

# Various Dimensions of Place in Language Studies

Paulina Biały, Marcin Kuczok, Marcin Zabawa (eds.)

The book serves as a collection of different approaches to the concept of 'place' in terms of contrastive studies. On the whole, the first four concentrate on the place conceptualization in languages. Next two concentrate on the notion of 'place' from a pragmatic point of view, concentrating on the lexical and prepositional systems in the description of place as well as on the cognitive distance from the pragmatic point of view. The last two representation of places in Polish and American cultures is analysed. The last part of the book contains two articles focusing on language contact. Each of the above-mentioned contributions provides an inspiring material for contrastive studies and further research.

**Key words:** contrastive linguistics, place conceptualization, pragmatic, language contact



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The book serves as a collection of articles concerning different approaches to the notion of 'place' in terms of contrastive studies. The volume comprises eight articles, the first four of which concentrate on the place of conceptualization in languages. The next two contributions discuss the notion of 'place' from a more literal point of view, concentrating on the role of case and prepositional systems in the expression of place as well as on the concept of place from the pragmatic point of view, as discursive representation of places in Polish and American cultures is analysed. The third part of the book contains two articles focusing on language contact. Each of the above-mentioned contributions provides an inspiring approach to contrastive studies and further research.

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Reviewer  
Leszek Berezowski

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## Introduction

The present volume is devoted to linguistic studies on the notion of place. The Authors of the contributions included in the book assume various methodological perspectives on language and linguistics. Thus, we find here papers based on both the formal approach to language forms and the cognitive linguistic paradigm, pragmatic-linguistic studies and examples of research into applied linguistics.

The first part of the book, “The Place of Conceptualization in Languages”, contains four chapters that focus on the role of conceptual mechanisms in different languages. In her chapter titled “The place of emotions. A contrastive analysis from the perspective of Embodied Semantics”, Annalisa Baicchi deals with the place of conceptualizing emotions in English and Italian. Her basic assumption is that, in line with the claims of cognitive semantics, conceptualization of abstract concepts, including emotions, is based on embodied experiences. In this view, the sensori-motor functioning of the human body gives rise to the so-called pre-conceptual image schemas, such as SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, BALANCE, CONTAINER, LINK, FORCE, and so on. Those embodied schemas may in turn be metaphorically projected onto the abstract domain of emotions. Another assumption made in the study is that the conceptualization of emotions depends on cultural experiences, and thus may vary in different languages. To prove her point, the Author of the chapter examines the pre-conceptual image schemas underlying the meaning of the Adjective of emotion (Adj<sub>EM</sub>) plus Prepositional Phrase (PP) construction, illustrated by such examples as *tremble with anger*, *happy about his new life*, or *furious at this injustice*. The analysed linguistic data come from eight English novels written in the last three hundred years and their Italian translations. The results of the study reveal that while the Adj<sub>EM</sub>+PP construction employs eleven different prepositions in English, in their Italian equivalents there are only three of them. Moreover, while in English it is possible to identify seven different embodied image schemas motivating the conceptualization of the examined construction, in Italian only the SOURCE schema can be found. As Annalisa Baicchi concludes, this dichotomy may be related to the manner-framed nature of English and the path-framed character of the Italian language.

In the chapter titled “English compounds created by particle/preposition fronting: Metaphor-metonymy interaction and iconicity of anomaly and axiology”, Krzysztof Kosecki discusses the difference between such compounds and their verbal or syntactic bases. First of all, he introduces the concept of the CONDUIT metaphor, which constitutes the base for the spatialization of linguistic form. Later on, he presents particular verb compounds and phrasal verbs from which these compounds are derived. He assumes that the phrasal verb represents some state of affairs, whereas the verb compound represents an altered state of affairs. He provides the examples of particle *by* (*pass by* versus *bypass*), *out* (*balance out* versus *outbalance*, *march out* versus *outmarch* or *play out* versus *outplay*), as well as *up* (*heave up* versus *upheave* and *set up* versus *upset*). Kosecki analyses as well particular adjective and noun compounds which are derived from simple syntactic constructions and phrasal verbs, for example *coming up* versus *upcoming*, *name by* versus *by-name*, *road by* versus *by-road*, or *start up* versus *upstart*. The discussion of the constructions presented in the analysis is based on the conceptual operations of metaphor, metonymy, iconicity, and axiology. It is concluded that the compounds derived from phrasal verbs reflect less canonical states of affairs or render them as pejorative.

Adam Palka’s chapter, titled “The place(s) of pain and its linguistic descriptions—the morphology and lexico-semantics of English pain descriptors: a cognitive linguistic perspective” provides an intra-lingual contrastive analysis of the adjectival pain descriptors used in the McGill Pain Questionnaire. The questionnaire serves as a diagnostic tool for measuring pain in patients, and its English version contains 78 adjectives that can describe the experience of pain. Taking the morpho-lexico-semantic stance, the Author classifies the adjectives collocating with the noun *pain* into eight categories: deverbal *-ing* adjectives, denominal/deverbal *-ing* adjectives, deverbal/denominal *-y* adjectives, bimorphemic *-ful* adjectives, bimorphemic *-some* adjectives, bimorphemic *-ed* adjectives, polymorphemic *-able* adjectives, and monomorphemic adjectives. In line with the theory of conceptual metaphor, in the chapter it is claimed that the adjectival descriptors of pain are metaphorical in nature. The predominant metaphor identified in the study depicts pain as an agentive evil entity, either anthropomorphic or inanimate. In fact, the Author of the chapter states that the use of metaphors, both conventionalized and novel, is the only way to conceptualize the experience of pain, which is “placed in” and expressed via metaphorical language. Moreover, the identified pain metaphors are described in the presented study as dialogic and socio-cultural: they are negotiated in interaction between the medical researcher and the reader, or between the therapist and the patient in a face-to-face conversation. As Adam Palka observes, thanks to all its dimensions, metaphor present at the level of descriptive language enables approximation of pain by people employing the analysed questionnaire in the medical setting.

In his chapter, Konrad Szcześniak focuses on the internal organization of the lexicon as he analyses the issues of language forms being independent of each other, as well as the presence of mental links between cognates or constructions and their usage. First of all, he presents the conceptualization of language as a place and, later on, he takes into consideration two distinct views on language. The first view underlines the fact that the constructions in a given lexicon are, following Goldberg, Trousdale, or Perek, interconnected. Following Bybee or Taylor, the second view perceives the constructions as autonomous. In order to find a solution, Szcześniak investigates particular constructions, namely *Characteristic-As-Place* constructions, such as *in the privacy of your home*. Basing on the semantics of the construction and the assumption that new uses of a particular construction are created on the basis of semantic similarity to the main pattern, he concludes that language forms are connected.

The second part of the book, titled “Talking about Place(s)”, contains two papers that deal with descriptions or references to place(s) in various languages. In her chapter, Daniela Antonchuk analyses the role of case and prepositional systems in the expression of place in four languages: Russian, English, French and Spanish. She claims that the functions of case and prepositional systems are closely related, yet they work differently in the afore-mentioned languages. Russian, for example, is a highly inflectional language, with the case being one of the categories of nouns. The concept of place is thus expressed with different case forms of the nouns or, in some cases, with the marked case form plus an appropriate preposition. In the latter case, the use of a given preposition often dominates the choice of a case. The systems of English, French, and Spanish are more closely related to each other, but differences appear as well. These languages are, in general, not as morphologically rich as Russian, and, consequently, in their situation the prepositions can often be seen as functional substitutes for case endings. However, the prepositions tend to have polysemous use and there is no one-to-one correspondence between the use of different prepositions in the analysed languages. For instance, in Spanish, the polysemous nature of prepositions is more strongly pronounced than in French or English. They are also more closely related to the meanings expressed by the preceding verbs. The article discusses many additional points of contrast between the afore-mentioned languages and illustrates them with numerous contrastive examples.

Ewa Bogdanowska-Jakubowska analyses the concept of place from the pragmatic point of view as she discusses discursive representation of places in Polish and American cultures. According to van Dijk’s division, there are three types of places: *personal and interpersonal places*, *social places*, as well as *geographical places*. They all, together with social interactions and people’s identities, create the context of particular discourse. It is also worth noting that place is a significant aspect of one’s identity as, according to Bogdanowska-Jakubowska, there are six elements shaping the identity of an individual: *personhood*, *prestige*,

*competence, family, affiliation, as well as background.* The category of *background* includes different kinds of places important for constructing one's identity, such as *place of birth, place of living, or schools.* Taking into consideration the function of place involved, she divides representations of places into two categories: *place as an element of context of situation* and *place contributing to the formation of individual identity.* Basing her analysis on Wodak's *integrative pragmatic and discourse-analytic approach,* she concentrates on selected academic year inauguration speeches delivered in Polish universities and commencement speeches delivered in American universities. Moreover, she provides numerous examples of metaphors of place, as well as university, which are employed in the speeches. The Author concludes that the analysis shows both differences and similarities between the two cultures. What is more, she observes that the difficulties may result from the fact that Polish discourse is more formal and impersonal, whereas the American one is more informal and diverse.

In the third part, titled "Place and Language Contact", there are two chapters discussing the problems of borrowings and language transfer. In his chapter, Ireneusz Kida concentrates on language contact; to be more specific, he analyses the place of loan words in the Indonesian language. The language in question, known as Bahasa Indonesia, is the national language of the Republic of Indonesia and is spoken by circa 250 million people. It has the status of the official language, used, among others, in the mass media or education. The Author discusses briefly the history of the emergence of the Indonesian language and the reasons for accepting it as a national language and then proceeds to discuss various lexical borrowings used in the language in question. Among others, there are numerous Sanskrit loans (more than 1,000 in total), often referring to religion, geography, army, but also family and everyday objects; Chinese borrowings, referring mostly to food and drink; Arabic and Persian loans (circa 1,000 in total), usually connected with education, medicine, anatomy, botany and zoology, but also religion (Islam), philosophy, politics and trade; Portuguese loans (a few hundred), referring primarily to religion (Catholicism), music, trade and food; Dutch borrowings (around 10,000 in total), related to, among others, education, religion, trade, administration and government. Other minor sources of loan words in Indonesian language include e.g. French, Javanese or Tamil. Nowadays, due to globalization, English borrowings appear as well. The Author concludes that, although Indonesian is classified as an Austronesian language (due to its morphosyntactic properties), it is actually closer to Indo-European and Afro-Asiatic families when one considers its lexicon. Thus, it is a language which is seemingly exotic and distant, but it may actually turn out to be relatively easy to learn for speakers of Indo-European or Afro-Asiatic languages.

In the chapter titled "At the confluence of languages—Language Transfer as a learning strategy", Aleksandra Serwotka and Anna Stwora discuss the place of language transfer in the process of language acquisition, learning and teaching.

