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Peircean Semiotics and Cognitive Linguistics: A Case Study of the Russian Genitive*

0.0 Introduction

This article is written as a response to two challenges, one theoretical and the other practical. As a second-generation student of Jakobsonian structuralism with a long-standing commitment to the framework of cognitive linguistics, I have always been aware of the direct influence of Peirce on the former as well as the compatibility of his philosophy with the latter. This is my first expedition into the significant resonances among the writings of Peirce, Lakoff, Langacker, and Johnson. The practical challenge arose a decade ago when I was researching the meanings of cases in Czech and Russian (in preparation for Janda 1993a). I wished to do justice to both the variety and the coherence displayed in the polysemy of Slavic case, and to illustrate this phenomenon with those cases in which such polysemy is most richly articulated. The nominative, accusative, and locative, although not entirely trivial in their semantics, are fairly predictable in their variations, which cohere well without any theoretical explanation. The remaining cases, the dative, instrumental, and genitive, are on the contrary replete with sub-meanings which at first glance seem little more than randomly assigned assortments. At the time, however, I simply could not arrive at a satisfactory account of the genitive, and failing that I focused exclusively on the dative and instrumental. Thus the analysis presented below is an attempt to return to some unfinished business.

0.1 *Translating cognitive linguistics into Peircean terms*

Like it or not, we must concede that the history of linguistics (at least in the twentieth century) has been characterized more by sweeping revolutions than by gradual evolution. The two closest to my own experience are the advent of generative linguistics in the late '50s and the opposing trend of cognitive linguistics in the early '80s. Both revolutions have had their "prophets" who, while espousing something "new," have not done justice to previous schools of thought. The former revolution, however, presented a more forceful break with the past, whereas the concepts brought forward by the latter comport well with many earlier philosophies of language, thus offering an opportunity to bridge the first rup-

ture.¹ To my knowledge, however, the implications of Peircean semiotics for cognitive linguistics have not yet been tackled.²

Like the Peircean position, the understanding of meaning in cognitive linguistics stands in stark contrast to that developed by Descartes, and the two frameworks share an affinity to Kant. The cognitive approach to meaning is nonpropositional, taking as its basis instead the universals of human bodily experience. Cognitive linguists are just as adamant as Peirce in stating that this experience of the real world is mediated entirely via percepts, themselves inextricably bound to interpretations. Cognitive linguists go to great lengths to explain how physical interaction with the world (standing in a vertical position, falling, watching the height of a pile grow as it accumulates more mass) grounds basic image schemata (such as UP-DOWN) that in turn structure our understanding of many domains (MORE / WELL / AWAKE / DOMINANT IS UP vs. LESS / SICK / ASLEEP / SUBORDINATE IS DOWN). This attitude is in full agreement with Peirce's assertion that universal propositions (image schemata) are deducible from perceptual judgments (embodied experience). Both frameworks view knowledge and meaning as inherently structured—no cognitive element can exist in the absence of relations to others.

Peirce and cognitive linguists are at terminological odds over the use of "category" because this word represents a central but very different concept in each framework. Although all the pieces are there and we will examine the role of triads in the cognitive framework below, cognitive linguistics lacks the overarching distinction among the categories of firstness, secondness, and thirdness so essential to Peirce. The concept that "category" subsumes in cognitive linguistics does have a Peircean correlate, one associated with Peirce's famous "lake of consciousness" metaphor (CP 7.547–592; Corrington 1993: 106–8). The lake is, in and of itself, pure possibility, the capacity to receive and structure information—an instance of firstness. The raindrops that fall to its surface—instances of secondness—are percepts. As they strike the surface, drops enter into structures in the lake—thirdness—termed by Peirce "skeletal-sets." These skeletal-sets are cognitive linguistics' categories, and at the risk of making an unfounded speculation, I will suggest that the very structure of Peirce's compound word indicates that his conception of skeletal-set is virtually identical to that of the cognitive category. As distinct from a set-theoretical model of definition (in which every item is either in a set or out of it), cognitive linguistics has developed a model of the category (informed by research in psychology, neurobiology, and AI) in which internal structure replaces the role of the boundary in defining membership. Members are identified and organized into a category by their relationship to a central proto-

type; these relationships are the links that give the category its center-periphery structure, according to which category membership is scalar. It seems plausible that Peirce invented the compound "skeletal-set" in order to capture just such a concept of a set for which the most important organizational element is its internal structure (= skeleton), rather than any external boundary. Thus although cognitive linguistics has no word for the Peircean category, Peirce does appear to have a correlate for the category of cognitive linguistics.

Despite the fact that cognitive linguistics has no consistent way to refer to Peircean categories, firstness, secondness, and thirdness are omnipresent, and a number of Pierce's triads can be easily discerned. The triad of the sign—icon, index, symbol—gathers together the three essential mapping relations of cognitive linguistics: iconicity, metonymy, and metaphor.³ The theoretical objective of the analysis below is to correlate Peirce's triad of the interpretant—immediate interpretant ("the total unanalyzed effect that the Sign is calculated to produce"), dynamical interpretant ("the direct effect actually produced by a Sign upon an Interpreter of it"), final interpretant ("the effect the Sign *would* produce upon any mind upon which circumstances should permit it to work out its full effect"; Peirce 1977: 110)—with its three counterparts in cognitive linguistics: overall schema, specific submeaning, and semantic network. Given that all three constructs of cognitive linguistics have a symbolic moment, they must be understood as overlaid upon thirdness: schema as a first of thirdness, submeaning as a second of thirdness, and network as a third of thirdness.

0.2 Some background on the analysis of the genitive

As Blake (1994: 151) states, the genitive case "is widespread," for it "is found not only in Indo-European languages, but also in Uralic, Caucasian, Altaic, Dravidian and Semitic languages." There is a strong tendency among languages to use the same morphological means to signal possession, adnominal relationships other than possession, and complements of certain verbs. The student of Peirce sees this as a product of thirdness; the cognitive linguist sees it as a product of the experiential basis of cognitive categories; both recognize that this cannot be the result of random homonymy, and both will seek to find a coherence in the polysemy to go along with the coherence in the morphology.

