

# VERBAL DUEL AND FLIRTATION FROM A COGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE: A CASE STUDY OF FILM NOIR

## "THE BIG SLEEP" (1946)

*Agnieszka Grząsko, Robert Kiełtyka\**

*University of Rzeszów, Poland*

*Corresponding author\**

**Bibliographic description:** Grząsko, A. & Kiełtyka, R. (2021). Verbal duel and flirtation from a cognitive perspective: A case study of film noir "The big sleep" (1946). In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Trnava: University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, 2021, VI (1), June 2021, p. 2-39. ISSN 2453-8035

**Abstract:** In this paper, we examine a selection of dialogues from the film "The big sleep" (1946), with special attention devoted to those of a flirtatious nature. The chief purpose of the account is to suggest that verbal flirtation may be interpreted as a phenomenon resulting from the working of two conceptual processes, namely metaphor and metonymy as well as their interaction.

**Key words:** flirtation, seduction, film noir, metaphor, metonymy, "The big sleep".

### 1. Introduction

Lovers' discourse diverges considerably from the ways, in which friends and relatives communicate with one another. In this article, we aim to explore the somewhat underresearched area of flirtation, which may be labelled as a subgenre of seduction (see Fleming 2015: 20-21 and Hoffman-Schwartz et al. 2015: 1). If seduction refers to a process whose anticipated outcome is predetermined (power), then flirtation is, as argued by Freud ([1915] 1981), a purely innocent pastime with no victims involved. In what follows, an attempt will be made to briefly discuss the notion of flirtation on the basis of selected dialogues extracted from the film "The big sleep" (1946) from both the philosophical/psychological and cognitive points of view. We shall hark back to Freud's ([1915] 1981) and Simmel's ([1909] 1984; [1911] 1949) perceptions of flirtation, which will serve as our points of reference.

Furthermore, we believe that the Cognitive Linguistics paradigm, which emphasizes the role of metaphor and metonymy in the conceptualization of reality, including linguistic reality, may conclusively account for verbal flirtation. To be more precise, we need to discuss and characterize the metaphors and metonymies, which accompany this kind of verbal behaviour. Since this type of discourse has hardly been scrutinized from a cognitive perspective, we believe that our study will portray flirtation as an underestimated artistic tool worth investigating as it may only be performed by verbally skilful language users. However, we are not going to oversimplify the phenomenon of coquetry (the terms *flirtation* and *coquetry* will be employed interchangeably in the paper) and focus on the non-verbal behaviours. Instead, we attempt to delve into its linguistic potential and thus we aim to provide the readers with the dominant linguistic features of verbal coquetry. Our key objective is to substantiate the thesis that flirtation both as a type of behaviour and discourse may be interpreted as resulting from the working of conceptual metaphor and metonymy. We would like to show what Cognitive Linguistics has to offer as far as the analysis of verbal flirtation is concerned. The impact of conceptual metaphors and metonymies on cognition cannot be ignored. In fact, these conceptual mechanisms are ubiquitous and since, as emphasized by, among others, Kövecses (2017: 215), they have the power to connect the mind with the body, the body with culture, culture with language, and language with the brain, they influence our everyday language performance, including the use of verbal flirtation.

The article is organized as follows. Firstly, we present the distinctive features of film noir as displayed by one of its landmarks – "The big sleep". Secondly, we provide the reader with a short description of the studies devoted to flirtation, which reveals a paucity of cognitively-oriented sources targeted at verbal coquetry. Thirdly, we focus on the methodology, namely the cognitive framework adopted in the paper and the way we have obtained the data for our investigation. Section 5, in turn, gives a brief overview of Simmel's philosophical theory connected with flirtation. Specifically, we advert to the assumptions proposed by him in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century ([1909] 1984; [1911] 1949). The analysis of selected dialogues from "The big sleep" provided

in Section 6 of the paper follows the methodological tools offered by the Cognitive Linguistics paradigm. Last but not least, the major findings, conclusions, and implications for future research may be found in the last section of the paper.

## **2. "The big sleep" (1946) as a typical representative of film noir**

Film noir<sup>1</sup> is a term coined in 1946 by the French critic Nino Frank in order to describe a new type of American crime films. Having watched "The Maltese falcon" (1941), "Murder, my sweet" (1944), "Double indemnity" (1944), and "Laura" (1944), he observed that those crime thrillers shared some conspicuous features. Thus, what had formerly been known as "melodrama" started to be referred to as "film noir" (see Spicer 2002: 2). As far as the hallmarks of film noir are concerned, they include similar composition (imbalanced and asymmetrical), iconography (urban location, city at night, rainy weather, damp streets, narrow alleys, gaudy nightclubs), visual style (black-and-white films, dark lighting, the Dutch angle, chiaroscuro effect, high contrast, long shadows, blurred vision caused by mist, cigarette smoke or rain), and a complex mode of storytelling (multiple narrators, voice-over in the first person, oneiric narrative, ellipses, and flashbacks whose aim is to create an equivocal and unresolved ending) (ibid., 4).<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the issues and motifs addressed in the films are of a specific nature. Thematically, the plot revolves around murders, illicit affairs, and protagonists' psychological problems, hence one can hardly ignore the Freudian implications (op. cit., 4). The fact that film noir is rich in Freudian motifs is connected with the growth of psychoanalysis in America in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As a result, protagonists are laden with grief, engulfed by fear, and overwhelmed by lust. In the vast majority – if not all – of the stories, an alienated anti-hero (often an investigator) meets a guileful femme fatale,<sup>3</sup> therefore the emphasis is put on, among others, their repressed sexual desires (ibid., 5; 23).

"The big sleep" (1946) is one of the most acclaimed examples of film noir. The film directed by Howard Hawks<sup>4</sup> is based on Raymond Chandler's novel of the same title from 1939. It casts Humphrey Bogart (private detective Philip Marlowe), Lauren

Bacall (femme fatale Vivian Sternwood Rutledge), and Martha Vickers (Carmen Sternwood, Vivian's younger sister). In a nutshell, General Sternwood hires Philip Marlowe to help to resolve the problem of his younger daughter's gambling debts. Soon, it turns out that the situation is more precarious and complex than the detective thought, because some people involved in the affluent family's matters are murdered. By the time the case is cracked, Marlowe has seen gambling, pornography, blackmail attempts, cold-blooded murder, and a stormy relationship, which might resemble love.

We believe that the poetic language of film noir is of particular interest, as it is abundant in fast-paced and multi-layered dialogues, self-reflexive and mordant sense of humour, sardonic remarks, puns, witty repartee, evocative suggestions, and double-entendre often rich in sexual innuendo. What distinguishes "The big sleep" from the vast majority of contemporary films is its variety of gritty amphibological ironic conversations. The dialogues are not an amorphous collection of random utterances, but they are like word play and verbal duels. Howard Hawks pays meticulous attention to the structure of the dialogues, which are the focal point of the film. It seems that no utterance in "The big sleep" is arbitrarily chosen. Moreover, it is worth elaborating on the characters' idiolects as they reflect not only people's individual and characteristic features but also attitudes towards the world. Take, for example, defensive irony<sup>5</sup>, which penetrates Marlowe's way of speaking, or child-like sentences, uttered by the seemingly infantile Carmen. Let us, however, first present a brief account of prior studies discussing flirtation and focus on the methodological apparatus, in terms of which our analysis will be couched.

### **3. Literature review**

As far as the phenomenon of flirtation is concerned, the topic tends to be of psycho-sociological or literary interest, given that psycho-sociology focuses on both verbal and non-verbal communication, whereas in literature flirtation serves as a sub-motif of love. Interestingly, the studies, in which verbal facets of coquetry are analysed from a purely linguistic point of view, by which we mean the scrutiny of specific dialogues

from, for example, TV advertisements, films, or real contexts, have been few and far between. Moreover, it seems that one can hardly find any linguistic or non-linguistic works analysing verbal flirtation from a cognitive perspective. We believe, therefore, that our study will shed new light on the phenomenon in question.

Let us briefly advert to a selection of seminal works, which examine flirtation from various points of view. One of the most thought-provoking books devoted to coquetry was published in 1994, when Adam Phillips alluded to the legacy of psychoanalysis in his *On flirtation: Psychoanalytic essays on the uncommitted life* (1994). He observes that flirting may be regarded as a pleasant pastime and a productive activity. The author puts forth a theory that literature and psychoanalysis are connected; thus, he refers to such representatives of the former as John Clare, Isaac Rosenberg, or Philip Roth. In the field of literary studies, Richard Kaye's *The flirt's tragedy: Desire without end in Victorian and Edwardian fiction* (2002) provides readers interested in flirtation in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century novel with the most comprehensive work where he shows the changeable nature of coquetry. For example, in the books written by Jane Austin or Charlotte Brontë women learn the cardinal rules of sociability because they compete with coquette-doubles, whereas in the novels by Oscar Wilde coquetry is a type of dangerous game. All in all, novelists make use of flirtation to show significant social changes in society.

As far as the rhetoric and aesthetic perceptions of coquetry are concerned, Hoffman-Schwartz's (2015) paper investigates flirtation on the basis of Billy Wilder's "Double indemnity" (1944). Similarly to our study, Hoffman-Schwartz's coquetry may be positioned between crime and romance. Both in "Double indemnity" and "The big sleep", flirtation seems to be a pleasant, but, at the same time, hazardous occupation. On the one hand, the parties involved in the activity itself derive pleasure from a multi-layered conversation, which may be the beginning of a love affair. However, on the other hand, we are referring to films, in which crime turns out to be inextricably tied to coquetry, because those who flirt are often cruel and merciless. Specifically, some

characters treat flirtation as a means used to take advantage of another person or even do harm to them (e.g. Vivian, Carmen from "The big sleep", Phyllis Dietrichson and Walter Neff from "Double indemnity"). As far as the non-verbal and verbal aspects of coquetry are concerned, Hoffman-Schwartz (2015: 16) pays meticulous attention to different filming techniques of flirtation and the tools employed by the characters in order to flirt (e.g., double entendre).

Nevertheless, it turns out that flirting strategies are an essential part of research devoted to sexuality and interpersonal romantic relationships. Simmel's ([1909] 1984; [1911] 1949) works are points of reference for Tavory (2009), who focuses on how flirtation is organized by refining Simmel's theory and understands coquetry as a relation, in which two-time frames are maintained within the same interaction. He analyses the management of interactional equivocalness in flirtation as an explanation that allows him to investigate ambiguous interactions.

Weber, Goodboy, and Cayanus (2010: 184-191) performed an experiment to analyse the effectiveness of five types of flirtatious opening lines whose aim is to initiate a conversation with a woman. Their results confirmed that both the "third-party introduction" and "direct introduction" opening lines were the most suitable for such an occasion, while the "third-party introduction" turned out to be the most effective. The other forms of opening lines ("cute-flippant lines", "humour attempts", and "direct compliments") were found to be not only inappropriate but also ineffective.

In turn, in Meenagh's (2015) paper "Flirting, dating, and breaking up within new media environments", the author gains an insight into how adolescents negotiate their love relationships. While the aim of her previous research was to suggest that young people are inclined to use new media technologies to flirt with one another, the current paper discusses their patterns of mediated flirting or breaking up. In turn, Wade's study (2018) is concerned with autoclitics, namely those aspects of the spoken response that exert influence on the addressee's reaction to the rest of the response.

Another thought-provoking discussion of the notion of flirtation is presented in *Flirting in the era of #metoo* (Bartlett et al. 2019). The authors focus on various aspects connected with coquetry, for example, the importance of feminism and its view on flirting, threats linked with a seemingly innocent flirtatious dialogue (the issues of sexual harassment and abuse) or the role of contemporary films and media (especially those directed towards teenagers) in the creation of people's understanding of what is moral or amoral.

Haj-Mohamadi, Gillath, and Rosenberg's (2020) line of research confirms a hypothesis that people communicate and express their internal states non-verbally by means of facial expressions, thus the purpose of their research is to focus on women who are proved to employ a specific facial cue in order to flirt with men. It turns out that males are generally capable of identifying this expression and linking it with flirting. As far as our paper is concerned, we may say that, indeed, there are certain types of behaviour (not only facial cues) displayed by females who want to flirt or seduce the opposite sex (e.g., leaning into somebody's arms).

This brief literature review shows that, to the best of our knowledge, there is a dearth of studies on the analysis of verbal flirtation from the perspective of Cognitive Linguistics. We hope that this account may, at least in part, fill in the existing gap and cast some light on the conceptual motivation behind verbal coquetry.

#### **4. Methodology and data collection**

The theoretical framework adopted in this paper is that of Cognitive Linguistics, which emphasizes the role of conceptual metaphor and metonymy – the conceptual mechanisms that have been accounted for by many linguists (see Bierwiaczonek 2013; Goossens 1990; Grząsko 2020; Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Kiełtyka 2020; Kövecses 2008; 2015; 2018; Lakoff 1987; Lakoff & Turner 1989; Littlemore 2015; Radden & Kövecses 1999; Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Díez Velasco 2002 and others). Figurative language is part and parcel of our everyday communication, especially in the case of

tabooed topics, such as love and sex. People are inclined to employ various metaphorical expressions to disguise their real thoughts. In cognitive terms, however, metaphor is connected with concepts and not words, thus it is not about focusing on the aesthetic purpose of utterances, but rather on comprehending certain concepts. It turns out that metaphor is used by ordinary people regardless of their age, sex, or education (see Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Following Kövecses (2010: 4), we may understand a given conceptual domain in terms of reference to another one, for instance, people often talk and think about love in terms of madness or war. Let us take a look at the analysis of classic metaphors extracted from Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 49):

LOVE IS MADNESS

I'm *crazy* about her.

I'm *insane* about her.

He constantly *raves* about Harry.

LOVE IS WAR

He *fled from* her *advances*.

He *won* her hand in marriage.

He has to *fend* them *off*.

As far as conceptual metaphors are concerned, there are always two domains, namely a source domain and a target domain. The former is the one, from which we derive metaphorical expressions to comprehend another conceptual domain, whereas the latter refers to the wealth of experience understood in terms of the source domain (see Kövecses 2010: 4). Given the metaphors provided above, in both cases LOVE is the target domain, while MADNESS and WAR are the source domains. The aim is to understand the target domain referring to the source domain. In short, conceptual metaphors consist of a source domain and a target domain and, depending on the type of metaphor involved, the nature, the structure, or the specificity of the source domain are, by and large, employed as conceptual frameworks to account for the nature, the structure, or the specificity of the target domain. As argued by Kövecses (2015: ix), "conceptual metaphors consist of sets of systematic correspondences, or mappings between two domains of experience and [...] the meaning of a particular metaphorical

expression realizing an underlying conceptual metaphor is based on such correspondences".

In turn, conceptual metonymies involve only a single domain. The purpose of metonymy is "to provide mental access to a domain through a part of the same domain (or vice versa) or to a part of a domain through another part in the same domain" (Kövecses 2008: 381). Some scholars believe that metonymy is based on a "stand-for" relation, namely a *pars-pro-toto* transfer where a part stands for the whole within the same domain (see Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 35-40). Radden and Kövecses (1999: 128) proposed a definition whereby "[...] metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another entity, the target, within the same idealized cognitive model". A handful of examples of metonymies discussed by Kövecses (2008: 381) are as follows:

SEX STANDS FOR LOVE metonymy (e.g., They *made love*.)

INTIMATE SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR LOVE metonymy (e.g., She *showered* him *with kisses*. He *caressed* her *gently*.)

BLUSHING STANDS FOR LOVE metonymy (e.g., She *blushed* when she saw him.)

INCREASE IN BODY HEAT STANDS FOR LOVE metonymy (e.g., I felt *hot* when I saw her.)

Cognitive typologies of metonymy are offered, among others, by Radden and Kövecses (1999) – based on Idealised Cognitive Models; Blank (1999) and Koch (1999) – with reference to frames; Littlemore (2015) who studied various functions and uses of this conceptual mechanism at length in a book-format monograph. Most cognitive linguists agree with Kövecses (2006: 99), who believes that: "Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual element or entity (thing, event, property), the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity (thing, event, property), the target, within the same frame, domain or idealized cognitive model (ICM)". In the present paper, we also adopt Kövecses' (ibid.) view of metonymy.

In turn, Goossens (1990) analysed cases of the joint-operation of the two conceptual mechanisms, that is metaphor and metonymy in the form of metaphonymy. Various patterns of metaphor-metonymy interaction are also studied by Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Díez Velasco (2002).

The corpus of data used for our analysis is the script for the film "The big sleep" by William Faulkner, Leigh Brackett, and Jules Furthman, based on the novel under the same title written by Raymond Chandler in 1939. The screenplay was obtained from the website [https://sublikescript.com/movie/The\\_Big\\_Sleep-38355](https://sublikescript.com/movie/The_Big_Sleep-38355) (hereinafter TBS). As far as the method of data collection is concerned, we extracted all of the conversations between Marlowe and each of the women in the film. Out of the 23 dialogues between the detective and female protagonists encountered in the film, we selected eight, which are subject to analysis in this paper because they exhibit elements of flirting (conversations between Vivian and the detective) or attempted seduction (those between Carmen and the main male protagonist). The conversations between Marlowe and Carmen (five dialogues out of which four are analysed in the present paper) are devoid of flirting. In order to identify the cases of flirting, we examine the topic of the conversation. If a given dialogue is ambiguous, metaphorical, multi-layered, and (by some means) sexually-related (although not explicitly), we assume that we may label it as a type of flirtatious exchange. The way, in which Carmen approached the detective, reveals her coquettish attitude towards him. On a few occasions she tried to seduce Marlowe, but all her (seduction) attempts were futile. The man was indifferent or ironic towards her advances. On the other hand, six out of the nine conversations between Vivian and Marlowe (four of which are subject to analysis in this paper) are examples of mutual flirting. The juxtaposition of Vivian's and Carmen's conversations with the detective may illustrate the working of the FLIRT IS DANCE metaphor, which requires the active involvement of two parties/participants. Thus, the metaphor seems to motivate the analysed conversations between Vivian and the detective; however, since Carmen is the only active participant in the attempted act of flirting, the basic criterion is not met and her goal is not reached. At this stage one

might venture a hypothesis that the basic metaphor for flirting is FLIRT IS A DUEL or FLIRT IS A COMPETITION.

In this paper, only conversations between Marlowe and the Sternwood sisters (Carmen and Vivian) are subject to investigation. The dialogues with Carmen show her involvement and Marlowe's ironic attitude, while the conversations between the detective and Vivian exhibit the mutual interest of both. However, despite the different nature of the dialogues, they all seem to result from the working of metaphor and metonymy or the interplay of the two conceptual mechanisms.

## **5. Theoretical background behind flirtation**

First and foremost, the discourse of flirtation, which remains on the periphery of seduction, seems to be insufficiently theoretically studied, although the theory of flirtation itself has its roots in Plato's *Symposium* ([c. 385–370 BC] 2003). Obviously, the philosopher's view of flirtation is different from the modern perception of the phenomenon in question. To be more precise, the Platonic understanding of coquetry has its place in Enlightenment Romantic salon culture, whereas nowadays flirtation seems to be an ephemeral experience and not a set of rules (see Hoffman-Schwartz et al. 2015: 1-2), thus, given the evanescent nature of flirtation, researchers may find it difficult to obtain suitable data for its analysis.

Let us briefly discuss flirtation from the viewpoint of European thought in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when the notion was of interest to Freud ([1915] 1981) and Simmel ([1909] 1984; [1911] 1949). According to Freud ([1915] 1981), flirtation is merely an inferior form of an erotic game, which leads nowhere, and by "nowhere" we mean no love affair and, as a result, no gain and no loss. Given that flirting parties neither win nor lose anything, Freud does not perceive the activity as a hazardous occupation. If there is no loss involved and one does not have to reckon with serious consequences, flirtation itself seems to be an innocent pastime (see Fleming 2015: 19-20). In turn, while Freud ([1915] 1981) attributes a lack of seriousness to coquetry, Simmel ([1909]

1984; [1911] 1949) upgrades its position and searches for congruity between flirtation and aesthetic experience. Thus, he finds there "purposiveness without purpose" (see Dalton 2015: 5-14 and Kant [1790] 2000: 145). In spite of the fact that such a logic may seem to be tautological, the activity in question is sheer pleasure that does not strive for physical gratification (see Fleming 2015: 19-24). Fleming (*ibid.*, 20) observes that both Freud and Simmel agree that, as far as flirtation is concerned, sex is not the goal and as long as the conversation is innocent, we may talk about coquetry. However, what seems to be a weakness for Freud is a strength for Simmel.

In the theory proposed by Simmel ([1909] 1984; [1911] 1949), there is a key difference between coquetry and seduction. While the former is part of an aesthetic domain, the goal of the latter is predetermined. Moreover, flirtation is not about possession, and the parties are equal. According to Hoffman-Schwartz et al. (2015:1), "The discourse of seduction and the critique of seduction are unified by their shared obsession with a very determinate end: power. Flirtation, by contrast, is a game in which no one seems to gain the upper hand and no one seems to surrender". Interestingly, the very prototypical concept of a game assumes that there should be a winner and a loser, which contradicts our theory, according to which the flirting parties are equal. However, if we make an assumption that flirtation may be compared to such an activity, then there are no losers or winners and the interlocutors play to a draw. We may also put forward a hypothesis that the purpose of flirting is to surpass each other in the activity in question. As far as seduction is concerned, it revolves around the object and its possession; therefore, one can hardly talk about equality. In practice, it turns out that the boundaries between the two phenomena are fuzzy. It may happen that one of the parties involved in a flirtatious dialogue treats the intentions of the other too seriously. In that case, coquetry comes close to seduction, gently touches its borders but simultaneously abstains from crossing them (see Fleming 2015: 19-21; 28). According to Hoffman-Schwartz (2015: 15), "flirtation is structured by the possibility of the transgression of its own form and formality; flirtation would not be itself if it did not hold out the possibility, however distantly, of going beyond mere flirtation".

In other words, *to flirt* means 'to behave towards somebody as if you find them sexually attractive, without seriously wanting to have a relationship with them'<sup>6</sup>, whereas *to seduce* is 'to persuade somebody to have sex with you'<sup>7</sup> (see Oxford learner's dictionaries, *s.a.*).

To recapitulate, we may say that both flirtation and seduction are the two types of verbal and/or non-verbal behaviour whose prime goal is to attract someone. Both activities may be said to belong to psychology and sexology. However, they might be of interest to linguistics if one attempts to discuss and examine their rhetorical potential.

Below we are going to focus on the verbal representation of flirtation on the examples extracted from "The big sleep".

## **6. Analysis of verbal flirtation**

In what follows, selected dialogues from "The big sleep" will be discussed. The analysis is divided into two parts: firstly, we are going to focus on the detective's encounters with Carmen; then, we shall move on to his conversations with Vivian. On the basis of what they say, we attempt to show the differences between the women and, as a result, indicate that Marlowe's parleys with Vivian are of a flirtatious nature, whereas in his conversations with Carmen, he remains indifferent to her sexual advances.

### *6.1 On child-like Carmen and the metonymic interpretation of her behaviour*

Carmen Sternwood is the first female character that we see in the film. The viewers, however, are not aware of a very special position of the woman in the plot. In fact, she is present in the opening scene because, as a culprit, she initiates the narrative (see Shillock 2019: 59). Interestingly, given that the conversation held by her and Marlowe is, by and large, commented on and discussed from the investigator's point of view, the immediate impression that Carmen leaves us with may be misleading:

*"She was twenty or so, small and delicately put together, but she looked durable. She wore pale blue slacks and they looked well on her. She walked as if she were floating. Her hair was a fine tawny wave cut much shorter than the current fashion of pageboy tresses curled in at the bottom. Her eyes were slate-grey, and had almost no expression when they looked at me. She came over near me and smiled with her mouth and she had little sharp predatory teeth, as white as fresh orange pith and as shiny as porcelain. They glistened between her thin too taut lips. Her face lacked colour and didn't look too healthy"* (Chandler [1939] 2005: 2-3).

At this given point we fail to fathom that it is the first meeting of the femme fatale who is a ruthless criminal and her adversary (namely the detective) (see Shillock 2019: 59). Carmen is a very complex character. On the one hand, she appears to be very infantile and harmless, but, on the other hand, there is something sullen about her. What seems to be most thought-provoking is the fact that both Marlowe and the audience underestimate the girl, although we are given hints as to what can be expected from Carmen. Her childlike innocence seems to be only on the surface. However, deep inside she turns out to be a predatory femme fatale (ibid., 58; 65). In this respect, she may be argued to embody the conceptual metaphor HUMANS ARE ANIMALS represented by the more specific A WOMAN IS A PREDATOR schema. She fails to find the balance of her mind as she is neither a chaste girl nor a grown-up and independent woman. Shillock (ibid., 60) suggests that she may be either "undergoing or mimicking regression". In theoretical psychoanalysis, the term is defined as one of the defence mechanisms that are at work when someone's personality returns to an earlier phase of development. In such cases, an individual adopts some childish behaviours (see Loewald 1981: 22). If Carmen really reverts to childhood, then we may say that such a backward movement would mean that she has some mental problems. It is likely that the woman poses a threat to both herself and other people because of the aspects of her nature that are out of her control. However, if she is only feigning illness, then she would be a real ruthless femme fatale. Regression is also present in her idiolect; the woman's rudimentary structures and vocabulary prove that she may have considerable difficulties in stringing together and constructing complex sentences.

As far as her behaviour and appearance are concerned, in this case we are dealing with the embodiment of two conceptual mechanisms, that is metaphor and metonymy. On

the one hand, being perceived as a predatory femme fatale, she represents the already mentioned HUMANS ARE ANIMALS metaphor. On the other hand, however, being a paragon of the femme fatale, Carmen seems to metonymically embody a typical representative of this group of strong women. Additionally, one may also refer to the two aspects (innocence and deviousness) of one and the same conceptual domain (human characteristics), which makes it possible to formulate the conceptual metonymy AN INSTANCE OF A CATEGORY FOR ANOTHER INSTANCE OF THE CATEGORY realized as INNOCENCE FOR DEVIOUSNESS. Initially, she gives the impression of being virginal and pure, but she turns out to be ruthless and devilish. Judging by the fact that the conceptual mechanism we are referring to in this case is veiled rather than conspicuous but still it is latently present, its working might be termed *covered* or *disguised metonymy*. There are a number of correspondences and/or mappings portrayed in Table 1 that hold between the metonymic source (vehicle) and the target:

Table 1. INNOCENCE FOR DEVIOUSNESS metonymy

Metonymic source (vehicle): INNOCENCE	Metonymic target: DEVIOUSNESS
small and delicate	calculating and manipulative
ethereal	strong, predatory
gentle disposition	vampire-like disposition (cold and bloodthirsty)
taut lips	voluptuous lips
harmless	dangerous and provocative
positively-loaded features	negatively-loaded features

However, the source (vehicle) and target of the metonymic projection that may also be verbalized as A HUMAN CHARACTERISTIC FOR ANOTHER HUMAN CHARACTERISTIC (INNOCENCE FOR DEVIOUSNESS) might be approached from the point of view of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980: 14-21) orientational metaphors. Specifically, the positively-loaded traits presented above may be argued to result from the working of the conceptual metaphor INNOCENCE IS UP, which is a more specific variant of the VIRTUE IS UP metaphor. In turn, one may seek the motivation for the negatively-loaded values in the DEVIOUSNESS IS DOWN metaphor based on the DEPRAVITY IS DOWN metaphor (ibid., 16). Obviously, to be innocent is to act and look according to some rules set by

society. We link delicacy and harmlessness with innocence, because such is the stereotypical perception of a virgin. When a woman behaves differently than she is stereotypically expected to, that is when she is perceived as a hunter (which stems from A WOMAN IS A HUNTER metaphor) rather than a prey (the embodiment of A WOMAN IS A PREY/VICTIM metaphor), our mind-set changes drastically and we start to associate her with a devil (motivated by A WOMAN IS A DEVIL metaphor). What is interesting here is that both metonymic source (vehicle) (INNOCENCE) and target (DEVIOSNESS) are metaphorically motivated and they result from the schemas A WOMAN IS A PREY/VICTIM and A WOMAN IS A HUNTER or A WOMAN IS A DEVIL. One may, therefore, postulate a conceptual interaction between metaphor and metonymy, also known as metaphonymy (see Goossens 1990) in that metonymic projection is preceded by metaphorical mappings. In this respect, however, it might be worthwhile noting that, in Radden's (2002) view, mappings between UP and DOWN and HAPPY and SAD may also be viewed as metonymic rather than metaphorical (see Panther & Thornburg 2007: 244).

Taking into account Carmen's behaviour, we may observe seemingly innocent gestures and actions, which, in fact, are nowhere near as childlike as she wants people to believe. When the woman sees Marlowe, she is sucking her thumb, which, on the one hand, may signal her childishness, but, on the other hand, may be perceived as a vulgar sexual act as well (see Shillock 2019: 59-60). It is her first futile seduction attempt. Moreover, it is another example of the working of metonymy. The motivation behind the figurative nature of the activity in question seems to be determined by the fact that both body parts (thumb and penis) have a similar shape. Both may also be sucked, but the finger is only licked by a child, which is a purely innocent pastime. However, when performed by an adult woman, it acquires a new lewd meaning. One may thus speak of a metonymic projection whereby one body part (thumb) provides mental access to another body part (penis). Additionally, the action of sucking a thumb may metonymically stand for a vulgar sexual act. As a result, one may posit the working of two metonymies (a metonymic chain) displayed in Table 2:

Table 2. Co-occurrence of two metonymic projections

Stage 1	BODY PART FOR ANOTHER BODY PART metonymy <i>thumb for penis</i>
Stage 2	INTIMATE (SEXUAL) BEHAVIOUR FOR PHYSICAL LOVE (SEX) metonymy <i>sucking thumb for fellatio</i>

Suffice it to say that Carmen is magnifying her erotic availability (ibid., 65-68). She easily transforms into a predator, although at first sight she seems to behave like a child. As already mentioned above, in this respect, one might allude to the general HUMANS ARE ANIMALS metaphor and its specific A WOMAN IS A PREDATOR realisation. In fact, there is a glaring discrepancy between Carmen's sexually depraved deeds and the way she expresses herself verbally. She may be a sex-addled grown-up, but the way she speaks reveals her immaturity and ignorance. Let us look at her first colloquy with Marlowe (see Appendix, Extract 1).

Carmen is the metonymic epitome of duality. On the one hand, she represents the spiritual, emotional (she is impulsive, fickle, and volatile, and she changes her mood quickly) and verbal emptiness of a child (simple affirmative and negative structures as well as limited and poor vocabulary, e.g., *cute*); on the other hand, we are witness to her ruthless behaviour, perverted sexual desire, and murderous inclinations (see Cash 2016). When she feels piqued by Marlowe's witty replies, she accuses him of being a joker and she behaves melodramatically when playfully swooning into the gentleman's arms. Marlowe seems to be unimpressed by her advances. The figurative use of the sentence "You ought to wean her" alludes to her infantile behaviour, as, according to him, it is time she grew up. In this skirmish, however, it is Carmen who turns out to be more cunning. Her ploy to mislead the detective works, because he believes that she is too naïve a girl to harm anyone (see Shillock 2019: 60).

From the cognitive perspective, in this case we may refer to the working of the conceptual metaphor ADULTHOOD IS CHILDHOOD. CHILDHOOD and ADULTHOOD

constitute two separate cognitive domains and a number of mappings are established between them. Thus, through the working of conceptual metaphor, the source domain CHILDHOOD acts as a vehicle, through which the target domain ADULTHOOD is understood. In other words, the sense of *weaning* ('to cause a baby or young animal to stop feeding on its mother's milk and to start eating other, especially solid food, instead' see Cambridge dictionary (*s.a.*)<sup>8</sup>) is characteristic of CHILDHOOD. In turn, growing up (reference to ADULTHOOD) is inseparably linked with the fact that we do not rely on supplied food, but instead it is us who provide ourselves with sustenance. Marlowe's ironic repartee adverts to the age of Carmen, who should have already stopped being immature. The metaphorical mapping discussed here is presented graphically in Table 3:

Table 3. ADULTHOOD IS CHILDHOOD metaphor

Metaphorical source: CHILDHOOD	Metaphorical target: ADULTHOOD
<i>to wean a baby</i> 'to stop breastfeeding a baby'	<i>to wean somebody</i> 'to cause to grow up'

Marlowe discerns Carmen's dual nature and mental state, which is revealed when he describes his meeting with the woman to her father, "Then she tried to sit on my lap while I was standing up" (TBS). In the novel, she is a nymphomaniac, but given the censorship rules of that time, it was not allowed to talk about woman's libido. Thus, Marlowe uses those specific words to show his understanding of Carmen's mental disorder. Again, on the one hand, she seems to be like a child who wants to sit on a parent's lap, but on the other hand, she possesses certain features of a sexually aggressive female who wants to seduce a man. Even though Marlowe is impervious to her advances, she keeps trying to trap him. In this respect, we may also refer to the metonymic interpretation of her behaviour. Again, our discussion pivots on two aspects of one domain/frame (HUMAN BEHAVIOUR), namely CHILDISH BEHAVIOUR (the metonymic source/vehicle) and SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR (the metonymic target). As Table 4 shows, in this case reference to one reference to one domain/frame is made, that of HUMAN BEHAVIOUR, and our analysis shows that one aspect of this domain (CHILDISH

BEHAVIOUR) provides mental access to another aspect of this domain (SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR):

Table 4. CHILDISH BEHAVIOUR FOR SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR metonymy

Metonymic source/vehicle: CHILDISH BEHAVIOUR	Metonymic target: SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR
to sit on somebody's lap	to be sexually provocative and aggressive
to stand	to ignore, to resist the temptation
spoil/naughty	lascivious, dissolute

The metonymic projection CHILDHOOD/CHILDISH BEHAVIOUR FOR SEXUALITY/SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR seems to be motivated by Carmen's mental problems with growing up and fending for herself. Such a perception of sexuality is by no means part of the process of growing up. Naturally, children learn how their bodies function, but there is nothing forbidden or tabooed about that. If it becomes aggressive and crosses certain boundaries at a later age, we may speak about a disorder.

As mentioned above, Carmen's simple vocabulary reflects her seemingly childlike approach to life. She is inclined to overuse the adjective *cute*. Her line "You're cute" uttered several times on various occasions to compliment the detective is like a desperate plea of a woman who is searching for his attention. Carmen attempts to extort a certain reaction from Marlowe; therefore, we may say that her sexual appetite is both unwholesome and insatiable (see Appendix, Extracts 2, 3, and 4).

Marlowe does not yield to Carmen's will and repels her advances with his pointed remarks and quick wit. We cannot take his utterances in a literal sense. His tone is either critical or even self-critical, but this is the tool he employs against the woman's unwanted sexual attention. When talking with Carmen, the detective seems to regret being tall and handsome (see Cash 2016: 5). Carmen proves her ignorance when she admits she has never heard of Peter Pan. There is certain irony in the way the detective treats her. For him, she is a spoilt child even though she turns out not to be as innocent a girl as he thought. As far as Marlowe's linguistic irony is concerned, he extracts the

adjective *cute* from Carmen's speech and employs it as a device to create evident irony directed at her (see Linder 2001: 103).

As far as Simmel's flirtation theory is concerned, the relationship between Marlowe and Carmen is far from romantic. Coquetry involves equality between two parties. Flirtation can only be sustained if the other responds to it. However, in the case discussed above there are only a few futile seduction attempts initiated by the woman and triggering no sexual reaction. Moreover, Carmen's aim is not to flirt with the detective but to deceive him and, when the opportunity arises, to have sexual intercourse with him. Still, we need to bear in mind that she is not in love with him and it is her insatiable libido that seems to rule her life.

To recapitulate, Carmen is a complex character, which is when we compare her puerile speech with her sex-addled behaviour. A patently unintelligent and emotional woman manages to deceive both the investigator and the audience. Her idiolect (reflected in, for example, simple structures, unsophisticated vocabulary, overuse of the adjective *cute*) fails to go hand in hand with her ruthlessness and calculation. However, we need to bear in mind that children are not necessarily as slow-witted as we might believe. In fact, they may be aware of how to manipulate somebody if they want to achieve their goal. Similarly, even though Carmen's deeds may be characterized as childish (e.g., sucking her thumb, being ignorant), she employs some elements from the metonymic source of CHILDHOOD to conceal some facts and lead her opponents astray.

## 6.2 *On Vivian and the RACEHORSE metaphor*

As far as Marlowe's conversations with the older Sternwood sister are concerned, it is worth noting that, contrary to his dialogues with the younger one, Vivian is put in a position of intellectual equality with the detective. Unlike her sister, Vivian is strong and she never behaves like a child. Aware of her sexual allure, she tries to take advantage of the man and during their first encounter, she attempts to discover why the detective has been summoned to her father's mansion. Much to her surprise, it turns out

that Marlowe remains impassive and immune to her wiles (see Cash 2016: 6). Their discussions seem to be like a game of power; a match which always ends in a draw (see Appendix, Extract 5).

As observed by Linder (2001: 102), Marlowe's verbal skills are impressive. The power of his irony seems to exceed his physical strength. Armed with witty remarks, the detective always remains cool. Self-criticism, sarcasm, and unflinching honesty are only a few of the weapons that he possesses. Vivian is perplexed by the fact that the detective puts loyalty to her father before desire. Marlowe is both self-critical and he disapproves of Vivian's attitude towards him. Even though he may be perceived as an anti-hero or even anti-detective, he is loyal to his principles and he refuses to reveal the motive behind his visit to Sternwood's house (see Cash 2016: 6).

Another interesting conversation held by Vivian and Marlowe takes place in a restaurant, where the leading characters engage in a notable, cunningly flirtatious exchange, in which they conceal their real feelings under a veneer of the metaphorical language and terms associated with the racetrack. The woman makes a thinly veiled allusion to him being a lover and compares the man to a racehorse, or, to be more precise, a thoroughbred. She envisages that Marlowe probably has many assets as a lover. In spite of the fact that nothing is explicitly stated, the dialogue is suffused with sexual innuendo. Their conversation is one of the most notable examples of a double entendre, which is a figure of speech based on a specific way of wording concocted in such a way that it can be grasped in either of two ways. Such a construction has a double meaning: the first one is literal and may be easily read from the context, whereas the other one is implicit and requires more thought from an interlocutor (see Baldick 1990). According to the Oxford English Dictionary Online (OED), a double entendre is employed to 'convey an indelicate meaning'<sup>9</sup>, thus we have grounds to say that in this case we are dealing with sexual, offensive, or socially awkward overtones. All in all, it is sexual innuendo that a double entendre is most often associated with. In order to convey the oblique meaning, the figure of speech in question frequently makes use of

puns, hence we may say that it hinges on such elements as homophones, ambiguity of words, and various interpretations of the original senses of lexical items (see Appendix, Extract 6).

It is Vivian that begins the colloquy with a polite act of gratitude. Then, she proceeds with a simple question concerning the way he spends his free time. After a slight moment of hesitation expressed by the interjection *mm*, Marlowe replies that he is engrossed in playing the horses and fooling around. Contrary to the first activity, which might seem to be devoid of sexual innuendo at first sight, the second one may be comprehended in two different ways. Firstly, it might allude to wasting time; secondly, and most probably, it refers to having sexual relationships with people who are not your regular partners. Vivian appears to be very outspoken in her replies. She wants to know whether her interlocutor is with somebody, therefore she asks the question "No women?", which triggers a slightly ironic reaction, "Well, I'm generally working on something most of the time". The woman is very direct; she needs to know whether the metaphor *working on something* refers to her. The man confesses that he is partial to her, which pleases the lady, but, at the same time, annoys her, as even though he is not indifferent to her, he is not wooing her. Marlowe sarcastically replies that her behaviour is passive too. Such an ironic and witty discussion, devoid of impudent crudeness, is known as *asteism*. Following the Oxford English Dictionary Online (OED), one notices that the term comes from Greek and may be defined as 'genteel irony, polite and ingenious mockery'<sup>10</sup>.

The female character returns to the topic connected with horses, but it is obvious that she is not really talking about the animals. In fact, who she is talking about are men, thus we may speak about a general conceptual metaphor HUMANS ARE ANIMALS and a sub-metaphor A (MALE) HUMAN BEING IS A HORSE. She divides both horses and men into two groups, namely favourites and those who come from behind. Before she chooses a partner, especially a sexual one, she looks for his driving force. Marlowe is aware that she is talking about men, so he wants to know whether she has worked out his

tactics. Vivian is telling him that, at least in her opinion, he does not want to be tied down. In all likelihood, he is very passionate at the beginning of the relationship, but then he gives up and returns home both single and unencumbered. Indeed, taking into consideration the fact that Marlowe often flirts with women ("I collect blondes in bottles, too"<sup>11</sup>) who find him irresistibly charming, sarcastic though he is, the detective may be considered as a player, which makes it possible to allude to the domain of SPORT and formulate the general conceptual metaphor FLIRTING IS SPORT represented here by the more specific metaphorical schema: A FLIRTING MAN IS A PLAYER.

Interestingly, Marlowe has ceased to maintain the pretence that they were still talking about horses. Now, she is being assessed. He gently compliments her, but without laudatory adulation. The man admits that his interlocutor is stylish, but he is not sure if the game is worth playing. She might only be teasing him and not want to have an affair with him, or, to be more precise, make love with him. Vivian returns to the horse metaphor, but she confesses that her sexual response to a large extent depends on the man. All in all, she rates him as a potential sexual partner, employing a horse analogy to tell him in a veiled way about her feelings towards both men and coitus. At the end of the conversation, Vivian continues the horse metaphor. She compares herself to the animal and suggests that, in contrast to the horse, sugar fails to be an incentive for her. If any man wants to see her run, he should try to be more imaginative. The metaphorical schema SEX IS HORSE RACE is presented graphically in Table 5.

Table 5. SEX IS HORSE RACE metaphor

Source domain: HORSE RACE	Target domain: SEX
racehorses	people
play horses	flirt and make love
front-runners	favourites, winners
(those that) come from behind	those that catch up and overtake, probably win (despite having been <i>underdogs</i> ); those that are engaged in a doggie style sexual position
card	asset
to be rated	to be assessed and classified
how far they can go	the limits
jockey	a lover
sugar	cheap flirt, compliments

In this case, a horse race serves as a concealing mechanism to talk about sex, which is depicted as a pleasure-oriented and sybaritic activity. Using linguistic terminology, we may say that the conceptual domain HORSE RACE consists of a number of subdomains, to list only a few of them: PLAYERS, RULES, EQUIPMENT, etc. All in all, given the linguistic expressions listed above, we may formulate the SEX IS HORSE RACE metaphor. The motivation behind the figurative development of the lexical items whose senses are connected with the horse race seems to be determined by the fact that lovemaking is very often compared to sport. Both people and horses may be divided into favourites and *underdogs*, they also need to have some assets and tactics. The expression "who is in the saddle" uttered in this context serves as an example of amphibology. The phrase is very equivocal, and it refers both to a sexual position and being in a settled position of power. As noticed by Kurowska (2019: 132), both SPORT and GAME metaphors, by and large, concentrate on one facet of sex, namely the sensual pleasure that the activity gives. On the one hand, the application of the playful elements may degrade the sexual act; but, on the other hand, it is the woman who provokes the discussion and compares human beings to horses. In this case both sex and a horse race concentrate on the pleasure that those involved may obtain.

Another example of the catchy repartee and double entendre takes place after Marlowe brings the drugged Carmen to the Sternwood mansion and leaves her in Vivian's bed. He utters a few negations, which make Vivian perplexed. She accuses him of being too insolent and Marlowe sarcastically replies that she should not have said such words to a man leaving her bedroom (see Appendix, Extract 7).

In our view, the metonymic projection ONE TYPE OF BEHAVIOUR FOR ANOTHER TYPE OF BEHAVIOUR may be represented graphically as shown in Table 6:

Table 6. ONE TYPE OF BEHAVIOUR FOR ANOTHER TYPE OF BEHAVIOUR metonymy

Metonymic source/vehicle: BEHAVIOUR (MOTION)	Metonymic target: BEHAVIOUR (RUDENESS)
You go too far	You are insolent; you are crossing the boundaries

In this particular case, the metonymic vehicle MOTION provides mental access to the metonymic target RUDENESS within the same domain/frame (HUMAN BEHAVIOUR).

Yet another interesting example of a flirtatious dialogue between Vivian and Marlowe, which shows her conversational mastery, is the following (see Appendix, Extract 8). The dialogue may be viewed as a perfect example of the embodiment of the well-known HUMAN BEING IS A MACHINE metaphor. There is a great deal of convincing evidence (e.g., *You need to upgrade your brain, Hack your life!*<sup>12</sup>) that human bodies are frequently conceptualized as machines (e.g., HUMAN BRAIN IS A COMPUTER, COMPUTER OPERATIONS ARE MENTAL OPERATIONS) where things/parts/elements can be broken, upgraded, hacked, or fixed, and a human body as such can be viewed as being in or out of balance. Vivian's use of the polysemous verb *fix*, whose senses range from 'establish', 'organize', or 'mend' to 'concentrate' or 'deal with' is another revealing example of her intelligence, linguistic skills, and ability to participate in flirtatious verbal exchanges.

As far as Marlowe and Vivian's conversations are concerned, we may put forward a plausible hypothesis that their dialogues are perfect examples of flirtation. The characters are put in equal positions, there is a tension between the content of their verbal exchanges and the way they address it. Almost all the responses hinge on sarcasm, but there is no victim. Their utterances may be interpreted in more than one way; thus, we may conclude that they are multilayered (amphibology). Marlowe's language mirrors his irreverent attitude towards the surrounding world. His irony is defensive and it says a lot about the America of that time. In turn, Vivian seems to perfectly understand his state; thus even though they do not trust each other, they seem

to respect each other. Vivian is very intelligent, as, unlike her sister, she is a master of conversation.

## **7. Conclusions and implications for future research**

In this article, we have analysed eight dialogues extracted from the film titled "The big sleep" and one excerpt from the novel of the same title in order to show the role of conceptual mechanisms (metaphor, metonymy, and the joint operation of these two mechanisms) on the language of flirtation. We have observed that not only flirtation (as in the case of Vivian) but also seduction (as in the case of Carmen) may be metaphorically or metonymically motivated. We have demonstrated that the methodological tools (metaphor, metonymy, metaphonymy) offered by Cognitive Linguistics facilitate the understanding of flirtation. It is crucial to stress at this point that the corpus of data subject to our scrutiny enables us to draw only tentative and general conclusions concerning the language of flirtation. Given that the analysis is based on one film only, it is obvious that further study on a larger corpus is essential to support or reject the hypotheses constructed above.

Given that the conversation connected with horses held by Marlowe and Vivian is a perfect example of flirtation, we may formulate several general conclusions as far as the linguistic potential of flirtation is concerned. Firstly, a well-composed piece of flirtation may include such elements as verbal irony (whose aim is not to hurt), witty remarks, allusions, puns, and double entendre accompanied by sexual innuendo and amphibology. Secondly, a seemingly innocent dialogue may often have both literal and figurative layers. Thirdly, a sense of humour and an element of surprise are also part and parcel of such a conversation. Fourthly, as the parties are equal, neither of them uses verbal abuse. Naturally, not every conversation of a flirtatious nature does or should necessarily consist of all these elements.

Comparing the sisters, we may say that Carmen is not what we expect her to be. She is the most complex character, somewhat lost in the surrounding world. She talks and

makes gestures like a child (CHILDHOOD FOR ADULTHOOD metonymy), but she behaves like a merciless predator (HUMANS ARE ANIMALS metaphor). She keeps trying to flirt with the detective, but he remains immune to her advances. Conversely, the older sister is mature and smart. Her sexuality is not as aggressive as Carmen's, although Vivian is the epitome of the femme fatale. In fact, we may formulate the metonymy VIVIAN/CARMEN FOR FEMME FATALE, as both characters share some features typical of the stock character in question. One can hardly feel completely indifferent to Vivian's magnetism; thus even Marlowe never underestimates her personality and her intelligence. Furthermore, we may say that the perception of a woman in film noir is quite interesting, as in this case neither of the female characters is presented as a victim or the weaker sex (A WOMAN IS A HUNTER metaphor and A WOMAN IS A DEVIL metaphor). The activity of flirting itself evokes allusions linked with sport. Thus we may construct the FLIRTING IS SPORT metaphor, and, as a result, A FLIRTING MAN IS A PLAYER metaphor.

Taking into account Simmel's understanding of flirtation, we may safely say that in "The big sleep" it is an entertaining game played by two equal parties, namely Vivian and Marlowe. Given that one needs to be intelligent enough both to utter a witty remark and to respond to one in a slightly provocative manner (FLIRTATION IS PROVOCATION/CHALLENGE metaphor), it seems that not everyone is capable of concocting such a dialogue based on oblique allusions. Flirtation turns out to be a multilayered structure, as it may be comprehended not only literally but also figuratively (e.g., horse metaphor). We may put forward a hypothesis that Marlowe and Vivian seem to flirt from their very first meeting, although it is Carmen who attempts to seduce the detective. Nevertheless, there is a widening gulf between the girl and the detective. As already mentioned, flirtation demands equality. If the parties fail to be equal, then we cannot talk about coquetry, which eliminates victims and torturers. Flirtation may be regarded as a kind of flattery, which does not aspire to anything but pleasure.

As far as future vistas are concerned, one needs to focus on the idiolects of the main characters. Specifically, it would be worthwhile to analyse Marlowe's irony, which seems to characterize the protagonist and reflect his attitude towards the surrounding world. Moreover, given the potential offered by the language of film noir, it would be revealing to submit to scrutiny the verbal duels and the language of flirtation in other representatives of this genre (e.g., "Scarlet street" (1945) or "The lady from Shanghai" (1947)).

## Notes

1. On the concept of film noir see, among others, Sanders (2006), Ballinger and Graydon (2007), Hanson (2007), or Naremore (2008).
2. See also the website <https://www2.bfi.org.uk/news-opinion/news-bfi/features/infographic-what-makes-film-noir>.
3. A femme fatale is a stock character of an exquisite and dangerous sexual seductress who lures men into traps. Although the roots of the archetype trace back to Greek mythology, it was in the 1940s and early 1950s that the idea of femme fatale flourished during the film-noir era (on femme fatale see, among others, Doane 1991 and Grossman 2009).
4. On the storytelling of Hawks see, among others, Mast (1982) and Wilson (2013).
5. According to Baldick (1990: 114), irony may be defined as "a subtly humorous perception of inconsistency, in which an apparently straightforward statement or event is undermined by its context so as to give it a very different significance". As elucidated further, there are a few types of irony: verbal irony occurs when there is a gap between what is uttered and what is really meant; in turn, in structural irony we are dealing with a naïve hero whose perception of the surrounding world is different from the real events that take place around him; in dramatic irony spectators can predict the course of events because they know more about the character than he himself is aware of; thus the ending differs from the hero's expectations. In turn, defensive irony may be defined as a verbal weapon employed to hide one's thoughts and make a pretence or not make a

pretence of not caring about the surrounding world, so it will not affect us (defined by the authors of the article).

6. [https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/flirt\\_1?q=flirt](https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/flirt_1?q=flirt)

7. <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/seduce?q=seduce>

8. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/wean>

9. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/57032?redirectedFrom=double+entendre+#eid>

10. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/12108?redirectedFrom=asteism#eid>

11. Marlowe has a weak spot for women and alcohol, which is confirmed in, for example, a library scene, where Marlowe flirts with a librarian by saying, "I collect blondes in bottles, too" (TBS).

12. <https://www.lifehack.org/articles/lifestyle/10-essential-ways-to-hack-your-life-instead-of-letting-life-hack-you.html>

### List of abbreviations

OED – Oxford English dictionary

TBS – *The big sleep*. [Movie, directed by Hawks, H. in 1946]. Available at: [https://sublikescript.com/movie/The\\_Big\\_Sleep-38355](https://sublikescript.com/movie/The_Big_Sleep-38355)

### References

Baldick, C. (1990). *Oxford concise dictionary of literary terms*. Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.

