"From Cognitive Linguistics to Cultural Linguistics"

by Laura A. Janda, University of Tromsø

3a. Gender: Virility in Polish

Numerals:

Two series of numerals dedicated only to counting men (not used for mixed groups): I: dwu/dwóch 'two', trzech 'three', czterech 'four', pięciu 'five', wielu 'many' (all numerals)

II: dwaj 'two', obaj 'both', obajdwaj 'both two', trzej 'three', czterej 'four' (limited to these items)

Series I is associated with a special syntactic construction in which the verb appears with neuter singular (default) agreement, the noun designating the male humans is marked with the Genitive plural, and there is no Nominative subject, as in: przyszło trzech studentów 'three male students came (literally: came three of male students)'.

Marking of virility on plural nouns

Options: honorific virility, neutral virility, and deprecatory virility

Honorific ending: -owie

Neutral virile endings: -i/(-y) with consonant mutation; -e

Deprecatory virile endings: -y/(-i) without consonant mutation Honorific and neutral virility entail special Nominative plural and Accusative (= Genitive) plural endings for nouns denoting male humans, along with virile syntactic agreement on associated adjectives, pronouns, and verbs. Deprecatory virility assigns the same inflectional endings and syntactic agreement patterns as used with females, animals, and inanimate objects.

Honorific ending used with prestigious titles and professions, such as królowie 'kings', *generałowie* 'generals', *geografowie* 'geographers', ethnonyms (if monosyllabic) *Bałtowie* 'Balts', and male kinship terms like *ojcowie* 'fathers'. Some professions can receive either honorific or neutral virile endings, such as psychologowie/psycholodzy 'psychologists' and profesorowie/profesorzy 'professors'. Most remaining virile nouns receive the neutral ending -i/(-y) with consonant mutation, as in *studenci* 'students' and *autorzy* 'authors'. A few nouns occur with either neutral or deprecatory virility marking, such as Zydzi/zydy 'Jews', Murzyni/murzyny 'Negroes', and cyganie/cygany 'Gypsies'. Nouns referring to male human beings that belong to marginalized or maligned segments of the population tend to have the deprecatory ending, as in *bekarty* 'bastards', *koniokrady* 'horsethieves', karty 'midgets', pedaty 'homosexuals (vulgar)'.

Polish scale of self vs. other has virile category at top 96.7% ethnic Poles, no minority group more than 0.4% (2006 CIA World Fact Book)

3a. Gender: Grammatical Profiles in Russian (research by Julia Kuznetsova) (each example represents a group of >3 verbs) Sample from top 100 masculine verbs

leadership	načal'stvovat'	'be chief'	
professions	remontirovat'	'repair'	
drinking	p'janstvovat'	'drink heavily'	
smoking	raskurit'	'light up'	
aggressive sex	ebat'	'fuck'	
argumentation	argumentirovat'	'argue'	
evaluation	raskritikovat'	'criticize'	
cutting	narubit'	'chop'	
hammering	skolačivať	'knock together'	
liturgical	zapovedat'	'enjoin, command'	
high style	obessmertit'	'immortalize'	

Sample from top 100 feminine verbs

maternity	zaberemenet'	'get pregnant'	
child-rearing	ukačivat'	'rock to sleep'	
needlecrafts	vyšivat'	'embroider'	
cooking	napeč'	'bake'	
washing	myt'	'wash'	
crying	vsplaknut'	'have a little cry'	
exclaiming	zaaxat'	'start exclaiming ah!'	
lamentation	pričitať	'lament'	
relationships with men	koketničať	'flirt'	
moving like a bird	vporxnut'	'flit in'	
speaking like a bird	zaščebetať	'start to twitter'	

3b. Instrumental and Dative case

In both Russian and Czech, the Instrumental case is used with verbs that express mastery:

(Russian) Devuška vladeet kistočkoj/russkim jazykom (Czech) Dívka vládne štětcem/ruštinou

'The girl has mastery of the paintbrush/the Russian language'

Only Russian uses Instrumental to mark people who are mastered: dirižirovat' 'conduct (a musical group)', komandovat' 'command', pravit' 'govern', rukovodit' 'lead, direct', upravljat' 'govern, administer', verxovodit' 'lead'.