Nikiforidou (1991) took a major step toward a coherent account of the genitive case in the cognitive framework, and the analysis in 1.0 was in large part facilitated by her work. She looked at a wide variety of Indo-European languages, drawing upon a base of both diachronic and synchronic data, ultimately deriving a network of interrelated meanings that posits plausible relationships between many

of the apparent opposites so problematic in the genitive (of the type *beauty of woman* vs. *woman of beauty*; *adventures of man* vs. *man of adventure*). Nikiforidou also argued convincingly that relative distance (in this case from the genitive entity as the standard in a given qualitative domain) provides the semantic structure motivating the comparative use of the genitive. The importance of Nikiforidou's analysis should not be underestimated, but it falls short of the goals of the present analysis in two respects:

a) Although the prose descriptions do refer to some image schemata (part-whole and distance), these are never brought together into an integrated definition for any of the submeanings. This is particularly evident in the diagrams, which consist only of a box containing words referring to the genitive entity and the other entity, with a dotted line between them. Ultimately the meaning ascribed to the genitive is very vague, not much more definite than the default term "relationship," and much of the meaning ascribed to the genitive seems actually to reside in the lexical morphemes instead (cf. the relationship between a "person" and "his/her kin").

b) Several key meanings of the Russian genitive are entirely missing from this analysis, among them virtually all uses of governed genitive (with prepositions and verbs), meanings of PROXIMITY and APPROACH, as well as negation (a core element in the LACK submeaning) and PARTITIVE (Nikiforidou uses the term "partitive" to refer to the use of genitive with quantifiers, but does not include partitive uses in the absence of a quantifier).

The following analysis builds on Nikiforidou's achievements but involves a significant redesigning of her network in order to accommodate Russian data.

1.0 Overview of the genitive

Po bul'varu vdol' želtyx skameek, mimo gipsovych urn šagaet nebol'sogo rosta čelovek. ... V dviženijax—izjaščestvo junogo knjazja. Najman—intellektual'nyj kovboj. Uspevaet nažat' spuskovoj krjučok ran'she ljubogo opponenta. (D 1993: 18)⁴

'Down the boulevard along the yellow benches-GEN, past the plaster urns-GEN strides a man (of) small stature-GEN. ... In (his) movements is the elegance (of) a young prince-GEN. Najman is an intellectual cowboy. (He) can pull the trigger earlier (than) any opponent-GEN.'

This brief text illustrates at least part of the range of the Russian genitive, as it is used with a great variety of prepositions (RG: 671–673 lists 132 simple and com-

plex prepositions, more than for any other case), with verbs, negation, quantifiers and comparatives, and in a perplexing array of adnominal positions. In this text there are two constructions indicating the relationship between a person (a man, a young prince) and his attributes (stature, elegance). The locus of case marking, however, might appear to be arbitrary, attached to the attribute in the first instance, but to the person in the second. A satisfactory account of the meaning of the genitive should not only explore the motives for such semantic variety but also address the coherence of these various parts in a single unified grammatical-semantic category.

The following analysis is only a preliminary attempt at such an account, based primarily on the limited data of a pilot study.

Figure 1 offers an abstract overall schema for the genitive, variously elaborated by syntactic and lexical contexts, as described in some detail below. It should be stressed that the presentation of this diagram does not in any way suggest that speakers have this particular internal representation or that they think in pictograms, or the like. Its role is suggestive rather than definitional. It suggests that speakers have an abstract mental representation of the genitive, that the genitive entity (LM = landmark) is somehow cognitively prior to or more salient than (with priority and salience metaphorically implied by relative size) another entity (TR = trajector), and that the TR exists or maneuvers in or in the immediate proximity of the LM. Thus the LM serves as a sort of mental address (locus, source, destination, or standard of comparison) for the TR. This relationship may be direct or may be mediated (by a preposition, verb, adjective, etc.). The meaning of this abstract schema is grounded in the universal human experiences of containers (metaphorically mapping onto the genitive entity the role of the body as a container and of other physical containers), movement along a path, and relative distance. All three of these abstract relations are numbered among the experientially-based image schemata which Johnson (1987: 126) argues "are pervasive, well-defined, and full of sufficient internal structure to constrain our understanding and reasoning." Integrated as they are in the schema of the genitive, container, path, and near-far (distance) operate holistically to structure a certain kind of relationship common in the signification repertoires of the world's languages.

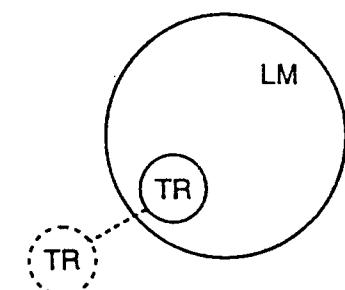


Figure 1: Overall Schema

All uses of the genitive ultimately derive from and make reference to this

abstract schema. Each specific use, however, focuses on only some portions of the overall schema, which receive a more concrete interpretation. Thus we have a network of specific realizations related to each other and to the abstract schema. The links among the specific realizations are of recurrent and circumscribed types (all of which have been documented in other semantic networks; cf. Janda 1986, 1993a): removal of a participant (TR or LM), focus on one part of the trajectory, reversal of direction of the trajectory.

The various submeanings that constitute the genitive will be discussed in turn below. The reader should note, however, that each submeaning merely represents a portion of the network where there is a concentration of usage. In actuality, the network is more like a multi-dimensional continuum than a series of discrete sites. Although some instantiations of the genitive may be focal examples of given submeanings, many cannot and should not be pigeon-holed at one site. Some instantiations will be multiply motivated by two or more submeanings, serving as transitions among them. For practical reasons, however, all examples will be listed under a single heading below, and transitional meanings will be indicated where appropriate.

1.1 BELONGING "LM has TR"

Genial'naja ideja! Prineset nam tri miliona dollarov! Uspex na sto procentov garantiruetsja. Nikakogo riska. Čerez tri nedeli my otkryvaem fabriku iskusstvennyx soskov! (D 1991: 149)

'A brilliant idea! (It) will bring us three million dollars-GEN! Success is guaranteed one hundred percent-GEN. No risk-GEN. In three weeks we will open a factory (for) artificial nipples-GEN!'

This example gives a partial menu of BELONGING, with (in order of appearance) two illustrations of the subvariety QUANTIFICATION, one of LACK, and one garden variety adnominal of the main submeaning itself. This submeaning (Figure 2) locates the TR as an entity in the sphere of the LM, with no reference to the TR's potential trajectory.

BELONGING easily qualifies as the center of gravity of the Russian genitive, both in terms of the variety of meanings it facilitates and in terms of the frequency of its usage. It is the only submeaning expressed by a bare genitive (i.e., not trig-

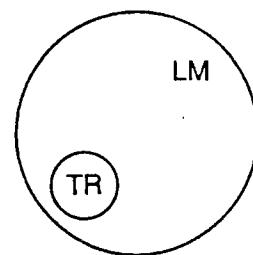


Figure 2: BELONGING

gered by the presence of a preposition, verb, adjective, or comparative), it has three local sub-(sub-sub?)meanings (QUANTITATIVE, PARTITIVE, and LACK), and it is associated with far more prepositions than any other submeaning.

A. Bare case

At first glance the spectrum of relationships in this submeaning, which comprehends apparent opposites such as 'a man (of) tall stature-GEN' vs. 'the elegance (of) a young prince-GEN' and many others, appears so diverse as to elude consistent interpretation. A careful reading, however, suggests that, be it straightforward and concrete or highly metaphorical, use of the bare (adnominal) genitive tends to be based on possession.