Ballinger, A. & Graydon, D. (2007). *The rough guide to film noir*. London: Rough Guides.

Bartlett, A., Clarke, K. & Cover, R. (2019). *Flirting in the era of #metoo. Negotiating intimacy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Belmont, J. (2013). *10 Essential ways to hack your life (instead of letting life hack you)*. Available at: <https://www.lifehack.org/articles/lifestyle/10-essential-ways-to-hack-your-life-instead-of-letting-life-hack-you.html>.

Bierwiazek, B. (2013). *Metonymy in language, thought and brain*. Sheffield: Equinox.

Blank, A. (1999). Co-presence and succession: A cognitive typology of metonymy. In *Metonymy in language and thought*. Panther, K.-U. & Radden, G. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, p. 169-191.

*Cambridge dictionary*. (s.a.). Available at: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/>

Chandler, R. ([1939] 2005). *The big sleep*. London: Penguin Books.

Cash, P. (2016). Raymond Chandler. The big sleep. In *English association bookmarks*, 79, p. 1-15. Available at: <https://www2.le.ac.uk/offices/english-association/publications/bookmarks/79-raymond-chandler-the-big-sleep>

Dalton, S. (2015). How beauty disrupts space, time and thought: Purposiveness without a purpose in Kant's *Critique of judgment*. In *Electronic journal for philosophy*, 22 (1), p. 5-14.

Doane, M.A. (1991). *Femmes fatales: Feminism, film theory, psychoanalysis*. New York: Routledge.

*Double indemnity*. (movie). (1944). Directed by Wilder, B. Available at: <https://www.moviefone.com/movie/double-indemnity/1009825/main/>

Fleming, P. (2015). The art of flirtation: Simmel's coquetry without end. In *Flirtations: Rhetoric and aesthetics this side of seduction*. Hoffman-Schwartz, D., Nagel, B.N. & Stone, L.S. (eds.). New York: Fordham University Press, p. 19-30.

Freud, S. ([1915] 1981). Thoughts for the times on war and death. In *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud*. Translated and edited by Strachey, J. London: Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, p. 275-301.

Goossens, L. (1990). Metaphonymy: The interaction of metaphor and metonymy in expressions for linguistic action. In *Cognitive linguistics*, 1 (3), p. 323-342.

Grossman, J. (2009). *Rethinking the femme fatale in film noir ready for her close-up*. Basingstoke – New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Grząsko, A. (2020). To devour one's love: The concept of TASTE in the world of endearments. In *SKASE Journal of theoretical linguistics*, 17 (3), p. 118-129.

- Hanson, H. (2007). *Hollywood heroines: Women in film noir and the female Gothic film*. London – New York: I.B. Tauris.
- Hoffman-Schwartz, D. (2015). Barely covered banter: Flirtation in *Double indemnity*. In *Flirtations: Rhetoric and aesthetics this side of seduction*. Hoffman-Schwartz, D., Nagel, B.N. & Stone, L.S. (eds.). New York: Fordham University Press, p. 13-19.
- Hoffman-Schwartz, D., Nagel, B.N. & Stone, L.S. (2015). "Almost nothing; almost everything": An introduction to the discourse of flirtation. In *Flirtations: Rhetoric and aesthetics this side of seduction*. Hoffman-Schwartz, D., Nagel, B.N. & Stone, L.S. (eds.). New York: Fordham University Press, p. 1-10.
- Haj-Mohamadi P., Gillath, O. & Rosenberg, E.L. (2020). Identifying a facial expression of flirtation and its effect on men. In *The journal of sex research*, p. 1-9.
- Kant, I. ([1790] 2000). *Critique of the power of judgment*. Translated by Guyer, P. and Matthews, E. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kaye, R. (2002). *The flirt's tragedy: Desire without end in Victorian and Edwardian fiction*. Charlottesville: Virginia University Press.
- Kiełtyka, R. (2020). The role of historical context responsible for the figurative use of common words derived from place-name. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Trnava: University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, V (1), June 2020, p. 457-479.
- Koch, P. (1999). Frame and contiguity: On the cognitive bases of metonymy and certain types of word formation. In *Metonymy in language and thought*. Panther, K.-U. & Radden, G. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, p. 139-168.
- Kövecses, Z. (2017). Conceptual metaphor theory. In *Routledge handbook of metaphor*. Semino, E. & Demjén, Z. (eds.). London – New York: Routledge, p.13-27.
- Kövecses, Z. (2006). *Language, mind and culture: A practical introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2008). Metaphor and emotion. In *The Cambridge handbook of metaphor and thought*. Gibbs, R.W. (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 380-396.
- Kövecses, Z. (2010). *Metaphor: A practical introduction*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kövecses, Z. (2018). Metaphor in media language and cognition: A perspective from conceptual metaphor theory. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, III (1), June 2018, p. 124-141. DOI: 10.2478/lart-2018-0004

Kövecses, Z. (2015). *Where metaphors come from. Reconsidering context in metaphor*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kurowska, K. (2019). "Did he get to the second base?" – Baseball metaphor as a means of describing the degree of physical intimacy in *The Fifty Shades Trilogy*. In *Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego. Seria filologiczna. Glottodydaktyka*, 11, p. 126-135.

Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, fire and dangerous things*. Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff G. & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G. & Turner, M. (1989). *More than cool reason: A field guide to poetic metaphor*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

*Laura*. (movie). (1944). Directed by Preminger, O. Available at:

<https://www.rottentomatoes.com/m/1012007-laura>

Linder, D. (2001). Translating irony in popular fiction: Raymond Chandler's *The big sleep*. In *Babel*, 41 (2), p. 97-108.

Littlemore, J. (2015). *Metonymy. Hidden shortcuts in language, thought and communication*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Loewald, H.W. (1891). Regression: Some general considerations. In *The psychoanalytic quarterly*, 50 (1), p. 22-43.

Mast, G. (1982). *Howard Hawks. Storyteller*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Meenagh, J. (2015). Flirting, dating, and breaking up with new media environments. In *Sex education*, 15 (5), p. 1-14.

*Murder, my sweet*. (movie). (1944). Directed by Dmytryk, E. Available at:

<https://www.amazon.com/Murder-My-Sweet-Dick-Powell/dp/B000244EX8>

Naremore, J. (2008). *More than night: Film noir in its contexts*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press.

Oxford English dictionary. Available at: <https://www.oed.com/>

Oxford Learner's dictionaries. Available at:

<https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/>

Panther, K.-U. & Thornburg, L. (2007). *Metonymy*. In *The Oxford handbook of cognitive linguistics*. Geeraerts, D. & Cuyckens, H. (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 236-263.

Patrick, M. *Infographic: What makes a film noir?* Available at: <https://www2.bfi.org.uk/news-opinion/news-bfi/features/infographic-what-makes-film-noir>

Phillips, A. (1994). *On flirtation: Psychoanalytic essays on the uncommitted life*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Radden, G. (2002). How metonymic are metaphors? In *Metaphor and metonymy in comparison and contrast*. Dirven, R. & Pörings, R. (eds.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 407-434.

Radden, G. & Kövecses, Z. (1999). Towards a theory of metonymy. In *Metonymy in language and thought*. Panther, K.-U. & Radden, G. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, p. 17-59.

Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, F.J. & Díez Velasco, O.I. (2002). Patterns of conceptual interaction. In *Metaphor and metonymy in comparison and contrast*. Dirven, R. & Pörings, R. (eds.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 489-532.

Sanders, S.M. (2006). Film noir and the meaning of life. In *The philosophy of film noir*. Conard, M.T. (ed.). Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, p. 91-106.

*Scarlet street*. (movie). (1945). Directed by Lang, F. Available at:

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ph\\_NZtXb4AU&ab\\_channel=TimelessClassicMovies](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ph_NZtXb4AU&ab_channel=TimelessClassicMovies)

Simmel, G. ([1909] 1984). On flirtation. In *Georg Simmel, on women, sexuality, and love*. Oakes, G. (ed.). New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 133-152.

Simmel, G. ([1911] 1949). The sociology of sociability. In *American journal of sociology*, 55 (3), p. 254-261.

- Plato. ([c. 385–370 BC] 2003). *The symposium*. Translated by Gill, Ch. London: Penguin.
- Shillock, L. (2019). From decadence to degeneration: The big sleep, its forceful plot, and a femme fatale "Still in the dangerous twenties". In *Moveable type*, 11. Zubair, S.-J. (ed.). London: Department of English Language & Literature University College London, p. 58-73.
- Spicer, A. (2002) *Film noir*. London – New York: Routledge.
- Tavory, I. (2009). The structure of flirtation: On the construction of interactional ambiguity. In *Studies in symbolic interaction*, 33. Denzin, N.K. (ed.). Bingley: Emerald, p. 59-74.
- The big sleep*. (movie). (1946). Directed by Hawks, H. Available at:  
[https://sublikescript.com/movie/The\\_Big\\_Sleep-38355](https://sublikescript.com/movie/The_Big_Sleep-38355);  
<https://www.moviefone.com/movie/the-big-sleep/20021263/where-to-watch/>
- The lady from Shanghai*. (movie). (1947). Directed by Welles, O. Available at:  
[https://www.rottentomatoes.com/m/the\\_lady\\_from\\_shanghai](https://www.rottentomatoes.com/m/the_lady_from_shanghai)
- The Maltese falcon*. (movie). (1941). Directed by Huston, J. Available at:  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ieq2sfn1R0&ab\\_channel=YouTubeMovies](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ieq2sfn1R0&ab_channel=YouTubeMovies)
- Wade, J.A. (2018). (I think) you are pretty: A behavior analytic conceptualization of flirtation. In *Perspectives on behavior science*, 41, p. 615-636.
- Weber, K., Goodboy, A.K. & Cayanus, J.L. (2010). Flirting competence: An experimental study on appropriate and effective opening lines. In *Communication research reports*, 27 (2), p. 184-191.
- Wilson, B. (2013). The film dialogue of Howard Hawks. In *Film dialogue*. Jaeckle, J. (ed.). London – New York: Wallflower Press, p. 116-125.

## Contact data

### Author #1

	<i>name:</i> <i>academic title / rank:</i> <i>department:</i> <i>institution:</i>  <i>e-mail:</i> <i>fields of interest:</i>	<b>Agnieszka Grząsko</b> PhD (Linguistics) Assistant Professor Department of English University of Rzeszów 2B, al. mjr. W. Kopisto, Rzeszów, 35-315 Poland <a href="mailto:mgrzasko@op.pl">mgrzasko@op.pl</a> Cognitive linguistics, semantics, literature.
---	--	---

### Author #2

	<i>name:</i> <i>academic title / rank:</i> <i>department:</i> <i>institution:</i>  <i>e-mail:</i> <i>fields of interest:</i>	<b>Robert Kieltyka</b> dr hab., prof. UR (Linguistics) Associate Professor Department of English University of Rzeszów 2B, al. mjr. W. Kopisto, Rzeszów, 35-315, Poland <a href="mailto:bobkieltyka@wp.pl">bobkieltyka@wp.pl</a> Cognitive linguistics, history of the English language, morphology-semantics interface, diachronic semantics.
--	--	---

## Résumé

The paper focuses on the discussion of selected dialogues and tête-à-têtes, specifically those that exhibit elements of flirtation and seduction, from the film "The big sleep" (1946) directed by Howard Hawks. In terms of the methodology, the overriding aim of this account is to identify cases of conceptual motivation behind verbal flirtation, which, as the paper suggests, may be interpreted with the aid of such tools offered by the Cognitive Linguistics paradigm as metaphor and metonymy. The reader is provided with a brief description of the studies devoted to flirtation as well as of the selected corpus, methodology, and data collection procedure. In the body of the paper, we offer a brief overview of Simmel's philosophical theory connected with flirtation by alluding to his assumptions proposed in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The analysis of selected dialogues from "The big sleep" couched in terms of the methodological tools offered

by the cognitive framework has enabled us to draw some conclusions, which confirm the conceptual nature of verbal flirtation and may be said to be underlain by conceptual metaphor, metonymy, or the interplay of the two. What is more, one of the purposes of the article is also to provide the readers with various linguistic features, which are part and parcel of verbal duels. Given that the structure of the conversations in some respects resembles swordplay, we may hazard a guess that the characters are skilled at verbal sparring. It turns out that the study of multilayered dialogues is worthwhile not only from the cognitive but also from purely linguistic perspectives.

**Key words:** flirtation, seduction, film noir, metaphor, metonymy, "The big sleep".

## Appendix

Table 7. The dialogues from "The big sleep"

Extract	Dialogue
1	<p><i>"Carmen: You're not very tall, are you? Marlowe: Well, I tried to be. Carmen: Not bad looking, though you probably know it. Marlowe: Thank you. Carmen: What's your name? Marlowe: Reilly. Doghouse Reilly. Carmen: That's a funny kind of name. Marlowe: You think so. Carmen: Uh huh. What are you? A prizefighter? Marlowe: No, I'm a shamus. Carmen: What's a shamus? Marlowe: A private detective. Carmen: You're making fun of me. Marlowe: Uh, huh. Carmen: [she leans back and falls into his arms] You're cute. [...] Marlowe: [to the butler, Norris] You ought to wean her. She's old enough." (TBS)</i></p>
2	<p><i>"Carmen Sternwood: Is he as cute as you are? Philip Marlowe: Nobody is." (TBS)</i></p>
3	<p><i>"Carmen: Well, what does the hat-check girl get for a tip? Marlowe: I'm trying to think of something appropriate. How'd you get in here? Carmen: Bet you can't guess. Marlowe: I'll bet I can. You came in through the keyhole like Peter Pan. Carmen: Who's he? Marlowe: A guy I used to know around a pool room. Carmen: You're cute. Marlowe: I'm getting cuter every minute. How did you get in?" (TBS)</i></p>

4	<p><i>"Carmen: You're cute. I like you.</i>  <i>Marlowe: Yeah? What you see's nothing. I got a Balinese dancing girl tattooed across my chest." (TBS)</i></p>
5	<p><i>"Vivian: So you're a private detective? I didn't know they existed, except in books. Or else they were greasy little men snooping around hotel corridors. My, you're a mess, aren't you?</i>  <i>Philip Marlowe: I'm not very tall either. Next time I'll come on stilts, wear a white tie and carry a tennis racket.</i>  <i>Vivian: I doubt if that would help. [...] You know, I don't see what there is to be cagey about, Mr. Marlowe. And I don't like your manners!</i>  <i>Marlowe: I'm not crazy about yours. I didn't ask to see you. I don't mind if you don't like my manners. I don't like'em myself. They're pretty bad. I grieve over them long winter evenings, and I don't mind your ritzing me, or drinking your lunch out of a bottle. But don't waste your time trying to cross-examine me.</i>  <i>Vivian: People don't talk to me like that!</i>  <i>Marlowe: Oh!</i>  <i>Vivian: Do you always think you can handle people like trained seals?</i>  <i>Marlowe: Uh-huh. I usually get away with it too.</i>  <i>Vivian: How nice for you." (TBS)</i></p>
6	<p><i>"Vivian: We're very grateful to you, Mr. Marlowe. And I'm very glad it's all over. Tell me what do you usually do when you're not working?</i>  <i>Marlowe: Play the horses, fool around.</i>  <i>Vivian: No women?</i>  <i>Marlowe: I'm generally working on something most of the time.</i>  <i>Vivian: Could that be stretched to include me?</i>  <i>Marlowe: I like you. I've told you that before.</i>  <i>Vivian: I liked hearing you say it. But you didn't do much about it.</i>  <i>Marlowe: Well, neither did you.</i>  <i>Vivian: Well, speaking of horses, I like to play them myself. But I like to see them work out a little first, see if they're front-runners or come from behind. Find out what their whole card is. What makes them run.</i>  <i>Marlowe: Find out mine?</i>  <i>Vivian: I think so.</i>  <i>Marlowe: Go ahead.</i>  <i>Vivian: I'd say you don't like to be rated. You like to get out in front, open up a lead, take a little breather in the back stretch, and then come home free.</i>  <i>Marlowe: You don't like to be rated yourself.</i>  <i>Vivian: I haven't met anyone yet who could do it. Any suggestions?</i>  <i>Marlowe: Well, I can't tell till I've seen you over a distance of ground. You've got a touch of class, but I don't know how far you can go.</i>  <i>Vivian: A lot depends on who's in the saddle. Go ahead, Marlowe, I like the way you work. In case you don't know it, you're doing all right.</i>  <i>Marlowe: There's one thing I can't figure out.</i>  <i>Vivian: What makes me run?</i>  <i>Marlowe: Uh-huh.</i>  <i>Vivian: I'll give you a little hint. Sugar won't work. It's been tried." (TBS)</i></p>
7	<p><i>"Vivian: Where did you find her?</i>  <i>Marlowe: I didn't find her.</i>  <i>Vivian: Well, then how...</i>  <i>Marlowe: I haven't been here. You haven't seen me and she hasn't been out of this house all evening. [...]</i></p>

	<p><i>Vivian: What did she tell you?</i></p> <p><i>Marlowe: Not half as much as you just did. I don't slap so good around this time of the evening.</i></p> <p><i>Vivian: You go too far, Marlowe.</i></p> <p><i>Marlowe: Ooh. Those are harsh words to throw at a man. Especially when he's walking out of your bedroom." (TBS)</i></p>
8	<p><i>"Vivian: You've forgotten one thing, me.</i></p> <p><i>Marlowe: What's wrong with you?</i></p> <p><i>Vivian: Nothing you can't fix." (TBS)</i></p>

Article was received by the editorial board 15.01.2021;

Reviewed 02.02.2021 and 28.02.2021.

Similarity Index 8.2%

## LEGE ARTIS

Language yesterday, today, tomorrow

Vol. VI. No 1 2021

# FROM SPATIAL MARKING TO DEGREE MODIFICATION: A CORPUS-BASED STUDY OF THE POLISH *DALEKI OD* (FAR.ADJ FROM) X AND *DALEKO OD* (FAR.ADV FROM) X CONSTRUCTIONS\*

*Damian Herda*

*Jagiellonian University, Kraków, Poland*

**Bibliographic description:** Herda, D. (2021). From spatial marking to degree modification: A corpus-based study of the Polish *daleki od* (far.ADJ from) X and *daleko od* (far.ADV from) X constructions. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Trnava: University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, 2021, VI (1), June 2021, p. 40-74. ISSN 2453-8035

**Abstract:** Based on corpus data, this paper investigates the distribution of two closely related Polish constructions, viz. *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X and *daleko od* 'far.ADV from' X. It is shown that only the former exhibits regular extended uses involving a variety of complement types, while the latter is largely confined to spatial marking. The advanced host-class expansion of the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction is argued to reflect an ongoing, metaphorically driven process of grammaticalization.

**Key words:** cognitive linguistics, constructionalization, corpus linguistics, degree modification, gradience, grammaticalization, host-class expansion, metaphorization, subjectification.

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Cross-linguistically, parametric expressions, i.e., those invoking physical qualities such as size, height, length, or depth, display a tendency to undergo metaphorization and evolve into degree modifiers (cf. Bałabaniak & Mitrenga 2015: 83-119; Herda 2019a; 2019b; 2020), a fact which can be illustrated by the Polish phrases *wielce*

---

\* This article is made open access with funding support from the Jagiellonian University under the Excellence Initiative – Research University programme (the Priority Research Area Heritage).

*zaskoczony* 'greatly surprised', *wysoce niestosowny* 'highly inappropriate', *głęboko przekonany* 'deeply convinced', *wielki fan* 'great fan, i.e., someone very enthusiastic', as well as *masę podróżować* 'to travel a lot' together with their respective English translations. The present study is concerned with a subset of expressions of this kind, namely adjectives and adverbs originally denoting considerable spatial distances, which have been demonstrated to undergo grammaticalization within constructions in which they take PP-complements headed by elements such as the English *from*. Among the relevant instances studied so far are, aside from the English *far from X*-construction, the Dutch *ver(re) van X*, the Swedish *långt ifrån X*, and the French *loin de X* (cf. among others, Akimoto 2001; Brinton & Inoue 2020; De Smet 2012; De Smet et al. 2015; Van Goethem et al. 2018; van Riemsdijk 2001). More precisely, it has been observed that such constructions tend to develop into the type of degree modifier labelled by Quirk et al. (1985: 597) as minimizers, whose meaning can be paraphrased as 'not X at all; not X to any extent' (cf. *far from perfect = not perfect at all*), at the same time undergoing host-class expansion to novel X-types.

However, *far from X*-constructions have likewise been found to exhibit cross-linguistic discrepancies with respect to their distribution and degree of grammaticalization (cf. De Smet et al. 2015). Since such constructions have not yet been systematically examined based on Slavonic material, this paper, drawing on synchronic data extracted from the National Corpus of Polish (Pol. *Narodowy korpus języka polskiego*, henceforth also NKJP), seeks to contribute to the body of research on the above-discussed type of expressions in European languages by investigating the distributional specificity of two closely related Polish constructions, namely the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction and the *daleko od* 'far.ADV from' X-construction, in an attempt to determine their semantics as well as formal characteristics, as evidenced by the range of their possible X-complements along with their respective frequencies. The starting point for the discussion will be the observation that apart from indicating spatial distance (cf. 1a, b), which is the basic function of the pertinent expressions (cf. Boryś

2005: 108), both constructions may, through various metaphorical extensions of this basic meaning, be used to convey more abstract, non-physical relations (cf. 2a, b).

(1) a. *Najlepsze miejsce to teren*  
 best.SG.N.NOM place.SG.N.NOM be.IMPERS terrain.SG.M.NOM  
*daleki od domu [...]. [NKJP]*

'The best place would be a plot located a long way from the house.'

b. *Samochód Paweł zostawił*  
 car.SG.M.ACC Paweł.SG.M.NOM leave.PERF.3.SG.M.PST  
*daleko od budynku [...]. [NKJP]*

far.ADV from building.SG.M.GEN

'Paweł left the car a long way from the building.'

(2) a. *Jestem więc zadowolony, choć*  
 be.1.SG.PRES therefore glad.SG.M.NOM though  
*daleki od osiadania na*  
 far.ADJ.SG.M.NOM from sitting.IMPERS.SG.N.GEN on  
*laurach. [NKJP]*

laurel.PL.M.LOC

'I am therefore glad, but definitely not sitting on my laurels.'

b. *Nasze problemy są*  
 our.1.PL.NOM problem.PL.M.NOM be.3.PL.PRES  
*daleko od "ich" wzroku [...]. [NKJP]*

far.ADV from their.3.PL.GEN sight.SG.M.GEN

'Our problems are far from "their" sight.'

The structure of the paper is as follows. Section 2 provides a brief account of grammaticalization with special reference to the cross-linguistic development of *far from* X-constructions into minimizers, including the role of metaphorization in this instance of language change. Section 3 specifies the research objective as well as describes the empirical material and the adopted methodology, while Section 4

presents the results of an analysis of naturally-occurring Polish data. Finally, Section 5 summarizes the main observations reached in the study and outlines prospects for future research on the topic.

## **2. *Far from X*-constructions in the light of grammaticalization**

Following the classic, oft-cited definition offered by Kuryłowicz (1965: 69), "[g]rammaticalization consists in an increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status". What should nonetheless be emphasized here is the role of context, or rather co-text, in the scrutinized type of language change (cf. Bybee et al. 1994: 11; Himmelmann 2004; Skrzypek 2020; Traugott & Trousdale 2013), as it is always within specific syntagmatic environments, rather than in isolation, that a form grammaticalizes. In the instance of grammaticalization under scrutiny, the forms *daleki* 'far.ADJ' and *daleko* 'far.ADV' are supposed to undergo changes within constructions in which they take a prepositional complement headed by *od* 'from'.

In this study, grammaticalization will be operationalized as an essentially semantic phenomenon (cf. Heine 2003), whereby contentive, more denotationally concrete expressions acquire, through "an inference-driven contextual enrichment" (Evans & Wilkins 2000: 550), more abstract, procedural meanings, thus enhancing their functional potential to the detriment of the lexical content. As stated before, spatial markers such as the English *far* in specific linguistic settings develop into minimizers, which point to an evident failure of the subject to attain a property or enter an eventuality implied by the X-element, and whose meaning can therefore be paraphrased as 'not X at all/definitely not X' or 'very/completely un-X'.

The ultimate conceptual mechanism underlying the inference-driven transition of spatial markers into degree expressions is that of metaphorization. Rather than being a purely esthetic device confined to the realm of literature in general and poetry in particular, metaphor, understood as a mapping between two mental domains, has been

found to constitute a ubiquitous cognitive device which enables, or facilitates, the understanding of more abstract concepts in terms of more concrete, tangible ones (cf. among others, Konnova & Babenko 2019; Kövecses 2010; 2018; Lakoff & Johnson 1980a; 1980b; 1980c; Uberman 2016; Yamaguchi 2016). As for the metaphor-related semantic aspects of grammaticalization at large, Heine et al. (1991: 160), drawing on ample evidence from language change, construct a hierarchy of abstractness relative to which expressions belonging to the cognitive domain of SPACE cross-linguistically tend to develop into temporal and/or quality markers, a finding which accords with the changes observed in *far from X*-constructions:

(3) PERSON > OBJECT > PROCESS > SPACE > TIME > QUALITY

According to Peters (1994), parametric expressions take on degree modifier functions via metaphorical scalar transfer, as a result of which the position on a scale pertaining to a physical extent is mapped onto an analogous value on a scale representing an abstract dimension of measurement. Nevertheless, Van Goethem et al. (2018: 193-194) claim the minimizer sense not to be directly derivable from the spatial one, adding that metaphorization "acts as the ground for the pragmatic extension to the downtoner meaning". Indeed, as will be demonstrated in Section 4, the metaphorical extensions observed in the Polish data include the expression of psychological detachment, temporal remoteness, difference/divergence, unrelatedness, skepticism, etc., and not all of such instances permit the minimizer inference.

Another observation relevant to the analyzed instance of grammaticalization is the very strong tendency for grammaticalizing expressions to undergo subjectification, defined as a shift from "content-related" to "speaker-related" function (Verstraete 2001: 1506), i.e., a change whereby linguistic units come to convey a more speaker-based view, and whereby this subjective meaning component becomes conventionalized. In other words, subjectification refers to the semanticization of synchronic subjectivity, which resides in "the way in which natural languages, in their structure and their normal

manner of operation, provide for the locutionary agent's expression of himself" (Lyons 1982: 102) and as such captures an expression's "relationship to the speaker and the speaker's beliefs and attitudes" (Traugott 2010: 30). Traugott (1989: 34-35) identifies three semantic tendencies in grammaticalization, all of which are reflective of ongoing subjectification:

*"Tendency I:*

*Meanings based in the external described situation > meanings based in the internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) described situation.*

*Tendency II:*

*Meanings based in the external or internal described situation > meanings based in the textual and metalinguistic situation.*

*Tendency III:*

*Meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude towards the proposition".*

Of the tendencies specified above, the first one bears special importance to the subject matter of the present study in that the *far from* X-constructions shift from indicating external, objectively measurable spatial distance to conveying more speaker-centered gradational evaluations, the latter being suggestive of "an emotional attitude of the speaker" (Akimoto 2001: 8). If a subjectified expression additionally starts to index the speaker's "relationship to the addressee and addressee's face" (Traugott 2010: 30), it may be said to have undergone intersubjectification (cf. Traugott & Dasher 2002: 225). As will be argued in Section 4, the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction, when employed in relation to first person subjects, may serve as a kind of hedger, lessening the effect of what the X-element stands for.

Even though semantic in character, the above-discussed grammaticalization-related changes manifest themselves formally in a rise of the productivity of the pertinent expression, i.e., in the form of host-class expansion (cf. Himmelmann 2004), which refers to a broadening of the expression's original collocational scope. In the case of *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X and *daleko od* 'far.ADV from' X, host-class expansion will therefore be operationalized as extension from concrete to abstract X-complements, of which the latter exhibit varying levels of structural complexity, including simple

abstract nouns (e.g., *daleki od doskonałości* 'far.ADJ from perfect; lit.: far.ADJ from perfection'), verbal substantives (e.g., *daleki od oskarżania kogokolwiek* 'far.ADJ from accusing anyone'), phrases headed by the dummy pronoun *tego* 'that.SG.N.GEN' taking a clausal, whether finite or non-finite, complement (e.g., *daleki od tego, by oskarżać kogokolwiek* 'far.ADJ from accusing anyone; lit.: far.ADJ from that to accuse anyone'), as well as adjectives (e.g., *daleki od doskonałego* 'far.ADJ from perfect') and adverbs (e.g., *czuć się daleko od OK* 'to feel far.ADV from OK'). Notably, verbal substantives, i.e., nominalizations ending in *-anie*, (e.g., *spanie* 'sleeping' < *spać* 'to sleep'), *-enie* (e.g., *mówienie* 'speaking' < *mówić* 'to speak'), or *-cie* (e.g., *mycie* 'cleaning' < *myć* 'to clean'), resemble verbs in having an argument structure and aspect value (cf. Lewandowska 1975; Rozwadowska 2000), which is why the extension to X-complements of this kind will be taken to constitute an important step in the grammaticalization of the Polish constructions.

Importantly, host-class expansion may likewise be indicative of a syntactic reanalysis having taken place, which leads to the grammaticalizing expression becoming reinterpreted as "belonging to a position differing from its erstwhile positional properties" (Bisang & Wiemer 2004: 9). For instance, the English *far from* X-construction has relatively recently extended its distribution to VPs, as in *We far from nailed it* (cf. Brinton & Inoue 2020: 288), in which *far* no longer takes a PP-complement headed by *from* and instead the segment *far from* clearly constitutes a single syntactic unit. As will be shown in Section 4, however, neither of the analyzed Polish constructions seems to have reached such an advanced stage of grammaticalization.

Aside from unidirectionality of change discussed above, gradualness is another phenomenon generally viewed as central to grammaticalization. Instead of leading to an abrupt shift in the functional status of particular units, grammaticalization invariably entails a state of variation, in which the expressions' older, more contentive meanings and the newer, more abstract ones co-exist (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 122). Diachronic

gradualness emblematic of grammaticalization thus implies a synchronic dimension to the scrutinized phenomenon, namely *gradience*. As Haspelmath (2001: 16539) points out, "[s]ince grammaticalization is generally regarded as a gradual diachronic process, it is expected that the resulting function words form a gradient from full content words to clear function words". Hence, given the "fluid patterns of language use" (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 2) and the existence of "alternate strategies which enjoy different levels of grammatical autonomy" (Lehmann 1985: 309), grammaticalization, although typically conceived of diachronically, can in fact also be studied from a synchronic perspective, a possibility reflected in the methodology adopted in the present study.

### **3. Aim, material, and methodology**

The specific purpose of the present paper is to provide answers to three primary research questions concerning the analyzed Polish expressions. First, is there a statistically significant difference in the frequency of the extended, i.e., metaphorical, uses of the *daleki od* 'far.ADV from' X-construction and the *daleko od* 'far.ADV from' X-construction? Second, what is the empirical distribution of the constructions' extended uses between concrete and abstract nouns, verbal substantives, phrases headed by the dummy pronoun *tego* 'that.SG.N.GEN' taking a clausal complement, adjectives, and adverbs? And third, how many of the extended uses of both constructions can be regarded as minimizer attestations?

To answer the research questions specified above, random samples of 200 attestations of the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction and of the *daleko od* 'far.ADV from' X-construction (N = 400) were extracted from the National Corpus of Polish with the help of the Poliqarp search engine. The corpus queries were specified in such a way that it was possible for the base elements *daleki* 'far.ADJ' and *daleko* 'far.ADJ' to appear in the comparative and the superlative in addition to the positive form. Moreover, the employed command allowed for the adjectival item to occur in all of its possible case and gender forms as well as permitted the occurrence of the phonologically conditioned variant of the preposition *od* 'from', namely *ode* 'from'. All irrelevant attestations,

especially those involving the lexicalized adverbial phrase *z daleka od* 'away from' as well as those in which the preposition *od* 'from' is governed by a particular verb, such as *odbiegać (od)* 'to diverge (from)', with *daleko* 'far.ADV' itself functioning as an intensifier with the meaning of 'significantly', were filtered out manually and replaced with randomly chosen relevant corpus examples.

The obtained tokens were then classified into two major categories, namely (i) basic uses, in which case the construction refers to physical space and thus invariably takes concrete noun complements, and (ii) extended uses, the latter group incorporating all kinds of subjectified, metaphorical attestations. Exhibiting variation in their X-complements, the extended uses of both constructions underwent additional labelling into those involving (a) concrete nouns (CNs), including pronouns referring to concretes, (b) abstract nouns (ANs), including pronouns referring to abstractions, (c) verbal substantives (VSs), (d) phrases headed by the dummy pronoun *tego* 'that.SG.N.GEN' with a clausal complement (*tego*-Ps), (e) adjectives (ADJs), including adjectivized participles, as well as (f) adverbs (ADVs). Cross-linguistically, *far from* X-constructions may also co-occur with verbs, yet since no such attestations have been detected in the Polish corpus data, this category was excluded from the present analysis. Finally, the frequency of minimizer attestations was determined in each subclass of the scrutinized constructions' extended uses. Throughout the empirical part of the text, additional qualitative comments are made as regards the semantics of both constructions, and a number of representative, authentic examples are provided.

#### **4. Results and discussion**

Presented below are the results of the first part of the quantitative analysis of the corpus data, i.e., the proportions of basic and extended uses of the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction and the *daleko od* 'far.ADV from' X-construction:

Table 1. *Daleki od X* and *daleko od X*: Frequency of basic and extended uses

Construction	Basic uses # (%)	Extended uses # (%)	Total # (%)
<i>Daleki od 'far.ADJ from' X</i>	4 (2%)	196 (98%)	200 (100%)
<i>Daleko od 'far.ADV from' X</i>	175 (87.5%)	25 (12.5%)	200 (100%)
<b>Total # (%)</b>	179 (44.75%)	221 (55.25%)	400 (100%)

As can easily be noted, the construction involving the adverbial element *daleko* 'far.ADV' is largely restricted to its basic uses, which consist in indicating spatial distance, while the one comprising the adjectival form *daleki* 'far.ADJ' is almost invariably employed metaphorically, i.e., without literal reference to physical space. The Fisher exact test performed on the data demonstrates the difference between the two constructions in terms of their empirical distribution to be highly statistically significant ( $p < .001$ ), which suggests that in present-day Polish, the two units are specialized in distinct functions. In this respect, Polish resembles Dutch as in the latter language a similar differentiation has taken place: while *verre van X* is predominantly used as a degree modifier, *ver van X* typically indicates spatial distance (cf. Van Goethem et al. 2018).

The following parts of this section offer a more detailed, both quantitative and qualitative, discussion of the extended uses of the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction and the *daleko od* 'far.ADV from' X-construction. In both cases, the frequency of particular X-complements is revealed first, and then each complement type is discussed and illustrated separately.

#### 4.1 Extended uses of the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction

As shown in Figure 1, most of the extended attestations of the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction involve abstract nouns (145/196, i.e., 73.98%), which are followed by verbal substantives (27/196, i.e., 13.78%), *tego*-phrases (11/196, i.e., 5.61%), adjectives (9/196, i.e., 4.59%), and concrete nouns (4/196, i.e., 2.04%). Since no uses

of the analyzed construction involving adverbs have been identified in the corpus data, this category will be excluded from discussion presented in the subsequent subparts of Section 4.1.

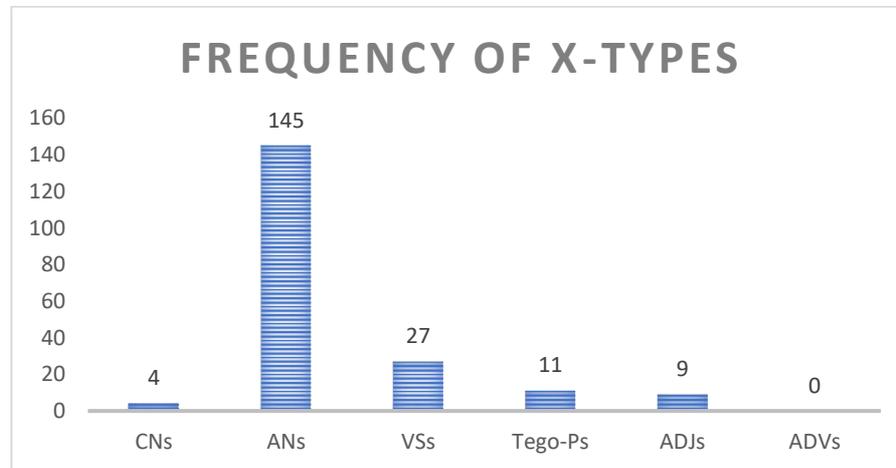


Figure 1. Distribution of X-complements of *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X in its extended uses

#### 4.4.1 Concrete nouns

In the concrete domain, the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction in its extended uses has been observed to co-occur with animate nouns, indicating psychological detachment (cf. 4), (spatio)temporal remoteness (cf. 5), and difference (cf. 6-7).

- (4) *Niechaj daleką od nas będzie*  
 may far.ADJ.SG.F.INSTR from us.1.PL.GEN be.3.SG.FUT

*myśl [...].* [NKJP]

thought.SG.F.NOM

'May the thought be far from us.'

- (5) *Egipcjanie [...] w taki sam*  
 Egyptian.PL.M.NOM in such.SG.M.ACC same.SG.M.ACC  
*sposób usiłowali przedstawić*  
 manner.SG.M.ACC attempt.IMPERF.3.PL.M.PST present.PERF.INF  
*szereg osób, jak dalecy od*  
 row.SG.M.ACC person.PL.F.GEN as far.ADJ.PL.M.NOM from  
*nich w czasie i przestrzeni*

them.3.PL.GEN in time.SG.M.LOC and space.SG.F.LOC

*rysownicy buszmeńscy [...]. [NKJP]*

drawer.PL.M.NOM Bushman.PL.M.NOM

'The Egyptians attempted to present a row of people graphically in the same way as did the Bushmen, even though the former were temporally and spatially distant from the latter.'

- (6) *Są zupełnie innymi, dalekimi*  
be.3.PL.PRES completely other.PL.F.INSTR far.ADJ.PL.F.INSTR  
*od siebie osobami. [NKJP]*  
from each.other person.PL.F.INSTR

'They are completely unrelated persons, different from each other.'

- (7) *Na razie mam zespół*  
on time.SG.M.LOC have.1.SG.PRES team.SG.M.ACC  
*daleki od takiego, który mnie*  
far.ADJ.SG.M.ACC from such.SG.M.GEN which.SG.M.NOM me.1.SG.DAT  
*by satysfakcjonował. [NKJP]*  
would satisfy.IMPERF.3.SG.M.PST

'For the time being, I have a team that is far from being one that would satisfy me.'

Among the relevant instances, there is only one attestation permitting the minimizer inference, namely in Example 7, where the qualitative modifier *taki* 'such' as well as the clause introduced by *który* 'that' are used in relation to the elided noun *zespół* 'team' (cf. *daleki od takiego* 'far from one/such' = *zdecydowanie nie taki* 'definitely not one/such').

#### 4.1.2 Abstract nouns

Similarly to the case with concrete complements, *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' applied to abstract nouns may point to the psychological detachment of an animate referent (cf. 8).

(8) [...] *dalecy*                      *od chwili*                      *bieżącej*,  
                     far.ADJ.PL.M.GEN from while.SG.F.GEN      current.SG.F.GEN

*przestali*                      *zwracać*                      *należną*  
 stop.3.PL.M.PST                      pay.IMPERF.INF      necessary.SG.F.ACC

*uwagę*                      *na drogę*. [NKJP]  
 attention.SG.F.ACC on      way.SG.F.ACC

'Detached from the current moment, they stopped paying due attention to the road.'

More frequently, *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' indicates an animate subject's skepticism, or reluctance, towards epistemic notions such as *opinie* 'opinions' (cf. 9) and *podteksty* 'undertones' (cf. 10). Despite not directly allowing the minimizer inference ('not X at all/definitely not X'), such uses, as can be seen in the English translations, imply certain (negated) verbs associated with the pertinent abstractions (cf. *wyrażać opinie* 'to express opinions', *robić podteksty* 'to make overtones'), which may be said to facilitate the distributional expansion of the construction to verbal substantives, the latter case permitting the minimizer interpretation (cf. e.g., *daleki od takich opinii* 'far from such opinions' vs. *daleki od wyrażania takich opinii* 'far from expressing such opinions, i.e., definitely not expressing such opinions').

(9) [...] *ja*      *bym*                      *tutaj był*                      *daleki*  
                     I      would                      here be.3.SG.M.PST      far.ADJ.SG.M.NOM

*od*                      *takich*                      *opinii* [...]. [NKJP]  
 from                      such.PL.F.GEN      opinion.PL.F.GEN

'I would here be far from such opinions/I would definitely not express such opinions.'

(10) *Jestem*                      *daleki*                      *od*                      *jakichkolwiek*  
 be.1.SG.PRES                      far.ADJ.SG.M.NOM from                      whichever.PL.M.GEN

*podtekstów*. [NKJP]  
 overtone.PL.M.GEN

'I am far from any overtones/I am not making any overtones at all.'

Combined with abstract nouns, the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction may likewise express divergence (cf. 11) and unrelatedness (cf. 12). Again, such uses indirectly imply the negation of an eventuality by virtue of the abstract nominal complements invoking certain verbs, such as *spełniać* 'to meet; to fulfil' (cf. *spełniać oczekiwania* 'to meet expectations') and *zajmować się* 'to occupy oneself with; to deal with' (cf. *zajmować się działalnością filmową* 'to deal with film-making').

- (11) *Dokuczają*            *im*                            *korki*                            *i*  
tease.3.PL.PRES        them.3.PL.DAT        traffic.jam.PL.M.NOM        and  
***daleki***                    ***od***        ***oczekiwań***                            *poziom*  
far.ADJ.PL.M.NOM from expectation.PL.N.GEN        level.SG.M.NOM  
*transportu*                            *publicznego*. [NKJP]  
transport.SG.M.GEN        public.SG.M.GEN

'They are fed up with traffic jams and the public transport whose level fails to meet their expectations.'

- (12) *Potem*                            *został*                            *prezesem*  
next                            become.3.SG.M.PST        chairman.SG.M.INSTR  
***dalekiej***                    ***od***                    ***działalności***                    ***filmowej***  
far.ADJ.SG.F.GEN from activity.SG.F.GEN cinematic.SG.F.GEN  
*Agencji*                            *Inwestycji*                            *Zagranicznej*. [NKJP]  
agency.SG.F.GEN investment.SG.F.GEN        foreign.SG.F.GEN

'He later became chairman of the Agency of Foreign Investment, which had nothing to do with film-making.'

Importantly, the metaphorical conceptualization of spatial distance as abstract divergence likewise gives rise to a fairly productive pattern whereby the opposite of the quality denoted by the X-element is asserted. Accordingly, what will here be



X-construction has been found to co-occur with both types of such nominalizations. In the former case, the analyzed construction typically combines with achievement predicates (cf. Vendler 1957), pointing to a considerable deviation from the maximal value on a closed temporal scale, i.e., the culmination point of the situation denoted by the verbal substantive, and as such implies the negation of the bounded eventuality and hence also the non-attainment of the resultant state. In the data under scrutiny, there are 11 instances involving perfective verbal substantives which can be regarded as minimizer attestations, of which two examples are cited below (cf. 16-17).

- (16) [...] *tego*                      *typu*                      *wymowa*  
                     this.SG.M.GEN                      type.SG.M.GEN                      pronunciation.SG.F.NOM  
*jest*                      *jeszcze*                      *daleka*                      *od*  
 be.3.SG.PRES                      yet                      far.ADJ.SG.F.NOM                      from  
*uzyskania*                      *statusu*                      *normy* [...]. [NKJP]  
 attaining.PERF.SG.N.GEN                      status.SG.M.ACC                      norm.SG.F.GEN  
 'Such pronunciation has definitely not attained the status of a norm yet.'

- (17) [...] *rynek*                      *wciąż*                      *wydaje*                      *się*  
                     market.SG.M.NOM                      still                      seem.3.SG.PRES                      REF  
*daleki*                      *od*                      *zaspokojenia*. [NKJP]  
 far.ADJ.SG.M.NOM                      from                      satiating.PERF.SG.N.GEN  
 'The market still seems to be far from satiated.'

As evidenced by the example below (cf. 18), however, not all attestations of the discussed construction with perfective verbal substantives can be viewed as simple minimizer uses. Apart from pointing to the non-attainment of the resultant state implied by the verb *urzeczywistnić* 'to materialize; to make real', the aforementioned example draws a comparison between two periods of time with regard to the likelihood of an idea coming into existence:

- (18) *Na razie*                      *jednak*                      *pomysł*                      *jest*

on time.SG.M.LOC yet idea.SG.M.NOM be.3.SG.PRES  
*dużo dalszy od urzeczywistnienia*  
 much further.SG.M.NOM from realizing.PERF.SG.N.GEN  
*niż pod koniec lat 90. [...]. [NKJP]*  
 than under end.SG.M.ACC year.PL.M.GEN 90

'For the time being, however, the idea is much less likely to come true than it was at the end of the 90s.'

The number of minimizer attestations in which the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction co-occurs with nominalizations derived from imperfective verbs, on the other hand, stands at 15. With an imperfective verbal substantive in the X-slot, the construction at issue predominantly takes animate human subjects, and may be interpreted as referring to the subject's skepticism, or reluctance, towards the unbounded eventuality encoded by the nominalization (cf. 19-20).

(19) *Nasz kontrahent [...] jest*  
 our.SG.M.NOM contractor.SG.M.NOM be.3.SG.PRES  
*daleki od szukania*  
 far.ADJ.SG.M.NOM from searching.IMPERF.SG.N.GEN  
*innego rozwiązania. [NKJP]*  
 other.SG.N.GEN solution.SG.N.GEN

'Our contractor is not looking for another solution at all.'

(20) *Jest jednak daleka od*  
 be.3.SG.PRES yet far.ADJ.SG.F.NOM from  
*obarczania winą rodziców [...]. [NKJP]*  
 burdening.IMPERF.SG.N.GEN blame.SG.F.INSTR parent.PL.M.GEN

'She is nonetheless not blaming her parents at all.'

As already mentioned in Section 2, the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction seems to have undergone a certain degree of intersubjectification in uses with first person

subjects, notably in those accompanied by clauses introduced by a disjunctive element such as *ale* 'but'. Thus, attestations such as those below (cf. 21-22), involving imperfective nominalizations derived from the epistemic verbs *generalizować* 'to generalize' and *oskarżać* 'to accuse', respectively, bear semantic resemblance to the fixed English phrase *far be it from me/us to VP*, which "has an intersubjective use and refers explicitly to the speaker's stance" (Bybee 2010: 52). In other words, attestations of this kind, in addition to implying the negation of the relevant eventuality, point to the speaker's unwillingness to perform an action which may be interpreted by the hearer as a face-threatening act, thereby lessening the potential negative impact of what the verbal substantive stands for:

- (21) *Jestem daleki od generalizowania,*  
 be.1.SG.PRES far.ADJ.SG.M.NOM from generalizing.IMPERF.SG.N.GEN  
*ale takie zjawiska są*  
 but such.PL.N.NOM phenomenon.PL.N.NOM be.3.PL.PRES  
*mi znane.* [NKJP]  
 me.1.SG.DAT known.PL.N.NOM  
 'Far be it from me to generalize/I am not generalizing at all, but such phenomena are known to me.'
- (22) *Jestem daleki od oskarżania*  
 be.1.SG.PRES far.ADJ.SG.M.NOM from blaming.IMPERF.SG.N.GEN  
*kogokolwiek, ale takie są*  
 whomever.ACC but such.PL.N.NOM be.3.PL.PRES  
*fakty.* [NKJP]  
 fact.PL.M.NOM  
 'Far be it from me to blame anyone/I am not blaming anyone at all, but these are facts.'

Marginally, the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction, when used in relation to imperfective verbal substantives, also takes inanimate subjects. In Example 23, it

implies the highly restricted functionality of the subject's referent, which leads to its incapability of performing the action denoted by the nominalization. What the example at issue likewise demonstrates is that the adjectival element *daleki* 'far.ADJ' permits intensification, which, in this case, further reinforces the non-occurrence of the relevant situation:

- (23) *Ponadto technologia Flash jest też*  
 additionally technology.SG.F.NOM Flash be.3.SG.PRES too  
*bardzo daleka od dostosowywania się*  
 very far.ADJ.SG.F.NOM from adjusting.IMPERF.SG.N.GEN REF  
*do preferencji użytkownika.* [NKJP]  
 to preference.PL.F.GEN user.SG.M.GEN  
 'Additionally, the Flash technology really does not adjust to the user's preferences at all.'

#### 4.1.4 *Tego-phrases*

The number of minimizer attestations of the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction involving the dummy pronoun *tego* 'that.SG.N.GEN' with a clausal complement stands at 10. Analogously to the case with verbal substantives, the scrutinized construction accompanied by *tego*-phrases displays a strong tendency to take animate human, especially first person, subjects, indicating the subject's skeptical attitude towards the proposition expressed by a particular phrase of this kind, which typically includes a non-finite complement introduced by *(że)by* 'to'. Equally noteworthy here is that most of such uses display an intersubjective flavor, which is sometimes emphasized by the employment of polite forms of address such as *pan* 'sir' (cf. 24) and *pani* 'madame' (cf. 25).

- (24) *Jestem daleki od tego, żeby*  
 be.1.SG.PRES far.ADJ.SG.M.NOM from that.SG.N.GEN to  
*pana przekonywać.* [NKJP]

sir.SG.M.ACC persuade.IMPERF.INF

'Far be it from me to persuade you/I am not persuading you at all, sir.'

- (25) *Nie, jestem daleki od tego,*  
no be.1.SG.PRES far.ADJ.SG.M.NOM from that.SG.N.GEN  
*żeby Panią poseł*  
to madame.SG.F.ACC parliament.member.SG.M.ACC  
*obwiniać o to.* [NKJP]  
blame.IMPERF.INF for that.SG.N.ACC

'No, far be it from me to blame you for that/I am not blaming you at all for that, madame.'

However, there is one example in the data in which the animate human subject of the main clause is different from that of a finite clausal complement of the pronoun *tego* 'that.SG.N.GEN', which is why Example 26, despite being suggestive of the subject's reluctance, cannot be regarded as a minimizer use.

- (26) *Jestem daleka od tego,*  
be.3.SG.PRES far.ADJ.SG.F.NOM from that.SG.N.GEN  
*żeby uczniowie sami placili.* [NKJP]  
to student.PL.M.NOM themselves.PL.M.NOM pay.3.PL.M.PST  
'I am very skeptical about the idea of students paying for themselves.'

Less frequently, the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction combines with phrases in which *tego* 'that.SG.N.GEN' takes a finite clausal complement introduced by *co* 'what'. Such attestations express difference/divergence and, in contrast to Example 26, give rise to the minimizer inference (cf. 27).

- (27) [...] *to było dalekie od*  
that.SG.N.NOM be.3.SG.N.PST far.ADJ.SG.N.NOM from  
*tego, co w młodości*

that.SG.N.GEN      what                      in                                      youth.SG.F.LOC  
*przywykła*                                      *uważać*                                      *za*  
get.used.to.PERF.3.SG.F.PST      consider.IMPERF.INF                      for  
*muzykę*. [NKJP]  
music.SG.F.ACC  
'That was definitely not what she considered music in her youth.'

#### 4.1.5 Adjectives

All of the nine occurrences of the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction involving adjectives can be viewed as minimizer attestations. Uses of this kind point to the subject's qualitative divergence from the standard implied by the adjective, and hence imply the truth of the opposite of a given property (cf. 28-30).