The construction is the same as in *Mal'čik pisal avtoručkoj/pošel peškoj* 'The boy wrote with a fountain pen/moved his pawn'.

Czech uses the Dative case to express the domination of human beings.

Both Russian and Czech use the Dative case with verbs that denote human relationships, be they equal or unequal.

Equally matched human relationships: Russian *ravnjat'sja* 'equal', *protivostojat*' 'withstand' and Czech *rovnat se* 'equal', *odolat/odolávat* 'resist'

Both languages can mark an unequal relationship where the Nominative subject is weaker and therefore submits to a Dative object: Russian poddat'sja/poddavat'sja 'submit to', ustupit'/ustupat' 'yield to' and Czech poddat/poddávat se 'submit to', ustoupit/ustupovat 'yield to'.

The third logical possibility is that the Nominative subject is the one with the upper hand, thus dominating the Dative object. This option is realized only in Czech, where the set of verbs denoting domination uses the Dative case, as in *dominovat* 'dominate', *vévodit* 'rule', *vládnout* 'govern'.

This set of Dative-governing Czech verbs fills the same semantic niche as the set of Instrumental-governing Russian verbs listed above.

3d. Dative reflexive clitic

Czech si

'get something for oneself': dobýt si 'obtain (for oneself)', dovolit si 'allow oneself', koupit si 'buy (for oneself)', obstarat si 'obtain (for oneself)', pořídit si 'acquire', chtít si 'want for oneself', přisvojit si 'adopt/take possession', přivlastnit si 'take possession', vynutit si 'require/get by force', zasloužit si 'deserve', zažádat si 'demand', získat si 'get'. The verbs dát 'give' and vzít 'take' undergo a semantic collapse in the presence of si, such that both express 'give to the self', as in: Vzal si cigaretu a hned si ji zapálil 'He took a cigarette (for himself) and lit it immediately'. The use of a verb with si to mean 'take from the self' is limited only to situations where this would be beneficial, as in: Ten další zákusek sis mohl odříci, začínáš se podobat svému otci. 'You could have refused (for yourself) that extra pastry, you're beginning to look like your father'. Both dát 'give' and vzít 'take' participate in important idioms in conjunction with si; dát si means 'have (food, as when ordering in a restaurant)', and vzít si means 'marry (take wife/husband)'.

Self-indulgent behaviors. This can be seen in distinctions between the uses of verbs with and without si, such as: hrát 'play' vs. hrát si 'play for fun', házet 'throw' vs. házet si 'throw for fun'. The use of si to express self-indulgence is productive, as we see in these examples: Klikněte si pro vetší obrázek 'Click (for yourself) for a bigger picture'; V jednom seriálu jel hlavní hrdina autem, na klíně měl notebook a surfoval si po Internetu 'In one serial the main character was riding in a car, he had a laptop on his lap and was surfing the Internet (for himself)'. Czech si, along with the prefixes po- and za-, participates in a morphological derivation pattern that likewise indicates the "pleasure factor" of certain activities, as in zajezdit si 'go for a ride (for pleasure)' and pochutnat si 'take a taste of (for pleasure)'.