In its most ordinary guise, possession is a result of ownership (*mašina brata* 'brother's car [lit. car (of) brother-GEN]') or inalienable possession (as in the case of parts or kin: *ruka/syn ženčiny* 'hand/son (of) the woman-GEN'). The possessor, marked by the genitive, is more cognitively salient, serving as the mental (or physical) locus for the possession. In the case of a part-whole relationship (another of the basic image schemata identified in Johnson 1987), the relevance is obvious—the TR is a part located in the whole of the LM, as in:

V ètix slučajax dejstvujut različnye učastki golovnogo mozga.
(D 1993: 17)

'In such circumstances various parts (of) the head's brain-GEN function.'

My zanimaem celyj ètaž gigantskogo neboskreba "Korvet."
(D 1991: 5)
'We occupy a whole floor (of) the giant "Corvette" skyscraper-GEN.'

Part-whole possession is frequently applied to more metaphoric parts, as in *tema našego simpoziuma* (D1991:16) 'the theme (of) our symposium-GEN' or *Emu izvestny literaturnye tajny prošlogo i buduščego* (D 1993: 19) 'He knows the literary mysteries (of) the past and the future-GEN'. More abstractly, it is possible to use the genitive as an all-purpose container, the default category (indicated by 'type', 'kind') for the trajector in question:

Boks—èto, v obščem-to, svoego roda iskusstvo... (D 1991: 27)
'Boxing is, on the whole, an art (of) its own kind-GEN...'

samodejatel'nye žurnalisty, bezrabotnye filologи, vsjakogo roda ambicioznye prazdnošatajuščiesja ljudi (D 1991: 13)
'free-lance journalists, unemployed philologists, arrogant idle-roaming people (of) every kind-GEN'
formulirovki tipa (D 1991: 19)
'formulations (of) the type-GEN'

A common metaphorical extension (seen in section 1.0: ‘the elegance (of) a young prince-GEN’) is motivated both by ownership and part-whole possession: a person (or thing or abstraction) has attributes (shape, form, appearance, smell, etc.):

Togda počemu že ja oščuščaju sebja na grani fizičeskoj katastrofy? (D 1993: 7)
‘Then why do I find myself on the edge (of) physical catastrophe-GEN?’

forma krasoty (D 1991: 56)
‘the form (of) beauty-GEN’

My ne dolžny ignorirovat’ seksual’nuju prirodu tanca. (D 1991: 45)
‘We must not ignore the sexual nature (of) the dance-GEN.’

panorama Los-Andželesa (D 1991: 54)
‘the panorama (of) Los Angeles-GEN’

zapax tajuščego snega (D 1991: 25)
‘the smell (of) melting snow-GEN’

Associated feelings also “belong” to certain emotions, as in *čuvstvo straxa* (D 1991: 24) ‘a feeling (of) fear-GEN’. Since ‘fear’ in this collocation serves as the source of the feeling, we see a transiton between BELONGING and FROM (the latter subsuming causation).

Ownership may also be extended metaphorically in the absence of part-whole relations to suggest that one entity (LM) has control over another (TR):

večnaja ironija ...—edinstvennoe oružie bezzaščitnyx (D 1991: 56)
‘perpetual irony ... is the only weapon (of) the defenseless-GEN’

èemigracija est’ “laboratoriya svobody” (D 1991: 50)
‘emigration is “the laboratory (of) freedom-GEN”’

The part-whole relationship may describe a situation in which we have a set (LM) that “has” a member or members (TR): *členy associacii* ‘members (of) the association-GEN’. This set can be defined in terms of various attributes such as color, size, interest, age, virtue, etc.⁵

Galstuk cveta ruxnuvšej nadeždy. (D 1991: 137)
‘A tie (of) the color-GEN (of) dashed hope-GEN.’

nebol’šogo rosta čelovek (D 1993: 18)
‘(of) small stature-GEN man’
ljudi iskusstva/truda (D 1991: 51/55)
‘people (of) art/labor-GEN’

amerikanka srednix let (D 1991: 53)
‘an American woman (of) middle age-GEN’

Nadejus’, ty vyrasteš’ čelovekom bol’šoj duši. (D 1991: 117)
‘(I) hope you grow up (to be) a person (of) great soul-GEN.’

Notions of containment, possession, and part-whole relations motivate a variety of genitive time expressions. Since events happen in periods of time, if we map relations of space onto time, events are conceived of as objects in temporal containers. This justifies the use of the genitive for dates on which things happen: *on priexal šestogo i uedet desyatogo* ‘he arrived (on) the sixth-GEN and will depart the tenth-GEN’. Hours are contained in parts of the day, and days in months, yielding: *tri časa dnja/noči* ‘three o’clock (in) the afternoon/night-GEN’; *segodnja pjan nadcatoe marta* ‘today is the fifteenth (of) March-GEN’.

The way human beings typically view events (Langacker’s [1987: 5] “typical action,” simplified here somewhat), as captioned in Figure 3, facilitates several more candidates for BELONGING.

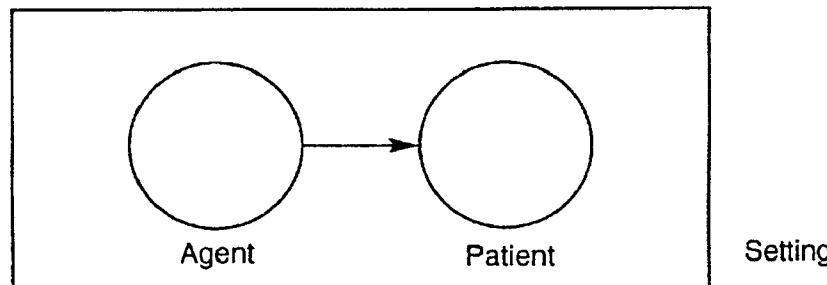


Figure 3: Prototypical Event

In this canonical scenario, X acts on Y. Both the agent (X) and the patient (Y) “have” an experience of this action. If the action either creates or alters the patient, then we can say that both the agent and the action produce and therefore “have” the result of the action, namely the patient (Y). Here are examples of the various genitive relationships motivated by the prototypical event schema: *Agent has experience*⁶

Kogo interesujut priznaniya literaturnogo neudačnika? (D 1993: 7)
‘Who is interested in the confessions (of) a literary failure-GEN?’

Moj lučšij roman ... podvergsja napadkam cenzury. (D 1991: 53)
‘My best novel was subjected to the attacks (of) censorship-GEN.’

Ja uže togda znal o sušestvovanii neoficial’noj literatury. (D 1993: 15)
‘At the time I already knew about the existence (of) unofficial literature-GEN.’

gudenie xolodil'nika; groxot koles (D 1991: 24; 42)
 'the hum (of) the refrigerator-GEN; the thunder (of) the wheels-GEN'

(In the last two examples the source verbs are intransitive and there are no patients. The relationship between the agent and its action is not affected by this variation.)