(28) [...] *sytuacja*                                      *jest*                                      *nadal daleka*  
situation.SG.F.NOM                      be.3.SG.PRES                      still far.ADJ.SG.F.NOM  
*od*                      *stabilnej*. [NKJP]  
from                      stable.SG.F.GEN  
'The situation is still far from stable.'

(29) *Konie*                      *były*                      *pomęczone,*                      *a*                      *i*  
horse.PL.M.NOM      be.3.PL.PST      tired.PL.NOM                      but      and  
*kondycja*                                      *jeźdźców,*                                      *jak*      *się*  
condition.SG.F.NOM                      rider.PL.M.GEN                                      as      REF  
*pokazało,*                                      *daleka*                                      *od*      *dobrej*. [NKJP]  
show.PERF.3.SG.N.PST      far.ADJ.SG.F.NOM      from      good.SG.F.GEN  
'The horses were all tired, and the drivers' condition, as it turned out, was far from good, too.'

(30) [...] *eskapada*                                      *ta,*                                      *jak*      *można*                                      *się*  
journey.SG.F.NOM      this.SG.F.NOM                      as      can.IMPERS                                      REF  
*domyślić,*                                      *przyniosła*                                      *skutki*  
intuit.PERF.INF                                      bring.PERF.3.SG.F.PST                                      effect.PL.M.ACC

<i>dalekie</i>	<i>od</i>	<i>oczekiwanych.</i> [NKJP]
far.ADJ.PL.GEN	from	expected.PL.M.GEN

'As can be intuited, the journey brought effects that were far from expected.'

Nevertheless, the possibility cannot be ruled out that instances where the X-slot is occupied by a self-standing adjective are in fact elliptical in nature, as suggested by the ease of retrieval of the potentially modified noun from the immediate linguistic environment in all the ad-adjectival attestations of the analyzed construction detected in the corpus data (cf. e.g., *sytuacja daleka od stabilnej [sytuacji]* 'a situation far from [a] stable [situation]'). Additional Internet queries seem to corroborate this observation, revealing that clearly non-elliptical uses, such as Example 31, are remarkably scarce and therefore hard to find:

(31)	<i>Początkowo</i>	<i>byłam</i>	<i>daleka</i>	<i>od</i>
	initially	be.3.SG.F.PST	far.ADJ.SG.F.NOM	from
	<i>zadowolonej.</i> [Znajdź eksperta, s.a.]			
	satisfied.SG.F.GEN			

'Initially, I was far from satisfied.'

#### 4.2 Extended uses of the *daleko od* 'far.ADV from' X-construction

Figure 2 reveals the distribution of the scarce non-spatial attestations of the *daleko od* 'far.ADV from' X-construction identified in the data. As can be seen, a vast majority of the extended uses of the expression under scrutiny involve abstract nouns (21/25, i.e., 84%), which are followed by concrete nouns (2/25, i.e., 8%), verbal substantives (1/25, i.e., 4%), and adverbs (1/25, i.e., 4%). However, neither *tego*-phrases nor adjectives have been found to occupy the X-slot of the construction, which is why the two categories will be excluded from the discussion offered in the following subparts of this section.

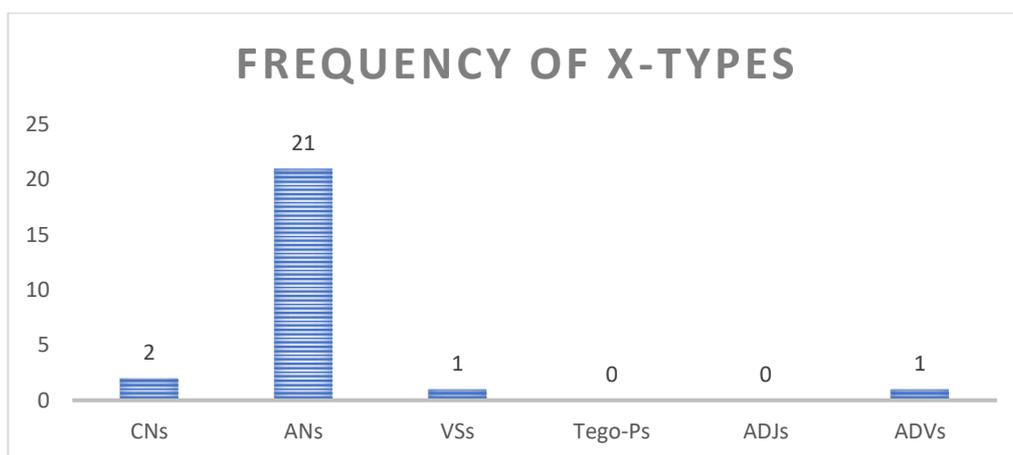


Figure 2. Distribution of X-complements of *daleko od* 'far.ADV from' X in its extended uses

#### 4.2.1 Concrete nouns

As in the case of the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction, the extended uses of *daleko od* 'far.ADV from' X with concrete nouns have been observed to involve animate human referents. Yet, neither Example 32 nor 33 allows the minimizer interpretation, despite implying, respectively, the lack of illness and the non-achievement of success. Thus, spatial distance in Example 32 is metaphorically construed as the speaker's being unaffected by what the subject refers to, while in Example 33, the conceptual domain of SPACE is mapped onto that of TIME, suggesting a long temporal distance between the present moment and the addressee's achievement of success.

(32) *Ale tak żeby katar mieć to nie [...],*  
 but so to catarrh.SG.M.ACC have.INF then no  
*to na szczęście daleko ode mnie [...].*  
 this.SG.N.NOM on luck.SG.N.ACC far.ADV from me.1.SG.GEN  
 [original spelling; NKJP]

'But a runny nose I don't have, luckily that's far from me.'

(33) *[...] sukces jest jeszcze daleko*  
 success.SG.M.NOM be.3.SG.PRES yet far.ADV  
*od ciebie.* [NKJP]  
 from you.2.SG.GEN

'Success is still far from you.'



- (37) *Jakżeż daleko od naturalnych potrzeb*  
 how far.ADV from natural.PL.F.GEN need.PL.F.GEN  
*stoją otaczające mnie*  
 stand.3.PL.PRES surrounding.PL.NOM me.1.SG.ACC  
*przedmioty!* [NKJP]  
 object.PL.M.NOM  
 'So unrelated to natural needs are the objects that surround me!'

#### 4.2.3 Verbal substantives

Only one instance of the *daleko od* 'far.ADV from' X-construction with a verbal substantive has been detected in the data. Due to the presence of the modifier *równie* 'equally', indicative of a degree comparison, the attestation cannot be looked at as a minimizer use, despite implying the non-occurrence of the bounded eventuality encoded by the perfective nominalization *zgłębienie tajemnicy* 'penetrating a secret':

- (38) [...] *jestem równie daleko od*  
 be.1.SG.PRES equally far.ADV from  
*zgłębienia tajemnicy.* [NKJP]  
 penetrating.PERF.SG.N.GEN secret.SG.F.GEN  
 'I am equally far from penetrating the secret.'

On closer inspection, it turns out that Example 38 is an excerpt from a Polish translation of a literary work originally written in French, which, coupled with the fact that it is the only attestation in the corpus sample where the analyzed construction combines with a verbal substantive, clearly points to the unproductivity of this pattern in standard Polish.

#### 4.2.4 Adverbs

Again, the corpus data offer solely one example in which the *daleko od* 'far.ADV from' X-construction co-occurs with an adverb. In this case, however, the minimizer interpretation is possible:

- (39) *Najważniejsze, że jest mu*  
most.important.SG.N.NOM that be.3.SG.PRES him.3.SG.M.DAT  
*"daleko od OK"*. [NKJP]  
far.ADV from OK  
'The most important thing is that he's far from OK.'

What should nonetheless be underlined here is that the quotation marks used in Example 39 indicate either that the speaker simply cited the words of the person referred to or, especially given the English item occupying the X-slot, that the phrase "*daleko od OK*" 'far from OK' is a direct translation of its English counterpart, the latter scenario pointing to the role of language contact in the scrutinized instance of grammaticalization. At any rate, the punctuation suggests that the speaker distances himself/herself from the discussed expression, plausibly considering it to be non-standard. Obviously, the non-canonical nature of such uses is also evidenced by the seemingly incidental occurrence of the discussed example in the investigated corpus data.

### 5. Conclusion

Against the backdrop of recent discussions pertaining to the grammaticalization of *far from* X-constructions in European languages, this paper, drawing on naturally-occurring synchronic data, investigated the distribution of two closely related Polish constructions of this kind, namely *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X and *daleko od* 'far.ADV from' X, whose original function consists in spatial marking. The results of a collocational analysis carried out on random samples of attestations of both expressions (N = 400) extracted from the National Corpus of Polish demonstrate that the

constructions exhibit a highly statistically significant difference in the frequency of their extended, i.e., non-spatial, uses ( $p < .001$ ): while the former is predominantly employed without literal reference to physical space, i.e., to imply temporal remoteness, psychological detachment, difference/divergence, unrelatedness, or skepticism, the latter typically serves to indicate spatial distance.

The *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction has moreover been shown to have undergone host-class expansion to abstract nouns, notably those invoking variable qualities and derivationally related to gradable, especially bounded, adjectives, both perfective and imperfective verbal substantives, phrases headed by the dummy pronoun *tego* 'that.SG.N.GEN' taking a clausal, whether finite or non-finite, complement, as well as adjectives. A vast majority of the scarce extended uses of the *daleko od* 'far.ADV from' X-construction, on the other hand, include only abstract and concrete nouns, while the two remaining attestations involving a perfective verbal substantive and an adverb may be suspected to have arisen due to external factors, i.e., translation-related interference and language contact, respectively.

Notwithstanding its remarkably high frequency of extended uses and wide distribution, the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction does not always allow the minimizer inference. In the data under scrutiny, 91 minimizer occurrences of the pertinent expression have been identified, which makes up for 46.43% of all of its 196 subjectified, metaphorical attestations. This finding indicates that the construction's grammaticalization is still largely incomplete, i.e., that the process is at the intermediate stage between spatial marking and degree modification, a phase which essentially draws on the above-listed metaphorical extensions of the expression's basic meaning, only two of which frequently give rise to the minimizer inference, namely divergence and skepticism. Notably, in its minimizer uses of the latter kind, which typically involve first person subjects and verbal substantives or *tego*-phrases in the X-slot, the discussed construction, in addition to having undergone subjectification, displays a certain degree of intersubjectivity in that it may serve as a hedger, lessening

the potentially negative effect of what the ensuing discourse refers to (cf. English *far be it from me/us to VP*). Yet, it should be pointed out that *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X, despite the significant changes in its semantics and distribution, retains its adjectival characteristics, i.e., case, gender, and number marking on the element *daleki* 'far.ADJ', as well as the original syntactic organization, as it is only compatible with X-elements bearing the genitive case assigned by the preposition *od* 'from'.

The sole minimizer use of the *daleko od* 'far.ADV from' X-construction identified in the data, by contrast, involves the adverbially used item *OK*. This attestation is particularly interesting as it is the only instance in the entire dataset where the X-element does not bear case marking, contrary to what could be expected given the presence of *od* 'from'. As already mentioned, however, the quotation marks used in the original example, its apparently incidental occurrence, as well as the English provenience of the X-element all suggest that the phrase "*daleko od OK*" 'far from OK' may constitute a nonce-formation triggered by language contact.

Even though the results of the synchronic analysis pursued here make clear that in today's Polish, the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction and the *daleko od* 'far.ADV from' X-construction are specialized in distinct functions, the expressions are likely to have participated in a functional competition throughout the history of Polish. The next step in the research on the two Polish constructions should therefore involve a diachronic study, which, apart from examining the assumed tension between them, would allow us to determine the chronology of their host-class expansion and the development of distinct metaphorical senses.

## Note

<sup>1</sup> All the Polish examples have been translated and glossed by the author. Likewise, the table and figures presented in the paper are the result of the author's own work.

## Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
F	feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IMPERF	imperfective
IMPERS	impersonal
INF	infinitive
INSTR	instrumental
LOC	locative
M	masculine
N	neuter
NKJP	Narodowy korpus języka polskiego
NOM	nominative
PERF	perfective
PL	plural
PRES	present
PST	past
REF	reflexive
SG	singular

## References

- Akimoto, M. (2001). How far has *far from* become grammaticalized? In *Historical linguistics 1999: Selected papers from the 14<sup>th</sup> international conference on historical linguistics, Vancouver, 9-13 August 1999*. Brinton, L.J. (ed.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, p. 1-11. DOI: [10.1075/cilt.215.02aki](https://doi.org/10.1075/cilt.215.02aki)
- Bałabaniak, D. & Mitrenga, B. (2015). *Polskie intensyfikatory w ujęciu historycznym*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.
- Bisang, W. & Wiemer, B. (2004). What makes grammaticalization? An appraisal of its components and its fringes. In *What makes grammaticalization? A look from its fringes and its components*. Bisang, W., Himmelmann, N. & Wiemer, B. (eds.). Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 3-20. DOI: [10.1515/9783110197440.1.3](https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110197440.1.3)
- Boryś, W. (2005). *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.
- Brinton, L.J. & Inoue, T. (2020). A far from simple matter revisited: The ongoing grammaticalization of *far from*. In *Late Modern English: Novel encounters*. Kytö, M. & Smitterberg, E. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, p. 272-293. DOI: [10.1075/slcs.214.12bri](https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.214.12bri)
- Bybee, J. (2010). *Language, usage, and cognition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bybee, J., Perkins, R. & Pagliuca, W. (1994). *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago – London: University of Chicago Press.
- Evans, N. & Wilkins, D. (2000). In the mind's ear: The semantic extensions of perception verbs in Australian languages. In *Language*, 76 (3), p. 546-592. DOI: [10.2307/417135](https://doi.org/10.2307/417135)
- Van Goethem, K., Vanderbauwhede, G. & De Smet, H. (2018). Emergence of a new adverbial downtoner: Constructional change and constructionalization of Dutch [ver van X] and [verre van X] 'far from X'. In *Category change from a constructional perspective (Constructional approaches to language 20)*. Van Goethem, K., Norde,

- M., Coussé, E. & Vanderbauwhede, G. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, p. 179-206. DOI: [10.1075/cal.20.07goe](https://doi.org/10.1075/cal.20.07goe)
- Haspelmath, M. (2001). Word classes and parts of speech. In *International encyclopedia of the social and behavioral sciences*. Baltes, P.B. & Smelser, N.J. (eds.). Amsterdam: Pergamon, p. 16538-16545.
- Heine, B. (2003). Grammaticalization. In *The handbook of historical linguistics*. Janda, R. & Joseph, B. (eds.). Oxford: Blackwell, p. 575-601.
- Heine, B., Claudi, U. & Huennemeyer, F. (1991). *Grammaticalization: A conceptual framework*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Herda, D. (2019a). On the adverbialization of Polish indefinite quantifiers of nominal origin: A diachronic study of *trochę* 'a bit', *odrobinę* 'a bit', and *masę* 'a lot'. In *Studies in Polish linguistics*, 14 (1), p. 19-42. DOI: [10.4467/23005920SPL.19.002.10282](https://doi.org/10.4467/23005920SPL.19.002.10282)
- Herda, D. (2019b). On the effect of pluralization on the numeralization of nouns in English and Polish: A contrastive corpus-based study. In *Linguistica silesiana*, 40, p. 139-155. DOI: [10.24425/linsi.2019.129406](https://doi.org/10.24425/linsi.2019.129406)
- Herda, D. (2020). Paucal quantifiers and diminutive morphology in the light of numeralization: The case of Polish *garść* 'handful' and *garstka* 'handful.DIM'. In *Studies in Polish linguistics*, 15 (2), p. 59-83. DOI: [10.4467/23005920SPL.20.003.12883](https://doi.org/10.4467/23005920SPL.20.003.12883)
- Himmelmann, N. (2004). Lexicalization and grammaticization: Opposite or orthogonal? In *What makes grammaticalization? A look from its fringes and its components*. Bisang, W., Himmelmann, N. & Wiemer, B. (eds.). Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 21-42. DOI: [10.1515/9783110197440.1.21](https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110197440.1.21)
- Hopper, P.J. & Traugott, E.C. (2003). *Grammaticalization*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Konnova, M. & Babenko, N. (2019). Conceptual metaphors of time in English: An axiological perspective. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*, IV (2), December 2019, p. 49-85.
- Kövecses, Z. (2010). *Metaphor: A practical introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Kövecses, Z. (2018). Metaphor in media language and cognition: A perspective from conceptual metaphor theory. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, III (1), June 2018, p. 124-141. DOI: [10.2478/lart-2018-0004](https://doi.org/10.2478/lart-2018-0004)
- Kuryłowicz, J. (1965). The evolution of grammatical categories. In *Diogenes*, 51, p. 55-71. DOI: [10.1177/039219216501305105](https://doi.org/10.1177/039219216501305105)
- Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1980a). Conceptual metaphor in everyday language. In *Journal of philosophy*, 77 (8), p. 453-486. DOI: [10.2307/2025464](https://doi.org/10.2307/2025464)
- Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1980b). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1980c). The metaphorical structure of the human conceptual system. In *Cognitive science*, 4, p. 195-208. DOI: [10.1207/s15516709cog0402\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1207/s15516709cog0402_4)
- Lehmann, Ch. (1985). Grammaticalization: Synchronic variation and diachronic change. In *Lingua e stile*, 20, p. 303-318.
- Lewandowska, B. (1975). On some properties of action nominals in Polish and their English equivalents. In *Papers and studies in contrastive linguistics*, 3, p. 167-176.
- Lyons, J. (1982). Deixis and subjectivity: Loquor ergo sum. In *Speech, place, and action: Studies in deixis and related topics*. Jarvella, R. & Klein, W. (eds.). Chichester – New York: John Wiley, p. 101-124.
- Narodowy korpus języka polskiego*. Available at: <http://nkjp.pl/poliqarp/>
- Paradis, C. (2001). Adjectives and boundedness. In *Cognitive linguistics*, 12 (1), p. 47-65. DOI: [10.1515/cogl.12.1.47](https://doi.org/10.1515/cogl.12.1.47)
- Peters, H. (1994). Degree adverbs in Early Modern English. In *Studies in Early Modern English*. Kastovsky, D. (ed.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 269-288. DOI: [10.1515/9783110879599.269](https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110879599.269)
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G. & Svartvik, J. (1985). *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London – New York: Longman.
- van Riemsdijk, H. (2001). A far from simple matter: Syntactic reflexes of syntax-pragmatics misalignments. In *Perspectives on semantics, pragmatics, and discourse*.

- Kenesei, I. & Harnish, R.M. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, p. 21-41. DOI: [10.1075/pbns.90.06rie](https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.90.06rie)
- Rozwadowska, B. (2000). Aspectual properties of Polish nominalizations. In *Journal of Slavic linguistics*, 8, p. 239-261.
- Skrzypek, D. (2020). The Swedish *bli*-passive in a diachronic perspective. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Trnava: University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, V (2), December 2020, p. 301-334.
- De Smet, H. (2012). The course of actualization. In *Language*, 88 (3), p. 601-633. DOI: [10.1353/lan.2012.0056](https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2012.0056)
- De Smet, H., Norde, M., Van Goethem, K. & Vanderbauwhede, G. (2015). *Degrees of adverbialization: A cross-linguistic corpus-study of 'far from X' constructions*. Available at: <https://dial.uclouvain.be/pr/boreal/object/boreal:158562>
- Traugott, E.C. (1989). On the rise of epistemic meanings in English: An example of subjectification in semantic change. In *Language*, 65 (1), p. 31-55. DOI: [10.2307/414841](https://doi.org/10.2307/414841)
- Traugott, E.C. (2010). Revisiting subjectification and intersubjectification. In *Subjectification, intersubjectification and grammaticalization*. Davidse, K., Vandelanotte, L. & Cuyckens, H. (eds.). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, p. 29-70.
- Traugott, E.C. & Dasher, R.B. (2002). *Regularity in semantic change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Traugott, E. & Trousdale, G. (2013). *Constructionalization and constructional changes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Uberman, A. (2016). Death in metaphorical language. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, I (2), December 2016, p. 171-211. DOI: [10.1515/lart-2016-0013](https://doi.org/10.1515/lart-2016-0013)
- Vendler, Z. (1957). Verbs and times. In *The philosophical review*, 66, p. 143-160. DOI: [10.7591/9781501743726-005](https://doi.org/10.7591/9781501743726-005)

Verstraete, J-Ch. (2001). Subjective and objective modality: Interpersonal and ideational functions in the English modal auxiliary system. In *Journal of pragmatics*, 33 (10), p. 1505-1528. DOI: [10.1016/S0378-2166\(01\)00029-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(01)00029-7)

Yamaguchi, T. (2016). Temporality in Manyōshū. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, I (2), December 2016, p. 212-252. DOI: [10.1515/lart-2016-0014](https://doi.org/10.1515/lart-2016-0014)

*Znajdź eksperta*. Available at: <https://znajdzeksperta.pl/szymon-ziajka>

### Contact data

	<p><i>name:</i> <i>academic title / rank:</i> <i>department:</i> <i>institution:</i></p> <p><i>e-mail:</i> <i>fields of interest:</i></p>	<p><b>Damian Herda</b> MA PhD student in Linguistics Faculty of Philology Jagiellonian University 24, ul. Gołębia, Kraków, 31-007, Poland <a href="mailto:damian.herda@uj.edu.pl">damian.herda@uj.edu.pl</a> Corpus linguistics, cognitive linguistics, grammaticalization theory, lexical semantics, linguistic typology.</p>
--	---	--

### Résumé

Against the backdrop of recent discussions concerning *far from X*-constructions in European languages, and within the framework of grammaticalization theory, this paper, drawing on naturally-occurring synchronic data, investigates the distribution of two closely related Polish constructions of this type, namely *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X and *daleko od* 'far.ADV from' X, both of which originally indicate significant spatial distances, and which, in view of cross-linguistic evidence, may be expected to develop into minimizers, whose meaning can be paraphrased as 'not X at all/definitely not X' or 'very/completely un-X'. The results of an empirical analysis conducted on random samples of attestations of the two constructions extracted from the National Corpus of Polish (N = 400) demonstrate that the expressions are currently specialized in distinct functions: whereas the former is almost invariably employed without literal reference to physical space, the latter is largely confined to spatial marking ( $p < .001$ ). The *daleki*

*od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction has likewise undergone a considerable extent of host-class expansion, involving not only abstract nouns, especially those invoking gradable properties, but also both perfective and imperfective verbal substantives, phrases headed by the dummy pronoun *tego* 'that.SG.N.GEN' taking a clausal, whether finite or non-finite, complement, as well as adjectives. However, despite its remarkably high frequency of extended uses and wide distribution, only 46.43% of all the non-spatial attestations of the *daleki od* 'far.ADJ from' X-construction allow the minimizer inference, which suggests that its grammaticalization is largely incomplete, as it still heavily relies on various metaphorical extensions of the basic spatial meaning, including psychological detachment, temporal remoteness, unrelatedness, divergence, and skepticism, of which only the last two frequently give rise to the minimizer interpretation.

**Key words:** cognitive linguistics, constructionalization, corpus linguistics, degree modification, gradience, grammaticalization, host-class expansion, metaphorization, subjectification.

Article was received by the editorial board 30.01.2021;

Reviewed 07.03.2021 and 25.03.2021.

Similarity Index 2%

## LEGE ARTIS

Language yesterday, today, tomorrow

Vol. VI. No 1 2021

# CYCLICAL TIME IN FAIRY TALE AND RAP LYRICS: POINTS OF INTERSECTION

*Nataliia Kravchenko*

*Kyiv National Linguistic University, Kyiv, Ukraine*

*Marianna Goltsova\**

*National University of Life and Environmental Sciences of Ukraine,*

*Kyiv, Ukraine*

*Valentyna Snitsar*

*Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University, Kyiv, Ukraine*

*Corresponding author\**

**Bibliographic description:** Kravchenko, N., Goltsova, M. & Snitsar, V. (2021). Cyclical time in fairy tale and rap lyrics: Points of intersection. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Trnava: University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, 2021, VI (1), June 2021, p. 75-108. ISSN 2453-8035

**Abstract:** This paper focuses on cyclical time in modern rap lyrics in comparison with the archaic time of fairy tales. The study is the first attempt to prove the existence of archaic time in a metamodernistic genre. Narrative and stylistic analyses coupled with intertextual and archetypal analyses have revealed the symbolic, narrative, and stylistic devices foregrounding cyclical time with an emphasis on its shared and different manifestations in the genres being compared.

**Key words:** cyclical time, rap lyrics, fairy tale, narrative devices, stylistic devices.

## 1. Introduction

The notion of cyclical time remains unexplored in linguistic and interdisciplinary studies; there exist only a few works, which dwell on archaic consciousness and its reflection in ancient literary sources. However, considering that some mechanisms of archaic thinking, such as symbolization, ritualization, magic, mythologization, and anthropomorphization, are generally inherent in humans (Першин 2013) and embodied in the "ineradicable" archetypes of human behavior (Jung 1969); the study

of those temporal features of modern texts that specifically reinterpret archaic time can be considered a new and promising aspect of research.

Such ultra-modern genres include African-American rap lyrics, whose temporal structure is considered in the article in comparison with fairy tale time associated with archaic consciousness.

This non-standard focus on coupling is linked to three factors. Firstly, time as part of the chronotope reflects the specifics of human perception of the world in interaction with the natural and social environment. The fairy tale chronotope is specified as one-dimensional (Lüthi 1982: 4-7), indefinite, often symbolic and suitable for the Hero and his actions, and marked by the formula "somewhere", "a fairy tale country" (ibid). In rap texts practically unexplored from this perspective, the chronotope can appear as a narrative category tied to the physical time of the past and "responsible" for plot development (in rap lyrics containing a narrative component) (Kravchenko et al. 2020a: 157) and, like a fairy tale, may be symbolic (Forman 2002) and indefinite (linking imaginary space to psychological time). Secondly, in both fairy tales and rap, such interaction is mediated by symbolic imagery iconically related to the structures of collective knowledge and the collective unconscious. Thirdly, poetry (Campbell & Moyers 1988: 286) and, in particular, rap as one of its most spontaneous genres, implies some archetypal meanings encoded in metaphors, images, and symbols. And finally, the juxtaposition of the seemingly incomparable genres is quite consistent with the aesthetics and research principles of metamodernism, which is replacing the last century's postmodern paradigm (Freinacht 2015; van den Akker et al. 2017).

The very idea of comparing a fairy tale and rap lyrics also stems from the fact that their temporal structures overlap (as evidenced by the research data), i.e. their time diffuseness and uncertainty, combination of linear, cyclical, and other time relations, although such parameters are rooted in completely different genre characteristics. The fairy tale narrative is also examined primarily from the viewpoint of its one-

dimensional and indefinite chronotope and an indefinite generalized linear time. The types of archaic time have not so far been researched in fairy tales narratives, neither have they been in rap lyrics, whose temporal structure remains unexplored within a linguistic and interdisciplinary framework.

Taking this into account, the purpose of the article is to reveal the specifics of the temporal organization of modern rap lyrics in comparison with the archaic cyclical time in the fairy tale narrative – with a focus on the narrative and linguistic devices.

## **2. Theoretical background**

Despite the undoubted interest of researchers in the notion of time, temporality, and their linguistic expression, the manifestation of certain features of archaic time in the texts from various historical periods (except archaic texts) still remains outside the interests of scholars.

Based on its purpose, the study rests theoretically and methodologically on three groups of papers:

- (1) interdisciplinary research of the archaically-bound types of time;
- (2) the study of cyclical time within a linguistic framework;
- (3) elucidation of African-American rap poetics and mythopoetics from linguistic and interdisciplinary perspectives.

The categories of space and time are the ever-popular focus on research concerning various literary genres, primarily those with a narrative component. While Bakhtin (1981) (who, in fact, introduces the concept of chronotope into academic use) considers space and time in close interconnection, a number of prominent authors (Лихачёв 1979; Флоренский 2000) study the concept of TIME as an independent one. Among the parameters of the texts' temporal organization established by researchers, two main types of time have been selected, in particular, event-related time as a movement from the past to the future and cyclical time as a time of recurrence, reversibility, restarting

the same over and over again. In a fairy tale narrative, cyclical time reflects the archaic consciousness while in poetry and fictional prose, it is associated with intertextuality, basic narratives, cultural scenarios, and stereotyped plots development. Such intertextuality-bound cyclicity results in the temporal polyphony of the texts (Bakhtin 1981; Derrida 1998).

Starting with Propp's work (Пропп 2009), the fairy tale narrative remains in the focus of interdisciplinary research in the fields of narratology (Кербелите 1991; Holbek 1987; Kravchenko et al. 2020a; Schmid 2010; Volkova 2018), semiotics (Ревзин 1975; Jones 1990; Kravchenko et al. 2021; Volkova 2017), linguistic culturology (Лихачёв 1979; Lüthi 1982; Propp 2009) and ethnolinguistics (Lüthi 1982; Propp 2009) as a key to understanding universals in a logical and, most importantly, symbolical-metaphorical comprehension of the world, regardless of ethnic, temporal, spatial, historical, regional, and geographical backgrounds.

Fairy tale time, which reflects the picture of the world inherent in archaic consciousness, was studied primarily from a narrative perspective in the context of its uncertainty and indefiniteness (Lüthi 1982: 19-20). At the same time, cyclical time in its language manifestations, as is actually known, remains unexplored. Nor has the temporal structure of rap been so far in the centre of linguistic or interdisciplinary research, which mainly concentrates on issues of identity.

Building upon theoretical studies focused on archaic time and its incarnation in a fairytale narrative, the paper attempts to review the distinctive characteristics of such time – with a view to subsequently comparing them with the temporal organization of rap lyrics.

First of all, archaic consciousness involves the cyclical time as "the never-ending recurrence of the same", which "itself pivoted not on the idea of Being but on that of Becoming. Cycles come and go, and what takes shape in the individual cycles

disappears again in the hope of renewed becoming" (Assmann 2002: 18). In the fairytale narrative, the formal-structural manifestations of time cyclicality include rituals (for example, prohibitions that correlate with archaic taboos and their predictable violations, etc.), formality, repetitions (usually a symbolic number of times), the motif of renewal, the Hero's rebirth (going back to the archetypal motif of imaginary death through initiation), the recurrent temporalities, such as the onset of darkness, night, the time of the rooster's crow, etc. being the sign of the cyclical interaction with the "other" world.

The second group of studies, which have contributed to the theoretical premises of this paper, deal with linguistic aspects of time and temporality, which to varying degrees are associated with archaic types of time.

The structure of time within a linguistic framework, as well as the general aspects of how space and time relations are expressed in different languages and cultures were covered by Traugott (1978), Vyvyan (2013). Most of the works considering archaic types of time focus on time and temporality in the ancient world and Bible texts (Brown 2000; Time and temporality... 2004).

These are a few works which approach the issue from cognitive and narrative perspectives and, though marginally, relate to the nature of archaic time. In particular, as a manifestation of cyclical time embodied by seasons of nature, myth, ritual, and ceremony, used as a means of helping a person adjust to a new spiritual transformation. In particular, Volkova studied a reverse perspective as a narrative technique in Amerindian prosaic texts (2016).

The idea of cyclicity as an expected or unexpected feedback underlies the narrative techniques of boomerang and feedback loop, which are studied in the theory of persuasive influence, the relaying of political models (Hart & Nisbet 2012). Linguistically, these narrative techniques were scrutinized while studying the

ecopoetics of Biblical discourse and its narrative space (Жихарева 2018).

Specifically, the technique of boomerang arises as a result of the use of a narrative scheme: an action – its unfolding, the end result and, accordingly, the return to the initial action with positive or negative consequences (ibid.). A feedback loop (Капра 2003) is a circular system of causally connected elements, when information about the result of the impact is returned to its source. If the boomerang effect correlates with the concepts of ACTION – RETRIBUTION, the narrative techniques of feedback loops manifest the concepts of CALL – RESPONSE, which, given the importance of Biblical values corresponds to the transformational changes, the spiritual rebirth of a person and the whole nation (Жихарева 2018: 279).

The issue of the manifestation of cyclical time was touched upon, in our opinion, in connection with the frame modeling of the concepts of LIFE and DEATH in the English Gothic worldview (Prihodko & Prykhodchenko 2018: 192-193) and as part of the conceptual "background, against which the value of time was assessed" (Konnova & Babenko 2019: 118).

Rap lyrics in general and Afro-American rap in particular have recently attracted the attention of scholars from different fields of linguistics and multidisciplinary studies. Rap discourse is being scrutinized within the framework of discourse analysis, which determines the nature of rap identity as a discursive construct (Alim et al. 2005), cultural studies (Richardson 2006), psycholinguistic research with a focus on rap lyrics' psychoanalytic and archetypal dimensions (Hodge 2018). From a linguistic, namely a cognitive-semiotic and stylistic perspective, rap lyrics have been analyzed in their symbolic, intertextual, and archetypal-role characteristics (Кравченко & Бречак 2019; Kravchenko 2019; Kravchenko & Snitsar 2019; Kravchenko et al. 2020b). The rap chronotope in its imaginary manifestation embodied by the concepts GHETTO, INNER-CITY, AND THE HOOD as performing a defining function in constructing the individual and collective discursive identity, was studied by Forman (2002).

The motifs of fate in the cyclical chain "evil – retribution" and the breaking of the vicious circle related to the specifics of cyclical time's narrative expression, were considered in the study of rap lyrics intertextuality based on Kendrick Lamar's songs (Kravchenko 2019).

In the context of comparing fairy tale and rap narratives, the spatial dimension of the chronotope in its metaphorical, narrative, and symbolic manifestations has been studied only in one work (Kravchenko et al. 2020a). However, the specifics of the temporal organization of rap lyrics have not yet been the subject of linguistic and interdisciplinary research, including its comparison with a fairy tale.

Thus, the aim of the paper consists in identifying cyclic time in rap lyrics and means of its expression in comparison with a fairy-tale narrative.

### **3. Methods**

#### *3.1 Database and methods*

The corpus of texts consists, on the one hand, of rap lyrics of the popular American rap songwriters and performers Asap Rocky, Kendrick Lamar, Taylor the Creator, and Juice WRLD; on the other hand, it includes English and Russian fairy tales as well as English translations of fairy tales collected by the Brothers Grimm. The selection of texts under analysis was carried out on the basis of a search for the parameters of cyclicity in rap lyrics and a fairy tale narrative, including:

(1) cross-cutting repeating symbols and motifs associated with cyclicity as return, restart, and reversibility, i.e. (a) nominative units, denotative or connotative semes of 'doom', recurrent feelings and states, cyclical causal-temporal meanings, (b) metaphors and metonymy, associated with the concept of VICIOUS CIRCLE, (c) allegorical images of fate, (d) plot lines related to the Hero's death and revival, reincarnation into animals, (e) well-established fairy tale symbols of rebirth, other worlds, cyclical change of the time of day, etc.

(2) formularity as the cyclicity-recurrence, including (a) repeated fairy tale formula,

(b) recurrent plot elements. In rap lyrics formularity relies on syntactic stylistic devices, including anaphora, ring repetition, etc., associated with rhythmicity and iconically reproducing recurrence and circular movement.

(3) multifaceted devices of intertextuality, implying the cyclical nature of time in the postmodern and metamodern understanding.

The corpus of material includes the texts of rap songs by Tyler the Creator ("Bastard", "WHAT'S GOOD", "Garbage", "New magic wand", "Exactly what you run from, you end up chasing"); Kendrick Lamar ("Backseat freestyle", "Black boy fly", "BLOOD", "Blow my high (members only)", "Complexion (a zulu love)", "Compton", "Damn", "DNA", "Duckworth", "Fear", "Element", "HiiiPoWeR", "Institutionalized", "Lust", "m.A.A.d city"); Lecrae ("Fear"); A\$AP Rocky ("Distorted records"); Imagine dragons ("Radioactive"); E-40 ("Ain't talking bout nothin") and the texts of fairy tales by Afanasyev ("Beauty and the beast", "Marya Morevna", "Silver saucer and juicy apple", "The fire-bird and Princess Vasilisa", "The tale of Ivan Tsarevich and the gray wolf", "Vasilisa the Wise"); Atkinson ("The laidly worm of spindleston heugh"); Haney ("On rejuvenating apples and living water"); Hartland ("The hunted hare"); Jacobs ("Earl Mar's daughter", "The rose-tree"); Lang ("The magic ring"); the Grimm Brothers ("Hans my hedgehog", "Snow White and the seven dwarfs", "The frog-king, or Iron Henry", "The golden bird"); Tibbits ("The baker's daughter"). The number of fragments under analysis is 47.

The **methodology** employed includes a variety of techniques:

(1) stylistic analysis to identify metaphoric or metonymic images associated with the motif of resurrection and reincarnation, as well as occasional rap lyrics and fairy tale well-established symbolic imagery related to reversibility or cyclicity;

(2) elements of semiotic analysis to determine the iconicity of the syntactic structures, as well as the metaphoric or metonymic images associated with time cyclicity (Volkova 2018; Yamaguchi 2016);

(3) narrative analysis (Жихарева 2018; Пропп 2009; Propp 2011) to identify (a)

narrative motifs that rap narrative shares with a fairy tale, i.e. the motifs of death and resurrection, of inevitable doom and constant return of the Hero's fate, fears, etc., as well as (b) narrative principles of the boomerang effect and the "feedback network", the latter consisting in replacing the first link of the negative feedback loop with a new element introducing a new "healthy" cycle (Жихарева 2018), (c) narrative fairy tale formularity and its foregrounding devices;

(4) intertextual analysis to scrutinize the rap lyrics intertextuality devices, which highlight the idea of reversibility and constant recurrence associated with time cyclicality;

(5) contextual and interpretation analyses identify the narrative and verbal means of expressing cyclical time.

### *3.2 Procedures of data analysis*

The study encompasses five consecutive stages of analysis:

1) on the basis of the above selection criteria, to identify the cross-cutting repetitive symbols and motifs associated with the cyclical time of rap lyrics, as well as interpret metaphors and allegories that express the idea of a vicious circle. For example, the phrase "My nightmares are having nightmares" (Lecrae "Fear") expresses the narrative motif of recurrent fear, which is one of the most common in rap lyrics. The meaning of a vicious circle associated with the idea of cyclicality is evoked by the metaphor "Nightmare is a Living Being who sees nightmares", which implies the meaning of infinite repetition: one nightmare gives rise to another, etc.;

2) to clarify the narrative techniques of the boomerang effect and the "feedback network" viewed in the fairy tale narrative and rap lyrics as the implementation of the narrative motifs of an inevitable fate, the vicious circle, and vicious circle breaking; to specify other recurrent cyclicality-bound narrative motifs in a fairy tale versus rap lyrics. For example, in a fairy tale, the vicious circle is usually broken due to a new element introduced into the negative feedback loop – the act of kindness, starting a "healthy" cycle of the "feedback network". In particular, in the Russian fairy tale "Marya Morevna" Koschey forgives Tsarevich Ivan twice, rewarding him for taking pity on

him and letting him drink ("Take pity on me, let me drink!") (Afanasyev 2013: 186);

3) to explicate the differences between the symbolism of a fairy tale and the figurative symbolism of rap associated with the idea of cyclicity. So, in a fairy tale, cyclicity is associated with the well-established conventional symbols that are easily recognized in the semiospheres of various fairy tales: a rooster's cry as a symbol of the disappearance of infernal creatures. In rap lyrics, cyclicity and associated concepts are based on metonymic and metaphorical symbols. For example, the Ghetto often metonymically symbolizes a vicious circle, which one can escape physically but not mentally or spiritually ("*I'm trapped inside the ghetto*") (K. Lamar "Institutionalized");

4) to determine the narrative and stylistic devices of formularity as well as syntactical stylistic means iconically reproducing the idea of cyclicity. For example, in "*Please bang my line, you know I'll answer / Call me sometime (ring ring ring) / Please bang my line*" (TTC "911") ring repetition at the formal level closes the circle, returns to the beginning, thus connoting the meaning of cyclicity;

5) to analyze the rap lyrics' intertextuality devices associated with the cyclical circulation of themes, plots, characters, precedent cultural phenomena and landmarks, musical styles, etc.

#### **4. Cyclical time: Rap lyrics vs. fairy tale narratives**

The temporal structure of rap lyrics comprises different types of time, some of which are also typical of fairy tale narratives. In particular, the paper identifies similarities between fairy tale and rap temporal spaces structured by cyclical, 'suspended', and linear time, which, nevertheless, differ significantly in how they are expressed. The collected data have shown that both in fairy tale and rap lyrics cyclicity of time is manifested by motifs of reversibility of events, the inevitability of moving in a "vicious circle" and restarting a new cycle, as well as by the motif of the Hero's death and reincarnation as another person or animal.

Similar to a fairy tale narrative, the most common means of expressing cyclicity in rap lyrics encompass recurrent motifs, including the archetypal motif of fate and

recurrent fears inherent in human beings. The motifs can be realized, in particular, through narrative techniques of the boomerang effect and the "feedback network".

#### *4.1 Recurring motifs as the cyclical narrativity device*

Frequent repetitive motifs foregrounding the cyclical nature of time as a constant returning to something include:

(a) The motif of the rap artist's constant fear that he feels doomed. In particular, returning to fears – childhood, young adult, today's fears – constitutes the main narrative strategy in Kendrick Lamar's composition "Fear" and self-titled Lecrae's song "Fear" as exemplified by the following lines:

(1) *Wonderin' if I'm livin' through fear or livin' through rap; When I was 27, I grew accustomed to more fear Accumulated 10 times over throughout the years* (K. Lamar "Fear").

(2) *I'm scared of letting go, I don't know what the future holds (...) I'm quite scared of what's right and fair / How I fear an eternity* (Lecrae "Fear").

(3) *If I could go back in time, I would stand and say something like / I ain't never scared, never scared, never scared / I'm lying, I'm scared of these thoughts in my head / I'm scared of possibly pushing people right over the ledge* (Lecrae "Fear").

The motif of the eternal cycle of things, of doom as impossibility to avoid what is predestined:

(a) *"Exactly what you run from, you end up chasing. Like, you can't avoid, but just chasing it and just like trying"* (TTC "Exactly what you run from, you end up chasing").

(b) Motifs presented as antonymic pairs "destruction – restoration" (*"I'm breakin' in, shaping up"* (Imagine dragons "Radioactive")) and "doom / fate – escaping one's doom / fate", "sin – punishment".

As exemplified above, the motif of repeated fear is highlighted explicitly – by verbal and phrasal nominative units denoting the recurrent state and marked by words with denotative or connotative semes of 'fear' (*to be scared, fear, nightmares*). The motif of

cyclicity is highlighted by contrast, particularly, but not exclusively based on lexical antonyms with the actualization of the cyclical causal-temporal meaning and, accordingly, the semes of 'doom' and 'predestination': sin always entails punishment, destruction is followed by rebirth and destruction again, nightmares breed nightmares.

The motif of doom often involves the narrative technique of the boomerang effect. In particular, the idea of predestination becomes a cross-cutting motif in Kendrick Lamar's album "Damn", which clearly traces the causal relationship "sin – punishment":

(5) *"He's gonna punish us for our iniquities, for our disobedience"* (K. Lamar "Fear").

Due to his innate depravity (*"I got dark, I got evil, that rot inside my DNA"* (K. Lamar "DNA")) the Hero from birth is doomed to fear, to suffer (*"We are a cursed people"*), which, in particular, is conveyed by an allusion to the long-suffering Job:

(6) *"Is it for the moment, and will he see me as Job?"* (K. Lamar "Fear").

The boomerang effect in the cyclic chain "sin – punishment" can end only for two reasons: either with the physical death of the lyric Hero, or by breaking out of the vicious circle by destroying its prime cause. In the latter case, the boomerang effect is transformed into the narrative device of "feedback network".

The first possibility is conveyed by the image of a Blind woman from the song "Blood", who personifies the lyric Hero's fate, killing him with a pistol shot.

(7) *"It seems to me that you have lost something. I would like to help you find it". She replied, "Oh yes, you have lost something. You've lost your life!"* (K. Lamar "Blood").

In this regard, researchers take note of a certain similarity of the image of the Blind in Lamar's lyrics with "the mythological motif of fate, associated with the images of Atropos (one of the Greek goddesses of fate cutting the thread of life) and Tyche, the goddess of Chance and Fate, usually symbolized by a blind girl" (Kravchenko 2019:

14).

The second possibility of breaking out the vicious circle consists in the destruction of the karmic hopelessness by introducing a new link "goodness" into the cyclic chain of predetermination. The act of kindness done by the rapper's father returned a hundredfold, because it not only saved the father's life, but also subsequently influenced the life of his son, who, most likely, would have been killed in an accidental shooting:

(8) *"Reverse the manifest and good karma, and I'll tell you why / You take two strangers and put 'em in random predicaments / Give 'em a soul so they can make their own choices and live with it (...) / Whoever thought the greatest rapper would be from coincidence? Because if Anthony killed Ducky, Top Dawg could be servin' life / While I grew up without a father and die in a gunfight"* (K. Lamar "Duckworth").

The motif of breaking the evil chain of a vicious circle through a merciful act is also found in a fairy tale. In the English folk tale "The laidly worm of spindleston heugh", instead of killing the disgusting worm, the prince listened to its pleas to kiss it three times, which breaks the magic spell and ends/stops the cycle of evil was destroyed and the cycle of evil closed, thus resulting in a reversible course of events:

(9) *"O, quit your sword, unbend your bow,*

*And give me kisses three;*

*For though I am a poisonous worm,*

*No harm I'll do to thee...* (Ph. Atkinson "The laidly worm of spindleston heugh").

(10) *"For a third time he kissed the loathsome thing, and with a hiss and a roar the Laidly Worm reared back and before Childe Wynd stood his sister Margaret"* (Ph. Atkinson "The laidly worm of spindleston heugh").

The above example characterizes the breaking of the vicious circle of evil (a girl turned into a disgusting monster is doomed to scare people and be killed) by replacing the negative feedback loop with a new element (feeling pity for the disgusting worm and kissing it) which restarts a new "healthy" cycle of the "feedback network" – the

transformation of a worm into a girl.

In the fairy tale "The golden bird", the cycle of unsuccessful searches for the golden bird by the elder and middle brothers is broken after the younger brother took pity on the fox by not shooting him:

(11) *"The young man was kind, and said, "Be easy, little fox, I will do you no harm", "You shall not repent of it", answered the fox"* ("The golden bird").

As for the boomerang effect, it provides, in our opinion, the main moral and value background of an overwhelming majority of fairy tales. At the same time, the unexpected reverse effect of the boomerang is excluded in a fairy tale narrative, since at the heart of its motifs lies the idea of the struggle between good and evil with the implied ultimate triumph of good over evil.

One of the common motifs in the fairy tale narrative and rap lyrics is the Hero's death and his / her reincarnation as another person or an animal (in a fairy tale it can also be a bird or even an inanimate object). The rebirth of the Hero, which is associated with the restart of a new life cycle, can be carried out as his external transformation and reincarnation as another person – surpassing the previous one in external and internal properties as, for example, in the Russian fairy tale "The fire-bird and Princess Vasilisa":

(12) *"The king bids me dip myself in boiling water" (...) He took a dip and another and jumped out of the cauldron, and lo and behold! – So handsome had he become as neither pen can write nor tongue tell!"* (A. Afanasyev "The fire-bird and Princess Vasilisa").

However, transformation as a metamorphosis into an animal or a bird is much more common, reflecting in this case archaic karmic ideas, as in "Beauty and the beast" (Afanasyev 2013), "Earl Mar's daughter" (Jacobs 2015), "Hans my hedgehog" (Grimm & Grimm 2014), "The baker's daughter" (Tibbits 1890), "The frog-king, or Iron Henry"

(Grimm & Grimm 2014), "The golden bird" (Grimm & Grimm 2014), "The hunted hare" (English fairy and other folk tales 2006), "The laidly worm of spindleston heugh" (Atkinson 2017), "The rose-tree" (Jacobs 2016).

The character may be transformed into an owl as in example 13, a hare (14), a frog (15) or a toad (17), a bird (18), a fox (19).

(13) *"Then a wonderful thing occurred, for the girl became all of a sudden changed into an owl"* (Ch.J. Tibbits "The baker's daughter").

(14) *"When he was out of sight, she soon perceived the hare in the panniers begin to move, when to her utter amazement arose a beautiful young lady, all in white"* (English fairy and other folk tales "The hunted hare").

(15) *"But when he fell down he was no frog but a king's son with beautiful kind eyes"* (J. Grimm & W. Grimm "The frog-king, or Iron Henry").

(16) *"So Lady Margaret went to bed a beauteous maiden, and rose up a Laidly Worm. And when her maidens came in to dress her in the morning they found coiled up on the bed a dreadful dragon, which uncoiled itself and came towards them"* (Ph. Atkinson "The laidly worm of spindleston heugh").

(17) *"No sooner had he touched her than she shrivelled up and shrivelled up, till she became a huge ugly toad, with bold staring eyes and a horrible hiss"* (ibid.).

(18) *"Hush! hush!" the young man whispered. "I was that cooing dove that you coaxed from off the tree"* (J. Jacobs "Earl Mar's daughter").

(19) *"and no sooner was it done than the fox was changed into a man, and was no other than the brother of the beautiful princess"* (J. Grimm & W. Grimm "The golden bird").

Some reincarnations are rooted in totemic beliefs and the idea of rebirth. In particular, a frog ("The frog prince", "The laidly worm of spindleston heugh") carries the idea of rebirth as resembling a fish while being a tadpole; after its death, according to some Slavic beliefs, it is reborn into a flying snake. The bird ("Earl Mar's daughter", "The rose-tree") in Christianity symbolizes the human soul and in mythologies it "is also associated with soul, though implying an additional mythological motif of the

reincarnation of soul into a bird / animal" (Kravchenko 2019: 15).

However, as the data shows, a number of other transformations iconically reproduce the spiritual essence or external reflection of a character in the likeness of certain animals (a white beautiful hare – a white beautiful lady; a wicked witch – a huge ugly toad; a cooing dove – an enchanted prince in love).

In this regard, the paper identifies that in the first case (of the shape-shift correlation with totemic beliefs) the fairy tale plot predominantly rests on the motif of transformation of an animal into a person. In the second case (of some semblance of the image of the animal to the appearance or spiritual qualities of the character turned into it), the Hero continues his life cycle in the likeness of the one he resembled during his lifetime.

As for transformations into a bird or an animal, which are also found in some rap lyrics, such metamorphoses are also usually interpreted as conceptual metaphors – in contrast to a fairy tale, where such transfigurations appear as real reincarnations in one of the "possible worlds":

(20) *"I (...) turned into the big dog"* (TTC "WHAT'S GOOD").

(21) *"I'm a Wolf"* (TTC "Garbage").

(22) *"I'm a bull, red, piss me off"* (ibid.).

(23) *"I'm a hawk in the gym"* (TTC "New magic wand").

At the same time, in our opinion, it is also possible to talk about some similarity between the mechanism of metaphorization in rap lyrics and the choice of animal images. We see similarity in certain iconicity, which underlies both the transformation of the fairy character into a certain animal and the metaphor or metonymy characterizing the rapper through the image of an animal. The difference is that the metaphorical transfer in rap lyrics is based solely on the rapper's self-presentation as part of his image-making strategy. In particular, the image of the Wolf is one of the

most frequent in Tyler's works; besides, this is the name of the rapper's entire album. This image of a cruel beast, which often attacks first, is symbolic for the underground artist Tyler The Creator, who is considered one of the most provocative rappers of recent times, preferring to strike the first blow with obscenities and other provocations.