Language transfer is usually discussed in the literature with the emphasis of its negative effects in terms of second language acquisition and production. Thus, errors of various kinds, resulting from such interference between languages, are discussed. The present chapter, by contrast, focuses on positive aspects of language transfer, i.e. situations in which previous knowledge of a given foreign language facilitates successful production in another foreign language. The chapter discusses some theoretical principles, such as the nature of multilingualism, principles of multilingual teaching and learning as well as language learning strategies, and then proceeds to discuss students' awareness of the phenomenon of language transfer as a learning strategy. This is done on the basis of a specially designed questionnaire, administered to students studying at the University of Silesia. The results indicate that students not infrequently make use of their L2 (English) while learning L3 (French, Italian or German), but this is sometimes done rather subconsciously. The majority of the respondents also believe that their knowledge of English can facilitate learning and/or understanding another foreign language. Their teachers, however, do not usually make reference to students' L2 (English) during L3 courses. In conclusion, the Authors point out to certain improvements that should be implemented in the process of L3 teaching and learning.

We would like to express gratitude to all the Contributors for sharing their research with the Readers of this volume. We hope that the presented studies will be found attractive and inspiring by linguists representing various schools of analysis.

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## Part I

# **The Place of Conceptualization in Languages**



## Chapter 1

# The place of emotions A contrastive analysis from the perspective of Embodied Semantics

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The chapter reports a contrastive analysis of a corpus dataset compiled for the English–Italian language pair with a view to identifying the “place” where emotions are conceptualized in the two cultures. In agreement with recent research in the fields of Embodied Semantics and Cognitive Translation Studies, it aims to pin down the different types of embodied schemas that motivate the adjective of emotion plus prepositional phrase construction (AdjEM+PP cxn), as in *happy about her new life*, *furious at this injustice*, *shocked in terror*, *annoyed over the whole business*. Based on the assumption that embodied schemas prompt meaning construction, the contrastive analysis shows that the choice of the prepositions employed to describe an emotive experience is not only cognitively motivated but also culturally grounded.

**Keywords:** AdjEM+PP cxn, cognitive motivation, embodied schemas, cultural cognition, typology

### 1.1 Introduction

The language of emotions differs greatly across cultures in size and variation (Dziwirek & Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2010), with some emotions being more salient in one culture and underplayed in another (Levy 1973; White 1993; Niemeier & Dirven 1997; Athanasiadou & Tabakowska 1998; Foolen et al. 2012). Research conducted on a wide range of Western and non-Western cultures shows that lexicalized emotion concepts are not universal but culture-specific both in conceptualization and verbalization (Wilce 2009). For example, when emotions are not salient in one culture they do not receive specific lexemes, as is the case with Polish that lacks a word for ‘disgust’ (Harkins & Wierzbicka 2001), or Greek that does not have a word for ‘frustration’ (Pavlenko 2008). Some languages do

not make a lexical distinction and encompass two distinct terms under one single noun: for example, *sympathy* and *sadness* in Amharic (Amberber 2001), *embarrassment* and *shame* in the Indonesian and Pintupi languages (Myers 1979), or *anger* and *sadness* in Ifaluk (Lutz 1988). There are also cases when some cultures have lexemes but no lexical equivalents in another language-culture, such as *przykro* in Polish, *saudade* in Portuguese, *Schadenfreude* in German, or *amae* in Japanese (Fontaine et al. 2013). Different cultures give different emphasis to different emotions. To put it with Levy's terminology (1973), some emotions are *hypercognized*, i.e. more salient, while others are *hypocognized*, i.e. absent or minimally salient. Emotions that are salient and perceptually elaborated receive focal attention and memory, and a wide lexicon is coined for their linguistic expression, while a limited lexicon is developed for emotions that are not in the focus of attention and awareness.

## 1.2 The embodied schematic representation of emotions

The perspective of cognitive semantics is endorsed in this study and, in agreement with recent views in cognitive sciences, the body is seen as the locus of cognition and the activity of the mind is considered directly connected to the functioning of the body (Lakoff & Johnson 1999). The discovery of the mirror neuron system (Rizzolatti & Craighero 2004) has provided evidence of the inseparable functioning of mind and body. This theory, known as *Embodied Cognition* (Gallese 2005), postulates that concepts acquire meaning and are represented in human memory through the same sensori-motor systems that underlie interaction with the outside world (Pecher & Zwaan 2005), that is, through the same neural apparatus that is activated in the planning and in the perception of real referents for linguistically perceived concepts (Pulvermüller & Fadiga 2010). This discovery is highly significant since it proves that meaning construction involves partial re-enactment of the sensori-motor states when the referents are directly experienced; hence, language patterns can be regarded as entrenched neuro-motor routines following from the high-frequent usage in communicative events (Gallese & Lakoff 2005). Repetition of linguistic expressions produce bio-chemical mental traces that lead to entrenched behaviours; during language comprehension *motor resonance* occurs, that is, a partial re-enactment of the same neural activation pattern as if we were experiencing the event (Barsalou 2008). Empirical evidence has also demonstrated that the limbic system gets activated when emotive language is being processed (Barrett 2006). Vigliocco et al. (2009: 228) claim that "the primary subcortical system engaged in processing emotion from non-verbal stimuli (i.e. faces) is also engaged in processing emotional valence of words". At the same time, also culture plays a crucial role in the construction of meaning, and, as Gibbs observes, "understanding embodied experience is not

simply a matter of physiology or kinesiology, but demands recognition of how people dynamically move in the physical and cultural body” (Gibbs 2005: 228). This comprehensive perspective on meaning construction enables us to conceive of communication as the outcome of three interacting complex systems (Baicchi 2015): (1) the cultural system, with its socio-cultural conventions shared in a given speech community; (2) the linguistic system, i.e. the lexico-grammatical resources offered by the encoding language; and (3) the cognitive system, where the idealized cognitive models shape our mental organization of knowledge and experience and motivate the lingua-culture expression of concepts (Lakoff 1987). One type of idealized cognitive models (ICMs) involved in the conceptualization and wording of emotions are embodied schemas: They emerge from bodily experience and serve to represent reality from a topological perspective and to form general categories and complex concepts. In their taxonomy of pre-conceptual experiences, Lakoff (1987: 267) argues that abstract concepts are metaphorical projections from physical to abstract domains, a type of cognitive operations involving embodied schemas, such as BALANCE, CONTAINER, FORCE, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, FRONT-BACK, LINK, and so on.

Since we perceive and interpret the world through our bodily experience, the basic senses of most prepositions describe arrangement of our body in space. Embodied schemas are relevant to the description of the language of emotions and, in particular, to the AdjEM+PP construction under scrutiny. For example, the CONTAINER schema metaphorically represents the human body as the container of emotions; likewise, our body can be contained into emotions. Relevant is also the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema, for emotions are caused by an event or stimulus (the SOURCE) that triggers an emotive effect (the GOAL). Closely related to the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema is the FRONT-BACK schema, which accounts for the orientational axis along which the emotion and its cause collocate: the triggering cause, which is the SOURCE of the emotion, occupies the back end of the axis, while the resulting emotion, i.e. the GOAL, occupies the front end. The BALANCE schema represents balance of the body in action and, as such, it is no doubt one of the fundamental experiences of human life, which is involved not only in our physical experience of the world, but also in our psychological and emotional self. Emotions are a lack of BALANCE. When we experience emotions, either positive or negative, we do our best so as to remove the cause that has disrupted our internal emotive system and to restore our emotive balance.

Based on the assumption that embodied schemas prompt meaning construction and reveal how conceptualizations are grounded in culture, section (3) describes the AdjEM+PP construction, and section (4) provides an analysis of a corpus dataset to show (a) how the verbalization of emotions is motivated by well-rooted and recurring patterns of experience in the form of embodied schematic structures, and (b) how a comparison of embodied schemas employed

in the expression of comparable emotions in English and Italian may unveil commonalities and differences in the two lingua-cultures.

### 1.3 The Adj<sub>EM</sub>+PP construction

Emotions are part of a larger chain of causation, the “flow-of-emotion scenario”, involving three events: (1) an emotion-arousing event, (2) an emotional state, and (3) a physiological response or other responses (Heider 1991: 6). The three events may be expressed within the structure of a simple sentence such as *Bill trembled with anger at her remark* (Radden 1997: 274), where the event of somebody’s remark causes the emotional state of anger, which in turn causes the physiological reaction of trembling. The expression of such emotive event is linguistically anti-iconic, for the verbalization process does not mirror the chronological sequence of events from the cause to the effect (stimulus, emotion, physiological response), but follows the salience sequence from the effect to the cause (physiological response, emotion, stimulus). In this folk scenario, the anti-iconic sequence indicates that the emotive effect of a stimulus is a more salient element than its cause (Dirven 1998: 57).

Emotions are conceptualized in terms of physical space. When they are expressed through the Adj<sub>EM</sub>+PP construction, the notion of causality comes into play. Out of the three causal notions that Radden and Dirven (2007: 327) identify (cause, reason, and purpose), the Adj<sub>EM</sub>+PP construction describes causes that trigger emotional reactions. As causes precede effects, they are principally conceived of in terms of the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema. Yet, each preposition details the causes that trigger specific emotional reactions in a finely-grained way (Radden & Dirven 2007: 329): *about* expresses an ‘indeterminate cause’, *at* a ‘targeting cause’, *by* a ‘means’, *for* a ‘reasoned cause’, *in* and *into* an ‘intense emotional cause’, *of* a ‘direct cause’, *out of* a ‘motive’, *over* a ‘repetitive cause’, *to* a ‘direct cause’, and *with* a ‘concomitant emotional cause’.

The ontogenetic relevance of space has been widely investigated by 20th-century anthropologists. As O’Keefe states, “the origin of language might have been the need to transmit information about the spatial layout of an area from one person to another [...] at some point in their evolution hominids began to elaborate the basic cognitive map by substituting sounds for the elements in the map or for some of the sensory aspects of these elements. [...] Over time, an increase in vocabulary would eventually obviate the need for the externalised map entirely, but the neural substrate would retain the structure of the original mapping function” (O’Keefe 1996: 281).

The wide literature that cognitivist linguists have produced on spatial language (Talmy 1983, Sinha & Kuteva 1995, Brugman & Lakoff 1988, Bowerman & Choi 2001, Zlatev 2007) and on the role of spatial particles in particular



(Herskovits 1986, Zelinsky-Wibbelt 1993, Tyler & Evans 2003, Radden & Dirven 2007, Evans 2010) suggests that the primary meanings of most prepositions denote spatial relations and, what is more relevant in our discussion, they are widely employed when we need to talk about abstract domains: “when we project spatial notions onto abstract domains we tend to preserve the topology of space even if it does not apply to the target domain” (Radden & Dirven 2007: 304).

In the English language our conceptualization of the physical space is mirrored by means of three types of spatial relations—location, direction, and extent—and two strategies through which we locate entities in space—orientation between entities and dimension of the entity. Banking on Radden and Dirven (2007), locative prepositions express the space where an entity stands (*Alice is in her office*); directional prepositions specify the dynamical spatial relations between a moving entity and a background as in a motion event (*the dog ran to the door*), where the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema licenses the phrase; finally, extent indicates the relation that holds between an entity and its measured property (*the river stretches for over 500 miles*). English spatial prepositions make use of topological properties of entities and in this way they specify their orientation or dimension. Four types of dimensional prepositions can be distinguished in English (Table 1.1), where we can easily recognize the centrality of image schemas:

- 1) zero-dimensional, as in *at the pub*, where the pub is conceptualized as a point or static location in space;
- 2) one-dimensional, as in *on the edge*, where the edge is seen as a line in space;
- 3) two-dimensional, as in *on the shelf*, i.e. a surface;
- 4) three-dimensional, as in *in the drawer*, i.e. a container.