Agent has patient

Ne povtorte ošibku Terpandera. (D 1991: 21)
 'Don't repeat the error (of) Terpander-GEN.'

podarok druga; recenzija znamenitoj Inny Solov'evoj (D 1991: 14; 1993: 26)

'the gift (of) a friend-GEN; a review (by) the famous Inna Solov'eva-GEN'

Svoju reč' on posvjatil tvorčestvu Èduarda Limonova. (D 1991: 22)

'He devoted his speech to the works (of) Èduard Limonov-GEN.'

Action has patient

material'nye plody čelovečeskix usilij (D 1993: 137)
 'the material fruits (of) human efforts-GEN'

Takov rezul'tat obojudnogo vlijaniya. (D 1993: 16)

'Such is the result (of) mutual influence-GEN.'

Patient has experience

Iudaisty sobrali podpisi v zaščitu Anatol'ja Ščaranskogo. Pravoslavnye dobivali osvoboždenija Gleba Jakunina. (D 1991: 20)
 'The Jews gathered signatures for the defense (of) Anatolij Ščaranskij-GEN. The Orthodox were trying to secure the liberation (of) Gleb Jakunin-GEN.'

Menja vsegda ugnetalo protivoestvennoe skoplenie redkostej. (D 1991: 16)

'The unnatural heaping up (of) rarities-GEN has always depressed me.'

The fact that both agent and patient can be construed as possessors of an experienced event raises the possibility of ambiguity resolvable only in context; *poterja čeloveka* 'loss (of) the man-GEN' can identify either something the man lost (man as agent), or his becoming lost by some other person or group (man as patient).

Just as any event has internal parts (beginning, middle, and end), objects also have a source or beginning that can be conceived of concretely (as in the example above of *fabrika iskusstvennyx soskov* 'factory (for) artificial nipples-GEN') or

abstractly. Here are three examples—all of some outlandish *sposoby obogaščenija* (D 1993: 97) 'means (source) (of) getting rich-GEN'—which demonstrate this range, from "patient has experience," through "source," through "abstract source":

Planiroval izdanie s"edobnyx detskix knig. Zatem vynašival proekt s"edobnyx šaxmat. Nakonec, prišel k volnujuščej idee s"edobnyx damsckix trusikov. (D 1991: 148)

'He planned the publication (of) edible children's books-GEN. Then he brought out a project (for) edible chess pieces-GEN. Finally he came to the thrilling idea (of) edible women's underwear-GEN.'

B. Prepositions

vvidu 'in view of' (FROM)

vmesto 'in place of'

vrode 'of the type of, like'

mež/meždu 'among' (archaic)

napodobie 'in the likeness of'

poverx 'over, on top of'
 (PROXIMITY)

poseredine 'in the middle of'

putem 'by way/means of'

vzamen 'in exchange for'

vnutri 'inside of'

vsledstvie 'in consequence of'
 (FROM)

nakanune 'on the eve of'

nasčet 'on the matter of, about'

poperek 'across the width of'

posredi 'in the middle of'

sredi 'among, in the middle of'

Nearly all of the prepositions associated with BELONGING are derived from prepositional phrases (this includes the sixty-four complex prepositions which are written as more than one word and are transparently derived; to save space these are listed in the appendix) in which the second, nominal element of the phrase stands in a BELONGING relationship to the genitive entity (LM), such as part-whole in the case of *nakanune* 'on the eve of' [literally decomposable into *na* 'on' and *kanune* 'eve/vigil-LOC']; *poseredine* 'in the middle of' [literally *po* 'along' *seredine* 'middle-LOC']. Some of the meanings are very similar or transitional to the meanings of other submeanings, as indicated in both this table and the one in the appendix.

1.1.1 QUANTIFICATION "TR is a subset of LM"

QUANTIFICATION employs a slightly modified version of BELONGING; here TR either is or behaves as a quantifier, thus picking out a quantified subset of LM.

A. Quantifiers

All uses of the genitive with definite and indefinite numerals belong here, such as

pjat' / *skol'ko/mnogo knig* 'five/how many /many books-GEN' and telling time with fractions of the hour: *pol vtorogo* 'one-thirty [lit. half (of) second (hour)-GEN]'. Many other words can trigger QUANTIFICATION as well:

čislo našix dorogix gostej (D 1991: 15)
'the number (of) our dear guests-GEN'

tolpa edinomyšlennikov i počitatelej (D 1991: 54)
'a crowd (of) like-minded people and admirers-GEN'

ja otosla celuju pačku rasskazov (D 1993: 26)
'I sent off a whole bundle (of) stories-GEN'

On byl poxož na gromadnuj kopnu sena. (D 1991: 29)
'He looked like a huge pile (of) hay-GEN.'

B. Verbal government

There are two verbs in Russian, *ispolnjat'sja* 'become full of' and *preispolnjat'sja* 'become full of', both of which indicate that the TR (subset) is becoming full of the substance of the LM.

C. Adjectival government

The adjective *polnyj* 'full' functions similarly to the verbs above, as in:

ja byl polon èntuziazma (D 1993: 17)
'I was full (of) enthusiasm'

1.1.2 PARTITIVE "a subset of LM"

PARTITIVE differs from QUANTITATIVE only in that the TR is missing, and the meaning of quantity is not directly triggered by any numeral or other quantifier. The LM consists of a substance (a mass noun) or a count noun in the plural. The actual amount of LM involved is either indeterminate or interpreted in context as relatively large or small. All uses of the special Russian "second genitive" are subsumed by this submeaning.

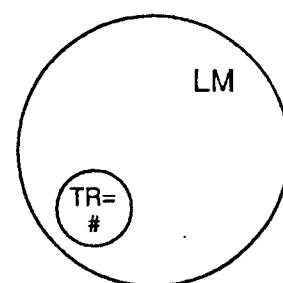


Figure 4: QUANTIFICATION

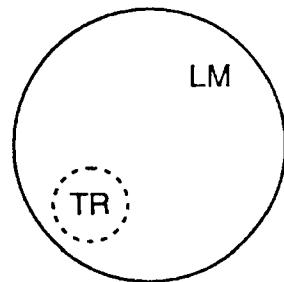


Figure 5: PARTITIVE

A. Small/large/indeterminate amounts

The default value is a small amount; large amounts require supporting context.
Small amounts

Vypil čaju. (D 1991: 23)
'(I) drank (some) tea-GEN.'

On nabralsjia xrabrosti i skazal... (D 1993: 25)
'He gathered up (some) courage-GEN and said...'

Large amounts

Narodu—jabloku negde popast'. (RG: 429)
'(So many) people-GEN—an apple couldn't fall to the ground.'

Knig pokupaet—stavt' nekuda. (RG: 430)
'(S/he) buys (so many) books-GEN—(there's) no place to put (them).'