Personal comfort and hygiene are associated with Czech si. Verbs that express taking convenient positions require the use of si: sednout si 'sit down', lehnout si 'lie down', dřepnout si 'squat', stoupnout si 'stand up' (used only when standing is convenient for a task). Verbs expressing the routine maintenance of body parts (and some possessions, usually shoes and clothes) are accompanied by si, producing common phrases such as umýt si hlavu 'wash one's head/hair (literally: wash for oneself head)', vyčistit si zuby 'brush one's teeth', ostříhat si nehty 'cut one's nails'. Various verbs expressing both physical and psychological relief are commonly combined with si, such as: oddechnout si 'take a breather', odpočinout si 'rest', odskočit si 'relieve oneself (go to the bathroom)', pohovět si 'lounge', postěžovat si 'complain'. A more subtle expression of benefit is found with the verbs expressing awareness and capability that combine with si: cenit si 'appreciate', myslet si 'have an opinion', pamatovat si 'remember', všimnout si 'notice'.

There are examples of harm expressed with si, but this use carries implications of accident or ultimate benefit (through necessary punishment). Harm to a body part is necessarily interpreted as an accident (since otherwise si is an indicator of self-indulgence) in expressions such as: narazit si palec 'stub one's toe', podvrtnout si kotník 'sprain one's ankle', rozbít si koleno 'skin one's knee', zlomit si nohu 'break one's leg'. On occasion, if a person feels the need to castigate himself or herself for doing something foolish, it is possible to use si with a punishment verb to deliver self-flagellation, such as nafackovat si 'slap oneself' and nakopat si 'kick oneself'. This use of si strongly implies that the punishment is beneficial to the self, as seen in this example: Ja mam na sebe vztek, ja bych si nakopal, ja jsem blbec 'I'm furious with myself, I could kick myself, I'm an idiot.'

3e. Singular vs. plural

o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o				
	Russian	Czech		
'apples'	<i>jabloka</i> [pl]	jablka [pl]		
'potatoes'	kartofel' [sg]	brambory [pl]		
'cranberries'	kljukva [sg]	brusinky [pl]		
'raisins'	izjum [sg]	hrozinky [pl]		
'peas'	gorox [sg]	hrách [sg]		

3f. Source-location-goal

	0		
	source	location	goal
	'I came from Alta'	'I was in Alta'	'I went to Alta'
Norwegian	Jeg kom fra Alta	Jeg var i Alta	Jeg reiste til Alta
	[fra]	[i] [i]	[til]
Russian	Ja priexala iz Alty	Ja byla v Alte	Ja poexala v Altu
	[iz + Gen]	[v + Loc]	[v + Acc]
Sámi	Mun bohten Alttás	Mun ledjen Alttás	Mun mannen Altái
	[Loc]	[Loc]	[III]

Norwegian uses three different prepositions for source, location, and goal. Russian uses the same preposition (v) for both location and goal (but different cases). Sámi uses the same case (Locative) for both source and location.

Bibliography

Achard, Michel and Suzanne Kemmer, eds. 2004. *Language*, *Culture*, *and Mind*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Bowerman, Melissa, Soonja Choi. 2003. "Space under construction: language-specific spatial categorization in first language Acquisition", in: Dedre Gentner & Susan Goldin-Meadow (eds.) *Language in mind*. Cambridge-London: MIT Press, 387-427.

Corbett, Greville. 2000. Number. Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press.

Dahl, Östen. 1985. Tense and aspect systems. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Dickey, Stephen M. 2000. *Parameters of Slavic Aspect. A Cognitive Approach*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Dybiec, Joanna. 2003. "*Polacy nie gęsi?* Balancing Between Anglo-Polish and the Government Ordained Purity: the Influence of the English Language on Contemporary Polish." *Slovo* 13, 59-71.

Harrison, K. David. 2006. When Languages Die: The Extinction of the World's Languages and the Erosion of Human Knowledge. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Haspelmath, Martin. 1997. From Space to Time: Temporal Adverbials in the World's Languages. Munich: LINCOM EUROPA.

Janda, Laura A. 1997. "Implementation of the FIGURE-GROUND distinction in Polish," in a refereed volume entitled *Lexical and syntactic constructions and the construction of meaning* (Current issues in linguistic theory 150), edited by Keedong Lee, Eve Sweetser, and Marjolijn Verspoor. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 149-163.