In contrast to rap lyrics, one of the most frequent fairy tale motifs manifesting cyclicity through similar plot lines repetition includes the motif of the Hero's helper who repeatedly saves his life. In the Russian folk tale, the daughter of a Snake helps Ivan three times to complete her mother's tasks and three times – to escape from the Snake and her husband. In the fairy tale "The golden bird" (Grimm 2014) a fox acts as a magic assistant who repeatedly helps the Hero complete the tasks. In the Russian fairy tale with a similar plot about Ivan Tsarevich and the Gray Wolf, the Wolf helps Ivan Tsarevich three times to complete the task:

(24) *"I have served you well," the wolf answered, "and I will help you again"* (A. Afanasyev "The tale of Ivan Tsarevich and the gray wolf").

Accordingly, the motif of the magic assistant is always associated in a fairy tale with another motif of a difficult task that must be completed by the Hero several times. In fact, the fairy tale motifs are much more numerous and some of them correlate with the structural functions identified by Propp. However, we have focused only on those of them that are always repeated, ensuring the reversibility and cyclicity of the plot elements.

Apart from recurrent motifs and similar to the fairy tale narrative, cyclicity in rap lyrics can also be expressed by cross-cutting repeating symbols. In particular, the concept of a VICIOUS CIRCLE associated with cyclical time is realized through the Ghetto topos, foregrounded as a metonymic (*"I'm trapped inside the ghetto"*) (K. Lamar "Institutionalized") or a metaphorical (*"I live inside the belly of the rough"*) (K. Lamar "m.A.A.d city") symbol of the vicious circle of doom, crime, and drugs.

The spirit of the Ghetto (i.e. the hood) remains in a person for the whole life, again and again returning the rapper to his past, as exemplified by a chiasmus in the following line of verse:

(25) "*You can take your boy out the hood, but you can't take the hood out the homie*" (K. Lamar "Institutionalized"). This phrase is a kind of a "conceptual chiasmus" as its second half is an inverted form of the first half, both grammatically and logically, to parallel the concepts of location and state of mind (by using the conceptual metaphor).

At the same time, basketball and the recording studio are often conceptualized in rap lyrics as the symbols of escape from the vicious circle:

(26) "*.....the only way out the ghetto, you know the stereotype / Shooting hoops or live on the stereo like top forty*" (K. Lamar "Black boy fly").

It is impossible to break out of the ghetto without retracing the paths of famous basketball players or musicians, as indicated by numerous allusions to them, in particular, in Kendrick Lamar's "Black boy fly":

(27) "*I used to be jealous of Aaron Afflalo / I used to be jealous of Aaron Afflalo*" (ibid.).

(28) "*That's what she said but in my head I wanted to be like Jordan*" (ibid.).

Similar to rap lyrics, the idea of cyclicity in a fairy tale narrative may also be based on cross-cutting repeating symbols, in particular, the white, red, and black horsemen as symbols of morning, sunny day, and night, which reappear three times as in (29) or spinning, as a recurring occupation of the main heroine, symbolizing the process of ordering and harmonization as in (30):

(29) "*The red horseman galloped past, and the sun rose. The white horseman galloped past the gate on his white horse. Day was dawning. The black horseman galloped past the gate, night fell*" (A. Afanasyev "Vasilisa the Wise").

(30) "*Vasilisa set to spinning yarn"; "the first she set to weaving lace, the second to knitting stockings, and Vasilisa to spinning yarn*" (ibid.).

However, unlike rap lyrics, where the symbols, associated with reversibility or cyclicity, are always based on the author's occasional imagery associated with reversibility only in the context of a particular song, a fairy tale employs the figurative symbolism. In contrast to symbolic imagery, figurative symbolism is associated with well-established meanings consolidated by paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations: on the syntagmatic axis, such symbols form relationships of the type "If A, then B": if fire symbolizes purification and rebirth, then the stove, as a container of fire, can also develop such symbolic meanings metonymically. On the paradigmatic axis, fairytale symbols are ordered through the co-referent names (the symbolic meaning of the border between the worlds can be expressed by images of a forest, a sea, a hut on chicken legs, etc.) and, conversely, by relations "one image – various symbols": an apple is an ambivalent symbol of death (J. Grimm & W. Grimm "Snow White and the seven dwarfs") and life (Long, long tales... "On rejuvenating apples and living water"), as well as magic (A. Afanasyev "Silver saucer and juicy apple").

For example, the cry of a rooster always symbolizes the disappearance of night ghosts and evil spirits and reappearance of light and forces of good; well-established symbols include a golden ball, living and dead water. The stove (in addition to its many other symbolic meanings not related to the idea of cyclicity) is a symbol of rebirth, the purifying power of fire (the chimney symbolizes the road to the afterlife) as in (31). According to Propp (Пропп 2009), in the archaic rituals of many peoples, "burning" leads to the development of unusual abilities, i.e. to human rebirth:

(31) *"The grandfather threw the boy into the oven – there he was turning around in all sorts of ways. Grandfather took him out of the oven and asks: "Do you know what?" "No, I don't know anything "(three times; the oven is red-hot). "Well, now, have you learned anything?"; "I know more than you, grandfather", – the boy replied. "The study is over, the forest grandfather ordered the dad to come for his son" (Пропп 2009: 109).*

The formal manifestations of cyclicity in a fairy tale involve:

(a) formularity, for example, a recurring formula such as "For the morning is wiser than

the evening"; "Mirror, mirror on the wall, who is the most beautiful woman in England?", etc. and

(b) triality of events and repetition of elements. In particular, in "Snow White" the queen three times disguises herself and three times seemingly kills Snow White, three times Snow White is deceived, and three times Snow White is saved (J. Grimm & W. Grimm "Snow White and the seven dwarfs"); in the "The magic ring" the girl three times put down the candles to climb a stile, and a dog stole them" ("The magic ring and other stories...").

Formularity is also a necessary attribute in rap lyrics as one of the rhythmicity creating devices, stylistically expressed by anaphora as in (32), catch repetition (33), or a whole line of repetitions and in (34):

(32) "*Ain't talking 'bout nuthin (ain't talking 'bout nuthin) Ain't talking 'bout nuthin (ain't talking 'bout nuthin) Ain't talking 'bout nuthin (ain't talking 'bout nuthin) Ain't talking 'bout nuthin (ain't talking 'bout nuthin)*" (E-40 "Ain't talking...").

(33) "*This is king Kendrick Lamar. King Kendrick, and I meant it, my point intended is raw*" (K. Lamar "Compton").

(34) "*Complexion! Two-step.*

*Complexion don't mean a thing! It's a Zulu love.*

*Complexion! Two-step"* (K. Lamar "Complexion (a zulu love)").

In addition to the aforementioned devices, the cyclical time in rap lyrics, unlike in a fairy tale, is also triggered by multifaceted means of intertextuality referring to pre-existing rap lyrics, cultural landmarks referring to recurrent themes, plots, imagery, characters, symbols that the recipients will identify correctly provided they are familiar with the original text.

Intertextuality devices in rap lyrics can be specified by two interrelated criteria: their recognizability and the source text parameter. Based on the first criterion, the paper identifies quotations as in (36) and allusions as in (37), distinguished by their various "proximity" to the source text and, accordingly, by a different recognizability by the

rap audience. Allusion functions in rap texts as a means of intertextuality and a way of parametrizing the meaning. In particular, the text of Kendrick Lamar's song "HiiiPoWeR" contains at least 15 allusions to geographical realia, political movements, human rights activists, musicians, an occult-philosophical association, a children's book "Charlotte's web":

(35) *"This is why I say that hip hop has done more damage to young African Americans than racism in recent years"* (K. Lamar "HiiiPoWeR").

The above quotation from American television channel Fox News, criticizing Kendrick Lamar's performance with the song "Alright", expresses an opinion, which a priori cannot coincide with the author's opinion, however, is cited as part of the discursive strategy of intensifying the protest message contained in the following lines:

(36) *"Lately, in James 4:4 says: "Friend of the world is enemy of the Lord"* (K. Lamar "Lust").

(37) *"Martin had a dream. Martin had a dream. Kendrick have a dream"* (K. Lamar "Backseat freestyle").

(38) *"Roll up, put a ribbon in the sky"* (K. Lamar "Blow my high (members only)").

Example (37) implies an allusion to Martin Luther King's famous speech "I have a dream". In (38) the rap author alludes to Stevie Wonder's song "Ribbon in the sky".

Based on the second criterion, i.e. of the various textual sources rap lyrics refers to, the means of intertextuality are divided into the following groups:

a) the previous rap lyrics, music styles and musicians that influenced the rapper's formation:

(39) *"I'm doing Big Style Willy couldn't touch 11"* (TTC "Bastard").

(40) *"What's the 27 Club? We ain't making it past 21"* (Juice WRLD "Legends").

Example (39) contains a reference to Will Smith's "Big Willie style" album. An allusion to "27 club" in (40) refers to the combined name of the musicians who

significantly influenced the formation and development of rock and blues music and who died at the age of 27. Comparing the allusive implicature with number 21, the rapper emphasizes that modern rap musicians, unlike rockers and blues singers, die before they are 22.

b) precedent cultural phenomena and landmarks:

(41) "*Kill them all if they gossip, the Children of the Corn*" (K. Lamar "m.A.A.d city").

Example (42) contains an allusion to the story of the American writer Stephen King about the teenagers who founded a sect, killing the entire adult population of the city.

(c) precedent characters, i.e. politicians, famous athletes, representatives of show business, civil libertarians, etc.

(42) "*I used to be jealous of Arron Afflalo / I used to be jealous of Arron Afflalo*" (K. Lamar "Black boy fly").

(43) "*Uh, I can feel the bass, uh, I can see the fakes, / Word to T.D. Jakes, uh, word to Pastor Mase and Kirk Franklin*" (Asap Rocky "Distorted records").

Example (42) contains a reference to Arron Agustin Afflalo, a famous American professional basketball player, who became a model person for a rap artist, because he had succeeded in breaking out of the ghetto.

Example (43) contains a reference to the following authoritative figures who are able to appreciate and confirm the rapper's creativity ("Everything I do groundbreak") and a sense of harmony: Dexter Jakes Sr., a television evangelist and producer, Maze (the pseudonym of Mason Durrell Betha), an American rapper, songwriter, and minister, and Kirk Franklin, an American gospel and contemporary Christian singer.

d) borrowings from the New and the Old Testament or allusions to the Bible:

(44) "*All this money, is God playin' a joke on me?*

*Is it for the moment, and will he see me as Job*" (K. Lamar "Fear").

(45) "*Most of y'all just envy, but jealousy get you killed,*

*Most of y'all throw rocks and try to hide your hand*"(K. Lamar "Element").

Unlike in a fairy tale, the idea of reversibility in rap lyrics can also be expressed explicitly:

(46) *"Just remember, what happens on Earth stays on Earth! / We gon' put it in reverse".* (K. Lamar "Duckworth").

(47) *"One curse at a time / Reverse the manifest and good karma, and I'll tell you why"* (ibid.).

The common devices of cyclical time identified in rap lyrics and the fairy tale narrative are summed up in Table 1.

Table 1. Cyclical time in rap lyrics and a fairy tale narrative: Common devices

<b>motifs recurrence</b>
similar motifs of breaking the evil chain of a vicious circle, the Hero's death and resurrection – metaphoric in rap lyrics and fairy-real reincarnation into another person, animal, or a bird in a tale
<b>image iconicity</b>
<b>narrative techniques of the boomerang effect and the "feedback network"</b>
<b>cross-cutting repeating symbols</b>
<b>formularity</b>

At the same time, each of the identified common characteristics of cyclical time has a certain specificity of its implementation in rap lyrics and a fairy tale, which is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Cyclical time in rap lyrics and the fairy tale narrative: Divergences

<b>narrative motifs</b>	
<b>rap lyrics</b>	<b>fairy tale:</b>
motifs of constant fear the artist is doomed to experience; of eternal cycle of things; of fate and inevitability	motifs of a difficult task that must be recurrently completed by a fairy tale's Hero; of a magical animal helper who repeatedly (three times or many times) comes to the Hero's aid
<b>image iconicity</b>	
iconicity of the metaphoric or metonymic images of the animal to the rappers' self-image	iconicity of the animal image to the appearance or spiritual qualities of the character turned into it
<b>cross-cutting repeating symbols</b>	

occasional symbolic imagery associated with reversibility or cyclicity only in the context of the particular rap lyrics	figurative symbolism with well-established meanings and ordered by paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations
<b>formularity</b>	
formularity-based rhythmicity, stylistically manifested by anaphora, ring repetition, catch repetition, whole line repetitions	a recurring fairy tales' formula, plot elements recurrence: three times events / actions
<b>multifaceted intertextuality devices</b>	

## 5. Conclusions and perspectives

The paper identifies modern rap's temporal features related to cyclical time in comparison with the fairy tale narrative.

Based on a compound research method, which encompassed narrative, stylistic, and pragmatic analyses consistently applied at the ten stages of the investigation, the paper has reached the following conclusions.

Similar to the fairy tale narrative, rap lyrics involve cyclical time along with the specific means of its manifestation.

The common narrative devices, which mark the cyclic time in rap lyrics and the fairy tale narrative encompass recurrent narrative motifs, narrative techniques such as the boomerang effect and the "feedback networks", cross-cutting repeating symbols, the formularity as well as iconicity underlying animal-bound metaphors in rap lyrics, and images of fairy tale animals associated with transformation into a human.

The identified cyclicity devices vary in their semantic content. Typical cyclicity-based motifs of rap lyrics include the eternal cycle of things, fate, and inevitability as well as the constant fear the artist is doomed to experience. Cyclicity-based motifs in fairy tales include a difficult task that must be recurrently completed by the fairy tale Hero and a magical animal helper who repeatedly comes to the Hero's aid, both heavily associated with the basic plot components of the fairy tale narrative.

Common to fairy tales and rap lyrics are the motifs of breaking the evil chains of a

vicious circle as well as the Hero's death, and his or her resurrection – the difference being that in a fairy tale, death and rebirth are postulated as reality in one of the possible worlds of a fairy tale, while in rap lyrics the motif of transformation is understood in a figurative sense – as a radical change in the social and property status of the lyric's at present compared to that of his past.

The motifs of fate and inevitability, of the eternal cycle of things, and of the constant fear the artist will inevitably endure, are associated with poetic time, while motifs of escaping the wicked shackles of a vicious circle and the Hero's death and resurrection, also cyclical in their nature, determine fragments of a rap text, disclosing the motif in question through the description of successive events. Thus, the idea of cyclicity interacts in this case with the linear time of rap narratives.

Cross-cutting repeating symbols associated with the reversibility or cyclicity of the fairy tale and the time in the rap lyrics differ in terms of stability / occasionality. Rappers occasionally employ symbolic imagery, which is understandable and interpretable within the framework of a particular song, while fairy tale symbolism relies on well-established and recognizable connotations.

Formularity in the texts under investigation appears as the manifestation of cyclicity-recurrence, which in a fairy tale is realized through formal-semantic narrative devices, i.e. the repetition of a fairy tale formula and plot elements, whereas in rap lyrics it is based on stylistic means including anaphora, ring repetition, catch repetition, and whole line repetitions, all associated with rhythmicity.

Unlike in fairy tales, and in accordance with the principles of metamodernism (the paradigm within which the rap genre is positioned), cyclical time in rap lyrics also includes intertextuality means, which are specified by two interrelated criteria: their recognizability (explicit quotations and implicit allusions) and the parameter of the source text, including the previous rap lyrics, music styles and musicians; precedent

cultural phenomena and landmarks; precedent characters, i.e. politicians, famous athletes, representatives of show business, civil libertarians; borrowings from the New and the Old Testament or allusions to the Bible.

### List of abbreviations

TTC – Tyler the Creator

### References

- Afanasyev, A. (2013). *Russian fairy tales*. Moscow: The Planet.
- Alim, H.S., Awad, I. & Pennycook, A. (2005). *Global linguistic flows: Hip hop cultures, youth identities, and the politics of language*. New York: Routledge.
- A\$AP Rocky. *Distorted records*. Available at: <https://genius.com/A-ap-rocky-distorted-records-lyrics>
- Assmann, J. (2002). *The mind of Egypt: History and meaning in the time of the pharaohs*. Jenkins, A. (trans.). New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- Atkinson, Ph. (2017). *Folk tales of North East England*. North Charleston: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.
- Bakhtin, M. (1981). Forms of time and of the chronotope in the novel. In *The dialogic imagination: Four essays*. Holquist, M. (ed.), Holquist, M. & Emerson, C. (trans.). Austin: University of Texas Press, p. 84-258.
- Brown, D. (2000). The cuneiform conception of celestial space and time. In *Cambridge archaeological journal*, 10 (1), p. 103-122.
- Campbell, J. & Moyers, B.D. (1988). *The power of myth*. New York: Doubleday.
- Capra, F. (2003). *The web of life. A new scientific understanding of living systems*. Kiev: Sofia. / Capra F. *Паутина жизни. Новое научное понимание живых систем*. Киев: Софія. / Капра Ф. *Паутина жизни. Новое научное понимание живых систем*. Киев: Софія.
- Derrida, J. (1998). *Of grammatology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- E-40. *Ain't talking bout nothin*. Available at: <https://genius.com/E-40-aint-talkin-bout-nothing-lyrics>

*English fairy and other folk tales* (2006). Hartland, E.S (ed.). Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing.

Florensky, P.A. (2000). Analysis of spatiality and time in the works of visual art. In *Art theory studies: Articles and research papers in art philosophy & history and archeology*. Moscow: Mysl, p. 79-121. / Florenskij P.A. Analiz prostranstvennosti i vremeni v khudozhestvenno-izobrazitel'nykh proizvedeniyakh. In *Issledovaniya po teorii iskusstva: Stat'i i issledovaniya po istorii i filosofii iskusstva i arkheologii*. Moskva: Mysl', s. 79-121. / Флоренский П.А. Анализ пространственности и времени в художественно-изобразительных произведениях. In *Исследования по теории искусства: Статьи и исследования по истории и философии искусства и археологии*. Москва: МЫСЛЬ, с. 79-121.

Forman, M. (2002). *The hood comes first: Race, space, and place in rap and hip-hop*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.

Freinacht, H. (2015). Metamodern art, culture and politics. In *Metamoderna*. Available at: <https://metamoderna.org/metamodern-art-culture-and-politics/>

Grimm, J. & Grimm, W. (2014). *Household tales*. Hunt, M. (trans.). Scotts Valley: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.

Hart, P. & Nisbet, E. (2012). Boomerang effects in science communication: How motivated reason and identity cues amplify opinion polarization about climate mitigation policies. In *Communication research*, 39 (6), p. 701-723.

Hodge, D.W. (2018). *Homeland insecurity: A hip hop missiology for the post-civil rights context*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press.

Holbek, B. (1987). Interpretation of fairy tales: Danish folklore in a European perspective. In *Folklore fellows communications*. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 239.

Imagine dragons. *Radioactive*. Available at: <https://genius.com/Imagine-dragons-radioactive-lyrics>

Jacobs, J. (2016). *English fairy tales*. North Charleston: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.

- Jacobs, J. (2015). *More English fairy tales*. North Charleston: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.
- Jones, S.S. (1990). The new comparative method: Structural and symbolic analysis of the allomotifs of "Snow White". In *Folklore fellows communications*. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, vol. 56 (2), 247.
- Juice WRLD. *Legends*. Available at: <https://genius.com/Juice-wrld-legends-lyrics>
- Jung, C.G. (1969). Archetypes and the collective unconscious. In *Collected works of C.G. Jung*. Read, H. et al. (eds.). Princeton: Princeton University Press, vol. 9 (1), p. 3-41.
- Kerbelite, B.P. (1991). *Historical development of structures and semantics of fairy tales*. Vilnius: Vaga. / Kerbelite B.P. *Istoricheskoye razvitiye struktur i semantiki skazok*. Vilnyus: Vaga. / Кербелите Б.П. *Историческое развитие структур и семантики сказок*. Вильнюс: Вага.
- Konnova, M. & Babenko, N. (2019). Conceptual metaphors of time in English: An axiological perspective. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, IV (2), December 2019, p. 86-127.
- Kravchenko, N., Davydova, T. & Goltsova, M. (2020a). Comparative study of fairy tale and rap narratives: Spaces specificity. In *Journal of history, culture and art research*, 9 (3), p. 155-167.
- Kravchenko, N., Prokopchuk, M., & Yudenko, O. (2021). Afro-American rap lyrics vs fairy tales: Possible worlds and their mediators. In *Cogito – multidisciplinary research journal*, XIII (1), p. 146-168.
- Kravchenko, N. & Snitsar, V. (2019). Cultural archetypes in the construction of "possible worlds" of modern African-American rap (based on Kendrick Lamar's texts). In *Euromentor journal*, X (4), p. 80-92.
- Kravchenko, N., Snitsar, V. & Blidchenko-Naiko, V. (2020b). Paradoxes of rap artists' role identity: Sage, magician or trickster? In *Cogito – multidisciplinary research journal*, XII (1), p. 179-195.

Kravchenko, N.K. (2019). Biblical intertextuality devices in African-American rap texts (based on the Kendrick Lamar's album "Damn"). In *International journal of philology*, 10 (2), p. 12-17.

Kravchenko, N.K. & Brechak, Ye.O. (2019). Archetypal symbolism of African American rap: A linguistic aspect (based on the rap text by Tyler, the Creator "Foreword"). In *Science and education a new dimension. Philology*, VII (60), 204, p. 56-68. / Kravchenko N.K. & Brechak Ye.O. Arkhetipnaya simvolika Afro-Amerikanskogo repa: Lingvisticheskiy aspekt (na materiale rep-teksta Tyler, the Creator "Foreword"). In *Science and education a new dimension. Philology*, VII (60), 204, s. 56-68. / Кравченко Н.К., Бречак Е.О. Архетипная символика афроамериканского рэпа: Лингвистический аспект (на материале рэп-текста Tyler, the Creator "Foreword"). In *Science and education a new dimension. Philology*, VII (60), 204, с. 56-68. DOI: 10.31174/SEND-Ph2019-204VII60

Lamar, K. *Backseat freestyle*. Available at: <https://genius.com/Kendrick-lamar-backseat-freestyle-lyrics>

Lamar, K. *Black boy fly*. Available at: <https://genius.com/Kendrick-lamar-black-boy-fly-lyrics>

Lamar, K. *BLOOD*. Available at: <https://genius.com/Kendrick-lamar-blood-lyrics>

Lamar, K. *Blow my high (members only)*. Available at: <https://genius.com/Kendrick-lamar-blow-my-high-members-only-lyrics>

Lamar, K. *Complexion (a zulu love)* Available at: <https://genius.com/Kendrick-lamar-complexion-a-zulu-love-lyrics>

Lamar, K. *Compton*. Available at: <https://genius.com/Kendrick-lamar-compton-lyrics>

Lamar, K. *Damn*. Available at: <https://genius.com/albums/Kendrick-lamar/Damn>

Lamar, K. *DNA*. Available at: <https://genius.com/Kendrick-lamar-dna-lyrics>

Lamar, K. *Duckworth*. Available at: <https://genius.com/Kendrick-lamar-duckworth-lyrics>

Lamar, K. *Element*. Available at: <https://genius.com/Kendrick-lamar-element-lyrics>

Lamar, K. *Fear*. Available at: <https://genius.com/Kendrick-lamar-fear-lyrics>

Lamar, K. *HiiiPoWeR*. Available at: <https://genius.com/Kendrick-lamar-hiiipower-lyrics>

Lamar, K. *Institutionalized*. Available at: <https://genius.com/Kendrick-lamar-institutionalized-lyrics>

Lamar, K. *Lust*. Available at: <https://genius.com/Kendrick-lamar-lust-lyrics>

Lamar, K. *m.A.A.d city*. Available at: <https://genius.com/Kendrick-lamar-maad-city-lyrics>

Lecrae. *Fear*. Available at: <https://genius.com/Lecrae-fear-lyrics>

Likhachev, D.S. (1979). Artistic time of a literary work. In *The poetics of old Russian literature*. Moscow: Nauka, p. 209-219. / Likhachyov D.S. Khudozhestvennoye vremia slovesnogo proizvedeniya. In *Poetika drevnerusskoj literatury*. Moskva: Nauka, s. 209-219. / Лихачёв Д.С. Художественное время словесного произведения. In *Поэтика древнерусской литературы*. Москва: Наука, с. 209-219.

*Long, long tales from the Russian north*. (2014). Haney, J.V. (ed.). Jackson: The University Press of Mississippi. DOI:10.14325/mississippi/9781617037306.001.0001

Lüthi, M. (1982). *The European folktale: Form and nature*. Niles, J.D. (trans.) Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.

Pershin, Yu.Yu. (2013). Archaic consciousness and archaic time. In *Philosophical thought*, 9, p. 64-85. / Pershin Yu.Yu. Arkhaicheskoye soznaniye i arkhaicheskoye vremya. In *Filosofskaya mysl'*, 9, s. 64-85. / Першин Ю.Ю. Архаическое сознание и архаическое время. In *Философская мысль*, 9, с. 64-85.

Prihodko, A. & Prykhodchenko, A. (2018). Frame modeling of the concepts of LIFE and DEATH in the English Gothic worldview. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Poland, III (2), December 2018, p. 164-203.

Propp, V.Ya. (2009). *Historical roots of the wonder tale*. Moscow: Labirint. / Propp V.Ya. *Istoricheskiye korni volshebnoj skazki*. Moskva: Labirint. / Пропп В.Я. *Исторические корни волшебной сказки*. Москва: Лабиринт. Available at: [https://www.gumer.info/bibliotek\\_Buks/Linguist/Propp\\_2/index.php](https://www.gumer.info/bibliotek_Buks/Linguist/Propp_2/index.php)

Propp, V. (2011). *Morphology of the folktale*. Scott, L. (trans.). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Revzin, I.I. (1975). On general semiotic interpretation of Propp's three premises: Fairy tale analysis and text coherence theory. In *Typological folklore studies. Collected papers in memory of V.Ya. Propp*. Moscow: Nauka, p. 77-91. / Revzin I.I. К общесемиотическому истолкованию трех постулатов Проппа: Анализ сказки и теория связности текста. In *Типологические исследования по фольклору. Сборник статей памяти В.Я. Проппа*. Москва: Наука, с. 77-91. / Ревзин И.И. К общесемиотическому истолкованию трех постулатов Проппа: Анализ сказки и теория связности текста. *Типологические исследования по фольклору. Сб. статей памяти В.Я. Проппа*. Москва: Наука, с. 77-91.

Richardson, E. (2006). *Hiphop literacies*. New York: Routledge.

Schmid, W. (2010). *Narratology: An introduction*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

*Time and temporality in the ancient world*. (2004). Rosen, R.M. (ed.). Pittsburgh: University of Pennsylvania Press.

*The magic ring and other stories: From the yellow and crimson fairy books*. (2020). Lang, A. (ed.). Glasgow: Good Press.

Tibbits, Ch.J. (1890). *Folklore and legends: English*. London: W.W. Gibbings.

Traugott, E. (1978). On the expression of spatio-temporal relations in language. In *Universals of human language*. Greenberg, J. (ed.). Stanford: Stanford University Press. Vol. III, p. 369-400.

TTC. *Bastard*. Available at: <https://genius.com/albums/Tyler-the-creator/Bastard>

TTC. *Exactly what you run from, you end up chasing*. Available at: <https://genius.com/Tyler-the-creator-exactly-what-you-run-from-you-end-up-chasing-lyrics>

TTC. *Garbage*. Available at: <https://genius.com/Tyler-the-creator-garbage-lyrics>

TTC. *New magic wand*. Available at: <https://genius.com/Tyler-the-creator-new-magic-wand-lyrics>

TTC. *WHAT'S GOOD*. Available at: <https://genius.com/Tyler-the-creator-whats-good-lyrics>

van den Akker, R., Gibbons, A. & Vermeulen, T. (2017). *Metamodernism: Historicity, affect, and depth after postmodernism (radical cultural studies)*. London – New York: Rowman & Littlefield International.

Volkova, S. (2018). Iconicity of syntax and narrative in Amerindian prosaic texts. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, I (1), June 2018, p. 448-479.

Volkova, S. (2016). Reverse perspective as a narrative technique in Amerindian prosaic texts. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, I (1), June 2016, p. 359-394.

Volkova, S. (2017). The Semiotics of folkdance in Amerindian literary prose. In *Text – meaning – context: Cracow studies in English language, literature and culture*, vol. 14. Language – literature – the arts: A cognitive semiotic interface. Frankfurt am Main – Bern – New York – Oxford – Warszawa – Wien: Peter Lang Edition, p. 149-164.

Vyvyan, E. (2013). *Language and time: A cognitive linguistics approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yamaguchi, T. (2016). Temporality in Manyōshū. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, I (2), December 2016, p. 212-252

Zhykhareva, O. (2018). *Ecopoetics of English biblical discourse: Concepts, images, narrations: Monograph*. Kyiv: Kyiv National Linguistic University. / Zhykhareva O. *Екопоетика англomовного біблійного дискурсу: Концепти, образи, нарації: Монографія*. Кyyiv: Кyyivskyj natsionalnyj linhvistychnyj universytet. / Жихарева О. *Екопоетика англomовного біблійного дискурсу: Концепти, образи, нарації: Монографія*. Київ: Київський національний лінгвістичний університет.

## Contact data

### Author #1

	<p><i>name:</i> <i>academic title / rank:</i> <i>department:</i> <i>institution:</i> <i>e-mail:</i> <i>fields of interest:</i></p>	<p><b>Nataliia Kravchenko</b> DrSc. (Philology) Full Professor Faculty of Translation Studies Kyiv National Linguistic University 73, Velyka Vasylkivska St., Kyiv, 03680, Ukraine <a href="mailto:nkravchenko@outlook.com">nkravchenko@outlook.com</a> Cognitive linguistics, discourse analysis, theoretical pragmatics, intercultural communication, identity and role analysis, cognitive and conceptual analysis.</p>
---	--	--

### Author #2

	<p><i>name:</i> <i>academic title / rank:</i> <i>department:</i> <i>institution:</i> <i>e-mail:</i> <i>fields of interest:</i></p>	<p><b>Marianna Goltsova</b> CSc. (Philology) Associate Professor Faculty of Humanities and Pedagogy National University of Life and Environmental Sciences of Ukraine 19, Henerala Rodimtseva St., Kyiv, 03041, Ukraine <a href="mailto:mariam88@ukr.net">mariam88@ukr.net</a> Contrastive linguistics, lexicology, cognitive linguistics, implicit pragmalinguistics.</p>
--	--	--

### Author #3

	<p><i>name:</i> <i>academic title / rank:</i> <i>department:</i> <i>institution:</i> <i>e-mail:</i> <i>fields of interest:</i></p>	<p><b>Valentyna Snitsar</b> CSc. (Philology) Associate Professor Institute of Philology Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University 18/2, Bulvarno-Kudriavska St. Kyiv, 04053, Ukraine e-mail: <a href="mailto:v.snitsar@kubg.edu.ua">v.snitsar@kubg.edu.ua</a> Contrastive linguistics, cognitive linguistics, diachronic linguistics, LSP, legal translation, specialized translation</p>
---	--	--

## **Résumé**

This research presents a comparative analysis of cyclical time and its narrative and stylistic devices in modern rap lyrics and fairy tales. The paper is aimed to prove the hypothesis that the types of time associated with archaic consciousness may emerge in substantially reinterpreted forms in meta-modernistic genres represented by rap lyrics. For that purpose, a combination of narrative, stylistic, and intertextual analyses was employed at the ten consecutive stages of research. Cyclic time in rap lyrics and fairy tales is manifested by (a) common recurrent narrative motifs, such as (i) the Hero's death and resurrection and (ii) the breaking out of the vicious circle; b) narrative techniques including (i) the boomerang effect and (ii) the "feedback network"; (c) cross-cutting repeating symbols and (d) formularity, which in fairy tales relies on repeated formulae and plot elements, and in rap lyrics – on stylistic devices, iconically reproducing recurrence (anaphora, whole line repetitions) and cyclicity (ring repetition, catch repetition). Divergent cyclicity-based motifs include: the motifs of the eternal cycle of things as well as fate and constant fear in rap lyrics and the motifs of a repeatedly completed task and a permanent magical animal helper in fairy tales. Cross-cutting repeating symbols of time reversibility or cyclicity in fairy tales relies on well-established imagery, while rap lyrics utilize occasional symbolic images, interpretable within a particular text or album. Cyclic time in rap lyrics may interact with linear time as a sequence of events in the rap narrative, incorporated through motifs of breaking the evil chain of a vicious circle and the Hero's death and resurrection. In contrast to fairy tales, cyclicity in rap lyrics is triggered by multifaceted intertextual devices reflecting the aesthetics of metamodernism, with its principle of eternal repetition and temporal polyphony.

**Key words:** cyclical time, rap lyrics, fairy tale, narrative devices, stylistic devices.

Article was received by the editorial board 24.12.2020;

Reviewed 20.03.2021 and 23.04.2021.

Similarity Index 2%

## LEGE ARTIS

Language yesterday, today, tomorrow

Vol. VI. No 1 2021

# ANIMACY AND OTHER DETERMINANTS OF GENITIVE VARIATION IN SWEDISH: S-GENITIVE VS. PREPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTION<sup>1</sup>

*Alicja Piotrowska*

*Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland*

**Bibliographic description:** Piotrowska, A. (2021). Animacy and other determinants of genitive variation in Swedish: S-genitive vs. prepositional construction. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Trnava: University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, 2021, VI (1), June 2021, p. 109-157. ISSN 2453-8035

**Abstract:** In this paper, the author explores the variation between the s-genitive and the prepositional construction in Swedish. The study is based on a newly-compiled corpus of contemporary texts. A multivariate analysis based on a binary logistic regression model is conducted to determine, which factors influence the selection of the given construction. The results indicate that animacy has the strongest influence on the genitive variation, and is prior to definiteness and length of the phrase.

**Key words:** possessive expression, genitive variation, Swedish, animacy, s-genitive, prepositional construction.

## 1. Introduction

When a language has more than one way of expressing possession, the selection of a particular construction is often governed by various semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic factors. In this study, I focus on the factors behind the variation between adnominal possession in Swedish expressed by the s-genitive construction, on the one hand, and the prepositional constructions, on the other. Examples of the relevant constructions are given below (see 1-4).

---

<sup>1</sup> This study was funded by the grant *Possessive expressions in Danish and Swedish in a diachronic and synchronic perspective*, no. 2017/27/N/HS2/00064 from the National Science Centre, Poland.

(1) *kung-en av Sverige-s fru*  
king-DEF of Sweden-POSS wife  
'the king of Sweden's wife' (translations of all examples made by the author)

(2) *fru-n till kung-en av Sverige*  
wife-DEF to king-DEF of Sweden  
'the wife of the king of Sweden'

(3) *tak-et på hus-et*  
roof-DEF on house-DEF  
'the roof of the house'

(4) *hus-et-s tak*  
house-DEF-POSS roof  
'the house's roof'

Swedish, as well as all the other Germanic languages, was once a synthetic language with an extensive nominal and verbal inflection system (see Delsing 2014). The basic means of expressing possession at that stage was the genitive case and possessive pronouns. In the gradual development from Old Swedish to present-day Swedish the language has become much more analytical in nature and lost its case inflection. As a result, the genitive case was superseded by a number of different possessive expressions. The adnominal possessive constructions used in present-day Swedish include, but are not limited to, the following constructions:

1. the s-genitive construction (*Jans hus* 'Jan's house')
2. the prepositional construction (*taket på huset* 'the roof of the house')
3. pronominal constructions: with regular pronouns (*min hand* 'my hand') or with reflexive possessive pronouns (*han hade sin cykel* 'he had his bicycle')

4. compounding constructions (*Palmemordet* 'the murder of Palme'; cf. Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2013).

Since there are at least four adnominal possessive constructions in Swedish, the choice between the s-genitive and prepositional constructions, which this study is concerned with, is only part of the choice that speakers make. Possessive pronouns are not directly interchangeable with the s-genitive or PPs (= prepositional phrases) as they often occur in contexts, in which the possessor has been introduced earlier, and is referred back to in the form of pronouns (for a detailed discussion on regular and reflexive possessive pronouns in Swedish see Kiparsky 2002). Compounds with a possessive reading are quite common and widespread. However, they may entail so many different relations between nouns that the delimitation between possession and e.g., location or simple classification would be highly problematic. For instance, the Swedish compound *bilmotorn* 'car engine' is not always identical to *bilens motor* 'the car's engine', which is also reflected in the English translations, as the compound is classifying but non-referential, whereas the genitive construction is identifying and referential at the same time (cf. Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2002a: 154). Possessive compounds occur also in fairly limited contexts with proper names, as in e.g., *en Mozartsonat* 'a Mozart sonata' (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2013: 254). For these reasons only two constructions are studied in this paper, namely the s-genitive and prepositional phrases.<sup>1</sup>

The s-genitive construction stems from one of the inflectional endings of the genitive case, namely the ending -s. The ending, which was first used solely for masculine and neuter nouns, spread to other noun classes and eventually took over the whole paradigm (Börjars 2003; Delsing 1999; 2001; Norde 1997; 2001; 2006; Piotrowska 2017; 2018). In contrast to the s-genitive construction, possession expressed by means of prepositional phrases in Swedish has not yet been studied in detail, as opposed to English (Fischer 1992; Hinrichs & Szmrecsanyi 2007; Mustanoja 1960), therefore calling for an in-depth analysis of this construction. Furthermore, the Swedish preposition, which is similar to English 'of' or Dutch 'van' and is used in possessive

expressions has not grammaticalised. Therefore, the choice of the preposition used in a Swedish possessive prepositional construction depends on the semantic relation it expresses; compare the following examples (for more examples see also Hammarberg & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2003: 139-140) and Perridon (1989: 74).

(5) *pris-et på vara-n*  
 price-DEF on product-DEF  
 'the price of the product' (Teleman et al. 2010: 712)

(6) *invånar-na i Stockholm*  
 inhabitant-DEF.PL in Stockholm  
 'Stockholm's inhabitants' (Norde 1997: 52)

There are two sets of prepositions used in these constructions, namely various spatial prepositions (such as *i* 'in', *på* 'on', *hos* 'at', *med* 'with', *över* 'over', *till* 'to') that indicate 'location at/on/in' or 'direction to', and non-spatial prepositions indicating an underlying sense of 'direction from' (such as *av* 'of', *från* 'from', *efter* 'after') (Hammarberg & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2003: 140). The fact that there are no grammaticalised possessive prepositions in Swedish predetermines the type of possessive relations expressed with them. The underlying meaning of location or direction in PPs prevents their interchangeability with the s-genitive construction, for example, the notion of LEGAL OWNERSHIP is usually expressed only through the s-genitive (see Example 7). In Section 2.2 I return to this issue.

(7) a. *Anna-s hus*  
 Anna-POSS house

b. *\*hus-et av Anna*  
 house-DEF of Anna  
 'Anna's house'

As mentioned, the semantics of the possessive relation may determine the construction used for expressing possession. In the same way, certain semantic constraints, such as animacy, may also prove important. Dahl & Fraurud (1996), with regard to their previous research into constraints on genitive variation in Scandinavian languages, consider the influence of animacy on the syntactic function of Swedish nominal phrases. On the basis of corpus analysis they observe a general tendency for the s-genitive to involve the use of animate possessors. Along with that, most of the animate nominal phrases in the corpus are definite, which leads the authors to the conclusion that animacy and definiteness tend to go together in Swedish (*ibid.*, 53). The scholars do not consider any other factors, as the study is focused not solely on genitive constructions, nevertheless, their observations about animacy and definiteness merit further studying.

Animacy has also been shown to be an important factor in various studies on Scandinavian languages, for example, in the grammaticalisation of the definite article (Skrzypek et al. 2021) or the periphrastic passive (Skrzypek 2020). Nettet and Enger (2002: 273) note that in the Nynorsk variety of Norwegian the s-genitive is by and large restricted to human possessors, whereas other possessors are expressed by prepositional phrases (see Example 8). It is nonetheless important to note that the distribution and use of the s-genitive in Norwegian is much more complex than in Swedish (see e.g., *Dialektsyntaktiska...* 2003; Fiva 1987).

(8) a. *Jon-s hund*  
 Jon-POSS dog  
 'Jon's dog' (Nettet & Enger 2002: 273)

b. *halsband-et til hund-en*  
 collar-DEF to dog-DEF  
 'the collar of the dog' (*ibid.*, 273)

The authors state that the variation between the possessives illustrated in Example 8 is an example of a distinction between the so-called core and peripheral categories, which in this case are coded by means of respectively the s-genitive and prepositional phrases. They note that the s-genitive is diachronically an older construction and that it is chosen for conceptually prototypical possessive expressions, particularly involving human possessors who own something. The possessive prepositional phrase is the newer marker in Norwegian and it is used for peripheral possessive relations, e.g., with non-human or inanimate possessors.

Further, Gunleifsen (2011) studies the differences in the use of prototypical adnominal possessive expressions in two spoken dialects from two cities in Norway. Only human possessors are taken into account in the study. The author's findings show that the category of the possessor (whether it is a common noun, proper name or pronoun), which varies in referentiality, is an important factor in the choice of a possessive. Phonological factors and morphosyntactic complexity of the possessor phrase are also shown to be of relevance.

Overall, to my knowledge, there are no comprehensive studies about genitive variation and constraints that govern the choice of the possessive construction in Swedish or in the other Scandinavian languages (with the exception of Gunleifsen 2011 and Piotrowska 2020). The aim of this study is to investigate the variation between the s-genitive and prepositional constructions in Swedish with the focus on three constraints: animacy, definiteness, and length of the phrase, and to see how these constraints interplay with each other. In the next section I specify why these constraints have been selected (2.1) and what material and methods are used (2.2). Section 3 presents a distributional analysis for each factor considered. In Section 4 I present a multivariate analysis using binary logistic regression and Classification and Regression Tree Analysis (CART) to demonstrate the probabilistic model of the joint contributions of each factor in explaining the choice of genitive constructions. Section 5 concludes the paper.

## 2. Material, methods, and hypotheses

In this section, I outline the constraints on genitive variation explored in this study, as well as substantiate the choice of the corpus and the tool used for annotation purposes. At the end of the section I also point out the annotation principles followed throughout the study.

### 2.1 Constraints in genitive variation: Definitions and predictions

Firstly, as indicated in Section 1, there is little previous research on constraints that have an influence on selecting the s-genitive versus the prepositional construction in Swedish. For this reason, research on English genitive variation is taken here as an inspiration for drawing hypotheses about Swedish. The two languages are closely related in genetic terms, as well as in terms of typological development. Further, the grammaticalization paths of the respective s-genitive constructions show corresponding patterns (Allen 2003; Norde 1997; Perridon 2013). While I take studies on English as a point of departure, I do not wish to claim that the genitive variation in Swedish is characterized by the same constraints, or influenced by certain constraints to the same degree as the English genitive variation does. The two languages obviously differ in the morphological and syntactic principles of their possessive constructions, as it will be pointed out in discussing particular constraints.

It is well known from previous studies on English that animacy of the referent plays a vital role in the choice of the genitive construction (Altenberg 1982; Jucker 1993; Kreyer 2003; Rosenbach 2005; 2008; 2017). Animate possessors (most often human) are more likely to resort to the s-genitive (e.g., *Tom's house* rather than *the house of Tom*), whereas inanimate possessors show a preference for prepositional possessive constructions (e.g., *the roof of the house* rather than *the house's roof*) (Hinrichs & Szmrecsanyi 2007: 449; Rosenbach 2005: 614). Animacy as feature of a lexical class of the referent, or more accurately a biological dimension, is an inherent property of a referent; either something is a living creature (animate) or not (inanimate). This simplified binary opposition ( $\pm$  animate) is not very felicitous when one considers

animacy as a linguistic factor. Speakers often differentiate linguistically various animate referents through, for example, different morphological coding for human and for animal referents. The fact that we perceive human beings more animate than animals is due to the anthropocentric character of language and human cognition, which accounts for the graduated animacy values or, in other words, the hierarchy of animacy (Comrie 1981; Silverstein 1976). Comrie (1981: 185) defines animacy as a three-staged hierarchy with human, animal, and inanimate referents. In this study, I follow a more detailed scale of animacy adapted after Rosenbach (2008), which also features collective referents as well as spatial and temporal referents. The scale of animacy used in this study is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. The scale of animacy

1. Human	2. Animal	3. Collective	4. Spatial	5. Temporal	6. Inanimate
<i>talarens intention</i>	<i>hästens kropp</i>	<i>regeringens plan</i>	<i>Sveriges statsminister</i>	<i>tre veckors betald semester</i>	<i>språkets betydelse</i>
'the speaker's intention'	'the horse's body'	'the government's plan'	'Sweden's Prime minister'	'three weeks' paid vacation'	'the language's meaning'

As regards collective referents, it is known that they can waver between animate and inanimate interpretation (Rosenbach 2005: 615). Nouns such as *company* or *party* may be conceptualized as an institution (the inanimate reading) or as the body or group of people that make up a certain *company* or *party* (the animate reading). This accounts for the collective referents' position on the animacy scale between the animal and inanimate referents. Temporal and spatial referents constitute separate categories as they are often used with the s-genitive in Swedish (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2002a: 150-152). While temporal possessives may be restricted lexically to just a handful of referents, the spatial possessives often constitute a subgroup of the PART-WHOLE concept, which is one of the basic notions of possession. This underpins the frequent use of spatial referents as possessors. In accordance with the scale of animacy and its application to genitive variation, the following prediction can be made about Swedish:

- (i) The more animate the possessor, the more likely it is to take the s-genitive.

Another constraint to be explored is the length of the phrase (in other words, The Principle of End Weight, see Hinrichs & Szendrői (2007: 438)). The factor of length, related to processing and parsing, stands on the premise that a longer constituent follows a shorter one. It has been argued that speakers prefer the genitive construction in which the longer of the two (either the possessor or the possessum phrase) occurs second. Compare the following examples.

(9) *världs-histori-en-s*                      *störst-a*      *icke-vålds-revolution<sup>2</sup>*  
 world-history-DEF-POSS                      biggest-WK    non-violent-revolution  
'the biggest non-violent revolution in **the world's history**' (Boëthius 2017)

(10) *en*      *bild*                      *av*      *det*      *kyrklig-a*                      *språk-bruk-et*  
 INDF   picture                      of      DEF    ecclesiastical-WK    language-use-DEF  
'a picture of the ecclesiastical language use' (Holmberg 2017a)

As the order of the possessor and the possessum phrases is converse in the two possessive expressions studied here, it is expected that the length will have some effect on the genitive variation. Two predictions can be made for the Swedish genitive variation concerning the factor of weight (following Rosenbach (2005: 616)):

- (ii) Within a possessive NP a shorter constituent should precede the longer one.
- (iii) The longer the possessor, the more likely it is to occur with a prepositional phrase.

According to (ii), the s-genitive should be more common with the combination short possessor/long possessum (Example 9), and prepositional phrases should be preferable with the combination short possessum/long possessor (Example 10). In the statistical model employed in the study I include two factors, namely the possessor length and the possessum length measured by syllable count (see Section 2.2 for discussion). The constraint of length is taken here in purely prosodic terms, not in terms of structural

complexity (for more on pre- and postmodification of the possessor phrase see Börjars et al. 2013).

Another factor to be taken into consideration is definiteness of the possessor phrase. The selection of this constraint is not informed by the previous studies on English genitive variation, but rather on the attested tendency for Swedish possessors in the s-genitive to have an overt definite form, even though no formal restrictions are placed on indefinite possessors (Teleman et al. 2010: 25). In studies on English, a related factor is at times invoked, namely givenness or discourse status of the referent (found to be insignificant by Hinrichs & Szmrecsanyi 2007, but highly significant in the study by O'Connor et al. 2013). An important difference between English and Swedish is that the Swedish definite article is a suffix that attaches to the noun, and not a separate orthographic word (compare *kvinnan* – woman-DEF – 'the woman'). A possible consequence of this is that Swedish genitival possessors might be predominantly definite and short (often one-word possessors), which cannot be claimed for English. This also shows that the factor of length might be connected with definiteness in Swedish. To add, definiteness is intrinsically connected with discourse status of the referent (or in other words accessibility of the referent, see Ariel 1988; 1994; 2016), in that definiteness is necessarily related to the conceptual notions of familiarity and identifiability (Hawkins 1978; Lyons 1999: 2-13). It has been argued that if the possessor is easily accessible and thus known to the reader, the s-genitive will be preferred (Hinrichs & Szmrecsanyi 2007). In this study, in line with O'Connor et al. (2013: 98), I use definiteness as a correlate of discourse status through a five-step distinction: proper names as the most accessible and familiar, definite common nouns and possessed common nouns as slightly less accessible and zero-marked and indefinite common nouns as the least accessible. With the term 'possessed common nouns' I refer to the so-called nested genitives. An instance of such a construction is presented in Example 11. In this case the possessor *syssters* 'sister's' is not marked with a definite article, because it is a possessum in the preceding phrase, such a possessor

will then be annotated as 'possessed', i.e. semantically definite but not explicitly marked.

- (11) *Martin-s syster-s älskare*  
Martin-POSS sister-POSS lover  
'Martin's sister's lover' (Nesser 2013)

I also distinguish a category that I call 'zero-marked' where I include bare NPs that are semantically indefinite but bear no indefinite article. These are not very frequent in Swedish, but they do occur, for example, in a predicative position or in lexicalized phrases.

Based on the accessibility scale, the following prediction can be made for Swedish:

- (iv) Proper name and definite possessor phrases are more likely to take the s-genitive than indefinite possessor phrases.

If the possessor is a proper name or explicitly marked with a definite article, it is more likely to take the s-genitive, as this construction places the familiar element first.

To sum up, the primary aim of this study is to investigate the possessive variation in Swedish with the focus on three constraints: animacy, definiteness, and length of the phrase. The hypothesis is that the Swedish s-genitive will favour human, definite, and shorter possessors. Given the fact that these factors correlate and influence each other, it is important to question the independence of each factor. The secondary aim of the study is to examine if the variables have an independent effect on genitive choice in Swedish or if any of them is only epiphenomenal. For that reason, a method of multivariate analysis using the statistical model of binary logistic regression has been chosen.

## 2.2 *The corpus and the annotation principles*

The study is based on a self-made newly compiled corpus of present-day Swedish texts. The texts represent three different registers, namely literary texts, press texts, and blog texts. These different registers have been chosen to ensure the diversity of language use. The fragments of texts have been chosen randomly from bigger samples. The empirical material is categorized under two time periods, i.e. November 2017 to January 2018 and November to December 2018. The corpus consists of 56 texts comprising 76 428 words, divided into three groups in the following way:

Literary texts: 26 038 words

Press texts: 25 086 words

Blog texts: 25 304 words

The literary texts in the corpus include fragments from 11 novels written between 2004 and 2014 by Swedish authors. All of the novels were retrieved in an e-book format. The fragments that were on average 2 367 words long were chosen randomly. The newspaper texts include 22 texts that comprise both short news reports and longer reportage pieces and essays. The texts were retrieved from Open Access articles published in the Swedish newspapers: *Aftonbladet*, *Expressen*, and *Dagens Nyheter*, as well as Open Access articles published in popular science magazines: *Forskning & Framsteg* and *Språkbruk*. All of the articles were published on-line between November 2015 and November 2017. The average length of the fragments is 1 140 words, however, it is important to note that news reports are much shorter, ca. 700 words, whereas essays and reportage pieces are represented by longer fragments of ca. 1 700 words. The blog texts chosen for the corpus include 23 fragments. The blogs written by Swedish native speakers were chosen randomly through Google searches. The length of the blog posts functioned as the main criterion for choosing a given blog. The fragments of texts are on average 1 100 words long. Multiple texts were at times chosen from the same blog, with the restriction that not more than three blog posts in the corpus were written by the same author. All of the blog texts were published on-line between June 2014 and November 2017.