As in the last example above, many common verbs of manipulation and consumption have variable government, using the accusative to refer to wholes or to indivisible items, but the genitive to refer to a quantity (great or small) if the object is divisible or has parts, is plural, or is a substance (RG: 35)

<i>brat</i> 'take'	<i>dobyť</i> 'obtain'
<i>polučit'</i> 'receive'	<i>kupit'</i> 'buy'
<i>dat'</i> 'give'	<i>prislat'</i> 'send'
<i>prosit'</i> 'request'	<i>kljančit'</i> 'beg'
<i>s"jest'</i> 'eat up'	<i>glotnut'</i> 'swallow'
<i>vypit'</i> 'drink up'	<i>položit'</i> 'put, lay'
<i>nasypat'</i> 'pour out'	<i>nalit'</i> 'pour out'

The genitive can also be used for generalized (indeterminate) quantification when the item quantified (LM) is topicalized and therefore separated from its quantifier. In this example the genitive form *sester* 'sisters-GEN' is clearly not quantified by the following numeral, but just in general, in anticipation of the later specification:

Sester u menja dve. (RG: 429)
'Of sisters-GEN I have two.'

B. Borrowing—partitive in the domain of time

A number of verbs meaning passing, receiving, etc. can use either the genitive to indicate a temporary transfer, or the accusative (which has no such connotation; RG 36). Here the quantification of LM is made in terms of the duration of the relevant action:

dat' 'give'
poprosit' 'request'

odolžit' 'lend/borrow'
dostat' 'get', etc.

C. Verbal government

There is at least one verb that reliably triggers the sort of indefinite quantification characteristic of the PARTITIVE submeaning, *xvatať* 'be enough of, exist in sufficient quantity', as in:

Musul'mane zajavili, čto u nix sobstvennyx problem xvataet. (D 1991: 20)

'The Muslims announced that they have enough (of) their own problems-GEN.'

1.1.3 LACK "none of LM"

The LACK submeaning differs from that of QUANTIFICATION and BELONGING in that the other participant, namely the LM, is now missing. The TR makes reference to this missing LM, primarily achieved via verbal negation.

A. Negation

Prototypical examples of the genitive of negation involve the subject of existential 'be', as in:

U menja ne bylo togda vlečenija k literature. (D 1991: 24)

'At the time I didn't have [lit. by me there wasn't] (any) attraction-GEN for literature.'

Other negated constructions connoting existence or creation function similarly, as in:

sil'nogo vpečatlenija ja ne proizvel (D 1991: 47)
'I did not make a strong impression-GEN'

Ja tol'ko skažu vam čego my pisat' kategoričeski ne dolžny. (D 1991: 5)

'I will only tell you what-GEN we are categorically not supposed to write.'

V romane ne upominalos' imeni Stalina. (D 1991: 14)
'The name-GEN of Stalin was not mentioned in the novel.'

Categorical denial of involvement can likewise trigger the genitive:

Saxarov vam ètogo ne prostit. (D 1991: 19)
'Saxarov won't forgive you that-GEN.'

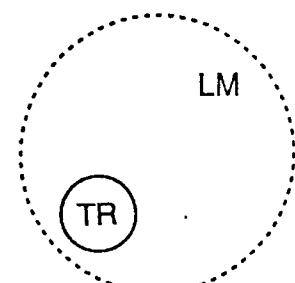


Figure 6: LACK

Absence can also be construed as an experience of the LM, and thus the word *otsutstvie* 'absence' in the following example shows a transition between the bare genitive use motivated by event structure under BELONGING and LACK:

Poroki ego zaključalis' v otsutstvii nedostatkov. (D 1991: 112)
'His faults consisted of an absence (of) shortcomings-GEN.'

B. Prepositions

Like the last example above, all the prepositions that trigger LACK do so because they mean 'in the absence of'. The verbs and the adjective associated with this submeaning have similarly synonymous meanings.

bez 'without'
pomimo 'aside from'

krome 'aside from'
za isključeniem 'with the exception of'

C. Verbal government

lišat' 'deprive'
nedostavat' 'be lacking'

D. Adjectival government

lišennyj 'deprived'

1.2 PROXIMITY "TR is at LM"

PROXIMITY highlights the portion of the trajectory at which the TR is just outside but in direct contact with the LM. Like all the remaining meanings of the genitive, PROXIMITY cannot be expressed by bare case usage; it requires a trigger word.

A. Prepositions

u 'near, at, by'
vne 'outside, out of'

kasatel'no 'touching,
concerning'

vozle 'near,
next to'

vdol' 'along'
vokrug 'around'
pozadi 'behind'

lišat'sja 'be deprived of'

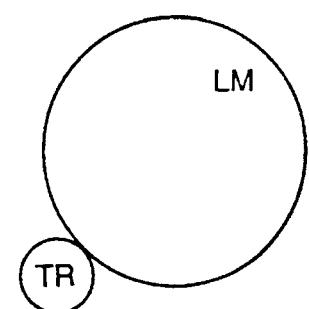


Figure 7: PROXIMITY

bliz 'near, by'
okolo 'around, in the
environs of'
otnositel'no 'concerning'

podle 'beside'

vblizi 'close by'
vperedи 'in front of'
szadi 'behind'

Aside from the first three examples (*u*, *bliz*, and *vne*) which are most prototypical for PROXIMITY, all prepositions in this meaning are either complex or adverbial, and the last ten show a morphological and semantic profile very similar to that of most prepositions listed above under BELONGING. These function as transitions both to BELONGING and to DISTANCE (in contexts where direct contact with the LM is not specified).

B. Verbal Government

<i>kasat'sja</i> 'touch, touch upon'	<i>deržat'sja</i> 'stick to'
<i>priderživat'sja</i> 'adhere to'	<i>slušat'sja</i> 'obey'

The first three verbs can instantiate PROXIMITY in both concrete and metaphoric realms. The fourth verb, *slušat'sja* 'obey' operates only in the metaphorical realm, indicating adherence to norms of behavior.

1.3 FROM "TR comes from LM"

FROM describes the entire trajectory of the TR, moving it out of and away from LM. The impulse for this movement can be inherent to either TR or LM; in the latter case LM is seen as engendering or causing this movement, motivating meanings of causation, fear, avoidance, and repulsion.