**Table 1.1** Dimensional prepositions in the dataset

Dimensional	Location	Direction		
	PLACE	SOURCE	PATH	GOAL
zero	<i>at, by, with</i>		<i>by</i>	
one- and two-	<i>on, for, over</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>about</i>	
three-	<i>in</i>	<i>out of</i>		<i>into, to</i>

This chapter focuses on prepositional phrases following emotion adjectives in English and Italian and highlights the fact that not all emotion adjectives accept all prepositions, with the factors constraining such combinability being the nature of the emotion adjective and of the appraised entity (see Osmond 1997 for a detailed description).

## 1.4 Analysis of corpus data

The Adj<sub>EM</sub>+PP construction is, to my knowledge, under-investigated and no cross-linguistic research has been conducted yet as for the English–Italian language pair. With the aim of rectifying this gap, a preliminary analysis of this construction is offered in order to identify the embodied schemas that motivate the close-knit unit between emotion adjective and preposition. To achieve this goal, a corpus of eight English novels written in the last three centuries has been compiled together with their Italian translations for the retrieval of data.<sup>1</sup> The data thus collected allows us to unveil interesting cross-cultural differences in the conceptualization of emotions between the two lingua-cultures. In the ensuing sections, the focus is placed on the English prepositions contained in the corpus (*about*, *at*, *by*, *for*, *in*, *into*, *of*, *out of*, *over*, *to*, *with*) and their rendition into Italian, as well as on the embodied schemas that motivate the selection of prepositions in the two languages.

### 1.4.1 *About*

The preposition *about* indicates nearness on all sides, approximation and inexactness rather than precision, and hints at irregular motion covering a bounded region in space. It implies a multi-dimensional space and shares the same basic sense with *around*, meaning ‘in the neighborhood of’, ‘around the outside’ (OED), although *about* and *around* differ in the type of motion they hint at, ‘dispersed motion’ as in *I wandered about the town*, and ‘circular motion’ as in *I ran around the lake* (Radden & Dirven 2007: 321–2). Figuratively speaking, in a prepositional phrase like *They debated about controversial topics*, *about* means that the topic is metaphorically approached from different directions, and the NP depicts a situation around which an array of possibilities exists. *About* collocates with emotions related to past events (*embarrassed*, *pleased*, *sad*), or with emotions that have future reference (*anxious*, *concerned*, *worried*). In both cases, the cause of emotion is indeterminate while approximation is profiled because we think about a number of details of an experienced situation, or we imagine about the future, whose details are unknown to us (Osmond 1997).

<sup>1</sup> Fanny Burney, *Evelina*, 1778 (*Evelina*, transl. by Chiara Vatteroni, 2001); Ann Radcliffe, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, 1794 (*I misteri di Udolpho*, transl. by Lidia Conetti, 1998); Jane Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 1811 (*Ragione e sentimento*, transl. by Franca Severini, 2012); Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre*, 1847 (*Jane Eyre*, transl. by Stella Sacchini, 2014); Virginia Woolf, *The Voyage Out*, 1915 (*La crociera*, transl. by Luciana Bianciardi, 2012); Muriel Spark, *The Girls of Slender Means*, 1963 (*Le ragazze di pochi mezzi*, transl. by Luisa Pantaleoni, 1992); Iris Murdoch, *The Sea, the Sea*, 1978 (*Il mare, il mare*, transl. by Fabrizio Ascari, 2003); Susan Byatt, *Possession*, 1990 (*Possessione*, transl. by Anna Nadotti and Fausto Galuzzi, 1992).

Corpus data such as *anxious about different things* or *happy about her new life* exemplify the case in which we understand emotive processes as moving around a bounded region, which has a centre and a periphery. *About* can be interpreted as a language specific variant of the SURFACE schema, motivated by the THINKING ABOUT AN ISSUE IS EXPLORING A LANDSCAPE metaphor. The correspondent Italian translations are *ansiosa per vari motivi* and *felice per la sua nuova vita*, where the preposition *per* ('for, because of') expresses the triggering cause, which corresponds to the SOURCE schema.

### 1.4.2 *At*

*At* points at a zero-dimension space. It collocates with emotions that are experienced at the moment of awareness and that cannot be prolonged at will (Osmond's 'surprise-type words'). In the AdjEM+PP construction, *at* introduces the targeting cause of an emotion, such as *angry at my audacity* or *surprised at my skill*. These expressions are motivated by a multifarious cognitive process: first, causes are metaphorically mapped onto points in space (CAUSES ARE POINTS IN SPACE metaphors), then these points are metonymically mapped onto origins (POINTS IN SPACE ARE ORIGINS metonymy), and finally the analogical thinking we obtain is ORIGINS ARE CAUSES OF EMOTIONS, in turn motivated by the SOURCE schema. The Italian translations, *arrabbiato per la mia audacia* and *sorpreso per la mia abilità*, employ the preposition *per* ('for/because of') that, similar to the English preposition *for*, expresses the cause triggering the emotional reaction.

### 1.4.3 *By*

The preposition *by* is highly polysemous, indicates position in space and means 'being near', or 'moving near to' (OED), but, differently from *near*, *by* includes contact. Both *at* and *by* express a sense of proximity, but *by* involves some action taking place: for example, *standing by the door*, in contrast to *standing at the door*, implies that someone is doing something while standing. *By* occurs with deverbal adjectives (*delighted*, *depressed*, *irritated*, *worried*) but not with plain adjectives (*angered by George's behaviour* vs. \**angry by George's behaviour*, Osmond 1997: 112). *By* can be interpreted as a process and is followed by a nominal with a feature of duration. Examples from the dataset include *irritated by his attempts* and *pleased by his success*, where *by* combines with the cause of an event (*attempts*, *success*), representing the starting point of a process motivated by the SOURCE schema. The Italian translations—*irritata dai suoi tentativi*, *compiaciuto per il suo successo*—employ the prepositions *da* ('from') and *per* ('for'), which encode the cause and are motivated by the SOURCE schema.

#### 1.4.4 *For*

The preposition *for* conceptualizes the front-back topological axis of an entity or spatial extent, with the front axis representing the front area and the back axis the back area. The FRONT-BACK schema shares with the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema the idea of alignment, but while the former depicts an entity, the latter describes its motion through space. In the emotive language, *for* conceptualizes the cause that prompts the emotion, as in *I'm happy for your success*. The SOURCE schema metonymically stands for the notion of causality, as in *grateful for the pastime* and *sorry for his disappointment*. The Italian translations—*grato del passato* and *dispiaciuta per la sua delusione*—show the same conceptualization since the two prepositions *del* ('of') and *per* ('for') profile the SOURCE schema and are motivated by the ORIGINS ARE CAUSES OF EMOTIONS metaphor.

#### 1.4.5 *In/Into*

The prepositions *in* and *into* mean 'within, inside' and express the idea of 'in-ness', of being contained into a bounded extent, thus evoking the CONTAINER schema, i.e. emotions can be contained in our body or contain our body. Radden (1997) observes that *in*-phrases regularly trigger the conceptualization of intense emotions as containers: being held in a container entails being unable to move, which metonymically stands for being unable to react against an intense emotion. When *in* occurs with a positive emotion (*in joy*), intensity is profiled because an intense positive emotion always restricts our ability to action. English data such as *shocked in terror* and *shocked into delight* hint at intense emotions that overpower a person, who is no longer in control of his actions. The Italian translations show that the embodied schema is different. In fact, *spaventata dal terrore* and *colpito per la gioia* employ prepositions *dal* ('from') and *per* ('for'), which evoke the SOURCE schema, whereby both examples give prominence to the cause of the emotion with no expression of intensity.

#### 1.4.6 *Of*

The preposition *of* means 'away from' and indicates derivation, separation, source, or origin (OED). The Adj<sub>EM</sub>+PP construction expresses the sense of source or starting point that metonymically stands for the direct cause of an emotion. It occurs with emotions that project the experiencer into an imagined non-specific situation, encoded by the following nominal (Osmond 1997). Constructions such as *I'm afraid of spiders* or *I'm terrified of the dark* express the idea that the experiencer projects himself into a generalized situation, which

may have no link with the moment of utterance. Conversely, a specific situation requires the preposition *by* (*He was frightened by spiders*) which means that the emotion was experienced at the sight of the stimulus. The corpus dataset shows that *of*-emotions (e.g. *ashamed of*, *envious of*, *glad of*, *proud of*, *jealous of*, *scared of*) are always translated into Italian with the corresponding preposition *di*, as in *afraid of ghosts/paura dei fantasmi*. What is crucial for us to notice is that the preposition *di* occurs more often than its English counterpart *of*, which may suggest that the Italian culture is more inclined to speak of emotions in a generalized way.

### 1.4.7 Out of

The *out of* phrase expresses the idea of leaving a bounded area, which involves a substantial change of state, and evokes the EMERGENCE schema. When we experience an emotion as a CONTAINER, we may feel trapped and want to leave the container, which corresponds to getting free from an uncomfortable situation. The performance of some controlled action enables us to undergo a substantial change and emerge out of an emotion. English data such as *shocked out of denial* are not literally translated into Italian (*colpito dalla smentita*), which employs the preposition *da* ('from') that is motivated by the SOURCE schema.

### 1.4.8 Over

In the language of emotions, the preposition *over* represents a very interesting case, since emotions that are expressed through *over* can also be expressed with other prepositions (e.g. *upset over/upset about/upset at*). *Over* requires a path-shaped surface, thus it expresses the idea of moving across an extent. It is motivated by the PATH schema, which implies the TRANSFORMATION schema (Lakoff 1987: 440). When *over* is preferred, the following nominal suggests that something is experienced in its entirety and seen from its end-point (Osmond 1997: 129). In its metaphorical conceptualization, the emotion is construed as the end-point of a journey, as a resultant state (*embarrassed over her failure*). It is not a momentary emotion but grows little by little. English expressions such as *annoyed over the whole business*, *depressed over his failed marriage*, and *delighted over her engagement* are translated into Italian as *infastidito dall'intera faccenda*, *depresso per il fallimento del suo matrimonio*, and *felice del suo fidanzamento*, respectively. The prepositions *da* ('from'), *per* ('for'), and *del* ('of') cancel out the PATH schema that motivates the English data, and instead evoke the SOURCE of the emotion, that is, the triggering cause.

### 1.4.9 To

The preposition *to* means ‘in the direction of’ and conveys the idea of moving along a path and of reaching an end-point, thus evoking both the PATH and GOAL schemas. It expresses the idea of an emotion directed toward someone or something. Indeed, few emotion terms (e.g. *devoted*, *grateful*) collocate with *to* and when they do so, the emotions are positive ones. The English–Italian language pair highlights a crucial difference, for example, the expression *sympathetic to his sufferings* is translated as *comprensivo per le sue sofferenze*, where the preposition *per* (‘for’) evokes the SOURCE schema and the focus is again placed on the cause of the experienced emotion. Both *of* and *to* express a ‘direct cause’, but differ in the type of cause prompting the emotion: *of* collocates with a generalized cause in a non-specific situation (*I’m afraid of spiders*) while *to* occurs with a specific cause in a particular situation (*devoted to his wife*).