The corpus texts were processed with the help of a computer programme called *DiaPoss* (for a similar tool see Skrzypek et al. 2021), which was tailor-made for the corpus analysis in this particular project. The programme facilitates text analysis, as it shows one sentence from the text at a time and each word may be annotated on previously defined levels of information, such as e.g., possessive construction, animacy, definiteness, and so on. Based on the entered information and different combinations of tags, the programme provides simple statistics. The texts were hand searched in order to ensure that all of the instances of possessive constructions were included. The constructions with the interchangeable s-genitives and prepositional phrases were then tagged manually. It is perhaps important to note, that there is an available large corpus of Swedish texts *Språkbanken* developed by a research team at University of Gothenburg. The annotated corpus is an invaluable research tool; however, the present study is a small part of a larger project where historical texts (dated from 12<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> century) are compared to present-day texts in Swedish and Danish. For this reason, the corpora selected and the methods of annotating and analysing the texts had to be comparable. The corpus used in the present study is thus relatively small, but the results are nonetheless worth to be reported.

As the main criterion for data selection was the interchangeability of the s-genitive construction and PP construction, every example was carefully analysed as to whether the use of the alternative construction would be possible. In case of any doubt, the corpus of *Språkbanken* was thoroughly searched for the corresponding construction. For instance, to check if *regeringens plan* 'the government's plan' is interchangeable with a PP construction, I searched for the phrase *planen hos* 'the plan of' and checked if such a phrase shows up with human or collective possessors. If the search of *Språkbanken* resulted in more than 100 uses of the phrase, I accepted it into the corpus as an instance of an interchangeable possessive construction. Following the same logic, some instances of the s-genitive were excluded from the study, mainly possessives indicating the notion of legal OWNERSHIP and DISPOSAL which are not regularly expressed through prepositional phrases (Hammarberg & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2003),

lexicalized phrases with nouns *sort* or *slag* 'kind' (*en sorts grön bil* 'some sort of a green car'), and lexicalized or idiomatic phrases (*dagens rätt* 'meal of the day'). Some of the examples in the data include non-determiner genitives, specifically those indicating measure or time (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2002b), as they are representative examples of the interchangeability of the s-genitive and prepositional phrases (see Example 12).

(12) a. *s-genitive*  
*en två timmar-s resa*  
 INDF two hour-POSS travel  
 'A **two hours** travel'

b. *prepositional phrase*  
*en resa på två timmar*  
 INDF travel on two hours  
 'A travel of **two hours**'

Further, the so-called 'type' phrases (e.g., *den typen av forskning* 'this type of research') were excluded from the study. Similarly, possessives with an elliptic possessor or possessum phrases (see e.g., Menzel 2016) were excluded from the study. Note that only possessive constructions containing NPs with proper names or common nouns are included in the study, no pronominal possessors are thus included.

The remaining occurrences of possessor and possessum phrases were annotated in the DiaPoss programme according to the following information:

- possessive expression (S-GENITIVE or PP)
- definiteness of the possessor (PROPER NAME, DEFINITE, POSSESSIVE, ZERO, INDEFINITE)
- animacy of the possessor (HUMAN, ANIMAL, COLLECTIVE, TEMPORAL, SPATIAL, INANIMATE)

- animacy of the possessum (HUMAN, ANIMAL, COLLECTIVE, TEMPORAL, SPATIAL, INANIMATE)
- length of the possessor (in syllable count)
- length of the possessum (in syllable count)

With respect to the length of possessor/possessum phrases, I use syllable count as means of measuring length. The syllables are defined as components that include one vowel, namely components of type CV, VC or CVC, in which the number of consonants is not restricted, e.g., the composition CCVCC still makes up only one syllable, as in the word *snabbt* 'quick'. Numerous studies on linguistic variation that take into account the length of the phrase make use of word counts (Berlage 2014: 33; Kreyer 2003) as the easiest and most convenient means to operationalize phrase length. There are also numerous studies that make use of the syllable count instead of the word count, taking into consideration the phonological complexity of the constituents in a phrase and its prosodic properties (Benor & Levy 2006; Pinker & Birdsong 1979). In Swedish, in which compounding is a very productive means to coin words, the number of words and the number of syllables is bound to show some differences. Below two one-word possessors are presented, the first one (Example 13), however, is clearly longer (6 syllables) than the second one (Example 14). Note also the discrepancy between Swedish and English here, where Swedish uses one word, English might use two or three words. Furthermore, note that the Swedish definite article is a suffix, but the indefinite article is a separate graphemic word, compare: *mannen* 'the man' (one word, two syllables), *en man* 'a man' (two words, two syllables). For these reasons, syllable counts are the best suited means to measure the length for Swedish.

(13) *snuttifieringen av kommunikationen* (Holmberg 2017a)

'the fragmentation of the communication.'

(14) [...] *åsikterna som kommer från mäns mun tas på större allvar.* (crobinlarsson 2017)

'[...] the opinions that come from **men's** mouths are taken more seriously.'

The methods of data analysis are largely quantitative. I use an array of statistical tools, such as the chi-square test of independence, binary logistic regression, and classification tree analysis (see Elliott & Woodward 2007) to measure the correlations between particular constraints and to check which constraints are significant (and if so, to what degree) for the selection of the s-genitive vs. the prepositional construction. All statistical tests were conducted with the IBM SPSS Statistics programme.

### 3. The overall distribution of s-genitive and prepositional phrases

In this section I present the overall distribution of the s-genitive and prepositional phrases in the corpus with regard to three factors: animacy, length, and definiteness. To see if there is any correlation between these variables and the selection of the possessive construction (s-genitive or PPs), contingency tables are presented for each variable along with the results of the chi-square test of independence.

The annotation process described in Section 2.2 rendered 1 270 exchangeable possessive expressions in total. The s-genitive construction occurs more often in the material. The overall frequencies are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. The overall frequency of the s-genitive and the prepositional phrases

Possessive construction	Frequency	Percentage
s-genitive	698	55.0%
prepositional phrases	572	45.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1 270</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

#### 3.1 Animacy

Table 3 illustrates the distribution of the values of possessor animacy within the use of s-genitive and prepositional phrases. With respect to the total values, inanimate possessors are the most frequent in the material (they constitute nearly half of all the possessors), followed by human, spatial, and collective possessors. The dominating frequency of inanimate possessors is not surprising, since some of the most typical

possessive notions involving human possessors (LEGAL OWNERSHIP and DISPOSAL) had to be excluded from the study, as they cannot be expressed with prepositional phrases in Swedish.

Table 3. Distribution of animacy values within s-genitive and prepositional phrases

<b>Animacy of the possessor</b>	<b>Count &amp; percentage</b>	<b>s-gen</b>	<b>PP</b>	<b>Total</b>
HUMAN	Count	260	59	319
	% within Animacy	81.5%	18.5%	100.0%
	% within Possessive construction	37.2%	10.3%	25.1%
ANIMAL	Count	4	3	7
	% within Animacy	57.1%	42.9%	100.0%
	% within Possessive construction	0.6%	0.5%	0.6%
COLLECTIVE	Count	87	35	122
	% within Animacy	71.3%	28.7%	100.0%
	% within Possessive construction	12.5%	6.1%	9.6%
SPATIAL	Count	63	70	133
	% within Animacy	47.4%	52.6%	100.0%
	% within Possessive construction	9.0%	12.2%	10.5%
TEMPORAL	Count	61	14	75
	% within Animacy	81.3%	18.7%	100.0%
	% within Possessive construction	8.7%	2.4%	5.9%
INANIMATE	Count	223	391	614
	% within Animacy	36.3%	63.7%	100.0%
	% within Possessive construction	31.9%	68.4%	48.3%
Total	Count	698	572	1 270
	% within Animacy	55.0%	45.0%	100.0%
	% within Possessive construction	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$$\chi^2 = 214.354, df = 5, p < 0.001$$

A Chi-square test of independence was performed to test the association between the animacy of the possessor, on the one hand, and the possessive construction (s-genitive or PPs), on the other. The null hypothesis is the following: the animacy of the possessor is not associated with the possessive construction. Since the p-value reported under Table 3 is lower than 0.001,<sup>3</sup> and thus the probability of Type I error is very small, I decide to reject the null hypothesis and state that there is, in fact, a significant association between the possessor animacy and the possessive construction. The

second row of results for each animacy value (% within Animacy) in Table 3 shows how many of all human/collective/spatial, and so on, possessors occur with the s-genitive and how many with PPs. It is clear that the majority of human, collective, and temporal possessors strongly prefer the s-genitive construction. Spatial possessors are split nearly evenly, with a slight preference for PPs, while inanimate possessors strongly prefer prepositional constructions. I disregard the animal possessors here, since there is not enough data in the material to draw any conclusions for this category.

Overall, looking at the proportions of particular animacy values within all the examples of a given construction (row % within *Possessive construction* in Table 3), we observe that the s-genitive occurs most often with human possessors (37.2%), but inanimate possessors are also quite frequent (31.9%). Prepositional constructions, on the other hand, occur most frequently with inanimate possessors (68.4% of all PPs), followed by spatial possessors (12.2%). Only 10.2% of all prepositional constructions occur with human possessors. The association of the two variables is then clear: while the s-genitive occurs with human and inanimate possessors in almost equal proportions, prepositional phrases strongly prefer inanimate possessors. This confirms hypothesis (i) stated in Section 2.1, namely, that the more animate the possessor is, the more likely it is to occur with the s-genitive.

Further, it is worthwhile to look into the frequencies of particular combinations of possessor and possessum phrases with regard to their animacy. It is widely accepted that the animacy scale is discernible in noun-noun relations in that the referent higher on the animacy scale will precede the referent lower on the same scale (Dahl & Fraurud 1996; Rosenbach 2005). Dahl and Fraurud (1996: 53) note that in Swedish a human referent will usually precede an inanimate referent (in their terminology: person and non-person referent respectively) both in nominal phrases and clauses. In their study of subject and object positions in transitive sentences, more than 97% of sentences in the studied corpus follow the constraint that the subject should not be lower than the object as regards animacy (*ibid.*, 53-54). They also analyse preposed NP modifiers,

namely the possessive constructions with the s-genitive or pronouns, their results are given in Table 4.

Table 4. Distribution of genitive NPs according to animacy of possessor and possessum phrases in Dahl & Fraurud (1996: 55)

Possessor	Possessum	Frequency	Percent
human	inanimate	608	43.1%
inanimate	inanimate	674	47.8%
human	human	93	6.6%
inanimate	human	36	2.5%
Total		1 411	100.0%

In their study, only 2.5% of possessive phrases do not follow the constraint that the 'more animate' referent should precede the 'less animate' referent. In comparing these results with the results of the present study it is important to recall that the number of instances of possessive NPs is over twice as large in Dahl & Fraurud (1996), but the data also includes possessive determiners other than the s-genitive, which is not the case for the present study. Furthermore, the authors do not mention excluding certain possessive expressions, so I assume that such relationships as OWNERSHIP or DISPOSAL (which occur almost exclusively with human referents) are included in the data. The distribution of the s-genitive NPs according to animacy of the possessor and possessum phrases in the present dataset is given in Table 5. Note that in this study the scale of animacy is more detailed and includes collective, spatial, and temporal referents.

Table 5. Distribution of s-genitive NPs according to animacy of possessor and possessum phrases in the present study

Animacy of the possessor	Animacy of the possessum			Total
	HUMAN	COLLECTIVE	INANIMATE	
HUMAN	1.9% (13)	0.6% (4)	35.0% (242)	37.4% (259)
COLLECTIVE	1.1% (8)	1.6% (11)	9.8% (68)	12.6% (87)
SPATIAL	2.0% (14)	0.4% (3)	6.5% (45)	8.9% (62)
TEMPORAL	1.3% (9)	0.9% (6)	6.6% (46)	8.8% (61)

INANIMATE	2.0%	1.0%	29.2%	32.2%
	(14)	(7)	(202)	(223)
Total	8.4%	4.5%	86.4%	100.0%
	(58)	(31)	(598)	(692)

Since there are only six instances of animal referents in the corpus, they are excluded from the results. What is more, temporal and spatial possessum phrases are not listed in Table 5 as there were no examples of such referents. Overall, the vast majority of possessum phrases include inanimate referents, which confirms Dahl and Fraurud's findings. Combinations of human and collective referents in the s-genitive constructions (Examples 15-16) are quite rare (together they make up 5.2% of all examples).

(15) [...] *hade han förvissat sig om att **Stefan Löfvens** statssekreterare nåtts av informationen.* (Bjereld 2017)

'[...] he had made sure that the information reached **Stefan Löfven's** state secretary.'

(16) [...] *med hjälp av bundsförvanten Hjalmar Branting, **Socialdemokraternas** partiordförande.* (Ohlsson 2017)

'with the help of the ally Hjalmar Branting, **The Social Democrats'** chairman.'

Further, Examples 17 and 18 illustrate that spatial and temporal possessor referents are most frequently combined with inanimate possessum referents.

(17) *Expressen på 1970-talet var **Sveriges** största tidning [...]* (Boëthius 2017)

'In the 1970s, Expressen was **Sweden's** largest newspaper [...]

(18) [...] *och antog en resolution som bland annat krävde rösträtt för kvinnor och **åtta timmars** arbetsdag.* (Ohlsson 2017)

'[...] and adopted a resolution demanding, among other things, voting rights for women and an **eight-hour** working day.'

As regards inanimate possessors, there are few examples of the combination inanimate possessor + human/collective possessum (Example 19). However, if one counts the three inanimate categories together (spatial, temporal, and inanimate), the s-genitive examples that do not follow the animacy scale (animate before inanimate) constitute 7.7% of all examples (see Example 20).

(19) *Beslutet hälsades med jubel från **skolidrottens främjare**.* (Sörlin 2016)

'The decision was greeted with cheers from **school sports' promoters**.'

(20) *Trots att tjänsten är relativt nylanserad är redan tiotusentals av **Sveriges högstadieelever anslutna till Albert**.* (Kickstarta läsåret... 2017)

'Despite the fact that the service is relatively newly launched, tens of thousands of **Sweden's high school students** are already connected to Albert.'

The overall results confirm that animate referents tend to precede inanimate referents in the s-genitive constructions. This is, however, not dependable on the relative order of the phrases (the pre- or postposition of the possessor phrase), but rather on the internal hierarchy in a possessive construction in which one referent is a modifier of another referent. This is also discernible in the prepositional constructions in the study, where the least frequent combinations are: human/collective possessor + human/collective possessum (4.4% of all PPs), and inanimate possessor + human/collective possessum (6.6% of all PPs). Examples 21 and 22 below illustrate these types of constructions.

(21) *Föräldrarna till **intersex-barn** måste dock samråda med läkare och noggrann psykologisk undersökning genomförs.* (Rönberg 2017b)

'However, the parents of **intersex children** must consult a doctor and a thorough psychological examination is undertaken.'

(22) *För det är dessa påverkansarbetare som är de skickligaste aktörerna i samhällsdebatten.* (RetorikKalle 2015)

'Because it is these influential workers who are the most skilled actors in **the public debate.**'

As Example 22 illustrates, the decision whether the PP can function as a possessor or just as an adverbial in the clause was not always straightforward. As long as it could be reformulated into the s-genitive, which is the case here, it was accepted into the dataset.

In conclusion, it seems that there are simply not many contexts or relationships in which human referents will be acceptable as head nouns in possessive constructions, with the exception of KINSHIP and SOCIAL ROLE relations.

### 3.2 Length

With regard to length of the phrase, the descriptive statistics (including the mean, median, and range) for the possessor phrases in both constructions are given in Table 6.

Table 6. Length of possessor phrases (syllable count) in s-genitive and PPs

Possessor length	s-gen	PP
N	698	572
<b>Mean</b>	<b>3.69</b>	<b>5.05</b>
Median	3.00	4.00
Std. Deviation	1.987	3.049
Range	20	19
Minimum	1	1
Maximum	21	20

Additionally, Figure 1 shows the boxplots for respective constructions. In a boxplot graph, the box constitutes 50% of the data, while each of the so-called inner fences constitutes 25% of the data. The dots and asterisks indicate outliers, namely the

singular high values that are abnormally far from the central values (the box) and thus tend to make the mean higher.

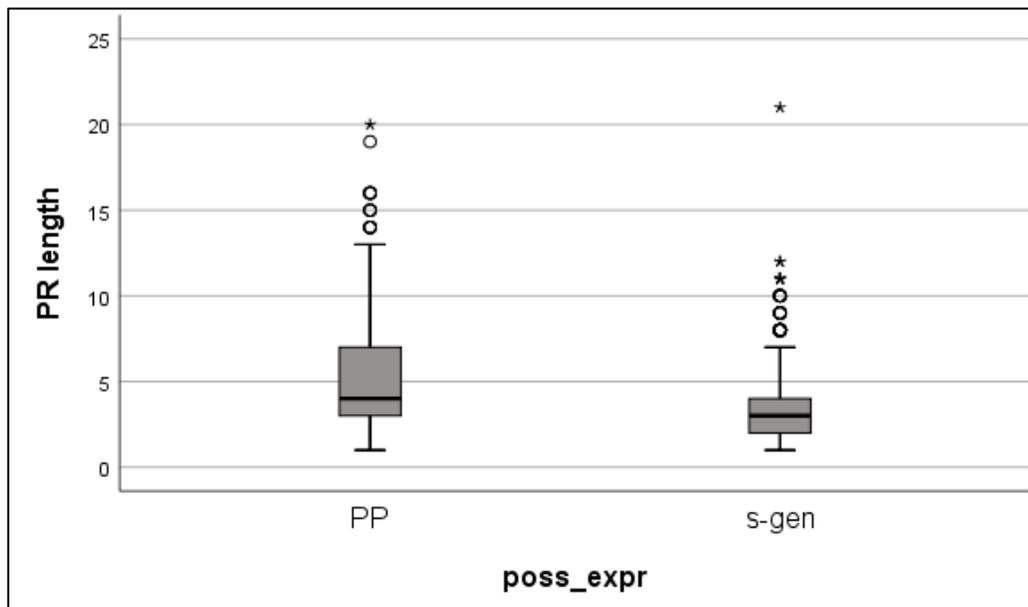


Figure 1. Boxplots illustrating possessor length in s-genitive and PPs

The length of the possessor is on average longer in prepositional constructions than in the s-genitive in the dataset, which confirms hypothesis (iii) stated in Section 2.1, namely, the longer the possessor is the more likely it is to occur with prepositional phrases. The median of the possessor length is also higher in prepositional phrases, albeit only by one syllable. The boxplots clearly illustrate that possessor length in PP constructions is more dispersed as there are more data points with higher values. The range of possessor length is nearly identical for both constructions, as examples with extremely long possessor phrases can be found with both the s-genitive and PPs. Some examples with the shortest and longest possessor phrases in the dataset are presented below (23-26).

(23) s-genitive, 1 syllable possessor:

*Klart är i vart fall barns spontansång och fysiska rörlighet är viktiga inslag: [...]. (Rönberg 2017a)*

'It is clear in which cases **children's** spontaneous singing and physical activity are important elements: [...].'

(24) s-genitive, 21 syllable possessor

*Närmare bestämt **den norske professorn i musikvetenskap och barnkultur Jon-Roar Bjørkvolds** bok från 1989.* (Rönnerberg 2017a)

'More specifically, **the Norwegian professor of musicology and children's culture Jon-Roar Bjørkvold's** book from 1989.'

(25) prepositional phrase, 1 syllable possessor

*Jag motsätter mig dock starkt att vuxna medvetet ska sätta griller i huvudet på **barn**, mer än de redan gör.* (Rönnerberg 2017b)

'However, I strongly oppose adults deliberately putting fads in the heads of **children**, more than they already do.'

(26) prepositional phrase, 20 syllable possessor

*Med inslag av **både spel, humor och situationer hämtade från verkliga livet** [...].* (Kickstarta läsåret... 2017)

'With elements of **both games, humour and situations taken from real life** [...].'

Table 7 illustrates the length of the possessum phrase for both the s-genitive and PP constructions.

Table 7. Length of possessum phrases (syllable count) in s-genitive and PPs

Possessum length	s-gen	PP
N	698	572
<b>Mean</b>	<b>4.33</b>	<b>4.17</b>
Median	4.00	4.00
Std. Deviation	2.823	2.260
Range	24	15
Minimum	1	1
Maximum	25	16

In Figure 2, the boxplots for possessum length in both constructions are displayed. The box and fences corresponding to the s-genitive construction are visibly longer than those corresponding to the PP construction.

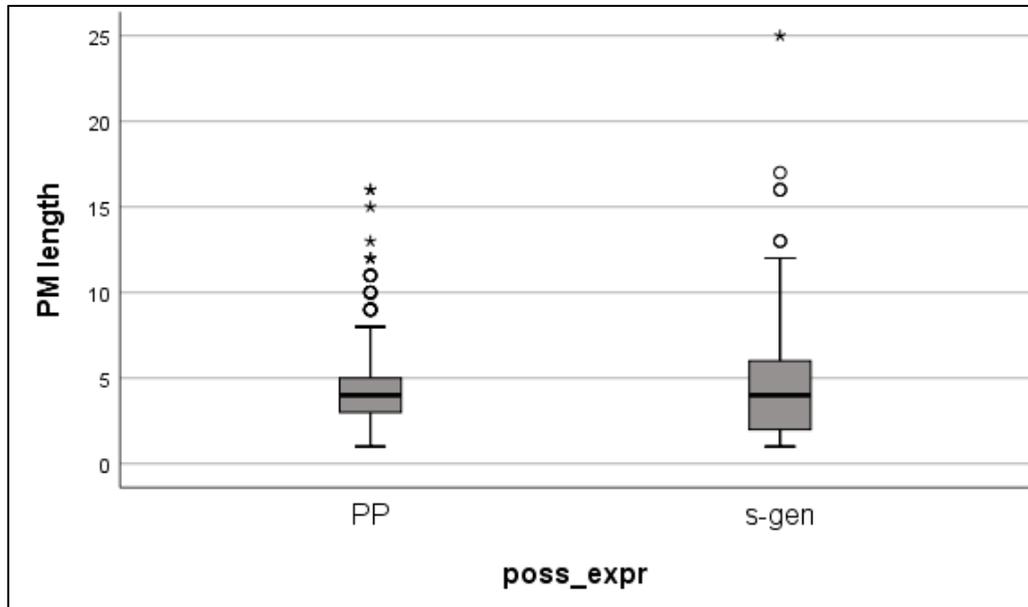


Figure 2. Boxplots illustrating possessum length in s-genitive and PPs

Possessum phrases are on average longer in the s-genitive construction than in the PP construction, which is expected and it confirms the hypothesis that the longer of the two phrases occurs second in a possessive construction. The difference in means is admittedly not very large and the median is the same for both constructions, but the boxplot clearly illustrates that possessum length in the s-genitive construction is more dispersed and varied. Half of the possessum phrases in s-genitive have between 2 and 6 syllables (the grey box illustrates 50% of the data), while the same range for PPs is between 3 and 5 syllables. Further, at least 25% of the possessum phrases in s-genitive are between 6 and 12 syllables long, while for PPs it is only a range of 5 to 8 syllables. The overall range for possessum length is also much larger for the s-genitive than for the PPs. Some examples with the shortest and longest possessum phrases in the dataset are presented in Examples 27-30.

(27) s-genitive, 1 syllable possessum

*Bara under oktober hade denna pandemi släckt nästan 10 000 svenskars liv.*  
(Ohlsson 2017)

'In October alone, this pandemic had extinguished almost **10 000 Swedes' lives.'**

(28) s-genitive, 25 syllable possessum

*I den står bland annat om den digitala miljöns betydelse för 10-17-åringars sätt att utforska och utforma sin individuella och kollektiva identitet.* (Rönnerberg 2017c)

'It states, among other things, the importance of the digital environment for **10-17-year-olds' way of exploring and shaping their individual and collective identity.'**

(29) prepositional phrase, 1 syllable possessum

*Självklart måste man ha stöd i riksdagen och de får ytterst ta ställning.*  
(Silverberg 2017)

'Of course, you must have support of **the Riksdag** and they must ultimately take a stand.'

(30) prepositional phrase, 16 syllable possessum

*Brittiska Tories lämnade den stora kristdemokratiska/konservativa gruppen i Europaparlamentet och bildade en egen grupp.* (Andersson 2014)

'The British Tories left the large Christian Democratic/Conservative group in **the European Parliament** and formed their own group.'

Comparing the lengths of the possessor and possessum phrases we observe that, indeed, in both constructions the phrases that are on average longer occur second (possessum phrase for the s-genitive construction, but possessor phrase for the PP construction). As mentioned, however, the difference between the lengths of possessum phrases in the two studied constructions is not very large. In short, analysing the variable of weight separately shows that it is the possessor length factor that is of potential

importance for the choice of the possessive construction in the studied material. The results confirm the prediction that the prepositional phrase construction tends to have longer possessor phrases.

### 3.3 Definiteness

Table 8 illustrates the distribution of definiteness of the possessor phrase both for s-genitive and prepositional phrases. As regards the total number of different categories of definiteness, explicitly definite possessor phrases are the most common in the dataset as they constitute nearly half of all of the possessors. Proper name possessors are the second most common followed by indefinite possessors and quite infrequent zero-marked and possessed phrases.

Table 8. Distribution of definiteness values across s-genitive and prepositional phrases

<b>Definiteness of the possessor</b>	<b>Count &amp; Percentage</b>	<b>s-gen</b>	<b>PP</b>	<b>Raw total</b>
PROPER NAME	Count	245	122	367
	% within Definiteness	66.8%	33.2%	100.0%
	% within Possessive construction	35.1%	21.3%	28.9%
DEFINITE	Count	355	257	612
	% within Definiteness	58.0%	42.0%	100.0%
	% within Possessive construction	50.9%	44.9%	48.2%
POSSESSIVE	Count	19	17	36
	% within Definiteness	52.8%	47.2%	100.0%
	% within Possessive construction	2.7%	3.0%	2.8%
ZERO-MARKED	Count	2	37	39
	% within Definiteness	5.1%	94.9%	100.0%
	% within Possessive construction	0.3%	6.5%	3.1%
INDEFINITE	Count	77	139	216
	% within Definiteness	35.6%	64.4%	100.0%
	% within Possessive construction	11.0%	24.3%	17.0%
Total	Count	698	572	1 270
	% within Definiteness	55.0%	45.0%	100.0%
	% within Possessive construction	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$$\chi^2 = 94.665, df = 4, p < 0.001$$

A Chi-square test of independence was performed to test the association between the definiteness of the possessor and the possessive construction. The null hypothesis can be stated as follows: there is no significant association between the possessor's definiteness and the possessive construction. With the very small p-value there is very little probability for Type I error, so we can reject the null hypothesis and state that there is a statistically significant association between the two.

Analysing the second row of the results for each value in Table 8 (row % *within Definiteness*), we observe that proper names and definite possessors strongly favour the s-genitive construction, while indefinite possessor phrases strongly favour prepositional constructions. This is in line with the hierarchy of accessibility as operationalized in O'Connor et al. (2013: 98), namely proper name referents as the most accessible and familiar in the context of the discourse occur much more often in s-genitive than in PP constructions, as the former construction places that referent first. The same goes for definite possessor phrases, although the distribution of the proper name possessors across the two constructions clearly illustrates that they are most commonly used with the s-genitive. The two last categories, zero-marked and indefinite possessors, are marginal in the data as each of them accounts for ca. 3% of possessors. Possessors that are themselves head nouns in possessive constructions (and thus semantically definite and accessible) are evenly distributed between the two constructions, while zero-marked possessors, which are semantically indefinite, are overwhelmingly frequent with prepositional constructions rather than the s-genitive. Examples of these less frequently encountered constructions are presented below (31-32).

(31) *Jag vill till och med hävda att detta rör sig om **min identitets kärna** [...].*  
(Rönnerberg 2017c)

'I even want to claim that this is about **my identity's core** [...].'

(32) *Johanna har alltid haft ett gott omdöme. Sett och förstått hans potential, också i stunder av **motgång och nederlag**.* (Eriksson 2014)

'Johanna has always had a good judgement. Seen and understood his potential, even in moments of **adversity and defeat**.'

The hypothesis set forward in Section 2.2, namely that proper name and definite possessor phrases will favour the s-genitive construction is confirmed. The tendency for the s-genitive to 'dislike' indefinite possessor phrases is also verified by the data, as only 11% of all possessors in s-genitive are indefinite. Since the s-genitive possessors are expected to be largely explicitly definite, it is worthwhile to explore the indefinite possessor phrases in the dataset. Out of 77 indefinite possessors in s-genitive 60 (77.9%) possessors are plural (see Examples 33-34).

(33) *Grunden i det rasistiska tänkandet är därmed att **människors** egenskaper och plats i världen bestäms och kan förklaras av deras hudfärg, religion eller härkomst.* (Hagren Idevall 2017)

'The basis of racist thinking is thus that **people's** characteristics and place in the world are determined and can be explained by their skin colour, religion or origin.'

(34) *[...] men den stora skillnaden mellan **barns och vuxnas** förmåga att lära sig språk ligger i att lära sig uttala och uppfatta främmande språkliga ljud.* (Holmberg 2017b)

'[...] but the big difference between **children's and adults'** ability to learn languages lies in learning pronunciation and discerning foreign linguistic sounds.'

There is no plural indefinite article in Swedish. Thus, these results indicate that, firstly, the s-genitive in general disfavours indefinite possessors, and secondly, it particularly disfavours indefinite possessors in singular (those that are overtly marked with an indefinite article). There are only 17 examples of singular indefinite possessors in the

s-genitive; they constitute 2.4% of all possessors in s-genitive. In comparison, half of all indefinite possessors in prepositional constructions are singular (69 out of 139); they constitute 12.1% of all possessors in PPs. The few examples of singular indefinite possessors in s-genitive include 4 temporal possessors (35), and 13 common nouns denoting non-specific individuals (36) or generic referents (37-38).

(35) *[...] efter mindre än en kvart hade jag skrivit under kontraktet, betalat det överenskomna priset för **ett halvårs hyra**, 3 000 pund kontant.* (Nesser 2013)

'[...] after less than a quarter of an hour I had signed the contract, paid the agreed price for **a half-year's rent**, 3 000 pounds in cash.'

(36) *Tankegångarna om **en enskild individs många (!) "flytande" identiteter** är förstås ett symptom på globala förändringar [...]* (Rönnerberg 2017c)

'The idea of **a single individual's many (!) "fluid" identities** is of course a symptom of global change [...]

(37) *Hon begrep inte ens det allra mest elementära med **en Gryffindorhalsduks symbolik**.* (Backman 2013)

'She didn't even understand what was the most elementary with **a Gryffindor scarf's symbolism**.'

(38) *Det ingår i **en advokats dna** att larma och göra sig till och deras retorik bör inte alltid tas på alltför stort allvar.* (Cantwell 2017)

'It is part of **a lawyer's DNA** to alert and pretend, and their rhetoric should not always be taken too seriously.'

Overall, the results clearly show that the possibility of using a singular, indefinite common noun as a possessor with the s-genitive is very limited in Swedish and the tendency for selecting proper name and definite possessors in the s-genitive construction is very strong.

The definiteness of the possessum phrase cannot be taken as a variable in the multivariate analysis presented in the next section, since the possessum in the s-genitive construction is never overtly marked with neither definite nor indefinite article (because of article-possessor complementarity in Swedish). What is more, there seems to be a general consensus that the s-genitive possessor renders the head noun definite (e.g., Lyons 1999; Rosenbach 2005), even though there is ample research stating that possessum phrases in s-genitive constructions need not be definite (e.g., Willemse et al. 2009). It is, thus, interesting to analyse the results of the possessum definiteness in prepositional phrases, as the logical assumption is that if the possessum is explicitly indefinite, the prepositional construction will be selected over the s-genitive. Figure 3 shows the distribution of 572 possessum phrases in prepositional constructions as regards their definiteness.

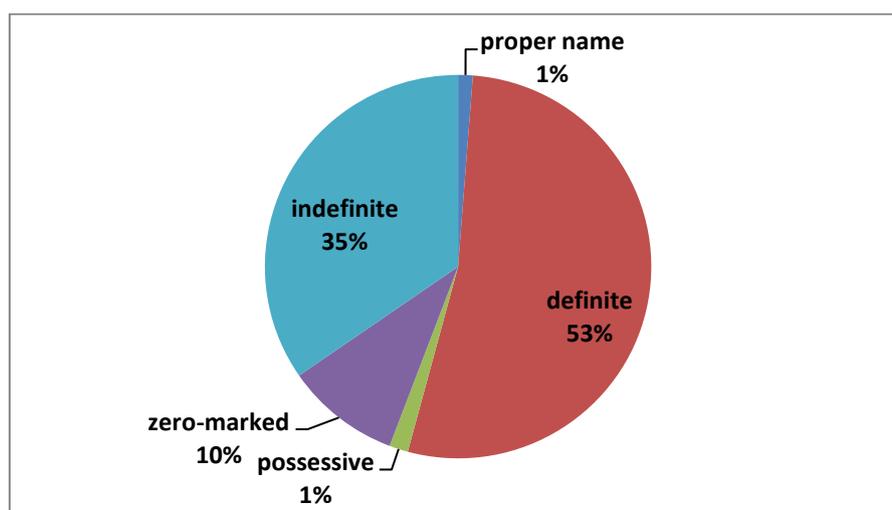


Figure 3. Distribution of possessum definiteness values in prepositional phrases

While most of the possessum phrases are definite in PP constructions, there is also a large proportion of indefinite possessum phrases (see Examples 39-40).

(39) *Att kategorisera är en grundläggande funktion i **språket**.* (Hagren Idevall 2017)

'Categorizing is a fundamental function of **language**.'

(40) *"Strangers in their own land" Om en bok av Arlie Russell Hochschild.*

(Demker 2017)

' "Strangers in their own land" About a book by Arlie Russell Hochschild.'

Even though definiteness of the possessum phrase is not a comparable constraint in the s-genitive and the PP construction, there are good grounds to claim that if the possessum phrase is indefinite, it will probably occur in the prepositional construction rather than in the s-genitive.

#### **4. Multivariate analysis**

To outline the influence of multiple conditioning factors on the choice of possessive constructions, the results of a binary logistic regression are reported in this section. This statistical tool allows for building a predictive model that will show how great the probability of the s-genitive occurring is, given the three variables: animacy, length, and definiteness. Additionally, the fourth factor is added here that accounts for the differences in register of the corpus texts (namely literary, press, and blog texts). The model will also provide information on which of the variables is the most prominent, while simultaneously controlling for all of the other variables in the model.

Binary logistic regression fits a model for one dependent variable that can only take one of two values (for introduction see Elliott & Woodward 2007). In this study the dependent variable is the presence of the s-genitive. The two values that our dependent variable adopts are thus *yes* meaning *presence of the s-genitive* and *no* meaning *absence of the s-genitive* (or in other words *no* means *presence of the PP construction* since this is the only remaining choice). The regression model is used to predict the probability of the s-genitive occurring given the list of the independent variables (i.e. predictor factors). Logistic regression measures the effect size of each variable and specifies the direction of the effect of each variable. Overall, the model allows one to rank the relative importance of the predictor variables in explaining the genitive choice by calculating the log-odds ratios, which measure the importance of each factor.

The results of the binary logistic regression are presented in Table 9. The first four variables in Table 9 are categorical variables. For each categorical variable one category is selected as a baseline category, to which the other categories within the same variable are compared. For example, within the REGISTER variable, 'blog' is the baseline category so the other two registers are compared to 'blog'. As already mentioned, definiteness of the possessum is not included in the model, as it could not be annotated for the s-genitive and thus cannot be compared across the two constructions. Animacy of the possessum is entered into the model, but as we will see it is not significant. Length of possessor and possessum are continuous variables measured in number of syllables.

Table 9. Binary logistic regression model for the s-genitive vs. PPs

	Independent variables	Estimate (B Coefficient)	Std. Error	Significance	Odds ratios
	<b>Intercept</b>	-0.403	0.344	0.242	0.668
REGISTER	<b>blog</b>	-	-	0.371	-
	<b>literary vs. blog</b>	0.227	0.191	0.234	1.255
	<b>press vs. blog</b>	-0.003	0.162	0.985	0.997
PR_ANIMACY	<b>inanimate</b>	-	-	<b>0.000</b>	-
	<b>human vs. inanimate</b>	<b>2.338</b>	<b>0.208</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>10.362</b>
	<b>animal vs. inanimate</b>	0.981	0.878	0.264	2.668
	<b>collective vs. inanimate</b>	<b>1.734</b>	<b>0.300</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>5.664</b>
	<b>spatial vs. inanimate</b>	-0.367	0.253	0.146	0.693
	<b>temporal vs. inanimate</b>	<b>1.885</b>	<b>0.355</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>6.586</b>
PM_ANIMACY	<b>inanimate</b>	-	-	0.813	-
	<b>human vs. inanimate</b>	-0.244	0.359	0.497	0.783
	<b>animal vs. inanimate</b>	21.091	40192.9	1.000	144463 2163
	<b>collective vs. inanimate</b>	0.332	0.582	0.568	1.394
	<b>spatial vs. inanimate</b>	1.253	1.267	0.323	3.499
	<b>temporal vs. inanimate</b>	0.966	1.478	0.513	2.628
PR_DEFINITENESS	<b>indefinite</b>	-	-	<b>0.000</b>	-
	<b>proper name vs. indefinite</b>	<b>1.522</b>	<b>0.238</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>4.583</b>
	<b>definite vs. indefinite</b>	<b>1.207</b>	<b>0.209</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>3.345</b>
	<b>possessive vs. indefinite</b>	<b>1.131</b>	<b>0.436</b>	<b>0.010</b>	<b>3.098</b>
	<b>zero-marked vs. indefinite</b>	<b>-1.884</b>	<b>0.783</b>	<b>0.016</b>	<b>0.152</b>
PR_LENGTH		<b>-0.310</b>	<b>0.055</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>0.734</b>
PM_LENGTH		-0.028	0.052	0.583	0.972

The numbers in bold indicate the results that are statistically significant, with the p-value lower than 0.05. The variables that are not significant are: REGISTER, PM\_ANIMACY, and PM\_LENGTH, thus, they do not have a significant influence on the selection of the s-genitive vs. prepositional construction in the dataset. In the PR\_ANIMACY variable (animacy of the possessor), inanimate is the baseline category. The odds ratios indicate that, in comparison with inanimate possessors, human possessors are over 10 times more likely to occur with the s-genitive rather than with a prepositional construction. Collective possessors, in comparison with inanimate possessors, are 5.6 times more likely to occur with the s-genitive rather than prepositional phrases. Similarly, temporal possessors are 6.5 times more likely to occur with the s-genitive. Animal and spatial possessors are not significant in the model, either due to insufficient data (very few animal referents in the texts), or due to the lack of preference for either construction (spatial possessors, see Table 3 in Section 3.1). In sum, within animacy of the possessor human, collective, and temporal referents are shown to strongly favour the s-genitive construction in comparison with inanimate possessors. As mentioned, animacy of the possessum phrase is not significant, as was expected.

For the PR\_DEFINITENESS variable, all categories are statistically significant. Indefinite is the baseline category. Compared to indefinite possessors, proper names are 4.5 times more likely to occur with the s-genitive than PPs in the dataset. Definite possessors are 3.3 times more likely than indefinite possessors to take the s-genitive. Possessors that are modified by other possessives are also more likely to take the s-genitive than indefinite possessors. The only category here that is less likely than indefinite possessors to take the s-genitive is zero-marked possessors. These results confirm once again the hierarchy of accessibility, namely that proper names as the most accessible and familiar will most likely occur with the s-genitive, followed by definite possessors and finally by indefinite possessors.

As regards length, only the possessor length is significantly influencing the selection of the s-genitive. The odds ratios for possessor length are lower than 1 (0.734 to be exact) which indicates a negative correlation with the s-genitive. The longer the possessor phrase is, the less likely the occurrence of the s-genitive is. In other words, when the possessor length increases by one syllable, the log-odds for the s-genitive occurring decrease by ca. 26.6%.

It is important to note that the odds ratios measures for each variable control at the same time for all of the other variables in the model. If I only included the animacy variable into the model, the odds ratios would be different since they would not take into consideration the contribution of definiteness and length. To sum up, the human possessor is the single most powerful categorical predictor in the dataset, followed by temporal, collective, and proper name possessors. The hypothesis that the Swedish s-genitive has a strong preference for animate, definite and shorter possessors finds strong support in the empirical statistically significant results.

As regards the accuracy of the regression model, its overall predictive capacity is 73.2%. The accuracy of the baseline model (before any of the predictive variables were included) is 55.0%, so the improvement of the predictive capacity is impressive and statistically significant ( $\chi^2 = 436.703$ ,  $df = 30$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). This means that, thanks to the predictive variables, the statistical model is able to predict the occurrence of either the s-genitive or the prepositional construction correctly in 73.2% of cases.

To test which variable is the most decisive with regard to the genitive variation in the dataset, I use the Classification and Regression Tree analysis. This is a type of regression analysis that presents the data graphically in the form of a decision tree. The algorithm tests each independent variable separately and chooses the one that has the greatest impact on the selection of the s-genitive as opposed to the prepositional construction. The algorithm then repeats this process and splits the data into subsets

that can be visualised in the form of 'trees' with several 'branches' (or nodes). The decision tree for the selection of the s-genitive in the dataset is presented in Figure 4.

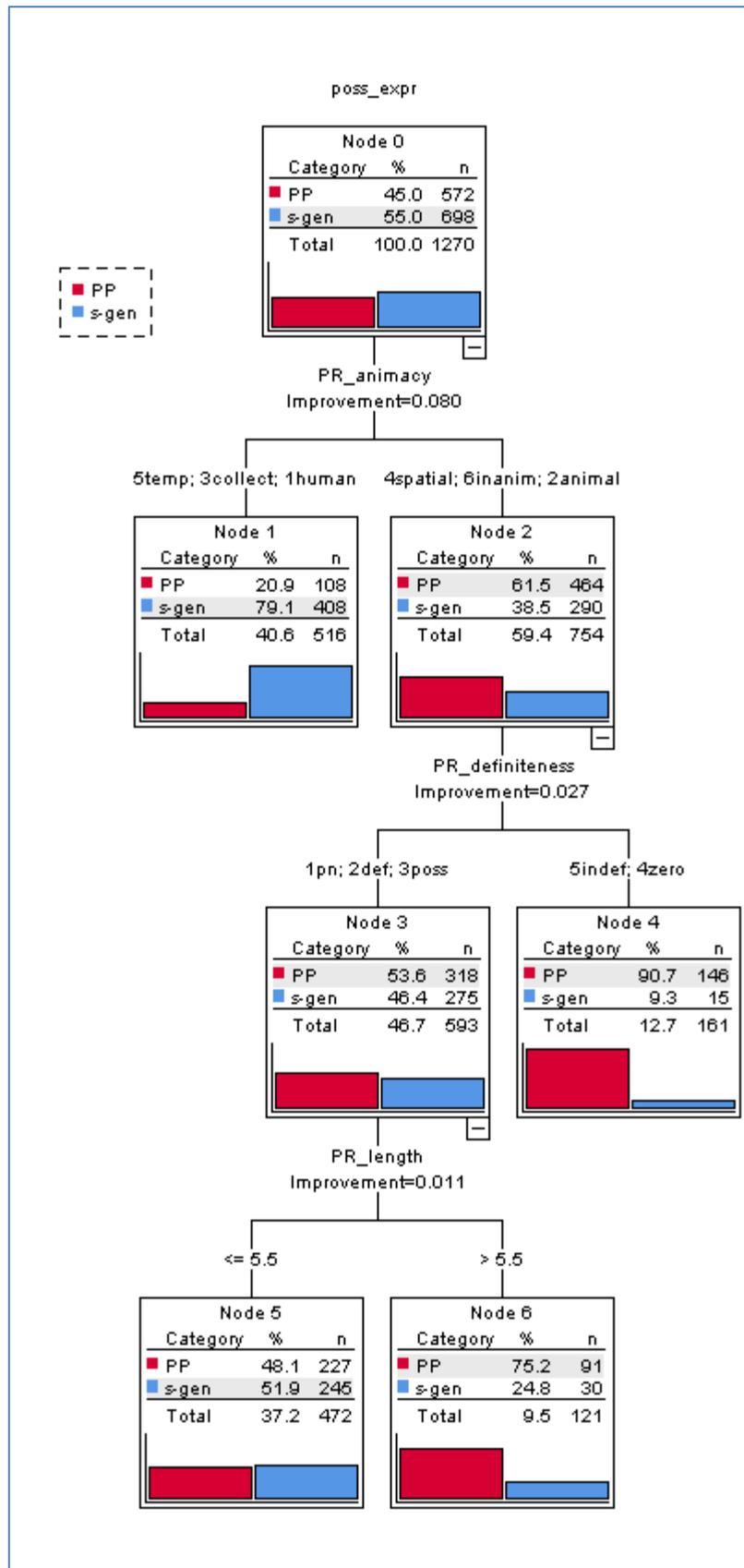


Figure 4. Classification and Regression Tree Analysis for the selection of the s-genitive

The tables and graphs in each node in Figure 4 show the exact distribution of the data. The first split in the data is determined by the animacy of the possessor: the s-genitive is strongly associated with human, collective, and temporal possessors (Node 1), while spatial and inanimate possessors are associated with the PP construction (Node 2). In the second split, out of the spatial and inanimate possessors, it is the proper name, definite and possessed possessor phrases that favour the s-genitive (Node 3). Indefinite and zero-marked possessors, on the other hand, strongly favour prepositional constructions. All this repeats the results of the binary logistic regression, but the decision tree further confirms that animacy of the possessor is the category that has the biggest impact on the selection of the possessive construction. The last split in Figure 4 is determined by possessor length. If the possessor is shorter or equal to 5.5 syllables, the s-genitive is nearly as frequent as the PPs (Node 5), but if the possessor is longer than 5.5 syllables the prepositional construction is strongly favoured (Node 6). Note that the last split concerns only spatial and inanimate possessors that are additionally proper names or definites (following the Nodes and splits from the top of the graph).

Table 10. The relative importance of the independent variables in the regression model

<b>Independent variable</b>	<b>Importance</b>	<b>Normalized importance</b>
PR_ANIMACY	0.080	100.0%
PR_DEFINITENESS	0.027	34.4%
PR_LENGTH	0.022	28.2%

Table 10 illustrates the importance of each significant variable as calculated based on the Classification and Regression Tree in Figure 4. Animacy of the possessor is the most important predictor in the dataset, much more impactful than definiteness and possessor length, whose contributions are very similar.

## 5. Conclusions

The analysis has shown that the choice of the possessive construction in present-day Swedish is determined by a number of interlinked linguistic factors. Animacy has the

greatest influence on the choice of the possessive construction in the dataset. Definiteness and possessor length account for a fair proportion of variation in the choice of the s-genitive, whereas possessum length, animacy of the possessum, and register of the corpus texts do not make any significant contribution to the model. The Swedish s-genitive, as reflected in the dataset, exhibits a strong preference for human and proper names or definite, and short possessor phrases. Further, it is important to note that the results for Swedish genitive variation are very similar to those for English genitive variation, with the exception of definiteness having a bigger impact on Swedish s-genitive phrases than on the English ones.

As regards the reasons for the influence of these particular predictor factors, it is clear that the preference for human possessors being realised with the s-genitive stems from the nature of possession itself. If we take a closer look at different semantic notions of possession, such as AUTHOR or ORIGINATOR (*my paper*), or KINSHIP and SOCIAL RELATIONS (*John's brother, John's neighbour*), we note that they almost exclusively involve a human possessor. Not to mention, other very common types of possession that also often include human possessor referents, for example, ATTRIBUTIVE possession (*John's fear, my mother's perseverance*) or ABSTRACT possession (*John's arrival, John's decision*). It has been often suggested that possessors in a possessive NP function as anchors or "reference point entities" that allow one to identify the referent in the possessum phrase.<sup>4</sup> The referent in the possessor phrase needs to be salient and easily identifiable in the context of discourse. Human referents are thus the best candidates as they are very frequent, often topical, and easily accessible in discourse. A similar point can be made with reference to the economic motivation in language. Since human possessors are simply the most frequent and salient in discourse, they are the most predictable possessors.<sup>5</sup> As such, human possessors take the shortest possible expression, which is the s-genitive, to account for the economic motive. At the same time, the s-genitive construction places the possessor referent before the head noun. The possessor that is salient, familiar, and first in a possessive

NP has the best chance to function as a reference-point entity and, thus, most efficiently help the hearer to identify the referent of the possessum phrase.

This would suggest that human possessors should be the most frequent within the use of possessives. And, indeed, within the use of the s-genitive human possessors are the most commonly used. Overall, however, inanimate possessors are the most frequent in the dataset. This is due to, firstly, the exclusion of the two most prototypically human possessive notions, namely LEGAL OWNERSHIP and DISPOSAL (since they cannot be expressed with prepositional constructions in Swedish). Secondly, inanimate possessors do occur with the s-genitive relatively frequently, and if we count spatial and temporal possessors into one category with inanimate possessors, they account for as much as 49.6% of the use of the s-genitive. While this does not contest the claim that human possessors are more salient and therefore more frequent in the s-genitive construction, it suggests that inanimate possessors take the s-genitive more often than expected. This may point to a certain development in language that is associated with economy-related factors.<sup>6</sup> The research suggests that inanimate possessors take the s-genitive more often than expected, particularly in press texts, because of the constraint of topicality (highly thematic and salient referents are more likely to take the s-genitive) as well as an increasing density of journalistic prose.<sup>7</sup> The latter observation points to the economy-related motivation. The s-genitive is the construction that enables the condensation of the information in the text, which may be specifically needed in newspaper texts. This tendency is substantiated by the results from the present dataset. Out of 347 inanimate possessors that take the s-genitive (spatial and temporal possessors are included in this count), 46.4% (161 out of 347) occur in press texts, 28.8% (100 out of 347) in literary texts, and 24.8% (86 out of 347) in blog texts. For comparison, out of 260 human possessors that take the s-genitive, 34.2% (89 out of 260) occur in press texts, 30.8% (80 out of 260) occur in literary texts, and 35.0% (91 out of 260) in blog texts. Even though the data is not very robust, and even though register is not a significant variable for the selection of the s-genitive vs. the prepositional construction (see Table 9), there is an evident tendency for inanimate

possessors in the s-genitive to occur more often in press texts, in agreement with the economy-related motives.

I assume thus that the economic motivation has a strong indirect bearing on the choice of the possessive construction and it may account for some of the variance in the results. The same can be argued for the factor of definiteness. The frequency and predictability of the possessor go hand in hand with its status as a well-known, and thus definite, referent. With respect to the factor of length, the predominance of longer possessor phrases in prepositional constructions may again be understood as an aspect of economy of language and processing efficiency. Swedish, as well as English, is a right-branching language. Thus, not only new information, but also longer and more complicated constructions tend to occur later in a sentence or phrase to facilitate processing. Shorter constituents occur before longer ones and heads occur before modifiers and complements. In conclusion, the effect of different linguistic factors on the choice of the possessive construction is linked to various aspects of language economy and processing efficiency. Studying these factors in Swedish may tell us more about conditioning factors not only for possessive expressions, but also for the structure of Swedish as a whole.

## Notes

1. In the context of English genitive variation a construction of this type is often referred to as *the of-genitive* or *of-possessive* as an analogy to *the s-genitive* (Hinrichs & Szmrecsanyi 2007; Rosenbach 2005; 2008). This term is avoided here as Swedish possessive prepositions are not grammaticalised to the same degree as the English one is. The term prepositional construction or PP construction is used in this paper.
2. In all of the remaining examples the possessor phrase is marked in bold, while the possessum phrase is underlined.
3. In all statistical tests presented here I take  $p < 0.05$  as the threshold for statistical significance, as is customary in linguistic studies (Levshina 2015: 12).

4. See, for example, Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2002a: 148), Langacker (1995: 58-61) and Taylor (1996: 17).