A. Prepositions

<i>iz</i> 'from'	
<i>radi</i> 'because of'	
<i>ixvodja iz</i> 'proceeding from'	
<i>strašno</i> 'fearful' (impersonal)	

The core member of this group is the preposition *iz*, which encompasses a variety of meanings, including causal meaning. The genitive entity can serve as the geographical source, the source material, the source set, or even the cause for the TR:

<i>čelovek iz Moskvy</i> 'person from Moscow-GEN'
<i>posuda iz gliny</i> 'dish (made) from clay-GEN'

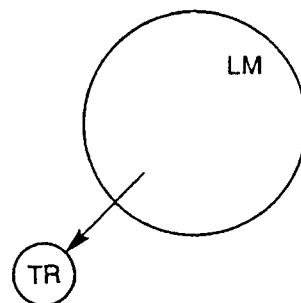


Figure 8: FROM

<i>iz-za</i> 'from behind; due to'
<i>iz-pod</i> 'from beneath; formerly used for'
<i>žal'</i> 'grudge (due to); pity'

odin iz nailučix matematikov
'one of the best mathematicians-GEN'

(note here the meaning of 'one FROM a group', transitional to BELONGING)
iz revnosti
'from/due to jealousy-GEN'

Iz-za, *iz-pod*, and *ixvodja iz* all identify LM as a source point. *Iz-za* is particularly frequent in its metaphorical meaning 'due to, because of', which is basically synonymous with *radi*. *Iz-pod* has, in addition to its concrete meaning, the sense of source as former use, as in:

butylka iz-pod moloka
'empty milk bottle [lit: bottle from beneath milk-GEN]'

The last two "prepositions" (they might be more accurately termed adverbs; both participate in impersonal constructions in which the genitive entity inspires a reaction on the part of the trajector) are motivated in a way similar to the verbs below. *Žal'* seems to be almost ambiguous as to the direction of the maneuver, since we can have *mne žal'* *poterjannogo vremeni* (RG: 429) 'I begrudge the loss of time-GEN [lit. me-DAT sorry lost time-GEN]' (parallel to the verbs of avoidance), but also *mne žal'* *tebja* 'I feel sorry for you-GEN [lit. me-DAT sorry you-GEN]', which suggests a positive inclination more like that characteristic of APPROACH. *Strašno*, as in *odnogo tol'ko strašno* 'there's only one thing-GEN to fear [lit. one-GEN only fearful]' clearly builds on the same model as the verbs of fear.

B. Verbal government

<i>bojat'sja</i> 'fear'	<i>dičit'sja</i> 'avoid'
<i>izbegat'</i> 'avoid'	<i>opasat'sja</i> 'fear, beware, avoid'
	<i>pugat'sja</i> 'be frightened by'
	<i>stornit'sja</i> 'shun, avoid'
	<i>čuždat'sja</i> 'shun, avoid'
	<i>robet'</i> 'be timid'

All of these verbs involve recoiling from an entity that either inspires fear or is found repellent. The TR withdraws from the genitive LM because the latter exerts a negative force on it, be it dread, disgust, or simple disfavor. The use of the genitive with *robet'* and *trepeta'* is archaic; they more typically appear with the preposition *pered* 'before' and instrumental case instead. This is probably because they belong in this class of verbs only via metonymy. Here part of a fear reaction (being timid, trembling) can be used to index fear itself, in which case the genitive can be used, but such use is relatively marginal.

C. Adjectival government

There is only one common word in this category: *čuždyj* 'free from, devoid of'. The English equivalents most adept at conveying the meaning of this adjective mask the fact that it is based on the same scenario as *čuždat'sja* 'shun, avoid'. When we say *on čuždyj ègoizma* 'he is devoid (of) egotism-GEN', the force of the Russian construction is closer to 'egotism is alien to him'.

1.3.1 FROM EDGE "TR comes from LM"

FROM EDGE is a local variant of FROM, differing from the latter only in that LM is treated as a surface or point rather than as a container. This variation is particularly well adapted to the temporal meaning 'since'. Like FROM, FROM EDGE can be used metaphorically to refer to causes.

Prepositions

ot	'from'
vblizi ot	'close by, not far from'
vdali ot	'a long way from'
v zavisimosti ot	'depending on'
v otklje ot	'as distinct from'
v storonu ot	'to the side of' (destination)
načinaja s	'beginning with'

I podobral ètot vojn s zemli nedozreļuju figu. (D 1991: 21)
'And that soldier picked up an unripe fig from the ground-GEN.'

Ja s detstva mečtal o literature. (D 1991: 8)

'I have dreamed of literature since childhood-GEN.'

I čerez minutu grèčeskij pevec Terpander skončalsja ot uduš'ja.
(D 1991: 21)

'And a moment later the Greek singer Terpander died from
asphyxiation-GEN.'

Ty javljaeš'sja kogda Dudko s poxmel'ja—mračnyj. (D 1993: 30)
'You keep showing up when Dudko is gloomy from (his)
hangover-GEN.'

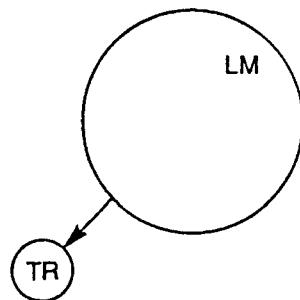


Figure 9: FROM EDGE

s	'of off; from'
vdaleke ot	'a long way from'
nevdaleke ot	'not far from'
nezavisimo ot	'not dependent on'
v storone ot	'to the side of'
v napravlenii ot	'in the direction of'

I podobral ètot vojn s zemli nedozreļuju figu. (D 1991: 21)

'And that soldier picked up an unripe fig from the ground-GEN.'

Ja

s detstva

mečtal

o

literature.

(D 1991: 8)

'I

have

dreamed

of

literature

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I

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(D 1991: 21)

'And

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died

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Ty

javljaeš'sja

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Dudko

s

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—

mračnyj.

(D 1993: 30)

'You

keep

showing

up

when

Dudko

is

gloomy

from

(his)

hangover-GEN.'

1.4 APPROACH "TR approaches LM"

In terms of direction of the trajectory, APPROACH is the mirror image of FROM.⁷ Like FROM, it operates in space, time, and other metaphorical realms. As opposed to the verbs associated with FROM, the APPROACH verbs are verbs of attraction, in which the TR is inclined toward the LM.

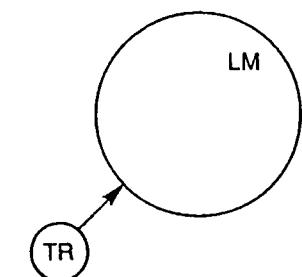


Figure 10: APPROACH

- dlja 'for'
- vplot' do 'right up to/until'
- ne doxodja do 'not (going)
as far as'

ot Peterburga do Moskvy
'from Petersburg to Moscow-GEN'

my rabotali do šesti časov
'we worked until six o'clock-GEN'

Ja pišu ne dlja slavistov. Ja pišu dlja normal'nyx ljudej. (D 1991: 22)
'I don't write for slavists-GEN. I write for normal people-GEN.'

ona vysoka dlja svoix let
'she's tall for her age-GEN'

ja ničego ne imeju protiv ètogo
'I don't have anything against that-GEN'

B. Verbal government

There are two groups of verbs here, those that strongly govern the genitive, and those that can govern either the genitive or the accusative, depending upon the status of the object in question.