### 1.4.10 With

Originally, *with* meant ‘against’, but this Middle English sense shifted to denote union, combination, companionship, and it is nowadays used to indicate that the cause continues abiding a place and lingering with the experiencer. Adjectives collocating with the preposition *with* generally refer to unpleasant emotions (Radden 1997), thus the lingering effect is one that confronts the experiencer over a period of time before he is able to restore his emotive balance. In the English corpus, the COMPANIONSHIP schema motivates *with*-emotions (e.g. *troubled with a haunting fear*; *trembling with fear*), but the Italian translations employ the prepositions *da* (‘from’) and *per* (‘for’), thus evoking the SOURCE schema and pointing to the conceptualization of such an emotion as a cause of imbalance.

## 1.5 A typological hypothesis

The research reported in this chapter offers a preliminary qualitative analysis of the Adj<sub>EM</sub>+PP construction and further investigation is needed; nonetheless, it allows for some interesting observations as to the cross-cultural diversity in the language of emotions.

A comparison of the types of embodied schemas motivating English instantiations of the Adj<sub>EM</sub>+PP construction with their corresponding Italian translations shows a striking difference in the conceptualization of emotive meanings. The use of eleven English prepositions in the dataset is motivated by a range of seven embodied schemas. The Italian corresponding translations show that



only three Italian prepositions have been employed, *da* ('from'), *di* ('of') and *per* ('for'), which are all motivated by the SOURCE schema (Table 1.2).

**Table 1.2** Embodied schemas in the two lingua-cultures

Embodied schemas	English	Italian
COMPANIONSHIP	<i>with</i>	//
CONTAINER	<i>in, into</i>	//
EMERGENCE/CONTAINER	<i>out of</i>	//
GOAL	<i>to</i>	//
PATH/TRANSFORMATION	<i>over</i>	//
SOURCE	<i>at, by, of, for</i>	<i>di (of); da (from); per (for)</i>
SURFACE/CENTRE-PERIPHERY	<i>about</i>	//

The striking difference in the use that the two languages make of prepositions points to divergent construals. The English culture focuses on a more detailed depiction of the cause, specifying the notions of CONTAINER (*in*), COMPANIONSHIP (*with*), SURFACE (*about*), SOURCE (*at, by, of, for*), PATH/TRANSFORMATION (*over*), GOAL (*to*), and EMERGENCE (*out of*), while the Italian culture shows a strong concern for the cause prompting the emotion, which is conceptualized in terms of the SOURCE schema (*da, di, per*), and it does not seem to pay attention to the manner of experiencing an emotion. For example, *angry* is an adjective that, in the dataset, collocates with four prepositions—*about/at/over/with*—which involve four different embodied schemas (Table 1.3).

**Table 1.3** Angry + PP construction and embodied schemas in the two lingua-cultures

English		Italian	
<i>angry about his past</i>	SURFACE	<i>arrabbiata per il suo passato</i>	SOURCE
<i>angry at her lie</i>	SOURCE	<i>irritato per la sua bugia</i>	SOURCE
<i>angry over his letter</i>	PATH	<i>risentito per la sua lettera</i>	SOURCE
<i>angry with her</i>	COMPANIONSHIP	<i>arrabbiata con lei/a causa sua</i>	COMPANIONSHIP/ SOURCE

Only the preposition *with* is literally translated into Italian (*con*), thus retaining the same COMPANIONSHIP schema; however, the expression *angry with her* is also rendered as *arrabbiata a causa sua*, which is motivated by the SOURCE schema. In the other examples, the three different embodied schemas of SURFACE, SOURCE and PATH in the original English versions qualify the trigger cause respectively as indeterminate (*about*), targeting (*at*), and repetitive (*over*). These

data are translated into Italian with the preposition *per* ('for') that is motivated by the SOURCE schema and profiles the reasoned cause of the experienced emotion. While the expressions *angry at her lie* and *irritato per la sua bugia* point to the same SOURCE schema motivating the targeting cause of the emotion, the SURFACE and PATH schemas, which convey the manner of experiencing the emotion, are lost in the Italian translation.

The other two Italian prepositions that regularly occur in the AdjEM+PP construction, i.e. *di* ('of') and *da* ('from'), express the SOURCE schema. If the original English examples are considered, it is evident that those expressions involve a multifarious conceptualization of emotions that make use of four embodied schemas: SOURCE, CONTAINER, PATH, and COMPANIONSHIP. The six prepositions verbalizing such conceptualizations—*by*, *for*, *in*, *of*, *over*, *with*—hint at various causes that prompt a range of emotional reactions: *by* expresses a means, *for* a reasoned cause, *in* an intense cause, *of* a direct generalized cause, *over* a repetitive cause, and *with* a concomitant cause.

**Table 1.4** The Italian source schema and the corresponding English schemas

Italian		English	
<i>felice per la frescura</i>	SOURCE	<i>delighted by the freshness</i>	SOURCE
<i>grato del passatempo</i>	SOURCE	<i>grateful for the pastime</i>	SOURCE
<i>spaventata dal terrore</i>	SOURCE	<i>shocked in terror</i>	CONTAINER
<i>paura dei fantasmi</i>	SOURCE	<i>afraid of the ghosts</i>	SOURCE
<i>infastidito dall'intera faccenda</i>	SOURCE	<i>annoyed over the whole business</i>	PATH/TRANSFORMATION
<i>entusiaste dei cambiamenti</i>	SOURCE	<i>delighted with the renovation</i>	COMPANIONSHIP

Again, the detailed representation of causes and emotions in the English lingua-culture is reduced in the Italian versions, where only the SOURCE of the emotional reaction is conceptualized through the prepositions *di* and *da*, which hint at a direct cause.

A possible hypothesis for the different prominence that the two lingua-cultures give to the cause of emotions and to the manner of experiencing them may be related to the features of the typological families English and Italian belong to. The different embodied schemas employed in the original and translated texts are in my view closely related to Talmy's (1975, 2000) typological dichotomy between manner-framed and path-framed languages. The wide array of different prepositions, and hence of embodied schemas, in English comply with its manner-framed typological nature, which enhances a detailed depiction of emotive meanings. Conversely, the Italian language, which uses a very limited set of prepositions and embodied schemas, reveals to be, in the expression of emotions, a path-framed language primarily, or even exclusively, interested in the cause of

emotions and not in their multi-faceted description. The cross-linguistic data are limited in size and wider investigation is certainly needed; however, we have seen that English highlights the manner of experiencing emotions thus meeting the requirements of a manner-framed language, while the Italian data conforms to the specificity of a path-framed language. Indeed, linguistic differences reflect the conventional construal patterns in the speakers.

## 1.6 Concluding observations

This chapter has focused on the crucial differences in the expression of emotions that occur when the combination between the open-class of emotion adjectives and the closed-class of prepositions travels from English into Italian. The two languages differ as for this construction with the unexpected result that English appears to express emotions in a more fine-grained way than Italian. Not only does the AdjEM+PP construction appear to be motivated by embodied cognition, but also by typological features that have a close connection to cultural preferences. English gives prominence to the manner of experiencing emotions and describes emotions with recourse to a wider array of embodied schemas than Italian; while Italian, being a Romance language, systematically gives priority to the path thus highlighting the cause prompting the emotion. In other words, English ‘hypercognizes’ manner while Italian ‘hypocognizes’ it and gives pride of place to the cause-effect sequence of the flow-of-emotion scenario. Overall, the linguistic expression of emotive meanings has a cultural basis and is ingrained into conceptualizations that seem to comply with more general typological requirements.

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## Chapter 2

# English compounds created by particle/preposition fronting: Metaphor-metonymy interaction and iconicity of anomaly and axiology

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Some English compounds can be created by fronting of phrasal verb particles or particles and prepositions constituting parts of simple syntactic constructions. The compounds have meanings different from their verbal or syntactic bases. For example, the phrasal verb *march out* ‘go out of a place marching’ is not synonymous with the compound verb *outmarch* ‘march faster or longer than others’. The difference in meaning can be explained in terms of the CONDUIT metaphor (Reddy 1993 [1979]) and the related concept of the spatialization of linguistic form (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 126-138). The metonymy ALTERED POSITION OF LINGUISTIC FORM FOR ALTERED STATE OF AFFAIRS interacts with the metaphor CLOSENESS IS STRENGTH OF EFFECT. Both the metonymy and the metaphor are motivated by the iconic principle of sequential order (Dirven and Radden 1998: 8-12; Givón 1995; Tamariz et al. 2018)—the fronting of the particle emphasizes the intensity of the action or the scale of the distance covered. In numerous other compounds, such a conceptual pattern frequently overlaps with metaphors used to conceptualize the semantic and axiological contents of the expressions.

**Key words:** adverbial particle, axiology, compound, fronting, iconicity, metaphor, metonymy, preposition

## 2.1 Introduction

Compounds created by fronting of particles functioning as parts of phrasal verbs and of particles or prepositions functioning as parts of simple syntactic constructions have meanings that differ from those of their bases. Form-related metaphors and metonymies underlying the process, motivated by various prin-

ciples of iconicity (Dirven and Radden 1998: 8–12; Givón 1995; Tamariz et al. 2018), blend with metaphors used to conceptualize the semantic and axiological contents of the expressions.

Section 2 introduces the concept of motivation of linguistic form and explains how it is related to figurative aspects of language. Section 3 discusses the CONDUIT metaphor and its connection with the spatialization of linguistic form and iconicity. Section 4 discusses compound verbs created by fronting of the particles *by*, *out*, and *up* functioning as parts of phrasal verbs. Section 5 deals with adjective and noun compounds formed by fronting of the preposition *by* and the particle *up* functioning as elements of simple syntactic constructions. Section 6 discusses further semantic and axiological aspects of the above-mentioned constructions. Section 7 summarizes the results of the analysis.

## 2.2 Motivation of linguistic form and its metaphors

The idea of non-arbitrariness of grammar and motivation of syntax by semantics dominated the linguistics of the last quarter of the 20th century (Wierzbicka 1988: 491 cit. in Taylor 1993: 205). Bolinger (1977), for example, claimed that differences in wording always reflected semantic differences; exact paraphrases were impossible because they were “expressed in different forms” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 126). Lyons (1984: 50–51) was skeptical of the possibility of absolute synonymy. For Haiman (1985 cit. in Taylor 1993: 205), surface forms of sentences were iconic of their semantics. Such functionalist assumptions were most clearly articulated by Langacker, who viewed grammar as “structuring and symbolization of semantic content” (1987: 12 cit. in Taylor 1993: 205).

Motivation can be described as influence of cognition and its peripheral systems on language: “A linguistic sign (target) is motivated to the extent that some of its properties are shaped by a linguistic or non-linguistic source and language-independent factors” (Panther and Radden 2011: 9). Culture, which encompasses knowledge, beliefs, values, etc., has significant influence on language. That is why linguistic motivation often takes the form of “cultural cognition” (Tomasello et al. 2005 cit. in Panther and Radden 2011: 7).