5. See Haspelmath (2008).

6. See Lančarič & Bojo (2020) for more on economy-related factors in language use.

7. See Hinrichs & Szmrecsanyi (2007: 467-468).

### List of abbreviations

DEF – definite article

DF – degrees of freedom

INDF – indefinite

PL – plural

POSS – possessive

PP – prepositional phrase construction

PR – possessor phrase

PM – possessum phrase

S-GEN – s-genitive

WK – weak adjective

$\chi^2$  – chi-square

### References

Allen, C. (2003). Deflexion and the development of the genitive in English. In *English language and linguistics*, 7 (1), p. 1-28.

Altenberg, B. (1982). *The genitive v. the of-construction: A study of syntactic variation in 17<sup>th</sup> century English*. Lund: Gleerup.

Andersson, C. *Högern och extremhögern slåss om gruppbildningen i EU-parlamentet*.

June 17, 2014. Available at: <http://blogg.sh.se/journalistikforskning/uncategorized/hogern-och-extremhogern-slass-om-gruppbildningen-i-eu-parlamentet/>

Ariel, M. (2016). *Assessing noun-phrase antecedents* [Routledge Library Editions: Linguistics]. London: Routledge. DOI: 10.4324/9781315857473

- Ariel, M. (1994). Interpreting anaphoric expressions: A cognitive versus a pragmatic approach. In *Journal of linguistics*, 30 (1), p. 3-42.
- Ariel, M. (1988). Referring and accessibility. In *Journal of linguistics*, 24 (1), p. 65-87.
- Backman, F. (2013). *Min mormor hälsar och säger förlåt*. Stockholm: Bokförlaget Forum.
- Benor, S. & Levy, R. (2006). The chicken or the egg? A probabilistic analysis of English binomials. In *Language*, 82 (2), p. 233-278.
- Berlage, E. (2014). *Noun phrase complexity in English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bjereld, U. *Alliansen splittrad – Peter Hultqvist sitter kvar*. September 14, 2017. [Blog post]. Available at: <http://ulfbjereld.blogspot.com/2017/09/kommer-alliansen-att-falla-peter.html>
- Boëthius, M-P. *Det är så vi kvinnor alltid har gjort revolution*. November 25, 2017. Available at: <https://www.expressen.se/kultur/ide/det-ar-sa-har-vi-kvinnor-alltid-har-gjort-revolution/>
- Börjars, K. (2003). Morphological status and (de)grammaticalisation: The Swedish possessive. In *Nordic journal of linguistics*, 26 (2), p. 133-163.
- Börjars, K., Denison, D., Krajewski, G. & Scott, A. (2013). Expression of possession in English: The significance of the right edge. In *Morphosyntactic categories and the expression of possession*. Börjars, K., Denison, D. & Scott, A. (eds.). Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins, p. 123-148.
- Cantwell, O. *Dömdes för mord på sin vän – men nu kan han få resning*. August 26, 2017. Available at: <https://cantwell.story.aftonbladet.se/chapter/domdes-for-mord-pa-sin-van-nu-kan-han-frias/>
- Comrie, B. (1981). *Language universals and linguistic typology: Syntax and morphology*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- crobinlarsson. *Ett sätt att särbehandla kvinnan från mannen*. September 18, 2017. [Blog post]. Available at: <http://crobinlarsson.blogg.se/2017/september/ett-s.html>

Dahl, Ö. & Fraurud, K. (1996). Animacy in grammar and discourse. In *Reference and referent accessibility* [Pragmatics & beyond new series, 38]. Fretheim, T. & Gundel, J.K. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, p. 47-64.

Delsing, L.-O. (2014). Den stora katastrofen – med för- och efterskalv: Om kasussammanfallet i fornsvenska. In *Studier i svensk språkhistoria 12. Variation och förändring*. Falk, C. & Bylin, M. (eds.). Stockholm: Stockholm Studies in Scandinavian Philology, p. 9-29.

Delsing, L-O. (1999). Review essay: Muriel Norde: The history of the genitive in Swedish. A case study in degrammaticalization. In *Nordic journal of linguistics*, 22, p. 77-90.

Delsing, L-O. (2001). The Swedish genitive: A reply to Norde. In *Nordic journal of linguistics*, 24 (1), p. 119-120.

Demker, M. 'Strangers in their own land' Om en bok av Arlie Russell Hochschild. July 30, 2017. [Blog post]. Available at:

<https://vanstrastranden.blog/2017/07/30/strangers-in-their-own-land-en-recension-av-arlie-russell-hochschilds-bok-med-samma-namn/>

*Dialektsyntaktiska studier av den nordiska nominalfrasen*. (2003). Delsing, L-O., Vangnes, Ø.A. & Holmerg, A. (eds.). Oslo: Novus.

Elliott, A.C. & Woodward, W.A. (2007). *Statistical analysis. Quick reference guidebook: With SPSS examples*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Eriksson, C. (2014). *Inga gudar jämte mig*. Stockholm: Bokförlaget Forum.

Fischer, O. (1992). Syntax. In *The Cambridge history of the English language, vol. II: 1066-1476*. Blake, N. (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 207-408.

Fiva, T. (1987). *Possessor chains in Norwegian*. Oslo: Novus.

Gunleifsen, E. (2011). *Attributive uttrykk for prototypisk possessivitet: En komparativ studie av talespråklig variasjon og endring i Kristiansand og Arendal*. Oslo: Novus.

Hagren Idevall, K. *Språket kan befästa rasism*. February 1, 2017. Available at: <https://www.sprakbruk.fi/-/spraket-kan-befasta-rasism>

Hammarberg, B. & Koptjevskaja-Tamm, M. (2003). Adnominal possession: Combining typological and second language perspectives. In *Typology and second*

- language acquisition*. Ramat, A.G. (ed.). Berlin – New York: De Gruyter, p. 125-179.
- Haspelmath, M. *Alienable vs. inalienable possessive constructions*. Leipzig Spring School on linguistic diversity, March, 2008. Available at: [https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/conference/08\\_springschool/pdf/course\\_materials/Haspelmath\\_Possessives.pdf](https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/conference/08_springschool/pdf/course_materials/Haspelmath_Possessives.pdf)
- Hawkins, J.A. (1978). *Definiteness and indefiniteness: A study in reference and grammaticality prediction*. London: Croom Helm.
- Hinrichs, L. & Szendrői, B. (2007). Recent changes in the function and frequency of Standard English genitive constructions: A multivariate analysis of tagged corpora. In *English language and linguistics*, 11 (3), p. 437-474.
- Holmberg, B. *Språket i kyrkan balanserar mellan gammalt och nytt*. February 1, 2017a. Available at: <https://www.sprakbruk.fi/-/spraket-i-kyrkan-balanserar-mellan-gammalt-och-nytt>
- Holmberg, B. *Språkhuvudet är en myt*. January 1, 2017b. Available at: <https://www.sprakbruk.fi/-/sprakhuvudet-ar-en-myt>
- Jucker, A. (1993). The genitive versus the of-construction in newspaper language. In *The noun phrase in English: Its structure and variability*. Jucker, A. (ed.). Heidelberg: Carl Winter, p. 121-136.
- Kickstarta läsåret med smarta tjänsten*. July 21, 2017. Available at: <https://www.aftonbladet.se/brandstudio/a/ng28Jo/kickstarta-lasaret-med-smarta-tjansten>
- Kiparsky, P. (2002). Disjoint reference and the typology of pronouns. In *More than words: A festschrift for Dieter Wunderlich*. Kaufmann, I. & Stiebels, B. (eds.). Berlin – Boston: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 179-226.
- Koptjevskaja-Tamm, M. (2002a). Adnominal possession in the European languages: Form and function. In *STUF-Language typology and universals*, 55 (2), p. 141-172.
- Koptjevskaja-Tamm, M. (2013). A Mozart sonata and the Palme murder: The structure and uses of proper-name compounds in Swedish. In *Morphosyntactic categories and the expression of possession*. Börjars, K., Denison, D. & Scott, A. (eds.). Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins, p. 253-290.

- Koptjevskaja-Tamm, M. (2002b). A woman of sin, a man of duty, and a hell of a mess: Non-determiner genitives in Swedish. In *Noun phrase structure in the languages of Europe*. Plank, F. (ed.). Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 515-558.
- Kreyer, R. (2003). Genitive and of-construction in modern written English. Processability and human involvement. In *International journal of corpus linguistics*, 8 (2), p. 169-207.
- Lančarič, D. & Bojo, P. (2020). Structural lexical reduction in informal on-line communication. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Trnava: University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, V (2), December 2020, p. 88-121.
- Langacker, R. (1995). Possession and possessive constructions. In *Language and the cognitive construal of the world*. Taylor, J.R. & MacLaury, R.E. (eds.). Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 51-80.
- Levshina, N. (2015). *How to do linguistics with R: Data exploration and statistical analysis*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Lyons, C. (1999). *Definiteness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Menzel, K. (2016). The elusive ellipsis – the complex history of a vague grammatical concept in need of empirical grounding. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, I (1), June 2016, p. 202-275. DOI: 10.1515/lart-2016-0004
- Mustanoja, T.F. (1960). *A Middle English syntax*. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique.
- Nesser, H. (2013). *Levande och döda i Winsford*. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag.
- Neset, T. & Enger, H.-O. (2002). Morphological splits – iconicity and optimality. In *Morphology 2000. Selected papers from the 9<sup>th</sup> morphology meeting. Vienna, 24–28 February 2000*. Bendjaballah, S., Dressler, W., Pfeiffer, O. & Voeikova, M. (eds.). Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins, p. 27-282.
- Norde, M. (2006). Demarcating degrammaticalization: The Swedish s-genitive revisited. In *Nordic journal of linguistics*, 29 (2), p. 201-238.

- Norde, M. (1997). *The history of the genitive in Swedish. A case study in degrammaticalization*. A Thesis for the Degree of Philosophiae Doctor. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.
- Norde, M. (2001). The history of the Swedish genitive: The full story. A reply to Delsing. In *Nordic journal of linguistics*, 24 (1), p. 107-117.
- O'Connor, C., Maling, J. & Skarabela, B. (2013). Nominal categories and the expression of possession: A cross-linguistic study of probabilistic tendencies and categorical constraints. In *Morphosyntactic categories and the expression of possession*. Börjars, K., Denison, D. & Scott, A. (eds.). Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins, p. 89-122.
- Ohlsson, P.T. *De dramatiska dygnen då Sverige blev Sverige*. August 27, 2017. Available at: <https://www.dn.se/arkiv/kultur/de-dramatiska-dygnen-da-sverige-blev-sverige/>
- Perridon, H. (1989). *Reference, definiteness and the noun phrase in Swedish*. A Thesis for the Degree of Philosophiae Doctor. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.
- Perridon, H. (2013). The emergence of the s-genitive in Danish. In *Language sciences*, 36, p. 134-146.
- Pinker, S. & Birdsong, D. (1979). Speakers' sensitivity to rules of frozen word order. In *Journal of verbal learning and verbal behavior*, 18 (4), p. 497-508.
- Piotrowska, A. (2018). Group genitive in Swedish – s-genitive as a phrase marker. In *European journal of Scandinavian studies*, 48 (2), p. 231-252. DOI: 10.1515/ejss-2018-0018
- Piotrowska, A. (2017). *Mannen på gatans åsikt och personen bredvids förvåning – s-genitiv som frasmarkör i modern svenska*. Thesis for the master degree in philological sciences. Poznań: Wydział Neofilologii UAM. Adam Mickiewicz University Repository. DOI: 10.14746/9788394760953. Available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/10593/21311>
- Piotrowska, A. (2020). Possessive expressions in Old Swedish and Present-day Swedish – A comparative analysis. In *Exploring variation in linguistic patterns*. Drabikowska, K. & Prażmowska, A. (eds.). Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, p. 113-131.

- RetorikKalle. *Jag är lobbyisternas gisslan*. May 6, 2015. [Blog post]. Available at: <https://retorikkalle.wordpress.com/2015/05/06/jag-ar-lobbyisternas-gisslan/>
- Rosenbach, A. (2008). Animacy and grammatical variation – Findings from English genitive variation. In *Lingua*, 118 (2), p. 151-171.
- Rosenbach, A. (2005). Animacy versus weight as determinants of grammatical variation in English. In *Language*, 81 (3), p. 613-644.
- Rosenbach, A. (2017). Constraints in contact: Animacy in English and Afrikaans genitive variation – a cross-linguistic perspective. In *Glossa: A journal of general linguistics*, 2 (1), 72, p. 1-21. DOI: 10.5334/gjgl.292
- Rönnerberg, M. *Barnkultur i ett nötskal – eller åtminstone sammanfattad i några polariserande tabeller*. November 29, 2017a. [Blog post]. Available at: <http://barnisten.blogspot.com/2017/11/barnkultur-i-ett-notskal-eller.html>
- Rönnerberg, M. *Det finns bara två kön, vad än RFSL påstår – och för en del icke-binära vore väl 'de(m)' bättre än 'hen'?* November 27, 2017b. [Blog post]. Available at: <http://barnisten.blogspot.com/2017/11/det-finns-bara-tva-kon-vad-rfsl-pastar.html>
- Rönnerberg, M. *Mediers betydelse för barns och ungas identitetsutveckling – är/blir man den man utger sig för att vara på Nätet?* November 15, 2017c. [Blog post]. Available at: <http://barnisten.blogspot.com/2017/11/mediers-betydelse-for-barns-och-ungas.html>
- Silverberg, J. *Hultqvist avgår inte frivilligt: 'Finns inte tillräckligt starka skäl'*. August 26, 2017. Available at: <https://www.aftonbladet.se/a/22vb4>
- Silverstein, M. (1976). Hierarchy of features and ergativity. In *Grammatical categories in Australian languages*. Dixon, R.M.W. (ed.). Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, p. 112-171.
- Skrzypek, D. (2020). *Bli*-passive in Swedish in a diachronic perspective. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Trnava: University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, V (2), December 2020, p. 301-334.
- Skrzypek, D., Piotrowska, A. & Jaworski, R. (2021). *The diachrony of definiteness in North Germanic*. BSHL 14, Brill's Studies in Historical Linguistics. Leiden: Brill.

Sörlin, S. *Den snirkliga vägen till sportlovet*. February 19, 2016. Available at: <https://fof.se/tidning/2016/3/artikel/den-snirkliga-vagen-till-sportlovet>

Taylor, J.R. (1996). *Possessives in English: An exploration in cognitive grammar*. Oxford – New York: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press.

Teleman, U., Hellberg, S. & Andersson, E. (2010). *Svenska akademiens grammatik. 2 Ord, 3 Fraser*. Vol. 2 and 3. Stockholm: Svenska Akademien, Norstedts Ordbok.

Willemse, P., Davidse, K. & Heyvaert, L. (2009). English possessives as reference-point constructions and their function in the discourse. In *The expression of Possession*.

McGregor, W. (ed.). Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 13-50.

## Contact data

	<i>name:</i>	<b>Alicja Piotrowska</b>
	<i>academic title / rank:</i>	MA, PhD student
	<i>department:</i>	Faculty of Modern Languages and Literatures
	<i>institution:</i>	Adam Mickiewicz University Al. Niepodległości 4, Poznań, 61-874, Poland
	<i>e-mail:</i>	<a href="mailto:alicja.piotrowska@amu.edu.pl">alicja.piotrowska@amu.edu.pl</a>
	<i>fields of interest:</i>	Possessive constructions, semantics of possession, historical linguistics, North Germanic languages.

## Résumé

Swedish has two adnominal possessive constructions that are largely interchangeable: the s-genitive (*Annas dotter* 'Anna's daughter') and the prepositional construction (*dotter till Anna* 'daughter of Anna'). With the exception of possessives expressing LEGAL OWNERSHIP or DISPOSAL relations, either of the two constructions is allowed. Whenever there is a variation between two constructions, however, some linguistic factors are at play determining the use of one or the other expression. The aim of the paper is to analyse and determine which factors influence the selection of the s-genitive as opposed to the prepositional construction in Modern Swedish. The factors considered are animacy, definiteness and length of the possessor phrase. The study is based on a newly-compiled corpus of literary, press, and blog texts. A broad range of

statistical measures is used to show how the aforementioned factors determine the selection of the possessive construction in the dataset. A multivariate analysis based on a model of binary logistic regression is conducted to determine which factor is decisive in the choice of the possessive. The results indicate that animacy has the strongest influence on the genitive variation in the Swedish dataset, followed by definiteness and length of the possessor phrase. The hypothesis that the Swedish s-genitive prefers human, definite, and short possessors finds strong support in the results. The analysis suggests that despite the s-genitive favouring human possessors, the construction is increasingly often found with inanimate referents, specifically in press texts, which is in line with the economy-related motivation in language. What is more, the study shows that definiteness has a significant impact on the genitive variation, in that the possibility for indefinite singular nouns to take the s-genitive is very limited in the dataset.

**Key words:** possessive expression, genitive variation, Swedish, animacy, s-genitive, prepositional construction.

Article was received by the editorial board 08.11.2020;

Reviewed 15.01.2021 and 26.01.2021.

Similarity Index 5%

## LEGE ARTIS

Language yesterday, today, tomorrow

Vol. VI. No 1 2021

### ERGA OMNES: METAPHORS AND CONSUMERIST IDEOLOGY

*Fabio I.M. Poppi\**, University of Łódź, Poland /

*Sechenov Moscow University, Russian Federation*

*Eduardo Urios-Aparisi, University of Connecticut, USA*

*\*Corresponding author*

**Bibliographic description:** Poppi, F.I.M. & Urios-Aparisi, E. (2021). Erga omnes: Multimodal metaphors of consumerism. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Trnava: University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, 2021, VI (1), June 2021, p. 158-189. ISSN 2453-8035

**Abstract:** This study provides an explorative framework for consumerism understood as an ideological construct. Applying a diversity of methods on a corpus of car commercials, we connect valorization strategies and design categories. Consumerist ideology emerges in the dynamic interaction between valorization strategies and design categories. We identify metaphorical ways of conceptualizing the products and the ideological underpinnings motivating consumer's purchase decisions by creating a classification of different styles of consumption.

**Key words:** consumerism, critical metaphor analysis, ideology, metaphor, TV commercial.

#### 1. Introduction

Advertising a product has been recently studied as an act of storytelling that situates the consumer in a particular narrative from the perspective of the semiotics of consumerism (cf. e.g., Rossolatos 2018; Taupin 2019). At the same time, the product has been viewed as the result of an active combination of form and function (cf. Kumar & Noble 2016). In this article we argue that by analyzing both the consumers' strategies according to Floch's valorization strategies (1992) and the products' form and function according to Norman's design categories (2004; 2013). We can identify the ideological underpinnings of

motivating consumers' purchase decisions. We show how consumerism is understood as a discourse created by the interaction between consumers' goals and products' affordances. In order to relate both constituents of consumerism's discourse, we conducted a comparative study of the verbalizations of native speakers of Italian and English as they reacted to car commercials. Those verbalizations were the vehicle for underlying metaphors that were linked to the valorization strategies Floch (1992) and design categories (Norman 2004; 2013). Ultimately, we were able to define styles of consumption that are connected to the ideological construct of consumerism. Our perspective is integrative and interdisciplinary, and it follows the paradigms of Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) developed within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), an interdisciplinary perspective to the study of discourse. CDA considers language and communication as a form of social practice and focuses on the discovery of the ideology in and behind text, speech, and multimodal interactions (Fairclough 2013; Machin & Van Leeuwen 2016; Morozova 2017; Poppi 2018; Poppi & Urios-Aparisi 2019). What characterizes CMA is the assumption that human conceptualization – largely structured around conceptual metaphors (Lakoff 1994; Lakoff & Johnson 1999; Poppi & Urios-Aparisi 2019) – underlies construal operations, which are ideological in nature (Hart 2008; Poppi 2018).

After defining consumerism in terms of an ideology that connects products' properties to the ways the product is presented in the medium of advertising, we move to explain (1) which metaphors verbalized in response to car commercials can be referred to consumerism and (2) how different metaphors can shed light on different dimensions of consumerism. As we show, consumerism should not be considered as a unitary phenomenon but as a constellation of different systems of values and representations.

## 2. Consumerism and ideology

The study of consumerism is essentially a problem of constitutive aspects. According to Poppi (2017), the plurality of meanings and needs constitutes the psychological foundation of consumerism and has been related to two main dimensions: (1) the *design categories* of the product that create consumerist meanings and needs and (2) the *valorization strategies* on the product mediated via advertising. Regarding the design of the products, Alvensleben and Meier (1990) showed that the psychological dimensions of a product's purchase – selection and choice – are motivated by the properties and image of the product itself (see also De Angelis et al. 2017). Here, the role of meanings and needs in affecting products' selection and choice moves around the notion of design, a set of requirements into a specification, and the material properties of an artifact (Chapman 2015; Mourey et al. 2017; Ulrich & Pearson 1998).

Norman (2004; 2013) connects patterns of products' properties to the emotional responses they produce and created a classification of products accordingly. Norman's classification assumes that design influences people's information processing and decision-making (see also Ho & Siu 2012; Maniatis 2016; Triberti et al. 2017). The products are distributed into the visceral, behavioural, and reflective categories. He describes products that belong to the *visceral* category as concerned with appearances since they "cause an immediate visceral reaction" (Norman 2004: 64). *Behavioural* products deal with the pleasure that comes from their use and from their effectiveness (ibid., 5). *Reflective* products can reflect self-image, personal satisfaction, and the memories of the consumer (ibid., 39). Therefore, design categories include a wide range of peoples' individual ways of being and their motivation to buy products. People who decide to buy product X because of its appearance (Visceral design) have different values, beliefs, and motivations than a consumer who wants to buy product Y because of its functionality (Behavioural design).

Floch (1992) defines and identifies four *valorization strategies* that advertising can use to promote products as they represent specific sets of meanings and needs. The *practical valorization* integrates strategies related to the experience of use and usefulness of a product, such as comfort, reliability, and functionality. The *utopic valorization* includes higher level features of the product as they reflect dimensions of consumers' self, such as identity, personality, memories, and personal satisfaction, but also traditions and cultural backgrounds (see also Bianchi 2011; Heilbrunn 2015). The term *critical valorization* includes strategies that involve a detailed examination of the products and their features such as convenience, quality-price correlation, analysis of cost and benefits and even its impact in relation to critical aspects of the purchase itself. Conversely, *ludic valorization* emphasizes all those non-practical features that are represented by refinement, luxury, and prestige (see Codeluppi 2013: 76).

In the dominating globalized economic system of neoliberal capitalism, consumerism is a central phenomenon. Wolff (2006) explains it as a way of compensating workers as the ideological apparatus of the state raises the levels of exploitation. James and Scerri identify consumerism as part of the underlying values of personal autonomy and, particularly of what they identify as "projective individualism" (2012: 227). Design categories and valorization strategies integrate important elements of what it means to consume a product. On the one hand, the product's features afford its consumption on the part of the buyer. On the other hand, the valorization the consumer projects onto the product is partly due to the affordances of the product itself. Our contention is that consumers acquire products based on those features and those features are predetermined by the ideological framework of consumerism.

As mentioned above, CDA's paradigms focus on how ideologies determine the underlying discourses of political or socio-cultural realities such as consumerism. From the early stages of this discipline, Fairclough (1989: 119) suggested that in order to study ideologies

we can answer the question "which metaphors are used?" Fairclough's views have merged with studies on metaphor in cognition. According to CDA, metaphor is a cognitive process that can be identified in a variety of linguistic items. It is a matter of thought while the "metaphorical expression" is its linguistic instantiation. Conceptual metaphor is formed by two elements that generally include an abstract domain (the *target*) and a more concrete and familiar domain (the *source*). In some cases, several metaphorical expressions can be identified with one underlying metaphor as entities, qualities, and functions (Lakoff 1993).

Metaphor allows one to associate a wide number of source domains with the same target domain and in any source domain there is a set of relevant information and connotations that frame how we make sense of the target domain (Kövecses 2018). As Hart (2018: 280) says, "[...] metaphor is a cognitive-semiotic operation [...] in which a source frame is mobilized to provide a template for sense-making inside a target frame, leading to particular framing effects." Metaphors can affect the way people think (Beaty et al. 2017) and they interact within social and cultural contexts (Kövecses 2015; Landau et al. 2010; Lerche et al. 2018).

CMA puts forth the view that metaphors embody, represent, and construct ideologies in discourse (Charteris-Black 2006; Goatly 2007; Lazar 2009). Metaphors evoke cognitive frames or ideological constructs that remain largely under the level of awareness (cf. Charteris-Black 2004; 2012; Goatly 2007). The use of alternative metaphors may produce different effects on the recipient's views (Charteris-Black 2012). As Semino (2008: 91) puts it, metaphor "has consequences for how a particular issue is 'framed' or structured [...] what evaluative and emotional associations are triggered, what courses of action seem to be possible and so on". Ideology is understood according to Charteris-Black (2011: 21-22) as "a coherent set of ideas and beliefs adhered to by a group of people that provides an organized and systematic representation of the world about which they can agree".

As Freathy and Thomas (2015) state, in marketing research, metaphors authenticate socio-political as well as economic meaning. Metaphor has never been applied directly to the notion of consumerism and some contributions have tried to highlight how related domains of market, finance, currency, and money can be reduced to a series of conceptualizations that characterize media discourse (see Alejo 2010; Kharchenkova 2018; Poppi 2017; Wang et al. 2013). Consumerism is generally regarded as a way to refer to consumption but viewing consumerism as an ideological construct has been highly debated (see Sklair 2010). McGregor (2008: 545-52) proposes that consumerism represents a set of values and beliefs. According to Sklair (2010: 136), consumerism is a set of beliefs and values "intended to make people believe that human worth is best ensured [...] in terms of our consumption and possessions". As consumerism refers to the wide socio-economic system of capitalist globalization, it can hardly be conceived as a unitary phenomenon. Jung (2010: 439) suggests that consumerism is a "kaleidoscopic" notion, an umbrella term that reflects different meanings and, in this sense, Gabriel and Lang (1995) show how consumerism plays different roles and that these roles are affected by individual meanings and needs. In order to identify the ideological framework and its main metaphors, we have implemented two operational steps we will discuss in the following section.

### **3. Methodology**

We have taken the following steps. First, we identify the metaphors found in texts elicited through a "think aloud" task. Secondly, we connect those metaphors within ideological frames by conducting a Likert interview with native speakers. Our corpus is composed of twenty TV commercials broadcast in England and Italy in the language of the country promoting the most sold cars during the biennium 2007–2008 and 2011–2012<sup>1</sup>. The decision to use this particular biennial is based on a set of data used for an analysis on the "Great Recession" of 2008 on conceptual variation (Poppi 2017), an event that has been widely considered to have affected the perception of consumerism (Assadourian 2010;

Flatters & Willmott 2009). These commercials were retrieved from web sources<sup>2</sup> and searches on YouTube and Bing.

The participants were 30 university students (aged 22-32), 15 from Italy and 15 from the UK, equally divided between genders. We were interested in recruiting participants with little knowledge about cars to avoid any possible interference with their interpretations of the TV commercials. Each potential participant was preliminarily asked to rate – using a 7-point Likert scale – their 'car world knowledge'<sup>3</sup>. Only those people reporting a score below 3 were included in the study. These criteria are intended to guarantee that the participants have a minimum degree of familiarity with both cars and TV commercials, as indicated by the threshold value of 3; the candidates scoring below it denote a low level of knowledge. The 'car world knowledge' index denoted how much participants knew about cars and car brands, and the 'TV viewing frequency' could indicate that the participants who watched TV less often and would therefore be likely to have more limited knowledge of TV commercials.

In our "think aloud" task participants had to watch TV commercials and verbalize their thoughts about them. This approach – already used in research in visual and multimodal metaphors (see Bort-Mir et. al 2020; Frøkjær & Hornbæk 2008; Poppi et. al 2020; Šorm & Steen 2013) – allows for the collection of verbalizations about a certain stimulus and to identify the metaphor used by the participants in the transcription of the verbalization itself. In order to reduce the impact of 'out of context' thoughts, we decided to ask subjects *not* to generally verbalize their thoughts about the TV commercials, but to verbalize their thoughts about a series of conceptual categories (target domains), such as the PRODUCT, the BUYER, the ACT OF BUYING, the REASON FOR BUYING, and the FEELINGS or EMOTIONS aroused by the purchase of the product<sup>4</sup>. This strategy leaves the subjects with a considerable level of autonomy in expressing their thoughts, but, at the same time, it subtly limits the range of verbalizations evoked by the viewing of those commercials.

While each participant was exposed to commercials belonging to both periods, we decided that participants would only view commercials in their native language in order to make any interpretation as precise as possible and to avoid any bias derived from a lack of understanding. For this reason, we decided to use a total of 4 commercials (2 for the biennium 2007–2008 and 2 for the biennium 2011–2012) as the setting of the analysis. Each condition was presented to each participant in a random order, but each participant analyzed 2 commercials for the 2007–2008 condition and 2 for the 2011–2012 condition.

Once we selected the relevant utterances of the "think aloud" task, we codified metaphor domains found in the data collected. The process of coding was conducted by two independent scholars. The source domain was chosen only in case of agreement between the two coders; otherwise, the metaphor was placed in the residual category (Other). We used the MIPVU protocol mentioned above (Steen et. al 2010) to elicit metaphorically related words and the Master Metaphor List (Lakoff et al. 1991) to label source domains.

In the second step of our research, we wanted to relate multiple dimensions of the car including features, aspects, and functions of cars to the styles of consumptions in order to produce the conceptual dimensions. First, the two authors of the present contribution listed a series of features, aspects, and functions of cars following the description of the content of the styles of consumption. We collected 42 entries. Then, a group of eight scholars were asked to rate – using a 7-point Likert scale – how these entries would fit within the description of styles of consumption. For instance: "Considering the description of the style of consumption X, how much would you rate the entry (x) as pertinent or compatible with it?" From the rating of the 7-point Likert scale, we have decided to consider as conceptual dimensions only those 23 entries that obtained a rating average higher than 5.

In order to design a procedure to link the metaphor conveyed by the participants and the conceptual domains, we decided to create three operative criteria based on the MIPVU protocol (see Steen et al. 2010), a protocol intended to establish methodological criteria to maximize the validity of the operation. The criteria we followed are (i) the *direct association*, (ii) an indirect criterion, called *conceptual equivalence*, and (iii) a more interpretative approach, which we have named *conceptual interpretation*. Those operative expedients establish a process to define the two domains involved in the metaphorical mapping and consequently they help maximize the validity of the interpretation.

The interpretation was conducted by the first author and one research assistant. Considering that the process of interpretation presents a certain level of subjectivity, we have decided that when a metaphor is too ambiguous to fit into a single valorization or into a particular design category. However, when the researchers did not find any visible connection between strategies of valorization, design categories and a metaphor in an advert, the metaphor was considered as *neutral* and therefore was excluded from the analysis.

## **4. Results**

Next, we summarize the findings of both the "think aloud" task and the study connecting metaphor occurrence, design categories and valorization strategies. As mentioned above, the first task gives us the data to identify the main source domains. The second analysis helps us connect those domains to the corresponding design category and valorization strategy. These results will lead to further our understanding of the ideological underpinnings of consumerist discourse.

### *4.1 "Think aloud" task*

In the "think aloud" task, we identified 971 utterances (10681 words) from a corpus of 120 verbalizations. In total, we found 8 source domain categories and one residual

category ("Other") for a total of 112 metaphorically related words (59 ENG and 53 ITA). We distributed the source domains in broader categories: 1) Feeling and Personality, 2) Art and Artefacts, 3) People, 4) Nature and Animals, 5) Fight and Combat, 6) Actions and Dynamics, 7) Health, 8) Commodities. In 9) Other, the 'residual' category, we included all those source domains that cannot be placed into a precise category when we could not agree on one single labelling, although they have not been included in the results.

Every single source domain identified in the corpus with the instances that represent those source domains, the number of times each metaphor as well as some representative examples are to be represented in a table in the discussion section below. The source domains identified in the corpus of TV commercials refer to their occurrence within metaphors and to some examples that help to illustrate their application. Although the target domain in advertising has been shown to be the advertised product (see Forceville 2002), we have included other dimensions that are strictly related to the product itself. We can say that the BUYER, the BUYER'S IDENTITY or EXPERIENCE FOR DRIVING, BUYING THE CAR can also be the target of a series of domains as we will see in Table 2 (see Appendix).

Further, we distributed the source domains in broader categories: 1) Feeling and Personality, 2) Art and Artefacts, 3) People, 4) Nature and Animals, 5) Fight and Combat, 6) Actions and Dynamics, 7) Health, 8) Commodities, and, as mentioned above we have included 9) *Other* section when we could not agree on one single labelling and, although we have included this section in Table 1 in the Appendix, they have not been included in the results.

#### *4.2 Results: Metaphor occurrence, design categories and valorization strategies*

In this section, we connect the metaphors identified above with valorization strategies and design categories. We found that the source domains we have just identified can be

connected to both strategies and design categories. To create a link between the high order metaphors (Lakoff 1993), design categories, and valorization strategies, we analyze the nature of the products bearing in mind the patterns of the product's properties (design typology) and the image emerging from the processes of advertising and promotion (strategies of valorization). We apply the three criteria defined by MIVUP as mentioned above. According to the *direct criterion* method we can connect a source domain in metaphor particular design categories and valorization strategies. For instance, if, from the verbalization of a TV commercial, the metaphor FORD FIESTA IS BEING HAPPY emerges in the data collected, the source BEING HAPPY can be related to the utopic valorization strategy (U) and the reflective design category (R). Second, if a participant verbalizes a metaphor that could be indirectly considered as an expression of a conceptual category, we speak in terms of *conceptual equivalence*. If a verbalization reports THE LANCIA Y IS A COUCH, the source domain COUCH was considered as the expression of the practical valorization (P) and the behavioural valorization (B) since COUCH can be metonymically associated with the quality of comfort associated with that product. Finally, the *conceptual interpretation* criterion applies where there are no evident semantic clues. In this case, we prefer to maximize the coherence between the meaning and the conceptual categories.

The corpus of TV commercials representing cars is fundamental in shaping the combination of patterns of properties of a product and the way this type of product is promoted.

## **5. Discussion**

The metaphors we have identified belong to a great range of areas, but the underlying, more general, metaphor conceptualization is CAR IS PERSON. This metaphor is motivated by the metonymic relationship between the car and its user and creator. In this discussion,

we analyze the domains just identified as they can evoke the personalization of the car as an anthropocentric view of the world framing the discourse of consumerism.

### *5.1 Feelings and personality*

Source domains about feelings and personality include (i) the expression of emotional or character traits of the car owners and (ii) the anticipation of the feelings that the owners can have while driving the car. The strategy of relating cars and their experiences to such domains can be connected to self-image, to make manifest identity traits, memories, and experiences.

The informants described the experience of a car in terms of love, feeling, and emotions ("love," "strong"). These terms are clearly subsumed within the domains of EMOTIONS. In terms of Floch's valorization strategies, it can be situated within the Utopic strategy. According to the reflective design category, the metaphor evokes the emotional dimensions of the act of consuming. The product reflects a desire or a need to be fulfilled and the commercial represents the product as meeting those needs and desires.

### *5.2 Art and artefacts*

The source domain MUSICIAN combines two central features in the way cars are conceptualized. First, a car and a musician perform by combining different elements and, secondly, the world of classical music is generally associated with positive and prestigious elements such as high culture, sophistication, or good taste. As a metaphor, it frames the product both as high-end and sophisticated, but also the car's technology and performance. Such meanings are found in colloquial expressions, in which a motor can be described as "well-tuned" or the motor can be "quiet" in a way that the parts work in perfect "harmony". All these features are related to non-utilitarian and aesthetic ideas such as taste and style. Within the framework of consumerism, the car identifies with the Visceral design and possibly with two strategies: the Ludic valorization or the Utopic valorization strategy.

The image of the car emphasizes non-practical features while at the same time it can endow the consumers with positive social values such as wealth, prestige, and high culture.

### *5.3 People*

The 'People' category is expected within the anthropocentric worldview, central in Western civilization. The car's function as a tool for movement created and utilized by human beings lends both domains CAR and PEOPLE metonymic closeness. Some of the instances found in our corpus focus on close relationships such as Friend (3), Relative (1), or Assistant (2). It can also relate to particular professions Stylist (1) or Actor (1). It is also associated with the domain Woman (3) in general.

As in the "Arts and artefacts category," the "People category" can be associated with multiple strategies and design categories. On one hand, people's roles such as assistant or relationships such as friend or relative connect the car to practical properties of a product (comfort, reliability, ease of use, and performance). The properties identified with this category are the practical valorization and the behavioural design and both stress the functional aspect of the car. On the other hand, such domains are related to familiarity, closeness, or identity in connections to family relations or ideals of beauty, sexual appeal, or social prestige. In this case, the categories are fuzzy, and the category "People" can have a diversity of values. On the one hand, it can show the product in a practical way as it is depicted as useful, comfortable; it can be identified with the utopic valorization as identity or personality can be associated with family belonging and identity. Finally, it can evoke different design categories: visceral, behavioural, or reflective depending on which kind of this category is highlighted.

#### *5.4 Nature and animals*

Animals and natural elements can create similar frameworks in relation to the strategies of valorization or the design categories. The meanings are mostly associated with stereotypical views of the animals, which are traditionally endowed with a particular feature. For instance, dogs are prototypically faithful and reliable, or horses are freedom searching animals, especially wild horses. Other animals can be attractive for their colours, shapes, or other features that can be highlighted using the camerawork or particular references in the text.

In the case of the domain DOG, the highlighted feature is companionship and reliability. Both features can represent the technical features of the car, but also connect the car to the consumer's emotional attachment to pets. Similarly, WILD HORSE has a range of meanings often present in films, art, and literature and it is generally associated with the act of galloping in a way that is apparently out of control. The image highlights speed and strength, both features of sport cars in particular. At the same time, that meaning is associated with concepts like freedom, cinematic myths like the wild west that the consumer would be able to associate with figures like the cowboy or the outlaw. In this sense, the source domain is used to represent certain practical aspects (i.e., as reliable as a DOG) or to make manifest traits of identity (as indomitable as a WILD HORSE).

#### *5.5 Fight and combat*

This kind of source domain emphasizes a specific range of properties relating to the safety and safety features of a car. Therefore, the metaphors associated with this source domain generally fall within the Practical design category and the behavioural valorization strategy. Security is one of the conceptual domains that is related to this style. The cars can be expressed through the domains of SHIELD, BUNKER, and ARMOUR. Representations of these domains are generally metonymical as they are generally represented by subdomains such as SHIELD, BUNKER, and ARMOUR.

### *5.6 Actions and dynamics*

The central idea behind this group of source domains consists of associating the cars with a series of experiences such as TIME TRAVELLING, RISKING LIFE, WINNING, etc. that serve to endow the car with further meanings. Considering that the association of these experiences does not reflect any particular or concrete feature or part of the car itself, the role of these source domains is to emphasize general experiences of driving or owning the car. In this sense, those domains are associated with the Utopic valorization strategy and the Reflective design category. At the same time, they are related to concepts such as human emotion and car prestige that are projected onto the user's social persona. Such features can fall within the Ludic design category and Visceral valorization strategy since RISKING LIFE provokes physical reactions such as exhilaration and high adrenaline associated with emotions and feelings generally considered positive such as exhilaration, excitement, and happiness. It is also connected to certain lifestyles, which are also considered prestigious such as adventure and thrill-seeking, etc.

### *5.7 Health*

This source type includes a small category of source domains with specific references to objects such as STIMULANTS, DRUGS, and TRANQUILIZERS. The role of using these source domains serves to describe physical sensations that the car, or its relevant experiences, induce. In this sense, the role played by HEALTH is to establish a deep connection between the cars and the owners, a connection that also assumes the point of view of a physical connection. In a similar way to the 'Action and Dynamics' source type, the role of STIMULANTS, DRUGS, and TRANQUILIZERS is also to convey some feelings and moods.

### *5.8 Commodities*

'Commodities' refers to a wide group of source domains that associate cars with other commodities. The function of creating such a conceptualization serves either to highlight

certain non-practical features of the cars (i.e., as elegant as a TUXEDO) or to highlight the sharing of emotional and value features (i.e., this car is a fundamental and valuable commodity like a TV).

Those features: elegance or value and essential features of the TV are related to their respective styles of consumption through the indirect criterion and because of the interpretative criterion, since being essential can only be interpreted as a trait of personality that a car conveys.

While elegance is certainly a distinguishing feature of the TUXEDO (as being reliable is for a DOG), the TV-domain is too rich in terms of meaning to be reduced to some typical aspects. Therefore, the conceptual interpretation criterion happens where there are no evident semantic clues, and each specific source domain is interpreted in order to maximize the coherence between its meaning and the conceptual categories.

### *5.9 Other (residual category)*

This group of source domains refers to a wide group of conceptualizations that can hardly be reduced to a single category. In this group, we find every style of consumption and the three operative criteria. For instance, while some source domains reflect the Practical-behavioural style because of the comfort that a car conveys (i.e. as comfortable as a ROOM); others are associated with self-image and tradition as per the Utopic-Reflective style (i.e., conveying general states such as POWER), some convey Critical aspects (i.e. functional to saving money like a MONEY SAVER and higher values such as FREEDOM) or related to aesthetic and social impacts as per the Ludic-Visceral style (i.e., seductive and powerful like a DEVIL). As far as the operative criteria are concerned, POWER refers to the performance of the car by the direct relation between POWER and performance, other source domains like ROOM and MONEY refer to comfort and the functionality of saving money through the indirect expression of conceptual categories and DEVIL/ANGEL is

related to the car by an interpretation of the conceptual dimensions of the source domains in relation to the context that the commercial presents.

## **6. Conclusion**

The products' image as represented in the commercials we have analyzed is a complex interaction of design, image in the context of advertising and cognition. Design integrates form and function. Image includes a variety of elements such as genre and socio-cultural factors such as identity and self-image. Cognition is a complex network, which involves different kinds of knowledge: knowledge about visual and multimodal codes, social, cultural and interactional norms, and other generic conventions. The design categories and strategies of valorization define the conceptual content and allow the definition of styles of consumption. Although the present research is still in the preliminary stages, we have reached some conclusions as to which styles of consumption the consumers identify more often in those commercials.

Advertising contemplates the positioning of a certain product within a system of needs and meanings that motivate the purchase. Advertising plays a crucial role in showing design properties and induces consumerist meanings and needs. Positioning means defining a conceptual space made by needs and meanings, in which elements such as signs, symbols, memories, and experiences are related to a product. In order to capture the different ways, in which products can be represented by different conceptual spaces, consumerism can be dismantled into design categories and valorization strategies not only to capture as many psychological, semiotic, and communicative aspects of such a complex notion but also because of the common foundations of the two main dimensions. Observing the content of design categories with valorization strategies, it is possible to shed light as to how the properties of the products and the way they are promoted overlap. For instance, the behavioural products consider psychological aspects that come from the

use, as their effectiveness similarly, practical valorization describes strategies that aim to underline the experience of use, as the usefulness of a product.

Combining Norman's design categories and Foch's valorization strategies we can understand that consumption differs according to different styles including the Practical-Behavioural style, the Utopic-Reflective style, the Critical style, and the Ludic-Visceral style. The Practical-Behavioural style of consumption would appeal to those who value the practical properties of a product, such as comfort, reliability, ease of use and performance. These properties are practical and can generally be quantified. According to the Utopic-Reflective style, consumers are influenced by the need to express their self-image, to make manifest traits of their identity, their memories, and experiences. This kind of style of consumption is rooted in the personality of the consumer and it establishes a deep connection between the user and the product. The Critical style is associated with the evaluation of non-existential aspects, such as convenience, analysis of cost and benefits. Interestingly, this decision does not rely on the object per se, but it represents the result of a rational and careful examination of the product. Finally, according to the Ludic-Visceral style, the properties of a product and its image can be considered as opposed to the ones described in the Practical-Behavioural dimension. In this case, a purchase is determined by non-utilitarian reasons, such as the prestige of the brand, the image of luxury, the design, and all those properties that produce a certain social impact.

These four styles of consumption can be regarded as motivational factors that induce people to buy certain products because of their pattern of properties (design typology) or because of the image emerging from processes of advertising and promotion (strategies of valorization). The strategies of valorization present analogous content with the typologies of design described. Specifically, the practical strategy of valorization holds a similarity to the behavioural typology of design, as both share a focus on the 'experience of use' and the 'functionality' of a product. The styles of consumption are also construed

by both the properties of the objects that induce people to purchase them and the semiotic strategies used by advertisers in order to promote these objects. They can also be related to the different features by relating them to the categories listed in Table 3 (see Appendix). After a recursive process of operationalization from TV commercials to styles of consumption and back, the four styles of consumption have been defined by a series of entities that relate to different kinds of knowledge and experience. While the main features summarize the content of each style, the conceptual domains create a base to allow for metaphorical mappings between the domains. Some conceptual domains reflect the main aspects of each style of consumption. For instance, the practical-behavioural style presents some of the main practical aspects that can characterize a car. The utopic-reflective style generally relates to the representation of personality traits. 'Tradition' and 'innovation' represent two diametrically opposed approaches toward consumption, one that can refer to a conservative view of the world, and the other that is innovative and more directed towards the future.

Interestingly, although the TV car commercials belong to two different countries (Italy and the United Kingdom) and to two different periods (2007–2008 and 2011–2012), the predominating styles of consumption were mostly connected to prestige features associated with the product or the emotional connections. Fewer cases highlight the utilitarian features related to buying that kind of car and even less were associated with critical values such as cost/benefit, consumption, or other practical features.

In the dominant set of values and ideas related to the TV car commercials we analyzed, consumers are influenced by the need to express their self-image, to make manifest traits of their identity, their memories and experiences and by non-utilitarian reasons, such as the prestige of the brand, the image of luxury, the design, and all those properties that produce a certain social impact. We have seen that more practical aspects such as those described by the Practical-behavioural styles (e.g., comfort, reliability) or references to

higher values and non-existential aspects (e.g., convenience) do not represent the way consumerism generally operates. In other words, metaphors help to convey meanings and associations that establish a deep connection between the user and the product rather than expressing practicality. These findings are very much in line with Kumar & Noble's (2016) identification of the self-expressive dimensions of the design properties of an object. Their qualitative study shows how product design follows the "traditional form and function characterization of product design. However, a third major self-expressive dimension that includes two distinct value sub-dimensions (social and altruistic) also emerged" (ibid., 614).

The source domain frames consumerism by situating the act of buying a product as an extension of the inherently human sphere of activities, very much like eating, drinking, having sexual relations, or expressing or experiencing emotions. The styles of the styles of consumption highlight the dominating role of emotions as the main motivation for consumption rather than other decision-making processes. Consumerism determines our decision-making as it integrates the design affordances of the product, our knowledge about the object, and its context of use, the underlying motivations for use and the valorization strategies used by advertising to promote products as they represent specific sets of wants and needs. It is dynamic and multifaceted.

The contributions of this paper are twofold. On the one hand, we have defined operative criteria in order to maximize the coherence between the two domains. We have also related metaphors to ideological content through definitions and methods. However, both the operative definitions to operationalize an ideological construction and the methods to link it to metaphors should be constantly revised and refined, and further tested.

First, only the genre of TV commercials was included in the data, which stimulated the strong association with the ideology of consumerism. It would be useful to include other

types of data that are not prone to the association with consumerism in future studies to see how consumerism works through metaphor in other (social) contexts. Although car advertisements are particularly prone to personify their product, further analysis is needed to understand whether it plays a central role in conceptualizing other products. Slight changes in any of those constituents can change the ideological framework of the product and the act of consuming. A possible area with which to compare these results would be "green consumerism" and "critical consumerism". These types of consumerism seem to have the same properties of more general consumerism but differ in their actual properties that motivate the purchase (e.g., sustainability).

Second, consumerism as an ideology can be researched from both the consumers' and the advertisers' perspectives. This study pays special attention to the consumers' perspective, while in further studies more attention should be paid to the advertisers' consumerism and the interaction between both. Finally, the study may need more intricate improvements in terms of the theoretical and methodological framework when analyzing metaphors in conversations where metaphors are used and interpreted in a much more interactive and hence dynamic way in situated contexts.

## Notes

1. For details about the selected TV commercials see: <https://www.smmmt.co.uk/vehicle-data/> and <https://forum.quattroruote.it/threads/classifiche-di-vendita-in-italia-dal-1967-oggi.61198/>
2. List of TV commercials: <https://tvadddb.com/>
3. ("How much do you know about cars and car brands?": 0: No Knowledge to 7: Expert knowledge) and 'TV viewing frequency' ("Among all the media, how often do you watch TV?": 0-Never to 7-Always).
4. The decision to use a series of target domains as triggers for the metaphor production assumes that TV commercials, beyond conveying meanings related to the product to

promote, inevitably present other content that is indirectly related to the product itself. These dimensions can be, for instance, the buyer image, causes/emotions for buying, etc. In this sense, the decision to use similar target domains is coherent with the nature of the TV commercials and their function.

### **List of abbreviations**

CDA = Critical Discourse Analysis

CMA = Critical Metaphor Analysis

ENG = English

ITA = Italian

### **References**

- Alejo, R. (2010). Where does the money go? An analysis of the container metaphor in economics: The market and the economy. In *Journal of pragmatics*, 42 (4), p. 1137-1150.
- Alvensleben, R. & Meier, T. (1990). The influence of origin and variety on consumer perception. In *Acta horticulturae*, 259, p. 151-162. DOI: 10.17660/ActaHortic.1990.259.13
- Assadourian, E. (2010). Transforming cultures: From consumerism to sustainability. In *Journal of macromarketing*, 30 (2), p. 186-191.
- Beaty, R.E., Silvia, P.J. & Benedek, M. (2017). Brain networks underlying novel metaphor production. In *Brain and cognition*, 111, p. 163-170.
- Bianchi, C. (2011). Semiotic approaches to advertising texts and strategies: Narrative, passion, marketing. In *Semiotica*, 183 (1/4), p. 243-271.
- Bort-Mir, L., Bolognesi, M. & Ghaffaryan, S. (2020). Cross-cultural interpretation of filmic metaphors: A think-aloud experiment. In *Intercultural pragmatics*, 17 (4), p. 389-416.
- Chapman, J. (2015). *Emotionally durable design: Objects, experiences and empathy*. London: Routledge.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2006). Britain as a container: Immigration metaphors in the 2005 election campaign. In *Discourse & society*, 17 (5), p. 563-581.