Verbs that require the genitive:

dobivat'sja	'get, strive for'	dostigat'	'attain'
žaždat'	'thirst for'	želat'	'desire'
zasluživat'	'deserve'	stoit'	'be worth'
udostaivat'sja	'receive as award'		

The semantic correlation between the first four verbs that require the genitive and the prepositions *do* 'up to' and *dlja* 'for' is straightforward; the genitive entity consistently serves as the object that the TR strives for. In both *zasluživat'*

'deserve' and *udostavat'sja* 'receive as award' the trajector APPROACHES the genitive entity by means of merit, earning its progress along that path; oddly the former verb governs only the accusative in its perfective form. With the verb *stoit'* a semantic distinction is expressed via case government: with the accusative it means 'cost', but with the genitive the sense is most similar to *trebovat'* 'demand, require', as in *èto stoit vnimanija* 'that is worth paying attention to [lit. that is worth attention-GEN]'. Here are a couple of relevant examples:

A Mabis, ... vo Frankfurte, dobilsja tam političeskogo ubežišča.
(D 1991: 114)

'And Mabis, ... in Frankfurt, got political asylum-GEN there.'

Kak vy dostigli takogo nравственного soveršenstva?
(D 1991: 20)

'How did you attain such moral perfection-GEN?'

Verbs that may take the genitive or the accusative:

dožidat'sja 'wait for'

ždat' 'wait for'

iskat' 'seek'

ožidat' 'expect'

prosit' 'request'

trebovat' 'demand, require'

xotet' 'want'

These verbs can be construed as instantiating either the prototypical event (Figure 3) or APPROACH. The accusative case is used when a known, specific LM that is already in existence is sought. The genitive case is used for less tangible items that are hoped for (here LM makes reference to a class of things that might exist):

Čego ja ždu každyj raz, okazavšis' v neznakomom meste?
(D 1991: 23)

'What-GEN do I wait for every time I find myself in an unfamiliar place?'

Žizn', kotoruju my veli, trebovala značitel'nyx rasxodov.
(D 1991: 56)

'The life we led demanded considerable expenses-GEN.'

C. Adjectival government

The use of the genitive with *dostojnyj* 'worthy' is motivated by the same factors as the verbs denoting merit.

1.5 DISTANCE "TR is set apart from LM"

DISTANCE highlights only the endpoint of the trajectory, in much the same way as *the house is over the hill* highlights only the endpoint of the trajectory of *John went over the hill*. Here the TR is separated from LM in space (*naprotiv* 'opposite, across the street'), time (*prežde* 'before'; *posle* 'after'), or another, metaphorical

domain. It is in these latter, metaphorical dimensions that DISTANCE does most of its work. Here DISTANCE is metaphorically equivalent to difference, and the TR is judged against the standard of comparison of the LM. Comparative adjectives and adverbs characterize the TR as being greater or less than the known value of LM in the given domain. The TR may be bigger or better, but the LM is the point of departure for the comparison.

A. Comparison

The most ordinary syntactic structure for comparative adjectives and adverbs marks the LM in the genitive case:

Anna umnee/starše brata

'Anna is smarter/older (than her) brother-GEN'

Za každyj nomer v otele my platim bol'se sta dollarov. (D 1991:15)

'For each room in the hotel we are paying more (than)
one hundred-GEN dollars.'

B. Prepositions

prežde 'before'

naprotiv 'opposite'

mimo 'by, past'

posle 'after'

sverx 'over, above'

Although the prepositions of DISTANCE apply primarily to relations of space and time, they too can instantiate other domains:

posle tridcati šesti let (D 1991: 52)

'after thirty-six-GEN years'

Posle komunistov ja bol'se vsego nenavižu antikommunistov!

(D 1991: 74)

'After communists-GEN I hate anticommunists most of all'

1.6 Summary

Figure 12 gives an overview of the semantic network of the genitive in Russian, with BEONGING serving as the prototype, linked to other submeanings via transitional examples indicated above, as well as by transformations of the various submeanings (focus on one part of the trajectory, removal of participants, reversal of direction of trajectory). The meanings of the genitive, resulting from a dynamic interaction among image schemata such as container, path, near-far are quite specific and well grounded in human experience, rather than being mere abstract

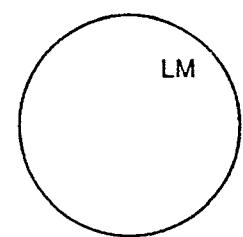


Figure 11: DISTANCE

relationships. In such a network the genitive can be both highly diverse and entirely coherent, since both aspects contribute to the structure of meaning (a synthesis impossible to achieve under a set-theoretical model of categorization).

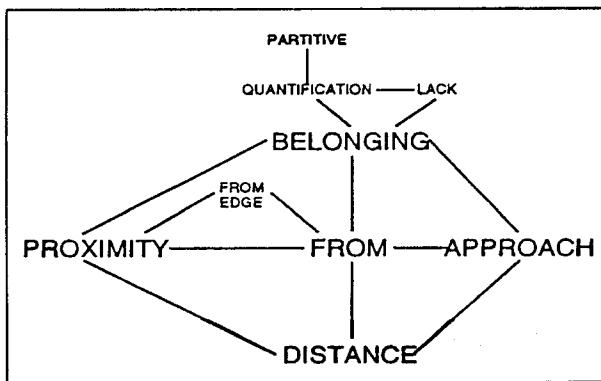


Figure 12: Semantic Network of Russian Genitive

2.0 Conclusion

Against the backdrop of thirdness, Figure 1, the overall schema, describes Peirce's immediate interpretant; it calls up all the possible meanings of the genitive. Figures 2 and 4-11 describe dynamical interpretants, the actual impact of meanings in given cases. Figure 12 is the final interpretant, which gathers all of the meanings under a single umbrella. Given this "translation," the aim of the analysis has been to demonstrate that Peircean semiotics and cognitive linguistics can share equivalent functions. Indeed, the two frameworks can and should inform each other, to their mutual benefit. Cognitive linguistics stands to gain from Peirce a philosophical depth it lacks, particularly in the harmonious articulation of firstness, secondness, and thirdness, concepts that are at present scattered rather haphazardly over the framework. Peircean semiotics, on the other hand, can gain from the meticulous work carried out by cognitive linguists in investigating the precise natures of both secondness and thirdness. Secondness, under the guise of the image schemata in the repertoire of human experience and their expression in linguistic categories, has been the subject of virtually all research in cognitive linguistics. Likewise, virtually all such research also addresses the architecture of thirdness. Whereas Peirce ascribes to it attributes such as "hunger" and "growth," the accretion of ideas into structures is surely neither indiscriminate nor random. Cognitive linguistics is devoted to investigating the linkages formed in language and cognition, such as the linkages between submeanings, and the relations between categories (basic-level, subordinate, and superordinate). The path toward joining the two frameworks looks promising indeed, and perhaps this contribution will be one very tentative step.