Because languages involve a lot of symbolic content (Langacker 1986: 2), words provide access to concepts that reflect various elements of culture (Hudson 2001: 52). Contemporary cognitive linguistics analyses the structure of those concepts and the ways in which they mirror the language users’ worldviews. It assumes that the bulk of human conceptual system and language is based on figurative processes, such as metaphor, metonymy, and metaphonymy (Bierwaczek 2013; Goossens 1990; Lakoff 1987, 1993; Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Radden and Kövecses 1999; Kövecses 2002, 2018; Navarro i Fernando 2019; Tabakowska 2017; Wachowski 2019). Metaphorical concepts are especially

common in more abstract or ambiguous situations—the speakers then ignore the observable facts and aspects of the context and conceptualize the situations by means of less direct and observable elements (Blom and Gumperz 1971 cit. in Hudson 2001: 53). Those indirect or figurative concepts are motivated by the embodied experience that involves both physical and cultural elements, for example culture-specific perceptions of space, time, and emotions (Evans and Green 2006: 54–107; Kövecses 2005, 2006).

### 2.3 The conduit metaphor, the spatialization of linguistic form, and iconicity

The CONDUIT metaphor makes it possible to conceptualize thoughts as objects:

(1) Try to *pack* more *thoughts* into fewer *words*.

Words and word groups thus function as logical containers (Reddy 1993: 166–167). The metaphor LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS entails the metonymy MORE OF FORM FOR MORE OF CONTENT, which, among other uses, underlies repetitions and reduplications in English and such languages as, for example, Tagalog, Turkish, or Tok Pisin (Aronoff 1989: 96; Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 127–128; Romaine 1988: 133–134). One of the aspects of the CONDUIT metaphor is the spatialization of linguistic form. Because “we speak in a linear order” and “speaking is correlated with time and time is metaphorically conceptualized in terms of space” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 126), the distance between expressions is meaningful. For example, in the sentences

(2) He is *not* happy

(3) He is *un*happy,

the negative prefix *-un* has a stronger effect than the negative particle *not* because it is attached to the base ‘happy’. The person in example (3) is thus felt to be less happy than the person in example (2). Such placement of the prefix is the source domain of the form-related metaphor CLOSENESS IS STRENGTH OF EFFECT (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 130, 127). Linguistic form thus becomes iconic of semantic content, which modifies de Saussure’s (1983 [1922]) influential idea of the arbitrariness of linguistic sign (Fónagy 2001, Jakobson 1971 [1968] cit. in Fischer 2006 [2004]: 15–18). Givón’s (1995) view of linguistic code as isomorphic also reflects the functionalist idea of elements of the coded function being reflected in the coding structure. Linguistic signs are simply similar to their objects (Nöth 2001: 19).

Iconic sign is any “perceptual image of the thing it stands for” (Dirven and Radden 1998: 2). Diagrammatic iconicity can thus be defined as “a certain iso-



morphism between the structure of textual signifiers and signifieds”<sup>1</sup> (Wolf 2001: 324). The relation between linguistic form and extra-linguistic reality is motivated by the iconic principles of quantity, proximity, and sequential order (Givón 1995: 49–56). The principle of quantity corresponds to Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980: 127–128) metonymy-based rule of MORE OF FORM FOR MORE OF CONTENT. The principle of distance means that “things which belong together conceptually tend to be put together linguistically” (Dirven and Radden 1998: 10). Thus, in the sentences

(4) She *let go* of him

(5) She *let* him *go*,

the complement clauses are integrated with the main clause to a different degree (Givón 1995: 52) in that the first sentence implies a closer physical contact between the referents of the subject and the direct object. Both principles also represent what Tamariz et al. (2018: 337) define as relative iconicity, that is, a context in which “an analogical contrast between meanings is related to a contrast between forms”. Finally, the principle of sequential order means that the temporal sequence of events is reflected in “the linear arrangement of elements in a linguistic construction” (Dirven and Radden 1998: 8). For example, Julius Caesar’s statement *Veni, vidi, vici* ‘I came, I saw, I won’ reflects the real sequence of his actions (Nänny and Fischer 2001: 2).

## 2.4 Verb compounds derived from phrasal verbs

Phrasal verbs make up a large part of English idioms (Courtney 1989; Seidl and McMordie 1990): Many, but not all of them, give rise to compound verbs<sup>2</sup> with particles functioning as their initial elements. The meanings of thus derived constructions usually differ from the meanings of their multi-word verbal bases. Transformation of a verb + particle construction<sup>3</sup> into a compound verb can be described as follows:

verb + particle sequence (phrasal verb) represents some state of affairs → particle + verb sequence (compound verb) represents an altered state of affairs.

<sup>1</sup> One illustration of diagrammatic iconicity is the structure of compounds in various languages. Whereas endocentric compounds involve it, it is absent in the exocentric ones (Dressler 1995: 30–31; Toratani 2013: 46).

<sup>2</sup> The analysis largely follows the division of compounds by Quirk and Greenbaum (1977: 444–448).

<sup>3</sup> Construction is understood here as a unit that consists of at least two independent morphological elements.

Such inversions are a form of “the ‘distorter’ component of language” (Fónagy 1999 cit. in Lecercle 2001: 299), which operates here on the morphological level. The compounds are to some extent “against grammar” (Lecercle 2001: 291) because they invert the canonical position of the particle in the English verb phrase.<sup>4</sup> Some of them can be regarded as hyperbata or inversions reflecting emotions (Lecercle 2001: 292)—*outbalance*, *upset*, or *upstart*, for example, clearly convey negative emotions, such as dislike or even anger.

The discussion follows the alphabetical order of particles and verbs. Meanings of some of the examples are provided on the basis of Courtney (1989), Guralnik (1986), and Hawkins (1987).

### 2.4.1 Particle *by*

The verbs

- (6) a. *pass by* ‘go or proceed next to some landmark in space’
- b. *bypass* ‘make a detour from some landmark in space’

reflect two different states of affairs. The phrasal verb represents a canonical situation of movement by some spatial landmark; the compound verb refers to motion avoiding some landmark. The change of semantic content is reflected in the change of the structure of the derived construction. The shift of the particle *by* to the initial position in the compound verb highlights the more prominent and atypical role of the location in comparison with the motion.

### 2.4.2 Particle *out*

The verbs

- (7) a. *balance out* ‘cause to be of equal weight, importance, or influence’
- b. *outbalance* ‘destroy the balance; tip the scales’

represent contrastive situations. In the phrasal verb, the particle *out* represents the completion of the process. Being shifted to the initial position in the compound verb, it indicates the absence of such condition.<sup>5</sup> The change of meaning is from positive to negative—balance is a desirable state of affairs; its lack is not.

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<sup>4</sup> Verbs followed by particles or prepositions are more numerous than compounds derived from them.

<sup>5</sup> The expression could even be paraphrased as ‘causing something to be *out of balance*’.

In the three pairs of verbs

- (8) a. *march out* 'go out of a place marching'  
b. *outmarch* 'march faster or longer than others'
- (9) a. *run out* 'go outside by running'  
b. *outrun* 'run faster or further'
- (10) a. *ride out* 'ride a long distance'  
b. *outride* 'ride further or faster than others',

the derived forms represent greater speed or distance covered in space. In the phrasal verbs, the particle *out* means motion towards a new location away from the starting point. The same particle placed in the initial position of the compound verbs emphasizes higher intensity of the action or bigger distance covered.

The verbs

- (11) a. *pace out* 'measure the length of some area by walking'  
b. *outpace* 'walk at a faster pace than others'

are partly different from the three preceding examples. Expression (11a) means measuring some distance at a canonical speed by means of motion away from some point. Expression (11b) reflects the action of walking which involves a faster tempo of motion. It is thus similar to examples (8b–10b) discussed above.

The examples

- (12) a. *play out* 'perform or finish performing or playing'  
b. *outplay* 'be better than someone at a game'
- (13) a. *sell out* 'sell the whole supply of some goods'  
b. *outsell* 'sell greater amounts of some goods than others'
- (14) a. *weigh out* 'weigh a measured quantity of something'  
b. *outweigh* 'weigh more than something'
- (15) a. *work out* 'invent, develop, or produce something'  
b. *outwork* 'work better or faster than someone'
- (16) a. *stay out* 'stay to the very end of something'  
b. *outstay* 'stay longer than others'

represent a change of quality, quantity, or effect in the derived compound verbs. In the phrasal verbs, the particle *out* means the completion of some action; in the compounds it means exceeding some limit.

### 2.4.3 Particle *up*

In the verbs

- (17) a. *heave up* 'raise or lift something, especially with effort'  
 b. *upheave* 'lift forcibly',

the placement of the particle *up* in the initial part of the compound suggests greater intensity of the undertaken action or its faster completion.

The contrast of the verbs

- (18) a. *set up* 'establish or start something'  
 b. *upset* 'disturb the functioning or fulfillment of something'

reflects two different courses of action. The particle *up* in the phrasal verb indicates the completion of some action. Placed in the initial part of the compound verb, the same particle represents the opposite condition. The phrasal verb clearly has a positive connotation; the connotation of the compound verb is negative.<sup>6</sup>

## 2.5 Adjective and noun compounds derived from simple syntactic constructions and phrasal verbs<sup>7</sup>

The expressions

- (19) a. *coming up* 'be about to happen'  
 b. *upcoming* 'coming soon'

represent a difference in temporal distance in that the adjectival compound indicates a more immediate occurrence of some event by placing the adverb *up* closer to the participial adjective. They are similar to the next two expressions:

- (20) a. *coming up* 'rising or growing, also in a society or business'  
 b. *up-and-coming* 'enterprising and likely to succeed'.<sup>8</sup>

The expressions represent a difference in the tempo of the action because an *up-and-coming* person is the one who progresses faster than others.

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<sup>6</sup> The expression *be upset* is one of the synonyms of imbalance (Krzeszowski 1993: 320).

<sup>7</sup> The discussion largely follows the alphabetical order of adjectives and nouns. Meanings of some of the expressions are provided following Courtney (1989), Guralnik (1986), and Hawkins (1987).

<sup>8</sup> The expression can function as a sentence premodifier (Quirk and Greenbaum 1977: 395) or a verb phrase (Hill Long 1979: 353).

Both pairs of expressions also contain metaphors related to their semantic content. Examples (19a–19b) involve the structural metaphor of MOVING TIME (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 141–145) paired with the orientational metaphor FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 16). Expressions (20a–20b) are based on the structural metaphor A CAREER IS AN UPWARD JOURNEY (Kövecses 2002: 214) paired with the orientational metaphor HIGH STATUS IS UP (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 16).

The nominal syntactic construction and the related noun compound

- (21) a. *name by* [which one is known]  
 b. *by-name* ‘a nickname’

also represent two different states of affairs. Expression (21a) refers to an official name of a person; (21b) means a less official name. Accordingly, the particle *by*—here indicating the manner or means of reference—follows the noun in the syntactic construction; in the compound it precedes the head noun to foreground the manner of reference and thus emphasizes the fact that the name is not official.

The three examples

- (22) a. *road by* [a landmark]  
 b. *by-road* ‘a minor road’  
 (23) a. *street by* [a landmark]  
 b. *by-street* ‘a minor street’  
 (24) a. *way by* [a landmark]  
 b. *by-way* ‘a minor way’

all resemble constructions (6a) *pass by* and (6b) *bypass* discussed in the preceding section. The initial position of the prepositions in the compounds reflects the idea that the locations are atypical and therefore more salient than in the syntactic constructions.