- Charteris-Black, J. (2004). *Corpus approaches to critical metaphor analysis*. Berlin: Springer.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2012). Forensic deliberations on 'purposeful metaphor'. In *Metaphor and the social world*, 2 (1), p. 1-21.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2011). *Politicians and rhetoric: The persuasive power of metaphor*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Codeluppi, V. (2013). Towards a model for the analysis of advertising. In *Pensar la publicidad*, 7 (1), p. 67-87.
- De Angelis, M., Adıgüzel, F. & Amatulli, C. (2017). The role of design similarity in consumers' evaluation of new green products: An investigation of luxury fashion brands. In *Journal of cleaner production*, 141, p. 1515-1527.
- Fairclough, N. (2013). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. Harlow: Longman.
- Flatters, P. & Willmott, M. (2009). Understanding the post-recession consumer. In *Harvard business review*, 87 (7-8), p. 106-112.
- Floch, J.M. (1992). *Semiotica, marketing e comunicazione. Dietro i segni, le strategie*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.
- Forceville, C. (2002). The identification of target and source in pictorial metaphors. In *Journal of pragmatics*, 34 (1), p. 1-14.
- Freathy, P. & Thomas, I. (2015). Marketplace metaphors: communicating authenticity through visual imagery. In *Consumption markets & culture*, 18 (2), p. 178-194.
- Frøkjær, E. & Hornbæk, K. (2008). Metaphors of human thinking for usability inspection and design. In *ACM Transactions on computer-human interaction (TOCHI)*, 14 (4), p. 1-33.
- Gabriel, Y. & Lang, T. (1995). *The unmanageable consumer: Contemporary consumption and its fragmentations*. London: Sage.
- Goatly, A. (2007). *Washing the brain metaphor and hidden ideology*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

- Hart, C. (2008). Critical discourse analysis and metaphor: Toward a theoretical framework. In *Critical discourse studies*, 5 (2), p. 91-106.
- Hart, C. (2018). 'Riots engulfed the city': An experimental study investigating the legitimating effects of fire metaphors in discourses of disorder. In *Discourse & society*, 29 (3), 279-298.
- Heilbrunn, B. (2015). *Market mediations: Semiotic investigations on consumers, objects and brands*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ho, A.G. & Siu, K.W.M.G. (2012). Emotion design, emotional design, emotionalize design: A review on their relationships from a new perspective. In *The design journal*, 15 (1), p. 9-32.
- James, P. & Scerri, A. (2012). Globalizing consumption and the deferral of a politics of consequence. In *Globalizations*, 9 (2), p. 225-240.
- Jung, T. (2010). Citizens, co-producers, customers, clients, captives? A critical review of consumerism and public services. In *Public management review*, 12 (3), p. 439-446.
- Kharchenkova, S. (2018). The market metaphors: Making sense of the emerging market for contemporary art in China. In *Poetics*, 71, p. 71-82.
- Kövecses, Z. (2018). Metaphor in media language and cognition: A perspective from conceptual metaphor theory. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, III (1), June 2018, p. 124-141. DOI: 10.2478/lart-2018-0004 ISSN 2453-8035
- Kövecses, Z. (2015). *Where metaphors come from: Reconsidering context in metaphor*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kumar, M. & Noble, Ch.H. (2016). Beyond form and function: Why do consumers value product design? In *Journal of business research*, 69 (2), p. 613-620.
- Lakoff, G. (1993). The contemporary theory of metaphor. In *Metaphor and thought*. Ortony, A. (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 202-250.
- Lakoff, G. (1994). What is a conceptual system? In *The nature and ontogenesis of meaning*. Overton, W. & Palermo, D. (eds.). Hillsdale: Erlbaum, p. 41-90.

- Lakoff, G., Espenson, J. & Schwartz, A. (1991). *Master metaphor list. Second draft copy. Cognitive Linguistics Group*. California: University of California at Berkeley.
- Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1999). *Philosophy in the flesh: The embodied mind and its challenge to western thought*. New York: Basic Book.
- Landau, M.J., Meier, B.P. & Keefer, L.A. (2010). A metaphor-enriched social cognition. In *Psychological bulletin*, 136 (6), p. 1045-1067.
- Lazar, M. (2009). Gender, war and body politics: A critical multimodal analysis of metaphor in advertising. In *Politics, gender and conceptual metaphors*. Ahrens, K. (ed.). Basingstoke – New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 209-234.
- Lerche, V., Christmann, U. & Voss, A. (2018). Impact of context information on metaphor elaboration. In *Experimental psychology*, 65 (6), p. 370-384.
- Machin, D. & Van Leeuwen, T. (2016). Multimodality, politics and ideology. In *Journal of language and politics*, 15 (3), p. 243-258.
- Maniatis, P. (2016). Investigating factors influencing consumer decision-making while choosing green products. In *Journal of cleaner production*, 132, p. 215-228.
- McGregor, S.L. (2008). Ideological maps of consumer education. In *International journal of consumer studies*, 32 (5) p. 545-552.
- Mourey, J.A., Olson, J.G. & Yoon, C. (2017). Products as pals: Engaging with anthropomorphic products mitigates the effects of social exclusion. In *Journal of consumer research*, 44 (2), p. 414-431.
- Morozova, O. (2017). Monomodal and multimodal instantiations of conceptual metaphors of Brexit. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, II (2), December 2017, p. 250-283. DOI: 10.1515/lart-2017-0017 ISSN 2453-8035
- Norman, E.D. (2004). *Emotional design: Why we love (or hate) everyday things*. New York: Basic Books.
- Norman, E.D. (2013). *The design of everyday things: Revised and expanded edition*. New York: Basic Books.

- Poppi, F.I.M. (2018). *Machina ex homine, homo ex machina: Metaphor and ideology in Shinya Tsukamoto's "Tetsuo: The iron man"*. In *Metaphor and the social world*, 8 (2), p. 207-228.
- Poppi, F.I.M. (2017). *Multa paucis: Multimodal metaphor representation of consumerism across the "Great Recession"*. Doctoral Thesis. United Kingdom: University of East Anglia.
- Poppi, F.I.M., Bolognesi, M. & Ojha, A. (2020). *Imago Dei: Metaphorical conceptualization of pictorial artworks within a participant-based framework*. In *Semiotica*, 237-237, p. 349-376.
- Poppi, F.I.M. & Urios-Aparisi, E. (2019). *De corporibus humanis: Metaphor and ideology in the representation of the human body in cinema*. In *Metaphor and symbol*, 33 (4), p. 295-314.
- Rossolatos, G. (2018). *Interdiscursive readings in cultural consumer research*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Semino, E. (2008). *Metaphor in discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sklair, L. (2010). *Iconic architecture and the culture-ideology of consumerism*. In *Theory, culture & society*, 27 (5), p. 135-159.
- Šorm, E. & Steen, G.J. (2013). *Processing visual metaphor: A study in thinking out loud*. In *Metaphor and the social world*, 3 (1), p. 1-34.
- Steen, G.J., Dorst, A.G., Herrmann, J.B., Kaal, A.A., Krennmayr, T. & Pasma, T. (2010). *A method for linguistic metaphor identification: From MIP to MIPVU*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Taupin, P. (2019). *The contribution of narrative semiotics of experiential imaginary to the ideation of new digital customer experiences*. In *Semiotica*, 2019 (230), p. 447-473.
- Triberti, S., Chirico, A., La Rocca, G. & Riva, G. (2017). *Developing emotional design: Emotions as cognitive processes and their role in the design of interactive technologies*. In *Frontiers in psychology*, 8, p. 17-73.

Ulrich, K.T. & Pearson, S. (1998). Assessing the importance of design through product archaeology. In *Management science*, 44 (3), p. 352-369.

Wang, H., Runtsova, T. & Chen, H. (2013). Economy is an organism – a comparative study of metaphor in English and Russian economic discourse. In *Text & talk*, 33 (2), p. 259-288.

Wolff, E.N. (2006). *Growth, accumulation, and unproductive activity: An analysis of the postwar US economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

### Contact data

Author #1

	<p><i>name:</i> <i>academic title / rank:</i> <i>department:</i> <i>institution:</i>  <i>department:</i> <i>institution:</i>  <i>e-mail:</i> <i>fields of interest:</i></p>	<p><b>Fabio I.M. Poppi</b> PhD (Language and Communication Studies) Research Associate / Associate Professor Institute of English Studies University of Łódź 171/17, Pomorska St., Łódź, 90-218, Poland Institute of Linguistics and Intercultural Communication Sechenov Moscow University 3A, Sadovaya-Kudrinskaya St., Moscow, 123242, Russian Federation <a href="mailto:fabioimpoppi@me.com">fabioimpoppi@me.com</a> Art, discourse, ideology, metaphor, narrative, pragmatics.</p>
--	---	--

## Contact data

Author #2

	<p><i>name:</i> <i>academic title / rank:</i> <i>department:</i> <i>institution:</i>  <i>e-mail:</i> <i>fields of interest:</i></p>	<p><b>Eduardo Urios-Aparisi</b> PhD (Philology) Associate Professor Department of Literatures, Cultures and Language University of Connecticut 365 Fairfield Way Unit 1057 Storrs, CT 06269-1057 <a href="mailto:eduardo.urios-aporisi@uconn.edu">eduardo.urios-aporisi@uconn.edu</a> Cinema, Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Dynamic Systems Theory, Art.</p>
---	---	--

## Résumé

The present study provides an explorative framework for the metaphorical conceptualization of consumerism by the analysis of TV commercials broadcast in England and Italy. We present the results of a two-step research. In the first step informants from Italy and United Kingdom performed a "think aloud" task in order to elicit how people conceptualize different aspects of consumerist practices. The second step was identifying underlying metaphors and connecting those metaphors with valorization strategies and design categories. Our conclusion shows that a series of styles of consumption can be identified to define consumerism, namely: The Practical-Behavioural style, the Utopic-Reflective style, the Critical, and the Ludic-Visceral one. These styles of consumption are a combination of strategies of valorization that define the consumers' attitudes and the products' design categories – design typologies – that define the features afforded by the product to the consumer. These four styles of consumption can be regarded as motivational factors that induce people to buy certain products because of their pattern of properties (design typology) or because of the image emerging from processes of advertising and promotion (strategies of valorization). Applying principles from Critical Metaphor Analysis consumerism is defined by patterns of metaphors that evoke particular ideological frameworks, that are coherent sets of ideas and beliefs that

provides an organized and systematic representation of the world. Those frameworks highlight the anthropomorphic features of the products and favour emotional and social values over practical and critical ones. In this contribution, consumerism seems to determine our decision-making as it integrates the design affordances of the product, our knowledge about the object and its context of use, the underlying motivations for use, and the valorization strategies used by advertising to promote products as they represent specific sets of wants and needs.

**Key words:** consumerism, critical metaphor analysis, ideology, metaphor, TV commercial.

## Appendix

Table 1. Source domains and occurrence of metaphorically related words

Source domains categories	Metaphor occurrence	Examples
<b>Feeling and Personality (19)</b>	Feeling (4) Falling (Being) In Love (2) Mood (2) Being Strong (2) Joy (3) Friendship (1) Appreciating/Loving A Country (2) Making Love (3)	A Fiesta is joy, a feeling of joy" (FIESTA IS JOY) "Driving a 207 is like falling in love, I'd say" (DRIVING A 207 IS FALLING IN LOVE)
<b>Art and Artefacts (24)</b>	Music/Song (4) Art (2) Artwork/Piece Of Art (3) Artist (2) Musician (3) Monument (2) Musical instruments (8)	"Then a Focus is a musical instrument, indeed" (A FOCUS IS A MUSICAL INSTRUMENT) "A CORSA is complex, I, I don't know, it's a piece of contemporary art" (A CORSA IS A PIECE OF ART)
<b>People (11)</b>	Friend (3) Relative (1) Assistant (2) Woman (3) Stylist (1)	"a FIESTA will never let you down, like a friend" (FIESTA IS A FRIEND) "[FOCUS] it's like an assistant, you can ask and...it's at your service" (FOCUS IS AN ASSISTANT)

	Actor (1)	
<b>Nature and Animals (7)</b>	Ladybug (3) Horse (1) Rainbow (1) Nest (1) Dog (1)	"A Corsa is a nest, it's for the insects you see" (CORSA IS A NEST) "La Punto è da domare, come un cavallo di razza, non è per tutti diciamo" "A Punto is something to tame, it's like a purebred horse, it's not for everyone let's say" (A PUNTO IS A HORSE)
<b>Fight and Combat (5)</b>	Shield (2) Bunker (1) Armour (2)	"A Focus is a shield, I mean against the dangers of driving, you know, a shield to be safe" (A FOCUS IS A SHIELD) "[Focus] It's a shield, or armour for the driver." (A FOCUS IS A SHIELD/ARMOUR)
<b>Actions and Dynamics (9)</b>	Risking Life (2) Time Travelling (1) Winning (3) Living A Day (2) Being Special (1)	"Driving a Corsa is like risking your life, it's the same thing, the same emotions, the adrenaline and and...things like that" (DRIVING A 'CORSA' IS RISKING YOUR LIFE) "Se guidi questa macchina viaggi nel tempo" / "If you drive this car you travel through time" (DRIVING A 'FIESTA' IS TIME TRAVELING)
<b>Health (7)</b>	Stimulant (3) Drug (2) Tranquilizer (2)	"From the motto you understand that the 207 is a stimulant, like Viagra" (THE 207 IS A (SEXUAL) STIMULANT) "Can you be addicted to a car [Golf]? Well, yes, I think so and that is the meaning of the ad" (A GOLF IS A DRUG)
<b>Commodities (14)</b>	TV (5) Suit/Tuxedo (3) Laundry Machine (2) Swimming Pool (1) Puppet/Doll (3)	"The Fiesta is a TV, really a TV, I mean, see the images?" (A FIESTA IS A TELEVISION SET) "I'd say a Golf is like a very cool suit, a suit, not something for...pretenders, great quality stuff" (A GOLF IS A SUIT)
<b>Other (19)</b>	Devil/Angel (2) Paradise (2) Right (3) Money Saver (2) Room (1) Time/Historical Period (2) Freedom (2) Power (2) Human Sense (2) Instinct (1)	"A Golf is a kind of power that changes things, even your life" (A GOLF IS POWER) "A Focus is your sight, your senses" (A FOCUS IS A SIGHT, combined with UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING)

Table 2. Source domains in relation to the Design categories and Valorization strategies

Source domains	Metaphor occurrence	Norman's design categories	Floch's valorization strategies	Total
Feeling and Personality (19)	Feeling (4) Falling (Being) In Love (2) Mood (2) Being Strong (2) Joy (3) Friendship (1) Appreciating/Loving A Country (2) Making Love (3)	Reflective	Utopic	19
Art and Artefacts (24)	Music/Song (4) Art (2) Artwork/Piece Of Art (3) Artist (2) Musician (3) Monument (2) Musical Instrument (8)	Ludic	Visceral	24
People (11)	Friend (3) Relative (1) Assistant (2) Woman (3) Stylist (1) Actor (1)	Practical	Behavioural	8
		Ludic	Visceral	3
Nature and Animals (7)	Ladybug (3) Horse (1) Rainbow (1) Nest (1) Dog (1)	Reflective	Utopic	1
		Practical	Behavioural	6
Fight and Combat (5)	Shield (2) Bunker (1) Armour (2)	Practical	Behavioural	5
Actions and Dynamics (9)	Risking Life (2) Time Travelling (1) Winning (3) Living A Day (2) Being Special (1)	Utopic	Reflective	9
Health (7)	Stimulant (3) Drug (2) Tranquillizer (2)	Utopic	Reflective	7

Commodities (14)	TV (5) Suit/Tuxedo (3) Laundry Machine (2) Swimming Pool (1) Puppet/Doll (3)	Ludic	Visceral	9
		Rest		5
Other (19)	Devil/Angel (2) Paradise (2) Right (3) Money Saver (2) Room (1) Time/Historical Period (2) Freedom (2) Power (2) Human Sense (2) Instinct (1)	Critical		4
		Ludic	Visceral	2
		Practical	Behavioural	4
		Utopic	Reflective	7
		Rest		2

Table 3. Styles of consumption and their features dimensions

Styles of Consumption	Practical-Behavioural (PB)	Utopic-Reflective (UR)	Critical (CR)	Ludic-Visceral (LV)	Rest
<b>Main features of the style</b>	- Utility - Practical Aspects	- Self-image - Identity	- Cost - Cost / Benefits	- Appearance - Non-practical Aspects	Rest
<b>Dimensions associated to the styles</b>	- Comfort - Performance - Easy To Drive - Reliability - Security - Customization	- Tradition - Innovation - Uniqueness - Personality - Feelings - Mood - Cultural Knowledge	- Convenience - Saving Promotions - Fuel Consumption	- Prestige - Style - Luxury - Taste - Social Impact	Rest

Article was received by the editorial board 07.02.2021;

Reviewed 06.04.2021 and 08.05.2021.

Similarity Index 0%

## LEGE ARTIS

Language yesterday, today, tomorrow

Vol. VI. No 1 2021

# SLAVIC AND GERMANIC REFLEXES OF PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN ROOT *\*H<sub>2</sub>UEH<sub>1</sub>*- 'WIND': A COMPARATIVE STUDY

*Mikołaj Rychło\**

*Faculty of Languages, University of Gdansk, Poland*

**Bibliographic description:** Rychło, M. (2021). Slavic and Germanic reflexes of Proto-Indo-European root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>*- 'wind': A comparative study. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Trnava: University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, 2021, VI (1), June 2021, p. 190-232. ISSN 2453-8035

**Abstract:** The aim of this paper is twofold: firstly, to clarify the morphological and phonological differences between Slavic *\*větrъ* and Germanic *\*windaz* (and their Polish and English reflexes); secondly, to explain their origin. In addition to outlining and comparing the strong and weak points of the etymologies offered so far, the article presents new arguments supporting the deducibility of *\*větrъ* from *\*vět-*, substantiated by the Kajkavian *zavet / zavetje* 'place sheltered from wind'.

**Key words:** etymology, Polish-English cognates, Slavic-Germanic cognates, diachronic word-formation, sound changes, Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Slavic, Proto-Germanic.

## 1. Introduction

The present paper investigates the etymology of Proto-Slavic (PSl.) *\*větrъ* and Proto-Germanic (PGmc) *\*windaz* and compares their evolution into modern Polish *wiatr* and modern English *wind*. The relationship between these Slavic and Germanic words is not clear. Are they cognates? Which morphological material can be considered inherited and which reflects distinct word formation processes? What morphological and phonological changes did the words undergo? What is their etymology? These are the main questions of the research in this article.

---

\* I feel indebted to Prof. Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak and two anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments. Thanks are also due to Penny Shefton for proofreading the whole paper and to Tadeusz Z. Wolański for proofreading an earlier version of this article. For all the errors that still remain I alone am responsible.

The current paper is part of a bigger project which concentrates on the Indo-European heritage in modern Polish and English. Since the etymology of the words under scrutiny can be traced back to the period ancestral to the formation of individual Slavic and Germanic languages, it should work for both Polish and other Slavic languages, and likewise, not only for English, but also for other Germanic languages. Therefore, an attempt has been made to present the problem and the solution in the broader context: first of all, to clarify the Slavic etymology and the Germanic one (though this one is less controversial), and secondly, to move further back in time to inspect the common Proto-Indo-European legacy. Nevertheless, in order to account for the differences between Polish *wiatr* and English *wind*, some of the sound changes investigated are those which occurred only in the histories of these individual languages.

Section 2 introduces the material and methodology. The scope of the research includes reflexes of the PIE root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-*, which are presented in individual Indo-European languages. Section 3 analyses the origin of the Germanic and Slavic reflexes of the PIE root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-* from a morphological perspective. Since the structure of the Germanic words is relatively straightforward, the greatest challenge in this research is the Slavic etymology. The section offers an evaluation of a number of hypotheses with regard to the original word-formation processes behind the Proto-Slavic *\*větrъ*. Section 4 focuses on the sound changes responsible for the difference in the shape of the root between English *wind* and Polish *wiatr*. Among the problems raised here is the question of why all Germanic cognates point to the vowel *\*i* (which developed from *\*e*), whereas, outside Germanic languages, we find the evidence for long *\*ē*. Section 5 presents the conclusion by outlining the development of the words for 'wind' in two descending lines: the "Slavic" one leading from Proto-Indo-European to modern Polish, and the "Germanic" one leading from Proto-Indo-European to modern English.

## 2. Material and methodology

The following section concentrates on the material, i.e. the attestations of the analysed words in individual languages, and on the methodology. After a brief juxtaposition of the representative cognates for the derivational base, i.e. the verb meaning 'to blow' (in Section 2.1), PGmc *\*windaz* will be supported with cognates in various Germanic languages (in Section 2.2); subsequently (in Section 2.3), the formation represented by PSl. *\*větrъ* will be similarly presented within the Baltic-Slavic context. Each of the subsections ends with a list of proto-forms accompanied by references. Section 2.4 outlines the methodology.

### 2.1 Evidence for the derivational base of PSl. *\*větrъ* and PGmc *\*windaz*

Polish *wiatr* as well as English *wind* can be shown to have developed from PSl. *\*větrъ* and PGmc *\*windaz*, respectively. They both can be analysed as nouns formed from the verb meaning 'to blow', which performed a motivating role for the derivatives. Therefore, the following section concentrates on the attestations of this verb.

Within Germanic, the verb in question is attested as in Gothic *waian*, Old English *wāwan*, Old Frisian *wāia*, Old High German *wāen* (Modern German *wehen*). Kroonen (2013: 576) reconstructs Proto-Germanic *\*wēan-* and Proto-Indo-European *\*h<sub>2</sub>uéh<sub>1</sub>-e-*.

Within Slavic, apart from Polish *wiać* '(of wind) to blow', the word is also attested in OCS *vějati* '(of wind) to blow', 1sg. *vějō*; Russian *véjat'* (*вѣять*) 'to winnow, (of wind) to blow', 1sg. *véju*; Ukrainian *víjaty* (*віяту*); Old Czech *váti* '(of wind) to blow', 1sg. *věju*; *viēti*, 1sg. *věju*; Czech *váti* '(of wind) to blow', 1sg. *věji*; Slovak *viat'* '(of wind) to blow'; Serbo-Croatian *vijati* 'to winnow, to fall heavily (of snow)', 1sg. *vijēm' vijēm'* (based on the Čakavian dialects: Vrgada and Orbanići); Slovene *věti* '(of wind) to blow, to winnow', 1sg. *vějem*; *vějati* 'to winnow, (of wind) to blow', 1sg. *vějām*, 1sg. *vějēm*; Bulgarian *véja* '(of wind) to blow, to blow away, to winnow' – cf. Derksen (2008: 519) and Vasmer (1955: 196). On the basis of these forms, the reconstructed Proto-Slavic etymon is *\*vějati*.

Outside Slavic, the next branch to look for the cognates is Baltic. Even if there are some doubts as to whether the Balto-Slavic should be understood as a common ancestor (i.e. a common period in the development of Slavic and Baltic languages), of all Indo-European branches, no other branch can be considered more closely related. The evidence of the cognates in the Baltic languages is rarely mentioned, but cf. Smoczyński (2020: 1965, s.v. *vėtra*) and Derksen (2015: 499), who distinguish Lithuanian *vėti*, *vėja*, *vėjo* with two meanings: 'to blow' in Old Lithuanian and 'to winnow' in dialects of Lithuanian. Smoczyński (2020: 1965, s.v. *vėtra*) and Derksen (2008: 519, 2015: 499) are unanimous in reconstructing Proto-Indo-European *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-*.

The cognates outside Germanic and Balto-Slavic include: Vedic *vāti*, Homeric Greek ἄησι [áɛ:si] (from Proto-Indo-European *\*h<sub>2</sub>wéh<sub>1</sub>ti* – cf. Ringe 2006: 191), Avestan (Young) *vāiti* (all of them in the sense of 'blows' 3sg.). Kroonen (2013: 576) also adduces Hittite *huuāi* ~ *hūianzi* 'to run, to hurry', for which he reconstructs *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-ói-ei-*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-énti-*. According to Mann (1984/87: 1506), the late Indo-European ancestor of these words may be reconstructed as *\*uējō* (*uēmi*, '*uēmi*).

## 2.2 Evidence for the participial formation of *\*h<sub>2</sub>uéh<sub>1</sub>-ent-o-s*

In the Germanic languages, the word in question has very similar forms: Gothic *winds*, Old Norse *vindr*, Old English *wind*, Old Frisian *wind*, Old Saxon *wind*, Dutch *wind*, Old High German *wint*, and German *Wind*. Consequently, the Proto-Germanic *\*winda-* does not seem surprising (cf. Kroonen 2013: 587, who also reconstructs IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>uéh<sub>1</sub>-ent-o-*), although Orel (2003: 454) deduces *\*wendāz* assuming that the change *\*e > \*i* must have occurred later than the reconstructed stage.

Outside Germanic, the cognates can be found in Hittite *huuant-* (< *\*h<sub>2</sub>uh<sub>1</sub>-ent-*), Tocharian A *want*, *wānt*, Tocharian B *yente*, Latin *ventus* Old Irish *fet* (cf. Matasović 2009: 423), in some sources spelled as *feth* (e.g., Kroonen 2013: 584), and Welsh *gwynt* 'wind' < *\*wento-* < *wēnto* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-(e)nt-o-*. According to Kroonen (2013: 587), Vedic *vāta-*, and Avestan (Old and Young) *vāta-* 'wind' point to *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-nt-o-*, whereas

Mann (1984/87: 1531), on the basis of the Indo-Iranian cognates as well as the Greek ones, posits \* $\underline{u}\bar{e}tos$ ,  $\bar{a}$ , *is* ( $\underline{u}\bar{e}tos$ ) 'wind, air, breeze' as a distinct entry.

De Vaan (2008: 662) reconstructs the following paradigm: nom. sg. \* $h_2ueh_1nt-s$ , acc. sg. \* $h_2uh_1ent-m$ , gen. sg. \* $h_2uh_1nt-os$ , and accounts the development from PIE \* $h_2uh_1ent-o-$ , which first yielded pre-Italic \* $\underline{u}\bar{e}nto-$ , and subsequently Osthoff's shortening would produce \**wento-*.

The reconstructions of the Proto-Indo-European form and meaning, available in Pokorny (2002[1959]: 81-84), Mann (1984/87: 1515, 1531), Mallory and Adams (2006: 128-129), Watkins (2011: 98), Kroonen (2013: 587), and Ringe (2006: 77, 149) have the following shapes:

(1)

Pokorny:	IE * $\underline{au}(\bar{e})-$ , * $\underline{au}\bar{e}(i)-$ , * $\underline{u}\bar{e}-$ , Partiz. * $\underline{u}\bar{e}nt-$
Mann:	IE * $\underline{u}\bar{e}ntos$ ( $\underline{u}\bar{e}ntos$ ) 'blow, blowing, wind, gust'
Mallory and Adams:	PIE * $h_2weh_1nt-$ 'wind'
Watkins:	IE * $w\bar{e}nt-o-$ < * $h_2weh_1-$ (Germanic * <i>windaz</i> )
Kroonen:	PIE * $h_2u\acute{e}h_1ent-o-$
Ringe:	post-PIE * $h_2weh_1nt\acute{o}s$

Some of the differences are due to the variety of conventions (e.g., \* $\underline{u}$  or \* $w$ ), others result from acceptance or rejection of laryngeals. Both approaches can be reconciled assuming there are two stages: the earlier, which takes advantage of the evidence from Hittite: Proto-Indo-European \* $h_2\underline{u}eh_1-$ , and the later, Indo-European \* $\underline{u}\bar{e}-$ .

### 2.3 Evidence for the derivatives containing \* $h_2\underline{u}eh_1-$ and -tr-

The word is attested in Old Church Slavonic as well as Old Russian *větrъ* (*вѣтръ*), Russian *véter* (*вѣтер*, gen. sg. *вѣтра*), Ukrainian *víter* (*вимер*), Czech *vítr*, Slovak *viator*, Polish *wiatr*, Upper Sorbian *wětr*, Lower Sorbian *wjets̩*, Slovincian<sup>1</sup> *vjātěr*,

Serbo-Croatian *vjètar* (*ejèmap*) gen. sg. *vjètra*, Slovene *vèter*, Bulgarian *vjátăr* (*вѣтър*) (cf. Derksen 2008: 520; Vasmer 1955: 194).

Further evidence supporting the formation with *tr* comes from Baltic: Lithuanian *vėtra* f. 'storm', (*vėjas* 'wind'), Latvian *vētra* f. 'storm', and Old Prussian *wetro* f. 'wind' (Mažiulis 1997: 233). These Slavic and Baltic formations containing *tr* have been compared with the Germanic word *\*wepra-* ~ *\*wedra-* n. 'weather' (Old Norse *veðr* n., Old English *weder*, Old High German *wetar*), which, for some etymologists, is a cognate (cf. Klein 1966: 1733-1734); for others, a parallel structure – cf. Smoczyński (2020: 1965, s.v. *vėtra*). From the perspective of Germanic etymologists, the word for 'weather' can also be compared to the Slavic word for 'good weather', namely Proto-Slavic *\*vedro* (OCS *vedro*, Russian *vědro* (obsolete, colloquial, dialectal), Czech *vedro* 'sweltering heat') – cf. Klein (1966: 1733-1734), Derksen (2008: 513), who reconstructs Proto-Indo-European *\*ued<sup>h</sup>rom*, Kluge (2011: 985), Orel (2003: 452). Kroonen (2013: 583-584) reconstructs "a mobile neuter in Pre-Gm., viz. *\*uétr-om*, pl. *\*uétr-éh<sub>2</sub>*," which in his opinion implies that "the received etymological link with OCS *vedro* n. 'clear sky' < *\*uedhro-* cannot be maintained." Likewise, the connection between the Germanic word for 'weather' and the Slavic word for 'wind' is "formally problematic as well, because the underlying form would give PGm. *\*wēpra-* (laryngeals are not lost before *\*CR-*)". Instead, the Germanic languages point to *\*wepra-* ~ *\*wedra-* n. 'weather' (Old Norse *veðr* n., Faroese *veður* n., Elfdalian *wēðer* n., Old English *weder* n. > English *weather*, Old Frisian *weder* n., Old Saxon *wedar* n., Dutch *weer* n., Old High German *wetar* n., German *Wetter* n.). Although Kroonen (2013: 583) specifies the same meaning 'weather' for all these cognates, it is notable that the semantic characterization of Icelandic *veður* in Magnússon (1989: 1112) includes such notions as *illviðri* 'stormy weather' and *stormur* 'storm, strong gale (wind force 9)'.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, it is not only the morphological and phonological similarity, but also their semantic relatedness which raises the question of whether the connection is only coincidental. Mann (1984/87: 1532) also juxtaposes the Balto-Slavic forms with Greek *a-ěsuros* 'airy, flimsy, agile', and Sanskrit *vātulaḥ*, *vātalaḥ* 'windy, airy'.

On the basis of the evidence provided above, etymological dictionaries offer the following Indo-European reconstructions:

(2)

Pokorny (2002[1959]: 83): IE \* $\underline{a}u(\bar{e})-$ , \* $\underline{a}u\bar{e}(i)-$ , \* $\underline{u}\bar{e}-$ , under *t*-  
Weiterbildungen

Boryś (2005: 687): IE \* $\underline{u}\bar{e}-tro-$

Kroonen (2013: 584): PIE \* $\underline{ue}h_1-tro$ -<sup>3</sup>

Mann (1984/87: 1532): IE \* $\underline{u}\bar{e}turos$  ( $\underline{u}\bar{e}tr-$ , ' $\underline{u}\bar{e}tur-$ ') 'windy, wind'

Smoczyński (2020: 1965, s.v. *vétra*): PIE \* $\underline{h}_2\underline{ue}h_1-treh_2-$  (Proto-Baltic \* $\underline{u}\bar{e}-tr\bar{a}-$ )

Derksen (2015: 500): PIE \* $\underline{h}_2\underline{ue}h_1-tr-o-$

#### 2.4 *The methodology*

The approach to contrastive analysis which has been adopted in the present paper aims at revealing the common inherited element in modern languages and, subsequently, at explaining the morphological, phonological and semantic changes which lead to the discrepancies between the form and/or meaning of those pairs of cognates under analysis. The notion of a common inherited element refers to a shared, archaic layer in a pair or group of modern languages which contains relics of a common ancestor language, i.e. Proto-Indo-European. Baltic and Slavic languages are attested relatively late – the earliest surviving language is Old Church Slavonic, which was standardized in the 860s by the Byzantine missionaries Saints Cyril and Methodius, who are credited with translating the Bible and other Ancient Greek ecclesiastical texts as part of the Christianization of the Slavs. The oldest extant texts appear over a century later (cf. Lunt 2001: 1-4). It is quite likely that there was another common ancestor language of (Balto-) Slavic and Germanic which was spoken later than Proto-Indo-European, but little is known of this language and, to the best knowledge of the present author, there have been no attempts at reconstructing it.

One of the basic notions referring to a lexical item which occurs in at least two genetically related languages can be shown to have developed from a common ancestor is that of the *cognate*. In other words, the term can also be defined as "one of two or more words or morphemes which are directly descended from a single ancestral form in the single common ancestor of the languages in which the words or morphemes are found, with no borrowing" (cf. Trask 2000: 62). Examples of cognates are Polish *pięść* vs English *fist*, Polish *trzoda* vs English *herd*, Polish *miód* 'honey' vs English *mead*, Polish *wetna* vs English *wool*, etc. For detailed analyses of these cognates, see Rychło (2012; 2013; 2018a).

All these examples can be labelled as exact cognates. Although this term is not found in Trask's *Dictionary of Historical and Comparative Linguistics* (2000), it can be seen as an expected opposite of what Trask defines as *partial cognates*: "Linguistic forms which contain morphological material that is narrowly cognate but at least some of which contain additional material not present in the others" (Trask 2000: 248). By contrast, *exact cognates* can be defined as: Linguistic forms which do not contain additional morphological material which is not cognate. Exact cognates can further be exemplified by the following pairs:

(3)

Polish *gęś* vs English *goose*

Polish *wetna* vs English *wool*

Polish *żywy* vs English *quick*

Polish *broda* vs English *beard*

Polish *gnieść* vs English *knead*

Polish *pełny* vs English *full*

Polish *syn* vs English *son*

Polish *złoto* vs English *gold*

Each of the pairs is descended from the same proto-form in the single ancestor language and does not reveal any traces of later word-formation processes. Some of the exact cognates may exhibit stem-formative adjustments characteristic of the word class, a shift in the stem-class, thematization, etc., but these belong to inflection and not to word-formation.

*Partial cognates* point to independent word-formation processes that often occurred in later daughter languages, for example:

(4)

Polish *gąska* vs English *gosling*

Polish *wetniany* vs English *woolly*

Polish *żywo* vs English *quickly*

Polish *bezbrody* vs English *beardless*

Polish *ugniatacz* vs English *kneader*

Polish *napelnić* vs English *fill*

Polish *synek* vs English *sonny*

Polish *pozłocić* vs English *gild*

As can be seen, these words with distinct word-formation patterns are not actually inherited, but they were derived in already differentiated languages. They only exhibit cognate roots. Many of them display distinct affixes and reflect independent word-formation processes, which occurred relatively recently. Sometimes one or more languages have lost exact cognate(s) and partial cognates are the only words which survive, for example: Polish *rżysko* 'stubble' preserves the obsolete word *reż* 'rye', which finds cognates in many Slavic and Germanic languages, e.g., Slovak *raž*, Russian *рожь* (*рожь*), English *rye* – cf. Rychło (2018b).

The present paper investigates the pair of cognates: Polish *wiatr* vs English *wind*, which can also be considered partial cognates since they share only the root while their

respective suffixes result from different word-formation processes. The methodology used in this comparative analysis includes the following research stages:

Stage 1 (assessment of the time of attestation) consists in confirming that the candidates for cognates have been attested in the compared languages since the earliest period in the recorded histories of both languages. In the case of the pair: Polish *wiatr* vs English *wind*, there is no doubt about it, but in other cases, there are sometimes pairs of words in compared languages which look alike, because one or both of them were borrowed at some point in history.

Stage 2 (assessment of the scope of attestation) attempts to determine the prehistory of the cognates at issue. Although there is no way of ascertaining the form of words before the time of their earliest attestation, it is possible to reconstruct the prehistoric words with some degree of probability. To this end, it is necessary to compare the corresponding words in the cognate languages starting from the most closely related ones. In the case of P *wiatr* vs E *wind*, in Sections 2.1–2.3, we have seen an extensive scope of attestation in numerous languages from all the subbranches of Slavic and Germanic, including the oldest one (Old Church Slavonic and Gothic, respectively). Based on this comparison, there is little doubt that we can reconstruct PSI. \**větrъ* and PGmc \**windaz*.

Stage 3 (the morphological analysis) investigates the structure of each of the cognates at issue. This stage involves the following steps:

- A. Determining which morphological material in a pair of words is cognate (shared and inherited).
- B. Determining the word-formation processes involved in deriving each of the words under analysis.
- C. Revealing the structural meaning of the words in question.

Stage 4 (the phonological analysis) aims at clarifying the phonological differences between the compared words. To this end, an attempt will be made (in Section 4) to find out which sound changes have affected each of the compared words, and when these phonological processes occurred. As an extra procedure, in order to be more convincing, the postulated sound changes should be illustrated with further examples of words (and cognates) which exhibit their effects.

Apart from the four stages described above, the methodology also includes a semantic connection, which can be illustrated with an investigation of the set of cognates containing Gothic *wopjan*, English *weep* and Polish *wabić* (Rychło 2014a, Rychło 2016). This stage need not be developed here, as comparing PSl. *\*větrь* and PGmc *\*windaz* does not present major semantic difficulties.

Although these procedures are designed to disclose shared inherited elements in the compared languages under review, their adoption further benefits the study in a broader context, i.e. apart from explaining the differences in cognates, recognising their evolution and revealing the ancient layer in the languages under comparison. Firstly, an analysis for the differences in cognates sometimes requires postulating new sound changes or refining existing ones. Secondly, the advantage of the new methodology is that it allows for further rigorous investigation in order to compare several etymologies and establish which is better justified. Full details of the analytical methodology are described in Rychło (2019).

### **3. The morphological analysis**

The aim of this section is to explain the morphological structures of Slavic *\*větrь* and Germanic *\*windaz*, which preserve the reflexes of the PIE root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-*. Section 3.1 concentrates on Germanic cognates which reflect the participial formation *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-ent-o-s*. Section 3.2 attempts to disentangle the formation *\*větrь*, revealed by the Slavic cognates. In subsections 3.2.1, 3.2.2 and 3.2.3, three possible etymologies are investigated: (1) *\*větrь* as an instrument with the suffix *\*-tro-*, (2) *\*větrь* as a nomen

agentis with the suffix *\*-ter-*, and (3) *\*větrь* as a derivative with the suffix *\*-rь* (PIE *\*-ro-*).

### 3.1 Germanic *\*windaz*

As the etymology of the Germanic *\*windaz* is more transparent and less controversial than that of the Slavic *\*větrь*, the first subsection concentrates on explaining the former. A cursory glance at the main difference between Slavic and Germanic words at issue reveals that the root in the Germanic words is followed by a suffix (possibly suffixes) containing the element *nd*, as opposed to *tr*, (Gothic *winds*, Old Norse *vindr*, Old English *wind*, Old Saxon *wind*, Old High German *wint*). When approaching modern English synchronically, the word *wind* must be considered monomorphemic, as no verb survives which could serve as the derivational base. Yet Old English had such a verb, viz. *wāwan* 'to blow', so diachronically English *wind* is a derivative, i.e. a complex word. The *nd* is reminiscent of German present (active) participles such as:

(5)

*der auf dem Stuhl sitzende Junge* 'the boy sitting on the chair' (from *sitzen* 'to sit')  
*in der kommenden Woche* 'in the coming week' (from *kommen* 'to come').

In Modern German, it seems that the *d* follows the infinitival ending *en*. Yet the comparison with Old English (e.g., *lufi-an* 'to love' vs *lufi-ende* 'loving') shows that the vowel of the participial suffix (*-ende*) was not identical with the vowel of the infinitive (*-an*). Consequently, the statement that *d* follows the infinitival ending *en* can only be seen as a simplified formulation for the synchronic purposes. From a historical perspective, the sounds *nd* belong to one morpheme, as they are descended from PIE *\*-nt-* (which alternated between *\*-ont-* and *\*-nt-* – cf. Fulk 2018: 253).

Old English had regular present (or active) participles, which were formed with *-ende* (cognate with Latin *-ent-*). Modern *-ing* results from the confusion of the weakened variant *-inde* with *-inge*. According to the Oxford English dictionary (OED 2009) (s.v.

-*ing*<sup>2</sup>), "this confusion is especially noticeable in MSS [Manuscripts] written by Anglo-Norman scribes in the 13<sup>th</sup> c. The final result was the predominance of the form *-inge*, and its general substitution for *-inde* in the 14<sup>th</sup> c."

There are also many borrowings from Latin (often with a French intermediary) which, etymologically, are present participles, e.g., *absent*, *pregnant*, *present*, *president*, etc. The correspondence of Latin *t* and Germanic *d* (Old English *-ende*) can be explained by Verner's Law, which indicates that either the stress must have followed this consonant, and fell on the ending: *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-nt-ó-* (in the case of the ancestor of the English *wind*) or, as Kroonen (2013: 587) argues, the participle suffix was in the full grade, and then the stress may have been initial: *\*h<sub>2</sub>uéh<sub>1</sub>-ent-o-*.

Apart from the regular present participles in *-ende*, the Germanic ancestor of Old English also had the class of *nd*-stem nouns which comprised substantivized present participles. The examples in Old English include: *hettend* 'enemy', *hǣlend* 'saviour', *tēond* 'accuser', *āgend* 'owner', *būend* 'inhabitant', *dēmend* 'judge', *wealdend* 'ruler', *wīgend* 'warrior', *frēond* 'friend', and *fēond* 'enemy'. The last two survive in Modern English as *friend*, *fiend*.

Old English grammars do not include *wind* in this class (cf. Campbell 1959: 257, § 632-634, Hogg & Fulk 2011: 62-64). It seems that the main reason for that lies in the fact that *wind* contains *i* as the root vowel, which does not undergo *i*-umlaut. Consequently, the declension of Old English *wind* does not differ from masculine *a*-stem declension. Nevertheless, etymologically, Old English *wind* and its Proto-Germanic ancestor *\*windaz* can be considered relics of such nominalized petrified present participles, even if it shifted to an *a*-stem declension.

The next question to examine is when the original present participle became fossilized. Don Ringe (2006: 203, 283) mentions *\*frijōnd-* 'friend' and *\*fijand-* 'enemy' as examples of participles that have been substantivized in all the daughters. He also states

that it "becomes a matter of speculation whether such a PGmc participle as *\*frijōnd-* 'loving' was already being used also in its attested derived function as a noun 'friend', and it seems more than a little rash to project back into PGmc the later class of fossilized agent-nouns in *-nd-*" (Ringe 2006: 199). Fulk (2018: 179) refers to this claim as "not impossible, but since Go. *frijōnds* and its Gmc. cognates all have the meaning 'friend' and do not inflect like participles in any Gmc. language, the assumption that PGmc. had *nd-*stem nouns cannot justly be called rash." Similar reasoning can also be applied to the case of PGmc *\*windaz*: Old English *wind* and its Germanic cognates all have the meaning 'wind' and do not inflect like participles in any Germanic language, these facts support the conclusion that PGmc *\*windaz* was already a substantivized present participle in Proto-Germanic. The material which is adduced in Section 2.2 permits an even bolder claim: since there are exact cognates in more than two other Indo-European branches outside Germanic (cf. Tocharian A *want*, *wānt*, Tocharian B *yente*, Latin *ventus*, Welsh *gwynt* 'wind', etc.) and they also have the meaning 'wind' and inflect like nouns, we can assume that the nominalization of *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-(e)nt-o-s* is as early as Proto-Indo-European.

There is one strikingly similar Slavic-Germanic pair, namely Polish *przyjaciel* 'friend' and English *friend* – cf. Rychło (2014b: 206). The relationship between these words resembles the one between Polish *wiatr* and English *wind* at least in two aspects. Firstly, in both Polish-English pairs the common root (but not the suffix) goes back to the shared etymon: *\*priH-* (Vedic *prīṇāti* 'please'; Old High German *frīten* 'to look after', OCS *prijati* 'take care of'), which later served as the derivational base for PSl. *\*prijatel'ь* 'friend' and, independently, for PGmc *\*fri(j)ōnd-* 'friend' (cf. Kroonen 2013: 156). Similarly, *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-* '(of wind) to blow' (Vedic *vāti*, Homeric Greek ἄησι [áɛ:si], Young Avestan *vāiti*, Gothic *waian*, Old English *wāwan*, OCS *vějati*) underlies both PSl. *\*větrь* and PGmc *\*windaz*. Secondly, the English words (i.e. *friend* and *wind*) in both pairs represent petrified present active participles, preserving the sounds *nd*, reminiscent of the German participles, while Polish words point to different word-formation processes. In the case of PSl. *\*prijatel'ь* 'friend', the formation is a *nomen*

*agentis* derived with the suffix *\*-tel'ь* (from *\*-tel-jo-*), which in Polish comes down as *-ciel*. The base of this derivation is PSI. *\*prijati* (OCS *prijati* 'take care of', Polish *(s)przyjać* 'be well disposed towards'). Parallel examples include: PSI. *\*datel'ь* 'giver, donor' (OCS *datel'ь* 'giver, donor', Russian (dial.) *dátel'* (*дамель*), Czech (rare) *datel*) from PSI. *\*dati* and PSI. *\*mьstitel'ь* 'revenger' (OCS *mьstitel'ь* 'revenger', Old Czech *mstitel*, Polish *mściciel*) from PSI. *\*mьstiti* (*se*) – cf. Matasović (2014: 28-30) for further examples and Trubachev (Трубачев 1994: 170) for PSI. *\*mьstitel'ь*. In the next section, we will attempt to unveil the word-formation processes relevant to understanding the etymology and structure of Proto-Slavic *\*větrь* 'wind'.

### 3.2 Slavic *\*větrь*

The comparison of the derived noun *\*větrь* with the corresponding verb *\*vějati* (cf. OCS *vějati*, Czech *vát*, Polish *wiać* 'to blow') indicates that the *\*-trь* in *\*větrь* might be interpreted as a suffix at first glance. Its most obvious ancestral form can be reconstructed as *\*-tro*. As early as in 1889, Brugmann made the following observation:

*"Baltisch-Slavisch. -tro- nur in wenigen und unsicheren Beispielen, wie lit. vé-tra 'Sturm' aksl. vě-trŭ 'Luft, Wind'. Die Unsicherheit beruht darauf, dass die Möglichkeit jüngeren Übertritts in die o-Decl. oder ā-Decl. nahe liegt, wie solcher bei aksl. bratr-ŭ 'Bruder' sestr-a 'Schwester' unzweifelhaft stattgefunden hat."* (1889: 115, §62). Eng. *"Balto-Slavic -tro- is found only in a few uncertain examples, as Lith. vé-tra 'storm' O.C.Sl. vě-trŭ 'air, wind'. The uncertainty is caused by the possibility of a later transference into the o- or ā-declension, which has undoubtedly taken place in O.C.Sl. bratr-ŭ 'brother' sestr-a 'sister'."* (1891: 121, §62).

The problem with this interpretation is that there are very few formations in which it is possible to discern further instances of the putative suffix in Slavic, especially if we want to find the same form of the suffix.

Sławski (2011: 130 [1974–1979, II: 20]) mentions Proto-Slavic *\*větrь* under the entry: Suf. *-trь, -tro, -etrь*. He describes these formatives as exceptional, making reference to the Proto-Slavic *\*ętro* 'liver' (Polish *wątroba* 'liver', Vedic *āntrám* 'intestine', Greek *ἔντερα* n.pl. 'intestines, bowels', Armenian *ənder-k'*, spelled also as *ənter-k<sup>4</sup>*). The suffix seems to be present also in Russian *nympo* as well as other similar derivatives

like Russian *внутрь* from PS1. *\*v̥n-otr̥* (cf. Polish *wnętrze*, (*we*)*wnątrz* 'inside'), which in turn can be further analysed as deriving from PIE *\*h<sub>1</sub>on-tr-*. This formation can also be found inside the derivative with the suffix *-ba*: *\*qtroba* (OCS *qtroba* 'entrails', Russian *utróba* 'womb, (colloquial) belly', Czech *útroba* 'entrails'; Slovak *útroba* 'entrails, womb'; Polish *wątroba* 'entrails', Serbo-Croatian *ùtroba* 'intestines, womb'; Slovene *otróba* 'entrails, womb'). Another example listed by Sławski (2011: 130 [1974–1979, II: 20]) is *\*pętro* 'floor' (Polish *piętro*, Czech *patro*), which must have been formed in the Proto-Slavic period from the verb *\*pęti*, *\*p̥n̥q* 'to climb' (Polish *piąć*). The semantic connection is discernible in the derivative *rozpinać* 'to spread, to stretch'. The etymological meaning of *piętro* would then be 'something which is stretched above' (cf. Boryś 2005: 434-435) and *-tr-o* could be a suffix with the neuter nominative singular *-o* (as opposed to the zero ending in the masculine). The Proto-Slavic *\*esetr̥* 'sturgeon' may serve as another example – cf. Old Russian *jesetr̥*, *osetr̥* (*ecemp̥*, *ocemp̥*), Russian *osëtr* (*ocëmp*), Ukrainian *oseter* (*ocemep*), Czech *jeseter*, Slovak *jeseter*, Polish *jesiotr*, Old Polish *jesiotr*, *jasiotr*, Upper Sorbian *jesetr* (arch.), *jasotr* (arch.), Lower Sorbian *jesotr*, Serbo-Croatian *jèsetra* f., Slovene *jesēt̥ar*, Bulgarian *esëtra* (*ecempa*). Its root may be derived from Proto-Indo-European *\*h<sub>2</sub>ek-* 'sharp' (The sturgeon has bony plates on the body) – cf. Boryś (2005: 213), though this has been disputed (cf. Derksen 2008: 145-146 with further references). Sławski (2011: 130 [1974–1979, II: 20]) interprets the suffix *\*-etr̥* in *\*esetr̥* 'sturgeon' as a variant of the suffix *\*-er̥*, and likewise, analyses *\*-tr̥*, *\*-tro* as variants of the suffixes *\*-r̥*, and *\*-ro-*.

Let us carry out a more detailed inspection of what might be interpreted as a parallel formation, namely Proto-Slavic *\*qtr̥* (which survives i.a. in Polish *wnętrze* 'interior' and Czech *vnitro* derived from *\*v̥n qtr̥* 'inwards', *\*v̥n qtri* 'inside'). The Slavic words do not display any vowel between *t* and *r*, which points to an earlier zero-grade. What is significant about this example is that its cognates outside Slavic (cf. Sanskrit *antara-* 'internal', Greek *ἐντέρα* (*éntera*) 'intestines', Latin *inter* 'between', German *unter* 'under') indicate the full grade of the suffix. The oldest languages also exhibit a

following vowel. All this points to the reconstruction: *\*-tero-*. Whether dealing with a distinct suffix *\*-tero-* (the "contrastive" suffix) or relating it to the suffix in Proto-Slavic *\*větrь*, the conjecture which can be drawn on the basis of this example is that the full vowel of the suffix *\*-ter-* was perhaps replaced with the zero-grade *\*-tr-*, especially if the suffix was followed by the vowel *\*o*.

Admittedly, while searching for candidates for cognate affixes at the level of Proto-Indo-European, we can find a number of possibilities (which will be discussed in the following sections), but since they are all extremely scantily represented in Slavic, an attempt will be made to argue for a different solution. Let us first review the etymologies which recognize *-tr-* as constituting one suffix.

### 3.2.1 *\*větrь* as an instrument with the suffix *\*-tro-*

Meillet (1958: 232) provides *\*větrь* 'wind' as an example illustrating the suffix *\*-tro-*. Although he considers this suffix as a thematized variant of *\*-ter-*, Meillet discusses it in a separate section devoted to *nomina instrumenti*. Consequently, one could reconstruct the original, structural meaning of *\*větrь* 'wind' as 'the instrument for blowing'. This semantic interpretation does not appear to be convincing. The masculine gender of the Slavic cognates points to a different analysis because the masculine gender is characteristic of agents in contradistinction to the neuter gender, more typical of instruments, e.g., Proto-Slavic *\*kadidlo* 'incense' (Old Church Slavonic *kadilo* (кадило), Russian *kadilo* (кадило), Ukrainian *kadylo* (кадило), Czech *kadidlo*, Slovak *kadidlo*, Polish *kadzidło*, Serbo-Croatian *kàdilo*, Slovene *kadilo*). Yet in order to consider possible arguments in favour of the instrumental interpretation, it should be noted that this inconsistency can be explained in terms of a change, which may have occurred in a late common ancestor of Balto-Slavic and Germanic but may also have developed independently. Illič-Svityč (1979: 128) relates this change to a shift in the original accentuation, which has been labelled Illič-Svityč's Law (cf. Collinge 1985: 103-104; Trask 2000: 159), but the very change of the gender was already noticed by Hirt (1893: 348-349), who concluded that unaccented *-om* (the ending of the neuter

nom.sg.) became *-b*. Consequently, many neuter nouns became masculine, the remaining neuter nouns which remained neuter in *-o* are descended from accented *-óm*. (cf. also Derksen 2011; Illič-Svityč 1979: 114-116; Olander 2015: 12-13).