Janda, Laura A. 1999. "Whence virility? The rise of a new gender distinction in the history of Slavic," in *Slavic gender linguistics*, ed. by Margaret H. Mills. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 201-228.

Janda, Laura A. 2000. "From number to gender, from dual to virile: bridging cognitive categories," in *Lexical and grammatical classification: same or different?*, ed. by Yishai Tobin and Ellen Contini-Morava. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 73-86.

Janda, Laura A. 2002a. "The conceptualization of events and their relationship to time in Russian", in *Glossos* 2, at http://www.seelrc.org/glossos/.

Janda, Laura A. 2002b. "Concepts of Case and Time in Slavic", in *Glossos* 3, at http://www.seelrc.org/glossos/.

Janda, Laura A. 2004a. "The Dative Case in Czech: What it Means and How *si* Fits in", in the published proceedings of the annual meeting of the Společnost pro vědy a umění 2003, at: http://www.svu2000.org/conferences/papers.htm.

Janda, Laura A. 2004b. "A metaphor in search of a source domain: the categories of Slavic aspect", *Cognitive Linguistics* 15, 2004, 471-527.

Janda, Laura A. 2004c. "Kognitivní lingvistika", *Čítanka textů z kognitivní lingvistiky I* (Prague: Ústav českého jayzka a teorie komunikace), 9-58.

Janda, Laura A. 2006a. "Cognitive Linguistics" [revised version], *Glossos* 8, at http://www.seelrc.org/glossos/.

Janda, Laura A. 2006b. "A Metaphor for Aspect in Slavic", Henrik Birnbaum in Memoriam (=International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics 44-45), 249-60.

Janda, Laura A. 2008. "Transitivity in Russian from a Cognitive Perspective", in *Dinamičeskie modeli: Slovo. Predloženie. Tekst. Sbornik statej v čest' E. V. Padučevoj*, edited by Galina Kustova. Moscow: Jazyki slavjanskoj kul'tury, 970-988.

Janda, Laura A. and Steven J. Clancy. 2002. *The Case Book for Russian*. Bloomington, IN: Slavica.

Janda, Laura A. and Steven J. Clancy. 2006. *The Case Book for Czech*. Bloomington, IN: Slavica.

Lakoff, George. 1987. Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things. Chicago/London: U of Chicago Press.

Lehečková, Helena. 2003. "Slavonic versus Finno-Ugric languages: On missing categories in grammar and cognition", <u>Glossos</u> 4: http://www.seelrc.org/glossos/issues/4/leheckova.pdf.

Malt, Barbara C., Steven A. Sloman, Silvia P. Gennari. 2003. "Speaking versus thinking about objects and actions", in: Dedre Gentner -- Susan Goldin-Meadow (eds.) *Language in mind*. Cambridge-London: MIT Press, 81-111.

Palmer, Gary B. 1996. *Toward a Theory of Cultural Linguistics*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Rakhilina, Ekaterina V. 1995. "O cvetnom i bescvetnom", *Rusistika segodnja* 1, 50–69.

Slobin, D. I. (1987). "Thinking for speaking", *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 435-444.

Stunová, Anna. 1993. *A contrastive study of Russian and Czech aspect: Invariance vs. discourse*. University of Amsterdam PhD Dissertation.

Talmy, Leonard. 1985. "Lexicalization patterns: Semantic structure in lexical forms", in: T. Shopen (ed.), Language typology and syntactic description: Vol 3. Grammatical categories and the lexicon. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 55-149.

Talmy, Leonard. 1996. "Fictive Motion in Language and 'Ception'". *Language and Space* ed. by Paul Bloom *et al.* Cambridge/London: MIT Press.

Zaliznjak, Anna, Irina Levontina and Aleksej Šmelev. 2005. *Ključevye idei russkoj jazykovoj kartiny mira*. Moscow: Jazyki slavjanskoj kul'tury.