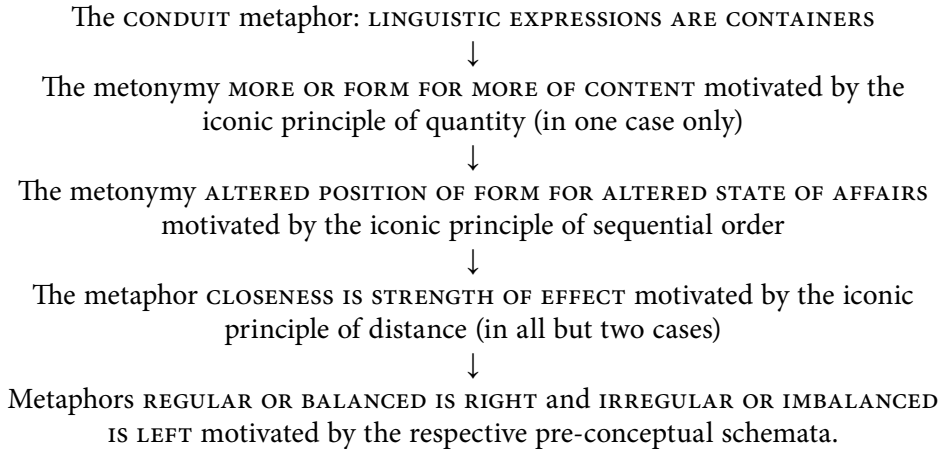
Finally, the expressions

- (25) a. *start up* ‘begin working in a trade or profession’  
 b. *upstart* ‘someone who has suddenly risen to a high position’

differ from the above-discussed examples in that the nominal compound is derived from the phrasal verb. By joining the adverb *up* to the conversion-derived noun *start*, the compound represents a person whose path of career is faster or more intensive. The content-related metaphor A CAREER IS AN UPWARD JOURNEY is also present in the semantic structure of both expressions.

## 2.6 Metaphors, metonymies, iconicity, and axiology

The above-discussed constructions involve the following general pattern of conceptual operations. For the sake of clarity, the content-related metaphors have been omitted:



The CONDUIT metaphor, which defines words as containers for meanings, forms the conceptual framework for the description of the semantic structure of language. The metonymy-based principle MORE OF FORM FOR MORE OF CONTENT, directly related to the metaphor and motivated by the iconic principle of quantity, entails that more words contain more meaning. It is evident in expression (20b), which inserts the conjunction *and* between the particle *up* and the participial adjective *coming*. The metonymy ALTERED POSITION OF FORM FOR ALTERED STATE OF AFFAIRS is motivated by the iconic principle of sequential order, which entails that the sequence of signifiers corresponds to the sequence of facts in the external world. The verbal, nominal, and adjectival bases followed by particles or prepositions thus represent canonical schemata of states of affairs; particles or prepositions placed in front of them reflect non-canonical states of affairs. The metaphor CLOSENESS IS STRENGTH OF EFFECT, motivated by the iconic principle of distance, reflects the idea that altered states of affairs involve more intensive actions or effects, and the expenditure of energy is bigger than canonical. It is present in all examples except for (20a)–(20b) and (21a)–(21b), but especially in the compound verbs derived from phrasal verbs. *By-roads*, *by-streets*, and *by-ways* all represent more circuitous ways of getting to some destination.

The BALANCE schema is one of the most important aspects of human physical and spiritual experience (Krzeszowski 1993: 318–319). We become aware of it while walking, cycling, etc., as well as in situations when we lose balance

and then try to regain it. Following Johnson (1987: 75), Krzeszowski (1993: 319) explains:

We also experience other things as being ‘out of balance’, whenever there is ‘too much’ or ‘not enough’ in comparison with what we feel to be the normal, canonical organization of forces, processes and elements.

Whereas each of the verb + particle, noun + preposition, and adjective + particle constructions represents some canonical and balanced state of affairs, the compounds derived from them represent various imbalanced states of affairs. At the same time, the presence of balance is a more desirable condition than its lack: “Therefore, expectedly, BALANCE and all the associated concepts receive positive axiological charge, while IMBALANCE is evaluated negatively” (Krzeszowski 1993: 319). That is why the change of the position of the particle or preposition from normal to altered frequently results in the change of the PLUS node of the PLUS-MINUS vector of the image schema (Krzeszowski 1993: 310) to the MINUS node. It is, for example, the case of the expressions *by-pass*, *upset*, and *upstart*, which usually reflect negative contexts.

The pre-conceptual orientational schema of RIGHT-LEFT, whose RIGHT node is often consistent with the positive node of the schema of BALANCE, is evident in such expressions as *be in one’s right mind* ‘be mentally balanced’ and *right oneself* ‘recover balance’ (Krzeszowski 1993: 325–326). It also underlies the positioning of particles and prepositions in the above-discussed constructions on the right-hand side of the respective heads because they represent the normal or balanced states of affairs. As the derived constructions represent altered or imbalanced states of affairs, the particles and prepositions are placed on the left-hand side of the heads. The structure of the bases and the derived constructions involves, respectively, the metaphors REGULAR OR BALANCED IS RIGHT and IRREGULAR OR IMBALANCED IS LEFT.

The interpretation of the constructions in terms of the metaphors motivated by the RIGHT-LEFT schema may be weakened by two factors. First, though English has no highly systematic distribution of elements with respect to the right-left dimension, the primacy of right over left is clear in affixation by about 30% (Cooper and Ross 1975: 85). Second, the positioning on the right is also motivated by the direction of writing in English and most languages,<sup>9</sup> which is to the right (Cooper and Ross 1975: 90). The shift to the left-hand side thus seems to be the only available option. However, the very fact that most languages are written from left to right emphasizes the canonical status of the RIGHT node and the non-canonical status of the LEFT node in the human conceptual system.

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<sup>9</sup> The most notable exceptions are Arabic and Hebrew (Cooper and Ross 1975: 90).

## 2.7 Summary

Numerous verb + particle, noun + preposition, and adjective + particle constructions give rise to compounds whose meanings differ from those of their bases. The derived expressions usually reflect less canonical states of affairs; some also have pejorative connotations. In all cases, the change of grammatical patterns represents the change of semantic content by means of the metonymy ALTERED POSITION OF FORM FOR ALTERED STATE OF AFFAIRS, which usually overlaps with the CONDUIT-related metaphor CLOSENESS IS STRENGTH OF EFFECT, the axiology-related metaphors motivated by the pre-conceptual image schemata of BALANCE and RIGHT-LEFT, as well as various structural and orientational metaphors related to the semantic contents of the expressions. In all compounds, the underlying metonymies and metaphors are also motivated by various principles of iconicity. The derived constructions thus neatly illustrate the interdependence of grammatical form and meaning, which is the central point of the symbolic thesis in the cognitive linguistic analyses of grammar.

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## Chapter 3

# The place(s) of pain in its linguistic descriptions— the morphology and lexico-semantics of English pain descriptors: A cognitive linguistic perspective

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This paper aims at identifying the place of pain in language by analysing, in most part, adjectival pain descriptors (in terms of their morphology and lexico-semantics), especially the ones present in the English (original) version of the McGill Pain Questionnaire (Melzack & Torgerson 1971, Melzack 1975), mainly through the cognitive linguistic prisms. This self-report questionnaire (given by doctors to their patients so that the latter can describe their pain in terms of various qualities and intensity) has for years been successfully employed in clinical settings, but its diagnostic potency may be to some extent compromised by the interplay of both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. Thus, in order to check how potent these MPQ descriptors are (and whether they are still potent), the present analysis is enriched with the discussion of these adjectival pain collocations not only in the context of the MPQ, but also in other 'localizations', be it an alternative pain questionnaire, and fragments of academic articles and books addressing certain types/qualities of pain. Adopting such an approach provides the chance to glimpse the pain descriptors in question in the broader context, that is, how pain is 'located' in the academic discourse of pain experts and clinicians, but also, and perhaps even more importantly, how 'lay' pain sufferers 'position' their pain(s). The analysis carried out and the conclusions drawn reveal an interesting 'place'—a point of convergence, an intersection of pain (as a multi-layered construct) and metaphor-infused language. My conviction, then, is that pain is placed in and predominantly expressed via metaphoric language at various (less and more subtle) levels, and also that pain metaphor is not only a research object, but may additionally prove an efficient (diagnostic) research tool.

**Key words:** place of pain, morphology, lexico-semantics, cognitive linguistics, metaphor, pain descriptors

### 3.1 Introduction

The need to deal with pain perceived as the notion standing in its own right is obvious to most people. The reasons for being concerned with this multi-faceted phenomenon are diverse, but it is mostly patients and medical experts who seek ways of revealing where and how pain is situated. By this I mean that pain is not merely localized in sufferers' bodies, but, additionally, that attempts are made to diagnose, control, alleviate, and finally eliminate it. However, those who decide to 'locate' physical pain infrequently experience some other 'pain', namely that of frustration and disappointment, right from the very beginning. Still, they strive to 'get closer to where it is', in medical, ontological, and epistemological terms, which inevitably presupposes harnessing the potential of language. One of the attempts at pinpointing pain's position by employing linguistic terms was the McGill Pain Questionnaire (henceforth referred to as the MPQ), developed by Melzack and Torgerson at McGill University in Montreal (Canada), a questionnaire that has since been translated into several languages (Melzack & Torgerson 1971, Melzack 1975). Even Elaine Scarry (defending the view of pain's inexpressibility) appreciates their efforts to take control of pain language when she writes that "through the mediating structures of the diagnostic [McGill Pain Questionnaire], *language* ... has begun to become capable of providing an *external* image of *interior* events" (1985: 8; italics mine). Consisting of 78 pain descriptors, the MPQ (described in more detail in Section 3.2.2 of this paper) lends itself to a (cognitive) linguistic analysis, primarily at the morpho-semantic level, which in turn leads to other levels of description and examination (specified in Section 3.2).

The main aim of the present study is, then, to take a closer look at MPQ pain descriptors by applying the morphological framework. In turn, such a framework serves as a springboard from which to depart to further investigations revealing pragma-semantic, ontological, conceptual, or even socio-cultural nuances and multilayeredness of the descriptive adjectives in question. The subsequently analysed adjectival morphological configurations collocating with the English noun 'pain' and employed by specific language users—patients and medical experts—become contextualized and conceptually framed in numerous ways. Consequently, such contextualizations and framings allow us insight into how pain is localized in language, and specifically in the case of this paper, how pain is 'anchored' and conceptualized in English.

### 3.2 Methodological considerations

The methodology adopted for the purposes of the present research indicates that its focus is morphological complexity of the (MPQ) pain adjectives, and I discuss it in two sub-sections.