Endnotes

* I would like to thank Edna Andrews and Robert E. Innis for their constructive comments which were valuable in the revision of this paper.

¹ I am certainly not the first to suggest that cognitive linguistics is a delayed continuation of earlier trends. Lakoff himself (1987) makes copious reference to Wittgenstein. The task of drawing parallels with past models is taken up in earnest in Swiggers 1988 and Geeraerts 1988.

² This statement was written before I had a chance to read the other papers in this volume or Danaher's "Peirce's Semiotic and Conceptual Metaphor Theory" (forthcoming in *Semiotica*).

³ The correlation between icon and iconicity is transparent. The use of the terms metonymy and metaphor in cognitive linguistics does not differ from the ordinary senses of these words, although cognitive linguists give these relations much more prominence than is customary in other linguistic frameworks. Sebeok 1994 confirms the correlation between index and metonymy. There is not space here to give a reasoned account of the correlation between symbol and metaphor, so I will beg the reader's indulgence on this point and simply claim that when one entity (symbol) stands for another, it stands in a metaphorical relationship to that second entity.

⁴ Examples in this article are drawn primarily from the two volumes of writing by Dovlatov in the list of Works Cited, and the initial "D" stands for the author's name. This corpus was chosen because the style is relatively recent, lively, and conversational, and the author does not embed ideas in complex prose or contexts, so excerpted examples are readily accessible. In some places material from *Russkaja grammatika* has been used to augment the illustration, and these items are coded with "RG" followed by page numbers. I would like to thank Eleonora Magomedova, who assisted me in confirming my interpretation of some of the data, and also Steven Clancy, who executed the drawings.

⁵ A large body of literature (Lakoff 1987: 5–156 contains numerous citations) has demonstrated that the vast majority (if not all) human cognitive categories are not structured as sets but rather as radial networks based on a prototype. However, what we are dealing with here in the genitive is a mental model of categories as sets, but NOT actual categories themselves. The fact that categories are not sets

does not preclude us from having a convenient mental representation that construes them in this way.

⁶ The notion that an agent possesses past experiences is by no means language-specific and has, of course, been grammaticalized in the many languages that use verbs meaning 'have' as auxiliaries in past tense formation. These languages have institutionalized the metaphor PAST ACTIONS ARE OBJECTS IN THE AGENT'S POSSESSION in their grammars.

⁷ This reversal might seem arbitrary, but similar reversals have been well documented. Particularly relevant here is the semantics of the dative case in West and South Slavic, which can involve transferral to or from the dative experiencer; thus both 'give' and 'take' have the same indirect object construction, although the movement is in opposite directions, as demonstrated in Janda 1993b.

Appendix

Complex prepositions that implement the BELONGING submeaning of the Russian genitive:

v adres 'directed toward'
v granicax 'within the bounds of'
v znak 'as a mark/token of'
v kačestve 'in the capacity of'
v oblasti 'in the field of'

v pol'zu 'in favor of,
on behalf of'
v predelax 'within the limits/
bounds of'
v rajone 'in the area of'

v rezul'tate 'as a result of'
v svete 'in the light of'

v smysle 'in the sense of, as regards'
v soprovoždenii 'in the
accompaniment of'
v sfere 'in the realm of'
v tečenie 'in the course of'

v vide 'in the form of'
v dele 'in the case of'
v ipostasi 'in the form of'
v napravlenii 'in the direction of'
v otnošenii 'in the relation of,
with respect to'
v porjadke 'in the order of'

v prodolženie 'in the course of'

v ramkax 'within the limits/
framework of'
v roli 'in the role of'
v silu 'on the strength of,
because of'
v slučae 'in case of'
v storonu 'to the side of'

v sčet 'on the strength of'
v uslovijax 'in the conditions of'

v xode 'in the course of'
v čest' 'in honor of'
v číslo 'in(to) the number of, among'
vo imja 'in the name of'

vne predelov 'beyond the limits of'

vne sfery 'beyond the realm of'
na osnovanii 'on the basis of'

na puti 'on the path of'
po adresu 'to the address of,
to' (APPROACH)
po mere 'according to the measure of,
as far as'

po pričine 'by reason of' (FROM)
po časti 'by the part of,
in connection with' (PROXIMITY)

pod imenem 'in the name of'
pod nazvaniem 'under the title of'
pri pomošči 'with the help of'
pri uslovii 'on the condition of'
s cel'ju 'with the goal of'

so storony 'from the side of'

v celjax 'with the goal of'
v čisle 'in the number of, among'
vo vremja 'in the time of, during'
vne granic 'beyond the
borders of'

vne ramok 'beyond the bounds/
framework of'

za sčet 'at the expense of'
na predmet 'with the object/
purpose of'

na sčetu 'to the credit of'
po linii 'along the line of'

po povodu 'on the occasion
of, concerning' (PROXIMITY)
po slučaju 'by reason of' (FROM)
pod vidom 'under the guise of'

pod ličinoj 'in the guise of'
pod predlogom 'on the pretext of'
pri posredstve 'by means of'
s pomošč'ju 'with the help of'
s točki zrenija 'from the
point of view of'
čerez posredstvo 'by means of'

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Nominal Morphological Invariants of Russian Mobile Stress (With an Addendum on the Romanian Subjunctive)

0. Introduction.

Although the Russian stress system has attracted the interest and attention of many scholars, the treatment of this system in terms of Peircean iconicity has received its most thorough treatment in the work of Shapiro (1991:72–91). Earlier work by Jakobson (1984 and 1985) also has revealed many non-arbitrary aspects of Russian stress and its relation to the Russian morphological system. The present paper differs from the work of Shapiro (1991), in the fact that the latter study speaks of "the structural irrelevance...of the accentuation of items such as *vólk* or *rúká*," while I hope to demonstrate that such older patterns of case mobility have a great deal of structural relevance, especially when viewed in the light of the more productive patterns.

Far from being arbitrary in their distribution, I will argue that virtually all of the patterns of Russian accentual mobility can be related to very restricted sets of desinences. My basic premise is that if a given stress pattern occurs only in the presence of a specific set of morphological and phonological features, then we can say that the stress pattern implies that set of features and serves as a redundant signal, or diagrammatic icon, of those features. However, the reverse cannot be stated, since the set of grammatical features may occur with or without the presence of the particular stress pattern. Since the Russian noun is inflected for both case and number, it is perfectly logical that stress patterns exist which are correlated to each of these grammatical meanings.

When the paradigm of a Russian noun is uniformly stressed on the stem or ending, manifesting the accentual pattern known as immobile stress, there is no such correlation to certain paradigmatic forms.¹ Such patterns will not be of concern in the remarks which follow. I will concentrate on accentual mobility, dividing it into two major types, which I will refer to by the terms **case mobility** and **number mobility**, and their structure will be the primary focus of this paper. Case mobility, which typically functions independently in either the singular or plural subparadigm of the noun, opposes the stress of a single form to all of the