### 3.2.2 \**větrъ* as a *nomen agentis* with the suffix \*-*ter-*

The suffix \*-*tr-* can be related to the suffix \*-*ter-*, which is attested in many ablaut grades: \*-*ter-*, \*-*tor-*, \*-*tēr-*, \*-*tōr-* and \*-*tr-*. Since apophonic vowel alternations typically involved any of the nuclei *e*, *o*, *ē*, *ō* or zero, \*-*tr-* could represent the zero-grade.<sup>5</sup> What supports this connection is also the semantic factor, as *-ter-*, and *-tor-* are often found in *nomina agentis* (e.g., Latin *amātor* 'lover' from *amāre* 'to love'; Latin *dator* 'giver', Greek *δοτήρ*, *δώτωρ*, Vedic *dātar-*), which suggests that, from the semantic point of view, the structural meaning of the Slavic *větrъ* could be 'the blower'. Hirt (2009 [1927]: 206-209) relates these *nomina agentis* to kinship terms, which in turn have been interpreted in a number of ways: among others, they have been compared with the "contrastive" suffix \*-*t(e)r-* (cf. Pinault 2007: 276; de Vaan 2008: 240). Moreover, the masculine gender may suggest that the concept of 'wind' entailed personification. The semantic connection between the non-personified weather phenomenon and the personified agent consists in the association between masculinity (masculine gender) and an active, agentive force. The evidence for personification of wind comes from the Rigveda, in which a number of gods represent natural forces, for example: *Sūrya* 'Sun', *Vāyu* 'Wind' *Parjanya* 'Thunder(storm)', *Uṣas* 'Dawn', and *Dyaus and Pr̥thivī* 'Heaven and Earth', not to mention the ubiquitous *Agni* 'Fire' – cf. Brereton and Jamison (2020: 63), who add that "their names are often identical to the common nouns that express the same natural forces they represent." Further evidence for personification of wind comes from other Indo-European religions and mythologies. As reported by Herodotus, the Persians also worshipped wind (cf. Kowalski 2017: 235).

A weak point of the connection of *-tr-* with *-ter-* is clarification of the apophonic relationship. A possible interpretation may refer to the *r*-stem declension, which

included many kinship terms reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European. In this class, the zero-grade of the suffix appears in some of the oblique cases, e.g., the genitive, the dative and the instrumental (both singular and plural) – cf. Beekes (2011: 190, 194-195). One could assume that Proto-Slavic *\*větrь* is a reflex of one of such oblique cases, but there is one more possibility. In order to strengthen the weak link of this explanation, one may also refer to the final *-ь* of Proto-Slavic (and OCS) *větrь*. There is also at least one other secure Slavic example of the zero-grade of the suffix *-tr-* in the nominative followed by what must have been a stem formative *-ь*, namely OCS *bratrь* (Old Polish *bratr*). The final *-ь* both in *bratrь* and in *větrь* suggests that these original *r*-stem nouns were aligned with the masculine *o*-stems quite early on. The explanation of the zero-grade of the suffix *-tr-* may lie in this realignment, i.e. the transference from the *r*-stems to the *o*-stems and the adjustment of the apophonic grades in the three main word components (root+suffix+ending). It should perhaps be revised at this point that the typical structure of the *r*-stem paradigm exhibited either the full grade of the suffix with a simultaneous zero-grade of the ending, e.g., nom.sg. *-ēr* (length due to Szemerényi's Law), acc.sg. *-er-m*, loc.sg. *-er-i*, or the zero-grade of the suffix with a simultaneous full grade of the ending, e.g., gen.sg. *-r-os*, dat.sg. *-r-ei*, loc.sg. *-er-i* (cf. Beekes 2011: 195, Szemerényi 1996: 171). Consequently, *\*-tr-o* was much more natural than *\*-ter-o*.

On the other hand, it should be taken into consideration that kinship terms which exhibit the suffix *-ter* are analysed in a number of ways at the level of Proto-Indo-European. There are at least two interpretations which move the morphological boundary one sound to the left and thus it is possible that the suffix includes the laryngeal, i.e. *\*-h<sub>1</sub>ter* – cf. Carruba (1995). There is also another interpretation; namely, that the suffix had the form: *\*-h<sub>2</sub>ter* (cf. Blažek 2001; Sihler 1988: 559) – cf. *\*b<sup>h</sup>réh<sub>2</sub>ter* 'brother', *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>tér* 'daughter', *\*méh<sub>2</sub>ter* 'mother', *\*ph<sub>2</sub>tér-* 'father' and *\*h<sub>1</sub>iēnh<sub>2</sub>ter-* 'husband's brother's wife'. The second laryngeal *\*h<sub>2</sub>* regularly caused colouring of the preceding *\*e*, which resulted in *\*ā*. This last hypothesis is especially at variance with

the idea that the Slavic *větrъ* was derived with the same suffix as kinship terms, since there is no evidence for *h*<sub>2</sub> in any cognates of the 'wind' formation.

An argument against the agentive interpretation of the Proto-Slavic *\*větrъ* is that normally we would expect the Proto-Indo-European agentive *\*-ter-* to come down as Proto-Slavic *\*-tel-* – cf. Brugmann (1889: 365, § 122): "Slav *-tel-* entstand durch Dissimilation aus *-ter-*" ("Slav. *-tel-* arose from *-ter-* by dissimilation") – Brugmann (1891: 389, § 122).

For a more up-to-date discussion, see also Pultrová (2007), who reconstructs two ablaut variants of the *nomina agentis* suffix: *\*-ter-* and *\*-tor-*. Pultrová lists the languages in which the suffix was productive – apart from Latin, Greek, Indo-Iranian languages and Hittite, she says: "in Slavic languages there is to be found the variant *-tel'ъ* (Czech *-tel*)" (ibid., 251).

Before accepting the connection between IE *\*-ter-* and Slavic *\*-tel-*, the arguments for and against their cognacy should at least be mentioned. One of them seems to be the inflectional pattern that they exhibit – cf. Vaillant (1974: 315): "Les désinences de flexion athématique invitent à rapprocher le suffixe slave *-tel-* du suffixe indo-européen *\*-ter-* de noms d'agents." (The endings of the athematic inflection imply the proximity of the Slavic suffix *-tel-* to the Indo-European suffix *\*-ter-* for agent nouns.) On the other hand, the variation between *-r-* and *-l-* is not as straightforward as appears prima facie. A possible solution may consist in explaining it in terms of dissimilation, but it is problematic to find a sufficient number of examples in the earliest attested period. This is how the explanation is assessed by Vaillant (ibid., 315):

*"quant à l'idée d'une dissimilation de \*-ter- en -tel- après un r précédent (Brugmann, Vondrák), elle se heurte au fait que les exemples péniblement cherchés ne sont pas d'époque vieux-slave et sont même à peine attestés en slavons: žrūteliŝ est rare pour v. sl. žřiči, et oratelji, pour v. sl. ratai, n'est que le russe orátel".* Eng. As for the idea that *\*-ter-* underwent dissimilation into *-tel-* after a

preceding *r* (Brugmann, Vondrák), it clashes with the fact that the painfully sought-after examples are not from the Old Slavic period and are even barely attested in Slavic: *žrūteli* is rare for Old Slavic *žřiči*, and *oratelji*, for Old Slavic *ratai*, is only the Russian *orátel*".

Furthermore, the case for identifying the Slavic *\*-tel-* with IE *\*-ter-* would be stronger if the closely related Baltic languages had some cognate suffixes. Such attestation would supply some evidence that at the time of the hypothetical Balto-Slavic community the suffix was productive and that there is a chronological connection between the suffix in the Slavic languages (attested since the late 9<sup>th</sup> century) and the reconstructed Indo-European *\*-ter-* (productive approximately in the fourth millennium BC). The Baltic evidence is, again, non-conclusive. Vaillant (1974: 315) adduces a similar suffix, which he treats as a distinct formative: "Le baltique ignore le suffixe slave, mais il présente un suffixe de nom d'agent en lit. *-ėlis*, et lette *-elis*". (Baltic languages do not exhibit the Slavic suffix, but they present a suffix of agent nouns: Lithuanian *-ėlis* and Latvian *-elis*.)

We shall not attempt to assess this possibility further because, even if we assume that the Indo-European agentive *\*-ter-* developed into Slavic *-tel-*, it is not beyond bounds of possibility that some remnants of the zero-grade form *-tr-* may have survived. To conclude, although semantically it is conceivable to think of the wind as a 'blower' (i.e. a *nomen agentis*), there are very few parallel formations which exhibit a comparable shape of the suffix in Slavic. Regardless of whether the agentive nominalization is possible, there is not enough evidence to rule out another etymology for the Slavic *větrъ* as will be considered in the next section.

### 3.2.3 *\*větrъ* as a derivative with the suffix *\*-rъ*

Another way of explaining the morphological structure of Proto-Slavic *\*větrъ* is to assume that the morpheme boundary lies one sound to the right. In comparison to the Indo-Iranian cognates (Sanskrit *vāta-*, Avestan *vāta-* 'wind'), Proto-Slavic *\*větrъ* could also be analysed as derived with the suffix *\*-rъ* (PIE *\*-ro-*). In view of the fact that the

root does not have any *-t-* (cf. OCS 1sg. *vějō*, Lithuanian 3sg. *vėja*, Polish 3sg. *wieje*), the *-t-* would have to be interpreted as a stem formative – cf. Matasović (2014: 103), who says that it "probably derived from a *t*-stem." We shall see that there is some extra evidence in Slavic which supports this new analysis (and has probably never been considered in relation to the etymology of the Slavic *\*větrъ*).

The new evidence comes from Kajkavian words for 'the place sheltered from wind', which has recently been brought to attention by Borys (2018). These words include: *zavet* 'the place sheltered from wind' from Kajkavian dialects of Zagorja: *z'avet* m. 'the place sheltered from wind' (Crnek 2005: 58), *za:véēt* 'id.' (Hrg et al. 1996: 121). The word was first attested in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century as: *za-vet* 'hiding place (receptaculum)' (Vitezović 2009: 1355).

Kajkavian *zavet* also has cognates in other Slavic languages: Slovene (obs. – 18<sup>th</sup> c.) *zavet* 'the place sheltered from wind', Macedonian *zavet* 'a shelter from the wind', Czech *závěť* 'area with no wind, the place sheltered from wind, retreat'. According to Borys (2018: 12-13), these words are reflexes of the etymon *\*zavěťъ* 'the place sheltered from wind', derived from the preposition *\*za* 'behind' and the noun *\*věťъ* probably 'wind' from Proto-Slavic *\*věti*, *\*vějō* 'to blow' (Furlan 2005a: 307; 2005b: 395-396). Borys (2018: 12-13) also lists numerous dialectal cognates of Kajkavian *zavetje* together with a long list of references (among others Slovene *zavětje* 'the place sheltered from wind, shelter, protection', Church Slavonic *zavětije* 'locus tectus, tranquillus') and explains them as reflexes of the derivative *\*zavěťje* with the suffix *\*-bje*, typically found in place names *\*pomorъje* 'coast', *\*zagorъje* 'place behind a mountain'.

The occurrence of these words not only in South Slavic but also in West Slavic strengthens the evidence for postulating *\*zavěťъ* and *\*zavěťje* at the time of a common ancestor of the Slavic languages. These forms in turn can be seen as a missing link between the root (found also in verbal forms) and the suffix *\*-rъ*. As a result, the *t* segment does not have to be interpreted as part of the suffix *\*-ter-* (*\*-tr-*). Moreover,

the existence of these forms leads to the conclusion that Proto-Slavic \**větrь* may have been formed with the suffix \*-*rь* from a base already containing *t*.

The main function of the suffix \*-*rь* (PIE \*-*ro-*) was to form adjectives. Its vestige in English can be found in the adjective *bitter*, which must be a derivative of the ancestor of the verb *bite*. In Polish (as well as in other Slavic languages), a considerable number of basic adjectives, whose structure is no longer transparent, preserve relics of this suffix: *chory* 'ill', *dobry* 'good', *mądry* 'wise', *modry* 'deep blue', *mokry* 'wet', *stary* 'old', *szary* 'grey', *szczery* 'sincere', etc. Outside Slavic, the suffix can be exemplified by: Vedic *rudhirá-* 'red, bloody', Greek *έρυθρός*, Lat. *ruber* 'red', Tocharian B *rätre* 'red' < PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>rud<sup>h</sup>-ró-*.

We can assume that such adjectives were sometimes used as nouns, as they can still occur in such use, e.g., *Ten szary jest lepszy od czarnego* 'The grey one is better than the black one'. Some of such uses became lexicalized and survived, while the adjectival ones did not. To support this claim, the examples can be adduced:

(6)

- Proto-Slavic \**darь* 'gift' (OCS *darь*, Russian *dar*, Polish *dar*, Czech *dar*) contrasted with verbs which do not contain the suffix \*-*rь* (PIE \*-*ro-*): Proto-Slavic \**da-ti* 'to give', \**da-mь* 1sg. (OCS *dati*, \**damь*, Russian *dat'*, *dam*, Polish *dać*, *dam*, Czech *dát*, *dám*);
- Proto-Slavic \**mirь* 'peace' (OCS *mirь*, Russian *mir*, Polish *mir* obs., Czech *mir*) contrasted with related adjectives which do not contain the suffix \*-*rь* (PIE \*-*ro-*): Proto-Slavic \**milь* 'sweet, dear' (OCS *milь* 'pitiable', Russian *milyj* 'sweet, dear', Polish *mily* 'dear, nice', Czech *milý* 'sweet, dear').

The examples of masculine nouns with the suffix \*-*rь* presented above could serve as further instances parallel to Proto-Slavic \**větrь*. We should also bear in mind that Slavic adjectives and nouns have the same genesis – cf. Townsend and Janda (1996:

177), who explain that "adjectives were nominal, which became abstracted from the nouns with which they were associated, and then assumed syntactic gender." If such nominalization occurred early enough, i.e. before the emergence and development of compound adjectives in Slavic, there was nothing in the adjectives that distinguished them formally from nouns when considered in isolation, without context and meaning – compare Proto-Slavic and OCS *dymъ* 'smoke', *synъ* 'son' with *novъ* 'new', *bosъ* 'barefooted'.

To sum up, although, in general, it is expected of the author to assess various possibilities and decide which one is the most plausible, in the case like this one there are several explanations which are feasible, though not all equally convincing. The least likely seems to be Meillet's conclusion, for semantic reasons: the etymology of the word for 'wind' as 'the instrument for blowing' is not compelling. The hypothesis clarifying the morphological structure of Proto-Slavic *\*větrъ* as a substantivized adjective, though not very strong from a semantic perspective, cannot be ruled out. We have also seen extra evidence coming from Kajkavian *zavet / zavetje* 'place sheltered from wind' and their related cognates. It seems that an equally attractive interpretation is that 'the wind' developed from a deverbal agentive noun 'the blower' (cf. Latin *amātor* 'lover', *dator* 'giver'), its masculine gender indicating the active, agentive force.

#### **4. The phonological analysis**

Bearing in mind that *-tr* in Polish *wiatr* as well as *-nd* in English *wind* result from distinct word-formation processes, we will now attempt to explain the parallel phonological developments which affected the two words. These developments are responsible for the discrepancy between the phonological shape of the Polish-English pair. Even though the spelling of the first two letters is identical, the corresponding sounds are completely different: Polish [v<sup>h</sup>atr̩], English [wind].

Starting with the anlaut, the English word exhibits a labio-velar approximant [w], whereas Polish shows the palatalized labio-dental fricative [v<sup>h</sup>]. A difference between

two corresponding sounds in a pair of cognates sometimes results from one language retaining the pronunciation of the common ancestor and the other language presenting an effect of a sound change (or sound changes). Although it happens rarely that a sound has remained intact for several thousand years, it seems that there is a case in point in the anlaut of *wind*. English is here remarkably archaic, preserving the quality of the sonorant since Proto-Indo-European. A comparison of cognates below demonstrates that [w] developed into [v] not only in Slavic, but also in Germanic, e.g., in German. In phonetic terms, the change can be described as spirantization; to be more specific: the voiced labial glide developed into the voiced labiodental fricative.

(7)

- a. English *wolf*, German *Wolf*, Polish *wilk*, Russian *volk*, OCS *vlъkъ* (PIE \* $\underline{w}lkw$ -o-)
- b. English *water*, German *Wasser*, Polish *woda*, Russian *vodá*, OCS *voda* (PIE \* $\underline{w}od$ -r/n-)
- c. English *widow*, German *Witwe*, Polish *wdowa*, Russian *vdová* (PIE \* $\underline{w}i$ -d<sup>h</sup> $\underline{w}$ -(e) $\underline{w}$ -)
- d. English *wool*, German *Wolle*, Polish *wetna*, Russian *vólna*, OCS *vlъna* (PIE \* $\underline{w}ulh$ -néh<sub>2</sub>)
- e. English *wax*, German *Wachs*, Polish *wosk*, Russian *vosk*, OCS *voskъ* (IE \* $\underline{w}ok̑s$ os < PIE \* $\underline{w}oĝs$ os – cf. Greek ἀέξω 'I multiply, I increase' ← PIE \* $\underline{w}eĝs$ -).

Similarly:

- f. English *wind*, German *Wind*, Polish *wiatr*, Russian *véter*, OCS *větrъ* (PIE \* $\underline{w}eh$ -)

It is interesting to note that modern English is even more archaic in this respect than Latin, which changed [w] to [v] in the first century AD – cf. Miller (2012: 55) as in *ventus* (which underlies borrowings such as *vent*, *ventilate*). By contrast, the oldest loanwords, which date from the time when the ancestors of the English still lived on

the continent, retain the earlier [w], e.g., *wall*, *wine* (Latin *vallus*, *vinum*), as the sound change occurred in Latin, but not in the Germanic dialects ancestral to English.

The change of [w] > [v] in Slavic, illustrated by the cognates in (4), is difficult to date. Although it is taken for granted in most Proto-Slavic reconstructions, the change did not affect the Upper Sorbian language nor the East Ukrainian dialect (cf. Cyran & Nilsson 1998: 89-90) and, until recently, also North Czech dialects mentioned by Stieber (2005 [1979]: 86-87), who concludes that reconstructing Proto-Slavic \*v is unjustified.

[w] > [v] is not the only change which affected the initial consonant in Polish *wiatr*, as it is pronounced with the palatalized labio-dental fricative [vʲ]. Palatalizations are generally caused by the adjacent front vowels. In *wiatr*, however, the second letter actually performs the function of a diacritic marking the palatalized nature of the preceding consonant, and the immediately following vowel does not qualify as palatalizing – the word can be transcribed as [vʲatr̩].

The absence of a palatalizing vowel finds an explanation in another sound change, i.e. the Lechitic sound shift, by which Proto-Slavic \*ě becomes Polish *a* before one of seven unpalatalized obstruents [t, d, s, z, r, n, l]. The last one comes down as Polish [w], spelled as <ł>. Further examples of the words which were affected by the change are listed below. They are contrasted with different forms of these words which exhibit other consonants than the seven mentioned above and, consequently, retain the preceding vowel, almost unchanged: \*ě > Polish <e> [ɛ].

(8)

<i>lato</i> 'summer'	<i>lecie</i> 'summer (loc.)'
<i>siadł</i> 'he sat'	<i>siedzi</i> 'he sits'
<i>ciasto</i> 'dough'	<i>cieście</i> 'dough (loc.)'
<i>gwiazda</i> 'star'	<i>gwieździe</i> 'star (loc.)'

<i>piana</i> 'foam'	<i>pienić</i> 'to foam'
<i>wiara</i> 'faith, belief'	<i>wierzyć</i> 'to believe'
<i>biały</i> 'white'	<i>bielić</i> 'to whiten'

So as to find a form (or a derivative) of the word *wiatr* which remained unaffected by the Lechitic sound shift, one can take a closer look at the locative and vocative *wietrze* as well as the adjective *wietrzny* 'windy'. What might seem irregular about these words is the presence of *e* (instead of *a*) before *t*. In the light of the examples above, we would expect *wiatrze* and *wiatrzny*.

We should, of course, bear in mind the following facts: firstly, the presence of the unpalatalized *t* in modern Polish *wietrze* and *wietrzny* does not entail the presence of the unpalatalized *t* at the time of the Lechitic sound shift; secondly, the occurrence of  $rz < r^j$ , which arose before front vowels, suggests that a front vowel must have followed the consonant cluster *tr* (in the Proto-Slavic ancestor of *wietrz-n-y*, the suffix must have contained the front jer: *-bn-*). Consequently, a probable explanation of the alternation *wiatr* vs *wietrze*, *wietrzny* is that the Lechitic sound shift did not operate either in *wietrze* or in *wietrzny*, because the front vowel of the case ending and of the *-bn-* suffix had palatalized the preceding two consonants. Yet the palatalized  $t^j$  (or half-palatalized in Rospond's terms – cf. Rospond 1979: 110) failed to develop into *ć* in *wietrze*, and *wietrzny*. In all probability, the reason for this must lie in the cluster. Although such an exception is not indicated in the historical phonology of Polish by Mańczak (1983: 36-37), it seems that the rule describing the regular development of  $*t$ , first into  $*t^j$  as an allophone, and (in the 13<sup>th</sup> century) into *ć* can be supplemented with the following exception: the second phase ( $*t^j > \acute{c}$ ) occurred unless it was followed by  $r^j$ , in which case  $*t^j$  becomes depalatalized, as in *wietrze*, *wietrzny*. It does not suffice to specify that  $*t$  remains unchanged before consonants, since, if it had remained intact, we would expect to find *a* in *wietrze*, and *wiatrzny* (the effect of the Lechitic sound shift before *t*). Hence, it must have been palatalized before the Lechitic sound shift, and depalatalized after the Lechitic sound shift.

In order to demonstrate that the vowels of the root (both in PSl. *\*vētr̥* and PGmc *\*windaz*) are descended from a common origin, at least three other changes should be mentioned. Firstly, Proto-Slavic *\*ě* regularly developed from long *\*ē* (cf. Samilov 1964), which, in turn, might result from compensatory lengthening following loss of *h<sub>1</sub>* in Proto-Indo-European *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-* (for details, see Meier-Brügger 2003: 113 and Ringe 2006: 72). Secondly, the Germanic *\*i* occasionally goes back to *\*e*, which can be shown in a number of ways: a) there are more cognates corresponding to English *wind* (e.g., Latin *ventus*), which reveals that a change occurred in Germanic: compare, for example, words for 'five': Greek *πέντε* and Lithuanian *penkì*, on the one hand, and Old High German *fimf*, *finf*, Old Norse *fimm*, Gothic *fimf*, on the other hand; b) many Germanic strong verbs of class III exhibit *i* in the infinitive (and the present), e.g., *bindan* 'to bind', *drincan* 'to drink', *findan* 'to find', *singan* 'to sing'. The same class III of strong verbs also includes verbs which display *e* in the root, e.g., Old English *delfan* 'to dig, to delve', *helpan* 'to help', *meltan* 'to melt', *sweltan* 'to die'. The comparison of the two subgroups reveals a preliminary generalization that the change of pre-Germanic *\*e* to Germanic *i* is conditioned by a nasal sound followed by another consonant – the cluster, which is found not only in Old English *bindan*, *drincan*, *findan*, *singan*, but also in Old High German *fimf*, *finf*, Old Norse *fimm*, Gothic *fimf*,<sup>6</sup> and in the word under investigation *wind*. To be more precise about the conditioning environment of the sound change, we should adduce further examples such as PIE *\*en* 'in' (Greek *ἐν*, Old Latin *en*) > PGmc *\*in* (Gothic *in*, Old English *in*) on the one hand, and Old English *stenan* 'sigh, groan' or Old English *cwene* 'woman', (Old Saxon *quena*, Old High German *quena*) on the other, which show that pre-Germanic *\*e* was raised to Germanic *i* when followed by a nasal in the coda; in other words, before tautosyllabic nasals – cf. Ringe 2006: 149, who discusses the sound change, but does not provide examples like Old English *stenan* and *cwene* in which *n* is in the onset of the second syllable.

Demonstrating the common origin of the root vowels in Polish *wiatr* and English *wind* requires identifying another sound change, as what follows from the discussion above is that the Germanic forms alone point to the short \**e*, whereas the Slavic ones continue the long \**ē*. This discrepancy can be explained by Osthoff's Law, according to which long vowels underwent shortening before a sonorant followed by another consonant (cf. Collinge 1985: 127-131; Ringe 2006: 75). The reconstructed form which follows from the discussion in the preceding paragraph, i.e. \**wenda-*, may therefore have developed from an earlier form \**wēnda-*, because [n] is a sonorant, which is followed by another consonant, namely [d]. The explanation presented above seems to be the most probable, but there are also other suggestions, e.g., Ringe (2006: 77) does not exclude "the possibility that loss of the medial laryngeal in such a form as \**h<sub>2</sub>weh<sub>1</sub>ntós* resulted in a sequence \**en* directly, with no lengthening of the vowel".

There is also one change that may be expected to have occurred in a word like English *wind*, but, for some reason, did not occur: the Homorganic Vowel Lengthening (cf. Lass 1992: 71-72; Ritt 1994: 81-93). This change must have affected many similar words which exhibited the short high front vowels before homorganic clusters like [nd], [ld] or [mb], for example: *behind*, *bind*, *blind*, *hound*, *find*, *grind*, *hind*, *mind*, *rind*, *child*, *mild*, *wild*, *climb*. The lengthening was blocked if the clusters were followed by a third consonant, e.g., *hundred*, *children*, *candle*, *gander* (< *gandra*), *timber* (< *timbre*), etc. Needless to add, short vowels remained impervious to the charm of the Great Vowel Shift. Consequently, the expected pronunciation of English *wind* would be [waɪnd], as in the verb *to wind* and, according to the Oxford English dictionary (OED 2009) (s.v. *wind*), "this pronunciation remains dialectally and in ordinary poetical usage. The pronunciation [wɪnd] became current in polite speech during the 18<sup>th</sup> c.; it has been used occas. by poets, but the paucity of appropriate rhyming words (such as *sinned*, *thinned*, *dinned*) and the 'thinness' of the sound have been against its general use in verse."

It is not easy to find a convincing explanation for the short vowel of [wind]. Minkova and Stockwell (1992: 198) assess the successfulness of the lengthening of [i:] before [nd] at 73%. Apart from *wind* other examples in which the lengthening failed include: *bundle* < *byndele*, *linden*, *tinder*, but these examples differ from *wind* in that they contain a sonorant following the consonant cluster, which may have caused a similar blocking to the one resulting from a homorganic cluster being followed by a third consonant. According to the Oxford English dictionary (OED 2009), "the short vowel of [wind] is presumably due to the influence of the derivatives *windmill*, *windy*, in which [ɪ] is normal." This explanation is not very convincing. Although *windmill* exhibits a consonant cluster consisting of three segments, its influence on the basic word *wind* is doubtful. In a parallel pair, *child* vs *children*, the latter *children*, despite being a much more frequent word, did not have such an influence on *child*. A more likely explanation seems to lie in homonymy avoidance: the pronunciation [waɪnd] started to be associated with the verb *to wind* (from PIE \**uend*<sup>h</sup>- 'to turn'). Of course, the diphthong results from the Great Vowel Shift, which started in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but the vowel must have been lengthened earlier. Since the Homorganic Vowel Lengthening operated in the 9<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Lass 1992: 71-72), we may expect the vowel to have been a long monophthong for some 600 years between the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but it is also possible that it was never lengthened. There was no ambiguity until the inflection was relatively rich. The time of the Great Vowel Shift coincides with the time when the inflection is considerably reduced, and ambiguity is much greater. Parallel instances in Polish can be furnished by *biada* 'woe' vs *bieda* 'poverty', *na czole* 'on the forehead' vs *na czele* 'at the head/top of sth.'. These examples show that the semantic difference may reinforce the distinction in the phonological shapes. Regularly, we may expect all these words to have undergone the Polish (Lechitic) sound shift. Yet in the words *bieda* and *na czele*, the change did not occur despite the same, favourable phonological environment.

Finally, a word of explanation is in order with regard to the relationship between the vowel in *wind* and that of Old English *wāwan* 'to blow', which, etymologically, also

share the root. For the Proto-Germanic verb, the reconstructed vowel is the long *\*ē* (cf. Kroonen 2013: 576; Ringe & Taylor 2014: 151). This is what we expect in view of the fact that there was no [nd] cluster, which caused Osthoff's shortening in the ancestor of *wind* (also in Latin *ventus*). This long *\*ē* regularly developed into *\*ā* in Proto-North-West Germanic (cf. Lass 1994: 25-26) and, normally, comes down as West Saxon *ǣ* unless immediately followed by *\*w* which was in turn not followed by a high front vowel – cf. Ringe and Taylor (2014: 150-151). Further examples include strong verbs of class VII, which had vowel-final roots in Proto-Germanic, e.g., Old English *sāwan* (Modern English *to sow*), cf. Gothic *saian* 'to sow' (like Gothic *waian* 'to blow'). These verbs acquired various hiatus-filling root-final consonants in West Germanic languages. In Old English, the consonant inserted was *\*w*.

## 5. Conclusion

PSl. *\*větrъ* and PGmc *\*windaz* 'wind' are partial cognates. Yet, although they go back to two different etyma (PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-t-ro-* and *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-nt-o-*), they were derived from the same Indo-European root *\*uē-* (earlier form: PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-*), which constituted the base of various derivatives. This verbal root without any nominalizing suffix survives, among others, inside modern Polish word *wiać* 'to blow' (*wieje* 'it blows'), whereas English lost the corresponding cognate (Old English had *wāwan* and also modern German retains the verb *wehen* 'to blow'). Consequently, the English *wind* contains a relic of a word which does not survive as an independent word (Old English *wāwan*), and one of the few relics of the present active participle (besides *friend* and *fiend*). All the three words preserve the unaltered Germanic *nd*, which, by Verner's Law, is descended from *\*-nt-* (cf. Latin *-ent-*, Greek *-ovt-*, Sanskrit *-ant-*, Slavic *\*-qtj-/etj-*, and Polish *-qc-*).

The *-tr-* in Polish *wiatr* might be interpreted as a suffix, of which further instances might include Proto-Slavic *\*pętro* 'something which is stretched above' > 'floor' (from *\*pęti*, *\*pъnq* 'to climb', cf. Polish *rozpinać* 'to spread, to stretch' and *-tr-o*), Proto-Slavic *\*esetrъ* 'sturgeon' (derived from Proto-Indo-European *\*h<sub>2</sub>ek-* 'sharp'). The suffix *-tr-*

can also be related to the suffix *-ter-*, often found in *nomina agentis* (e.g., Latin *dator* 'giver', Greek *δοτήρ, δώτωρ*, Vedic *dātár-*), which suggests that the structural meaning of the Slavic *větrъ* could be 'the blower', the masculine gender may suggest that the concept of 'wind' entailed personification. Less likely explanations include an interpretation of *\*větrъ* 'wind' as 'the instrument for blowing', though thematization seems to be more probable. Finally, having examined various arguments, the analysis of the historical structure of Proto-Slavic *\*větrъ* as *\*vět-rъ*, i.e. a derivation with the suffix *\*-ro-* (that became *\*-rъ*) seems more likely in view of the evidence coming from Kajkavian *zavet / zavetje* 'place sheltered from wind'.

The etymology which recognizes the suffix *-ter-* in the etymon of Proto-Slavic *\*větrъ* requires an explanation of the zero-grade of the suffix *-tr-*, which may lie in a realignment of the original *r*-stem with the masculine *o*-stems, on the one hand (cf. also OCS *bratrъ*, Vedic *bhrātár-*, Greek (Attic) *φράτηρ* 'member of a brotherhood', Latin *frāter*); and on the other hand, it is connected with the typical structure of the *r*-stem paradigm, which exhibited either the full grade of the suffix with a simultaneous zero-grade of the ending or the zero-grade of the suffix with a simultaneous full grade of the ending. Consequently, *\*-tr-o* was much more natural than *\*-ter-o*. There was a tendency in Slavic to replace the full vowel of the suffix *\*-ter-* with the zero-grade *\*-tr-*, especially if the suffix was followed by the vowel *\*o* cf. Proto-Slavic *\*qtrъ* as opposed to its cognates outside Slavic (cf. Sanskrit *antara-* 'internal', Greek *ἔντερα* 'intestines', Latin *inter* 'between', German *unter* 'under'), which indicate the reconstruction: *\*-tero-*.

In order to see how the Polish-English pair of these partial cognates became differentiated, let us sum up, in the form of a chart, all the sound changes in both lines of development starting with a common ancestor. In addition to the summary of the sound changes discussed in Section 4, Table 1 below includes the sound changes which affected the suffixes and one morphological change.

Table 1. The evolution of English *wind* and Polish *wiatr*

The Germanic line (leading to Modern English)		The Slavic line (leading to Modern Polish)	
PIE <i>*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-nt-o-</i>		<i>*h<sub>2</sub>ueh<sub>1</sub>-t-ro-</i>	
<i>*uē-nt-o-</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ loss of the initial laryngeal</li> <li>➤ lengthening of <i>*e</i> by the following <i>*h<sub>1</sub></i> (<i>*eh<sub>1</sub></i> &gt; <i>*ē</i>)</li> </ul>	<i>*uē-t-ru-</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ loss of the initial laryngeal</li> <li>➤ lengthening of <i>*e</i> by the following <i>*h<sub>1</sub></i> (<i>*eh<sub>1</sub></i> &gt; <i>*ē</i>)</li> <li>➤ fusion with <i>u</i>-stems</li> </ul>
<i>*wenda-</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ phonological changes according to Osthoff's Law</li> <li>➤ phonological changes according to Verner's Law</li> <li>➤ PIE <i>*o</i> &gt; PGmc <i>*a</i></li> </ul>	<i>*vě-trъ</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <i>*ē</i> &gt; PSl. <i>*ě</i></li> <li>➤ [w] &gt; [v]</li> <li>➤ rise of jers</li> </ul>
<i>*winda-</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ raising of PGmc <i>*e</i> before a tautosyllabic nasal</li> </ul>	<i>wietr</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ palatalization of [v] (phonologized after the Lechitic sound shift)</li> <li>➤ loss of jers</li> </ul>
<i>wind</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ the Germanic apocope of vowels in absolute finality</li> </ul>	<i>wiatr</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ the Lechitic sound shift (PSl. <i>*ě</i> &gt; <i>a</i>)</li> </ul>

The analysis conducted in the present paper is meant to illustrate a new approach to contrasting modern languages. The ultimate aim of this approach is to foreground the inherited (archaic) layer in the compared languages and to explain the discrepancy of the cognates. To this end, it is important to distinguish between the native element in contemporary languages and cases of foreign influence. In the context of the words analysed in the current paper, such external influence can be illustrated with words like: *ventil* 'a valve in a wind instrument or a shutter for regulating the airflow in an organ', *ventilate*, *ventilator*, *ventilation*, etc. in English, and similar borrowings in Polish: *wentyl* 'valve', *wentylować* 'to ventilate', *wentylator* 'fan', *wentylacja* 'ventilation', etc. Understanding of the processes summarised in the table above leads to the instant conclusion that even if we arrange them in pairs (e.g., Polish *wentylator* vs English *ventilator*), they cannot be cognates because they belong to the inherited lexicon neither in English nor in Polish. The sound structure of these words reveals traces of their foreign origin. From the English perspective, one such foreign trait is the effect of the change: [w] > [v], which occurred in the history of Latin, but not in the (pre-)history of English. Another foreign trace is the lack of the results of Verner's Law in English (*nt*, instead of the native *nd*), caused by the fact that these words were not

in the language when the change was operative. In Polish, the word *wentyl* 'valve' even sounds foreign: in native Polish words the occurrence of the front vowel [ɛ] after the sound [v] resulted in the sequence [v<sup>j</sup>ɛ], as in *wieźć* 'to carry, to transport', *wierzyć* 'to believe', or *wieniec* 'wreath'. Comparison and contrast are the keys to raising language awareness but, to be comprehensive, they must involve the diachronic perspective.

## Notes

1. Opinions are divided whether Slovincian should be treated as a language or as a dialect: "It has never been argued that Slovincian was anything more than a Cassubian dialect but the Slovincians were distinguished from other Cassubians not only linguistically but also by the fact that they were Lutherans, not Catholics." (Stone 1993: 762). Lorentz (1908-12), on the other hand, believed that Slovincian can be considered a separate language.
2. The English translations of *ilviðri* and *stormur* have been taken from Hólmarsson et al. (2009: 197, 433).
3. It is difficult to say why Kroonen does not reconstruct initial  $h_2$  – it looks like a misprint (2013).
4. According to Martirosyan (2009: 280), "Derived from PIE  $*h_1enter-h_2$ ", and it is "related to Russ. *játro* n., pl. *játra* 'entrails, eggs, testicles', *jadró* 'kernel, testicle' from Slav.  $*jęt/dro$ ."
5. It is interesting to note that a vowel appears inside the *-tr-* suffix in the diminutive *wiaterek*.
6. The Old English word *fīf* (> *five*) lost the nasal in the Ingvaemonic loss of nasals before voiceless spirants. The long vowel results from compensatory lengthening.

## Abbreviations

\*... – reconstructed proto-form

<...> – orthographic representation

[...] – phonetic transcription

> – developed into (by a sound change)  
< – developed from (by a sound change)  
1sg. – first person singular (present tense)  
2sg. – second person singular (present tense)  
3sg. – third person singular (present tense)  
acc. – accusative  
dat. – dative  
f. – feminine  
gen. – genitive  
IE – Indo-European  
loc. – locative  
m. – masculine  
n. – neuter  
nom. – nominative  
OCS – Old Church Slavonic  
OED – The Oxford English dictionary  
PGmc, PGm. – Proto-Germanic  
PIE – Proto-Indo-European  
Pre-Gm. – Pre-Germanic  
pl. – plural  
PSl. – Proto-Slavic  
sg. – singular  
s.v. – sub verbo, under the lemma

## References

- Beekes, R.S.P. (2011). *Comparative Indo-European linguistics: An introduction*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Revised and corrected by de Vaan, M. Amsterdam – Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Blažek, V. (2001). Indo-European kinship terms in *\*-ǵter*. In *Grammaticus: Studia linguistica Adolfo Erharto quinque et septuagenario oblata*. Brno: Masarykova Univerzita v Brne, p. 24-33.

- Boryś, W. (2005). *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.
- Boryś, W. (2018). Ze studiów etymologicznych nad ludowym słownictwem chorwackim. In *Rocznik Slawistyczny*, LXVII, p. 3-23.
- Brereton, J.P. & Jamison, S.W. (2020). *The Rigveda: A guide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brugmann, K. (1891). *A comparative grammar of the Indo-Germanic languages*. New York: Westermann & Co.
- Brugmann, K. (1889). *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen. Vol. 2: Wortbildungslehre (Stammbildungs- und Flexionslehre) Part 1*. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner. Translated into English as Brugmann, K. (1891).
- Campbell, A. (1959). *Old English grammar*. Reprinted in 2003. Oxford: Oxford: Oxford University Press (Clarendon).
- Carruba, O. (1995). Die Verwandtschaftsnamen auf *-ter* des Indogermanischen. In *Analecta Indoeuropaea Cracoviensis. Vol. 2. Kuryłowicz memorial volume*, part 1, Smoczyński, W. (ed.). Cracow: Universitas, p. 143-158.
- Collinge, N.E. (1985). *The laws of Indo-European*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Crnek, V. (2005). *Kaj ne bi pozabili*. Krapina: Društvo za Kajkavsko Kulturno Stvaralaštvo.
- Cyran, E. & Nilsson, M. (1998). The Slavic [w > v] shift: A case for phonological strength. In *Structure and interpretation – Studies in phonology*. Cyran, E. (ed.). Lublin: Folium, p. 89-100.
- Derksen, R. (2015). *Etymological dictionary of the Baltic inherited lexicon*. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
- Derksen, R. (2008). *Etymological dictionary of the Slavic inherited lexicon*. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
- Derksen, R. (2011). The fate of the neuter *o*-stems in Balto-Slavic. In *Accent matters. Papers on Balto-Slavic accentology* (Studies in Slavic and general linguistics, 37), Pronk, T. & Derksen, R. (eds.). Amsterdam – New York: Rodopi, p. 59-66.

- Fulk, R.D. (2018). *A comparative grammar of the Early Germanic languages*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Furlan, M. (2005a). Věti II. In *Etimološki slovar slovenskega jezika*. Vol. 4. Bezljaj, E. (ed.). Ljubljana: Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, p. 307.
- Furlan, M. (2005b). Zavet I. In *Etimološki slovar slovenskega jezika*. Vol. 4. Bezljaj, E. (ed.). Ljubljana: Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, p. 395-396.
- Hirt, H.A. (2009) [1927]. *Indogermanische Grammatik. Vol. 3: Das Nomen*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hirt, H.A. (1893). Zu den slavischen Auslautgesetzen. In *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 2, p. 337-364.
- Hogg, R.M. & Fulk, R.D. (2011). *A grammar of Old English. Vol. 2: Morphology*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Hólmarsson, S., Sanders, Ch. & Tucker, J. (2009). *Íslensk-ensk orðabók*. Reykjavík: Forlagið.
- Hrg, F., Hranjec, S. & Jembrih, A. (1996). *Ivanečki govor i rječnik (Ivonjski goavar i riečnik)*. Ivanec: Narodno Sveučilište "Đuro Arnold".
- Illič-Svityč, V.M. (1979). *Nominal accentuation in Baltic and Slavic*. Cambridge – London: The MIT Press.
- Klein, E. (1966). *A comprehensive etymological dictionary of the English language. Vol. 2: L–Z*. Amsterdam – London – New York: Elsevier Publishing Company.
- Kluge, F. (2011). *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. 25<sup>th</sup> ed. Bearbeitet von Elmar Seebold. Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter.
- Kowalski, A. (2017). *Kultura indoeuropejska*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.
- Kroonen, G. (2013). *Etymological dictionary of Proto-Germanic*. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
- Lass, R. (1994). *Old English: A historical linguistic companion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Lass, R. (1992). Phonology and morphology. In *The Cambridge history of the English language. Vol. 2: 1066–1476*. Blake, N. (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 23-155.
- Lorentz, F. (1908-12). *Slovinzisches Wörterbuch*. 2 volumes. St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk.
- Lunt, H.G. (2001). *Old Church Slavonic grammar*. (7<sup>th</sup> rev. ed.). Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Magnússon, Á.B. (1989). *Íslensk orðsifjabók*. Reykjavík: Orðabók Háskólans.
- Mallory, J.P. & Adams, D.Q. (2006). *The Oxford introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mann, S.E. (1984/87). *An Indo-European comparative dictionary*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Mańczak, W. (1983). *Polska fonetyka i morfologia historyczna*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Martirosyan, H.K. (2009). *Etymological dictionary of the Armenian inherited lexicon*. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
- Matasović, R. (2009). *Etymological dictionary of Proto-Celtic*. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
- Matasović, R. (2014). *Slavic nominal word-formation. Proto-Indo-European origins and historical development*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Mažiulis, V. (1997). *Prūsų kalbos etimologijos žodynas. Vol. 4: R–Z*. Vilnius: Mokslas. Available at: <http://www.prusistika.flf.vu.lt/paieska/paieska/>
- Meier-Brügger, M. (2003). *Indo-European linguistics*. Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Meillet, A. (1958). *Wstęp do językoznawstwa indoeuropejskiego*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Miller, D.G. (2012). *External influences on English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Minkova, D. & Stockwell, R. (1992). Homorganic clusters as moraic busters in the history of English: The case of -ld, -nd, -mb. In *History of Englishes: New methods and interpretations in historical linguistics*. Rissanen, M., Ihalainen, O., Nevalainen, T. & Taavitsainen, I. (eds.). Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

- The Oxford English dictionary*. (2009). Oxford: Oxford University Press. CD-ROM (v. 4.0.0.3).
- Olander, T. (2015). *Proto-Slavic inflectional morphology: A comparative handbook*. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
- Orel, V. (2003). *A handbook of Germanic etymology*. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
- Pinault, G. (2007). A star is born: A "new" Proto-Indo-European \*-ter- suffix. In *Verba docenti: Studies in historical and Indo-European linguistics presented to Jay H. Jasanoff by students, colleagues and friends*. Nussbaum, A.J. (ed.). Ann Arbor – New York: Beech Stave Press, p. 271-279.
- Pokorny, J. (2002) [1959]. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern – Munich: Francke.
- Pultrová, L. (2007). The Latin nomina agentis in -tor. In *Listy filologické*, CXXX (3-4), p. 251-264.
- Ringe, D. (2006). *From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Germanic*. (A linguistic history of English, vol. 1). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ringe, D. & Taylor, A. (2014). *The development of Old English* (A linguistic history of English, vol. 2). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ritt, N. (1994). *Quantity adjustment: Vowel lengthening and shortening in Early Middle English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rospond, S. (1979). *Gramatyka historyczna języka polskiego*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Rychło, M. (2012). An etymological comparison of English *fist* and Polish *pięść*: How they both descended from the PIE root for 'five'. In *Linguistica silesiana*, 33, p. 19-38.
- Rychło, M. (2016). Can weep lure? An analysis of a controversial Slavico-Germanic pair of cognates. In *Beyond philology*, 13, p. 103-124.
- Rychło, M. (2019). *Contrasting cognates in modern languages from a diachronic perspective*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.
- Rychło, M. (2013). English *herd* and Polish *trzoda*: How the two words developed from one Proto-Indo-European root. In *Acta neophilologica*, XV (1), p. 155-166.

- Rychło, M. (2018a). Englisch *mead*, polnisch *miód* und hochdeutsch *Met* aus der historisch-vergleichenden Perspektive. In *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis Folia Germanica*, 14, p. 57-65.
- Rychło, M. (2014a). Gothic *wopjan*, Polish *wabić* and English *weep*. In *The Subcarpathian studies in English language, literature and culture*. Vol. 1. Kleparski, G.A., Konieczna, E. & Kopecka, B. (eds.). Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, p. 121-132.
- Rychło, M. (2018b). Polish *reż* and English *rye* concealed in Polish *rżysko*: A case study of a pair of cognates and a root archaism. In *Linguistica silesiana*, 39, p. 119-133.
- Rychło, M. (2014b). Ślady prawa Grimma w angielszczyźnie w zestawieniu z polskimi wyrazami pokrewnymi: pie.\*p > pgerm.\*f. In *Język Polski*, 94 (3), p.200-211.
- Samilov, M. (1964). *The phoneme jat' in Slavic*. The Hague – London – Paris: Mouton & Co.
- Sihler, A.L. (1988). Greek reflexes of syllabic laryngeals with a postscript on PIE kinship terms in *\*-H<sub>2</sub>ter*. In *Die Laryngaltheorie und die Rekonstruktion des Indogermanischen Laut- und Formensystems*. Bammesberger, A. (ed.). Heidelberg: Winter, p. 547-561.
- Sławski, F. (2011). Słowotwórstwo prasłowiańskie. In *Słowotwórstwo, słownictwo i etymologia słowiańska*. Sławski, F. (ed.). Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, p. 11-182. Published originally as: Sławski, F. (1974-1979). Zarys słowotwórstwa prasłowiańskiego. In *Słownik prasłowiański*. Sławski, F. (ed.). I: p. 43-141, II: p. 13-60, III: p. 11-19.
- Smoczyński, W. (2020). *Słownik etymologiczny języka litewskiego*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Available at: <https://rromanes.org/pub/alii/Smoczy%C5%84ski%20W.%20S%C5%82ownik%20etymologiczny%20j%C4%99zyka%20litewskiego.pdf>
- Stieber, Z. (2005) [1979]. *Zarys gramatyki porównawczej języków słowiańskich*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Stone, G. (1993). Cassubian. In *The Slavonic languages*. Comrie, B. & Corbett, G.G. (eds.). London – New York: Routledge, p. 759-794.

- Szemerényi, O.J.L. (1996). *Introduction to Indo-European linguistics*. Oxford: Clarendon. (Translated from *Einführung in die vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., Darmstadt, 1990.)
- Townsend, Ch.E. & Janda, L.A. (1996). *Common and comparative Slavic: Phonology and inflection with special attention to Russian, Polish, Czech, Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian*. Columbus: Slavica Publishers.
- Trask, R.L. (2000). *The dictionary of historical and comparative linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Trubachev, O.N. (ed.). (1994). *The etymological dictionary of Slavic languages: Proto-Slavic lexical stock*. Vol. 21. Moscow: Nauka. / Trubachev O.N. (red.). *Etimologičeskij slovar' slavyanskikh jazykov: Praslavyanskij leksičeskij fond*. Tom 21. Moskva: Nauka. / Трубачев О.Н. (ред.). *Этимологический словарь славянских языков: Праславянский лексический фонд*. Том 21. Москва: Наука.
- de Vaan, M. (2008). *Etymological dictionary of Latin and the other Italic languages*. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
- Vaillant, A. (1974). *Grammaire comparée des langues slaves. Vol. IV: Formation des noms*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Vasmer, M.J.F. (1955). *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Vitezović, R. (2009). *Lexicon latino-illyricum. Vol. 3: Hrvatsko-latinski rječnik*. Prepared by Vajs, N. & Meštrović, Z. Zagreb: ArTresor Naklada – Institut Za Hrvatski Jezik I Jezikoslovlje.
- Watkins, C. (2011). *The American heritage dictionary of Indo-European roots*. Boston – New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

## Contact data

	<i>name:</i>	<b>Mikołaj Rychło</b>
	<i>academic title / rank:</i>	Dr hab. in Linguistics Associate Professor
	<i>department:</i>	English Language and Theoretical Linguistics Division. Institute of English and American Studies. Faculty of Languages
	<i>institution:</i>	University of Gdansk 51, Wita Stwosza St., Gdańsk, 80-308, Poland
	<i>e-mail:</i>	<a href="mailto:mikolaj.rychlo@ug.edu.pl">mikolaj.rychlo@ug.edu.pl</a>
	<i>fields of interest:</i>	Etymology, history of English, history of Polish, morphology, diachronic phonology, Proto-Indo-European, historical and comparative linguistics.

## Résumé

The paper presents a diachronic analysis of PSl. \**větrь* and PGmc \**windaz*. Apart from explaining the etymology, the research seeks to account for the discrepant shapes of these words in Polish and English. The analysis is carried out according to a new approach to contrastive studies developed by the author of the present paper. Taking into account cognates in other languages, an attempt is made to fulfil the following aims. Firstly, the study seeks to uncover the concealed word-formation processes as well as to expose their traces which have survived in modern languages. The original derivation of the ancestor of the English word *wind* is uncontroversial: it is a fossilized present active participle, whose traces can also be found in *friend* and *fiend*. This participle is still productive in German. Polish *wiatr* (and PSl. \**větrь*), however, is more ambiguous. The usual explanation involves the recognition of the suffix \*-*tro-*, which has been identified with a number of derivational categories, such as *nomina actionis* and *nomina instrumenti*. Several scenarios are considered with a view to supplying some missing links of the previous explanations. Secondly, the paper endeavours to explain the evolution of the common root of Polish *wiatr* and English *wind* by reconstructing its development from Proto-Indo-European. In order to understand both lines of development, the study aims to identify the phonological changes which affected the proto-forms. The conducted analysis has shown that some

of these sound laws should include additional factors, which are offered in Section 4. The phonological changes are illustrated with further examples, and, in the conclusion, they are arranged chronologically.

**Key words:** etymology, Polish-English cognates, Slavic-Germanic cognates, diachronic word-formation, sound changes, Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Slavic, Proto-Germanic.

Article was received by the editorial board 29.12.2020;

Reviewed 12.02.2021 and 17.02.2021.

Similarity Index 3%