In Section 3.2.1 I delineate more general methodological foundations, making recourse to Šipka (2015), who, to my way of thinking, structures very effective methodology for researching cross-linguistic lexical differences. I assert that the stance I adopt in the present study is contrastive, though not cross-linguistic *per se*. I wish to draw the reader's attention to the fact that similar factors and mechanisms may apply to both inter-lingual and intra-lingual, 'intra-contrastive' analyses, which I undertake here. I imply, then, that just like across languages we deal with various experiences and cultures, by analogy we can also discern different experiential, social, and cultural 'mini-realities' within one language community (in this case a broadly understood 'pain community'), which in fact is not homogeneous, also in terms of discourses its members employ (cf. Šipka 2015: 4 in Section 3.2.1 and point 3 therein).

In Section 3.2.2 I focus on specific methodological tools employed for dissecting adjectival pain descriptors, which operate within lexico-derivational analyses, the cognitive linguistic filter being 'switched on'.

### 3.2.1 Eclectic methodological underpinnings—the main tenets

The subsequent analysis of English 'adjectival descriptor + pain' collocations will employ a number of morphological stances. In the case of English, it appears reasonable to resort to a generally well-acknowledged morpho-lexical classification of adjectives in English (which takes into account various adjectival suffixes; Plag 2003), and to the ontology-based approach to adjectival semantics and lexicology (Raskin & Nirenburg 1996). On the basis of the above preliminary comments concerning the research tools to be harnessed, one can make predictions as to the characteristics of the ensuing analysis. Apparently, a quite numerous group of 78 English descriptors simultaneously emerges as most homogeneous (in terms of morphology), an observation suggesting that analytically it should not constitute a real challenge. As a counterbalance, one may, for instance, juxtapose the English 'pain words' with a substantially dwindled group of 63 Dutch pain adjectives, appearing to be more heterogeneous morphologically than the former (due to prefixation and/or suffixation), and thus requiring a more detailed analysis in this respect, since inflectional and derivational processes are conflated in complex ways to the effect of producing fine-grained meanings/concepts. Even though methodology in order to be potentially structured to tackle metaphor-oriented analyses of Dutch MPQ adjectives may be more complex as compared with the one needed for dealing with English pain descriptors (cf. Vanderiet et al. 1987), the morpho-lexico-semantic analysis of the descriptors presented in this article emerges as equally challenging and multi-faceted.

Additionally, embarking on the morpho-lexico-semantic analyses of pain descriptors (as delineated above), I simultaneously adopt a methodological

perspective which is in line with the broadly construed cognitive linguistic paradigm. Such an approach implies a few more finely specified propositions and (hypo)theses, the former being mostly based on views of distinguished linguists of cognitive and cross-cultural persuasion, while the latter being their reflection, with a view to my empirical considerations concerning (MPQ) pain descriptors. Thus, I selectively draw from the methodological framework created (for his own purposes) by Šipka (2015) in terms of the following premises:

1. “The conventional meaning of a lexical item must be equated with the entire network, not with any single node” (Langacker 1991: 3 in Šipka 2015: 3). As I believe, this Langackerian understanding of a lexical item’s meaning should not necessarily be limited only to synchronic considerations (or networks), but can additionally be extended by diachronic deliberations. This is, in turn, a research framework espoused by Dixon (2014), who adheres to the diachronic-synchronic method in his morphological analysis of English. He argues that

our understanding of the use of a particular affix with a particular stem cannot be reduced to a single factor; it is rather an interaction of several factors that are at play. Therefore, the account of synchronic phenomena has ... very strong support from diachronic data, which facilitate the understanding of various ostensible (from the synchronic point of view) idiosyncrasies (in Štekauer 2015: 491).

The occasional conflation of historical and contemporary perspectives proves useful while dealing with some problematic cases among pain descriptors in English (and, as I believe, in other analysed language versions)—sometimes it is thus advisable and revealing to make recourse to etymological findings when certain lexical units are apparent monoliths (free morphemes) in terms of synchronic morphology, and it is therefore hard to speak, from the contemporary perspective, of some ‘metaphor-engendering’ root-affix combination (as may be anticipated in the case of certain English qualitative deverbal and relational denominal adjectives composed of both an inflectional *-ing* suffix and some other derivational suffixes; see Plag 2003: 94–97).

2. “The role of metaphor in language, as presented by Steen (2007), Kövecses (2005), and Lakoff and Johnson (1999), as well as earlier by Lakoff and Johnson (1980)” (Šipka 2015: 4). My preliminary premise at this point is that the pain descriptors under scrutiny will not only represent various morphological types, but also—and more importantly—that at the interface of diverse morpho-lexico-semantic groups and metaphoric conceptualizations (see also de Louw and Palka 2016) there will be revealed and depicted even more subtle, detailed, and richer conceptual ‘landscapes’ of pain (irrespective of the language version under scrutiny). To put it more concretely, it may be so that further semantic

and cognitive specification will be possible when one plunges into an orchestrated analysis of adjectival roots (with special emphasis on metaphorizations residing in them) and the affixes attached to them (mainly with special reference to the agentivity/passivity binarism, or rather a continuum, and some other morpho-semantic criteria that may come to the fore).

3. “[I]n natural language meaning consists in human interpretation of the world. It is subjective, it is anthropocentric, it reflects predominant cultural concerns and culture-specific modes of social interaction as much as any objective features of the world ‘as such’” (Wierzbicka 1988: 2, reiterated by Wierzbicka 1992, and previously elaborated by Whorf: see Carroll 1956)” (Šipka 2015: 4). The above cognitively appealing idea of language being interpretative and interactive, as well as steeped in anthropocentrism and cultural specificity, should be, in my view, highlighted while considering certain words qualifying the phenomenon of pain in different languages and hence in different societies and cultures. Some of these issues have already been hinted at (see de Louw and Palka 2016), but I believe it is worthwhile to pick up the thread again and view it from the angle of morpho-lexical semantics of whichever pain descriptors are considered (the English ones being the object of this study).

The importance of coupling contrastive linguistics with the afore-mentioned approaches is succinctly summarized by Šipka: “The manners in which divergence manifests itself can be based on different experiential and social realities, on different functioning and networking, and on different metaphorical extensions—all of which are central in systemic functional, cognitive, and cross-cultural linguistics” (Šipka 2015: 4). The notions of various experiences submerged in different socio-cultural realities and structured by diverse metaphorizations (ostensibly stemming from these experiences) are pertinent to the present ‘intra-contrastive’ study of English pain adjectival descriptors, but, arguably, they also apply to descriptors in other languages.

### 3.2.2 Morpho-lexico-semantics of English pain descriptors—further methodological specifications

The expression which forms part of the title of the present section implies that certain areas of linguistic investigation will be viewed not only as interlocking but also as segueing into one another; additionally, the above wording reflects a specific CL-based conviction that lexicological and morphological gleanings ‘work’ in tandem to highlight semantic structure of linguistic components. Thus, in line with a cognitive linguistic approach, every adjectival pain collocation is treated holistically, as a linguistic unit which “is a symbolic entity that is not built compositionally by the language system but is stored and accessed

as a whole” (Evans 2007: 20–21). In this respect, I also follow one of the crucial tenets of cognitive linguistics, namely “that ‘lexical’ and ‘grammatical’ units are both inherently meaningful ... [and] lexical items and grammatical elements are conceived as forming a continuum” (Ibid.: 127). On this continuum, morphological elements may in fact be positioned between the lexical and the grammatical (syntactic) ones. As Dirven and Verspoor observe,

[w]e can see gradually differing types of conceptualizations at the two ends of the continuum: Highly individualized ones at the lexicon end and fairly abstract ones at the grammar (or syntax) end. At the same time we see that there is a gradual move from the individualized concept via the specialized concept in a compound and the generalized or abstract element in a derivation, to the highly abstract type of concept found in syntax. But in spite of these differences, all morphemes are basically of the same nature since all concepts are by nature abstractions of human perceptions and experiences. Although there are degrees in the level of abstraction, they form a continuum (2004: 70).

Exploring the nature of adjectival pain collocations present in the English MPQ version appears to be restricted to the interface of morphological and lexical levels, since the purely syntactic (sentence-level) is irrelevant in this context. There will, however, be made occasional syntactic remarks (e.g. while discussing syntactic orientations of English adjectives; cf. Dixon 2014: 282–283 and Section 3.4 herein). Either way, it is my belief that even the ‘mere’ combination of lexical and morphological (in this case, derivational) analyses will yield promising conclusions regarding pain semantics in English.

A very useful tool for the synchronic morphological analysis proves to be the (on-line) NLP Free English Morphological Parsing Service (<http://nlpdotnet.com/services/Morphparser.aspx>), where only present-day free roots are considered (together with contemporary affixes). Such an approach corresponds with mine, and as such may be treated as strengthening the rationale behind the choice of relying on synchronic investigations.

As mentioned earlier, to make the semantic profile of the analysed adjectives even more fine-tuned, I shall frequently refer to Raskin and Nirenburg’s assumption that “the crucial taxonomic criterion for each adjective is its anchoring in the underlying ontology. Whether such an anchor is a *property*, *object*, or *process* concept defines the adjective as truly *scalar*, relative (*denominal*), or *deverbal*, respectively” (1996: 90; italics mine). They also add that “[t]he function of the ontology is to supply “world knowledge to lexical, syntactic, and semantic processes”” (Mahesh & Nirenburg 1995: 1 in Raskin & Nirenburg 1996: 91).

In the case of the adjectives derived from verbs (deverbal adjectives), which prevail in the present study, it will be worthwhile to combine their syntactic



orientation (based on the verb's core arguments<sup>1</sup>) with their ontology, as construed by Raskin and Nirenburg, who argue that "[t]o derive the semantics zone of an adjectival entry from that of the corresponding verbal entry, one must first identify the case, or thematic role (such as agent, theme, beneficiary, etc.) filled by the noun modified by the adjective in question" (1996: 96).<sup>2</sup> The confluence of these perspectives dovetails with my idea of considering the adjectival pain descriptors holistically, together with the pain lexeme they go with (in this case, the English lexeme *pain*).

The groupings of the adjectival pain descriptors in the McGill Pain Questionnaire (MPQ) additionally reveal semantic-cognitive nuances behind them. MPQ comprises twenty sets of verbal descriptors and measures the sensory, affective, evaluative, and cognitive/miscellaneous components of pain. In addition, these pain-quality descriptors further depict pain characteristics (within the three afore-mentioned dimensions of pain) by means of specific properties:

- (1) sensory qualities (word groups 1–10, 17–19) are described in terms of temporal, spatial, pressure, thermal, and other properties;
- (2) affective qualities (word groups 11–15, 20) are described in terms of tension, fear, and autonomic properties; and
- (3) cognitive qualities or evaluative words (word groups 16, 20) describe the overall appraisal of the pain.

(cf. Katz & Melzack 1999)

As already spelled out, I do not lose sight of diachrony, and so I argue that in order to shed some more light on morpho-semantic subtleties, it is vital in some cases to resort to etymological/diachronic explorations—firstly, when a pain descriptor is explicitly synchronically monomorphemic (e.g. *hot*, *sharp*), and secondly, when it misleadingly appears to be a combination of a bound root and a suffix, but in reality it is again monomorphemic (e.g. *heavy*, *vicious*). Finally,

<sup>1</sup> "A transitive verb has two core arguments—A (transitive subject) and O (transitive object)—while an intransitive verb has a single core argument, S (intransitive subject). An adjective derived from a verb generally relates to one of the verb's core arguments. ... Some verbs derive adjectives with all three orientations. Others are restricted to just A and S, or just S and O, or just O, or just S" (Dixon 2014: 278–279).

