERIAL ENTITY (cf. comparisons of perfective vs. imperfective to count vs. mass)
- PERFECTIVE IS A DISCRETE SOLID OBJECT vs. IMPERFECTIVE IS A FLUID SUBSTANCE

Russian Investments in Individuation

- Number is overt, obligatory, intricate, and marked on all inflected words as sg or pl (no default general number)
- Russian categorizes as masses items that other languages categorize as individuals (fruits, ethnonyms)
- Collective and singulative suffixes
- Genitive/Locative singular –*u* for mass nouns

[Parallels between Russian Nominal and Verbal Morphology]

- Perfective vs. Imperfective is obligatory and ubiquitous like sg vs. pl
- Semelfactive *-nu-* parallels singulative *-in(k)-a*
- Imperfectivizing suffixes parallel collective suffixes (cf. *-stvo* in *učitel'stvo*)
- Delimitatives in *po-* parallel quantification of masses

[The Human Observer]



- NOW is a point in the timeline, but it is occupied by a human observer
- The Human Observer is not a point, and interacts with situations the way that a discrete solid interacts with material entities
- This is important for distinguishing future time from present time, and for gnomonic vs. non-gnomonic

[Properties of Matter and Parameters of Aspect]

- Inherent Properties -- correspond to inherent structure of situations and act as default values
- Interactional Properties -- correspond to discourse structure, and can override Inherent Properties
- Human Interactional Properties -- correspond to pragmatic structure, and can override Inherent Properties

[Analysis of Russian Aspect]

- See the Table and the examples in your handout.
- The letters on the Table correspond to the lettered headings of the examples.
- The numbers correspond to the numbered examples on the handout.

[A. – G.: Properties inherent to types of matter]

- A. Edges
- B. Shape
- C. Integrity
- D. Countability
- E. Streamability
- F. Penetrability
- G. Conversions

[A. Edges]

- Perfective:
 - Has edges 1)



- Imperfective
 - Has no edges 2)



[B. Shape]

- Perfective
 - Can have various shapes
3), 4), 5)



- Imperfective
 - Has no shape
but can spread
6), 7), 8), 9)



[C. Integrity]

- Perfective:
 - A unique occurrence 10)
- Imperfective:
 - Continuous processes and repetitions 11), 12)



[D. Countability]

- Perfective:
 - Quantified 13), 14)
- Imperfective:
 - Not inherently quantified, can fill 15), 16),



X

[E. Streamability]

- Perfective:
 - Gestalt 18)
- Imperfective:
 - Gradual accumulation 19), determined motion verbs



[F. Penetrability]

- Perfective:
- Imperfective:
Internal
descriptions 20)

X



[G. Conversions]

- Perfective:
 - *-nu-*
singularization,
packaging (23)
- Imperfective:
 - pulverization &
piling of
repetition 21),
22)



H. – K.: Interactions of types of matter and discourse structure

H. Compatibility

I. Dynamicity

J. Salience

K. Contiguity

[H. Compatibility]

- Perfective:
Sequencing and
future 24), 25),
26)
- Imperfective:
Simultaneity and
present 27), 28),
29), 30)



[H. Compatibility, cont'd.]

- Perfective embedded in imperfective:
Interruption of ongoing action 31)



I. Dynamicity

- Perfective: moves story along 32)
- Imperfective: slows story down 32)



[J. Salience]

- Perfective: obvious, foregrounded events 32)
- Imperfective: backgrounded events 32), 33)



[K. Contiguity]

- Combination of perfective edges with imperfective masses 34), 35), 36)



**L. – N.: Interactions of humans
with types of matter and pragmatic
structure**

L. Stability

M. Texture

N. Implied conversions

[L. Stability]

- Perfective: satisfying stability 37), 38), 39)
- Imperfective: nothing to grab onto 40), 41)



[M. Texture]

- Perfective:
forceful 42)



- Imperfective:
Generalized 43)
and polite



[N. Implied conversions]

- Perfective: Trying and succeeding 44)
- Imperfective: Previous result no longer there 45)



[Beyond Slavic]

- French: more perfective than imperfective; motivated more by closed vs. open or discrete vs. filling; attenuated number
- Chinese: perfective, imperfective and neutral aspect, probably motivated from various sources; reduced number and no formal count vs. mass distinction
- Navajo: Similar to Chinese, and with no number distinction

[How did this system evolve?]

- In 2011–2012 we will have our research group at the Academy of Sciences in Oslo
- We will focus on:
 - The evolution of concepts of time
 - Relation of linguistic concepts to concepts in other domains (science, belief, art)