<sup>2</sup> In their research, Raskin and Nirenburg apply the so-called deverbal adjective lexical rules, stating that "[t]he LR [lexical rule] exists in at least these 6 forms, corresponding to the event or its semantic cases/thematic roles:

- event-itself (E), e.g., *abusive* in: *abusive behavior*;
- agent-of-event (A), e.g.,... *abusive husband*;
- beneficiary-of-event (B), e.g., *free* in *free bird*;
- theme-of-event (T), e.g., *automatic* in *automatic elevator*;
- instrument-of-event (I), e.g., *poisonous* in *poisonous food*;
- location-of-event (L), e.g., *international* in *international company*" (1996: 98; italics original).

I also encounter easily recognizable contemporary polymorphemic (bimorphemic) adjectival pain descriptors (e.g. *fearful*, *miserable*), and it may seem that it is sufficient to adhere solely to a synchronic discussion; however, in practice it turns out that it is worthwhile to plunge into diachronic considerations to further dissect them semantically. Whenever I think it fit and doable, I also enrich these considerations by falling back on other (medical) sources. In short, in the ensuing study, synchronic/contemporary and diachronic/etymological researches complement and interpenetrate each other to varying degrees.

All things put together, the methodological core of the subsequent investigations is thus the weaving and cross-penetration of **adjectives' semantic-cognitive types** as they emerge from the MPQ (3 qualitative groups with further 20 subgroups, each of them given a name based on a specific property; Katz & Melzack 1999), **adjectives' syntactic orientation** (Dixon 2014), their **ontology** (Raskin & Nirenburg 1996, 1998), and of **semantic types of adjective-deriving suffixes** (Dixon 2014: 280–281).

All of these aspects are synchronically oriented, but some of them will also cut across a diachronic plane.

### 3.3 The analysis of English adjectival (MPQ) descriptors

The ensuing analysis of English pain descriptors is divided into eight sections, a division determined by the morpho-syntactic group these pain adjectives belong to. Each of the groups is analysed against a broader background—be it derivational, ontological, cultural, pragmatic, or any other that proves useful and helps to shed new light on the features and the functioning of these pain words.

I set off with the adjectives that are most plentiful in the MPQ, and then proceed to characterizing less numerous categories.

#### 3.3.1 Deverbal *-ing* adjectives

Deverbal *-ing* adjectives can be seen in the majority of MPQ groups since they represent the most numerous morphological type there. Thus, they feature in the sensory, affective, and cognitive/evaluative groups and describe a wide array of pain properties. This, however, means that these pain descriptors encompass too many cognitive-semantic types (qualities and properties) to make legitimate generalizations on their 'pain-ful' morpho-lexico-semantics. Such an apparent inadequacy compels us to resort to other already-articulated criteria, namely syntactic, semantic, and ontological, or rather a mixture thereof.

The popularity of deverbal *-ing* adjectives in the MPQ is not coincidental since "[d]everbal adjectives turn out to be the largest single sub-class in the

adjective lexical category...[and] in the *underlying ontology*, deverbal adjectives are based on *process concepts*" (Raskin & Nirenburg 1998: 89; italics mine). As will be seen below, characterizing the ontology of deverbal *-ing* adjectives as processual appears to be justified and valid.

To a linguistically savvy person, it is more than obvious that the primary function of the *-ing* suffix is to make one of the inflected forms of English verbs, but not less importantly these forms are also employed to create independent adjectives. These adjectives are indeed derived from verbs, but, as Carstairs-McCarthy suggests "[s]ome of the processes that derive adjectives from verbs straddle the divide between derivation and inflection" (2002: 53). Plag, in turn, quite explicitly classifies the *-ing* as "[the] verbal inflectional suffix primarily [forming] present participles, which can in general also be used as adjectives in attributive positions" (2002: 121). He also speaks of the oft-unclear grammatical status of a verb suffixed by *-ing* in the predicative position. He illustrates the point as follows:

In *the changing weather* the *-ing* form can be analyzed as an adjective, but in *the weather is changing* we should classify it as a verb (in particular as a progressive form). In *the film was boring*, however, we would probably want to argue that *boring* is an adjective, because the relation to the event denoted by the verb is much less prominent than in the case of *changing* (Ibid.; italics original).

It may be true to claim that the MPQ adjectival descriptors will be basically the same semantically when used in attributive and predicative positions; however, when we view the ostensibly predicative patterns (e.g. 'pain is flickering', 'pain is exhausting'), what seems to be 'switching on' is the verbal interpretation (analogously to Plag's *the weather is changing*), equally possible and plausible within the cognitive frame of PAIN. In my view, such a verbal construal endows the PAIN concept with, or rather reveals its **immediacy** (pain is 'happening' and 'acting' now), its profound and **long-term emotional impact** (pain's agentivity is expanded in time), and its otherwise **implicit transitivity** (pain is doing something to *someone*; as in 'pain is cutting *someone*', 'pain is splitting *someone's head*', or 'pain is sickening/suffocating/terrifying/punishing/torturing *someone*', to give a few examples). Moreover, the combination of pain's immediacy and agentivity also holds for the explicitly intransitive contexts, like 'pain is flickering/pulsing/jumping/spreading/radiating', since the encyclopedic knowledge<sup>3</sup> and the PAIN frame activate some phenomenological/experiential complementation

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<sup>3</sup> "[E]ncyclopaedic knowledge is structured: the knowledge structures that words provide access to represent an organized inventory of knowledge ... [and] encyclopaedic meaning arises in context(s) of use, so that the 'selection' of encyclopaedic meaning is informed by contextual factors" (Evans 2007: 72–73; bold original).

of the type ‘pain is acting in a specific manner [intransitive verb] *in someone’s (body part)*’. Both the more obvious ‘default’ attributive interpretations and the less obvious yet possible types of verbal interpretations for the *-ing* forms in the MPQ are presented in detail in Table 3.1.

**Table 3.1** Attributive and verbal construals of MPQ *-ing* pain descriptors

No	MPQ <i>-ing</i> adjective	Attributive construal: ‘ <i>-ing adjective_pain</i> ’	Verbal construal: ‘ <i>pain is_-ing</i> ’
1	2	3	4
1	flickering	temporal	... in a sufferer(‘s body part)
2	quivering	temporal	... in a sufferer(‘s body part)
3	pulsing	temporal	... in a sufferer(‘s body part)
4	throbbing	temporal	... in a sufferer(‘s body part)
5	beating	temporal	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
6	pounding	temporal	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
7	jumping	spatial	... in a sufferer(‘s body part)
8	flashing	spatial	... in a sufferer(‘s body part)
9	shooting	spatial	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
10	pricking	punctate pressure	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
11	boring	punctate pressure	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
12	drilling	punctate pressure	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
13	stabbing	punctate pressure	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
14	lancinating	punctate pressure	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
15	cutting	incisive pressure	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
16	lacerating	incisive pressure	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
17	pinching	constrictive pressure	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
18	pressing	constrictive pressure	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
19	gnawing	constrictive pressure	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
20	cramping	constrictive pressure	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
21	crushing	constrictive pressure	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
22	tugging	traction pressure	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
23	pulling	traction pressure	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
24	wrenching	traction pressure	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
25	burning	thermal	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
26	scalding	thermal	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
27	searing	thermal	... (in) a sufferer(‘s body part)
28	tingling	brightness	?... in a sufferer(‘s body part)
29	smarting	brightness	?... in a sufferer(‘s body part)

cont. tab. 3.1

1	2	3	4
30	stinging	brightness	... (in) a sufferer('s body part)
31	hurting	dullness	... (in) a sufferer('s body part)
32	aching	dullness	? dubious on semantic grounds
33	rasping	sensory miscellaneous	... (in) a sufferer('s body part)
34	splitting	sensory miscellaneous	... (in) a sufferer('s body part)
35	tiring	tension	... a sufferer
36	exhausting	tension	... a sufferer
37	sickening	autonomic	... a sufferer
38	suffocating	autonomic	... a sufferer
39	terrifying	fear	... a sufferer
40	punishing	punishment	... a sufferer
41	gruelling	punishment	... a sufferer
42	killing	punishment	... a sufferer
43	blinding	affective-evaluative-sensory: miscellaneous	... a sufferer
44	annoying	evaluative	... a sufferer
45	spreading	sensory: miscellaneous	... in a sufferer('s body part)
46	radiating	sensory: miscellaneous	... in a sufferer('s body part)
47	penetrating	sensory: miscellaneous	... a sufferer('s body part)
48	piercing	sensory: miscellaneous	... (in) a sufferer('s body part)
49	drawing	sensory: miscellaneous	... (in) a sufferer('s body part)
50	squeezing	sensory: miscellaneous	... (in) a sufferer('s body part)
51	tearing	sensory: miscellaneous	... (in) a sufferer('s body part)
52	freezing	sensory	... (in) a sufferer('s body part)
53	nagging	affective-evaluative-sensory: miscellaneous	... a sufferer
54	nauseating	affective-evaluative-sensory: miscellaneous	... a sufferer
55	agonizing	affective-evaluative-sensory: miscellaneous	... a sufferer
56	torturing	affective-evaluative-sensory: miscellaneous	... a sufferer

Before the discussion proper, a comment should be made concerning the additional characteristics of MPQ *-ing* pain descriptors (names of groups to be found in Column 3). The criterion adopted for the choice of these names seems to be more medical (physiological and experiential) rather than purely denotative and semantic. This is why in some cases, at least for a lay person, some configura-

tions may be puzzling, counterintuitive, or simply incomprehensible—why, for instance, should *tingling*, *smarting*, and *stinging* pains be characterized in terms of brightness? This partial overlap or even apparent incongruity between more ‘professional’/medical and ‘non-professional’/folk construals of certain MPQ pain descriptors may also apply to other items discussed here within morphological clusters.

The most numerous group of *-ing* descriptors construed verbally are those which allow for both the locative interpretation (‘pain is acting in a sufferer’) and the sufferer-as-direct-object interpretation (‘pain is affecting a sufferer in a specific manner’). It should be noted here that in this group of 30 contexts the former construal is treated as less prototypical whereas the latter as more central. Still, such a pre-condition may be to some extent arbitrary and overly general, since pain sufferers may vary among themselves as to considering either of the above interpretations as their own and thus more salient (central/prototypical).

Another group of 14 are those contexts which yield solely the sufferer-as-direct-object construal. If we assume that the above interpretation is indeed the most salient, then the direct-object group can be merged with the previously discussed ‘mixed’ group, which points to 44 contexts depicting pain as a prototypical agentive entity, which “is a force-possessing entity that, by performing an action, creates change and affects other entities” (Fox & Fox 2004: 36). A pain sufferer is, in turn, “[t]he affected entity (a target) ... whose situation is changed by an event or action in which it is neither an agent nor an instrument” (Ibid.).

Yet another group consists of 10 contexts allowing only for the *-ing* descriptors to be interpreted verbally as intransitive verbs, thus followed solely by an appropriate, most contextually-salient locative complement—pain is acting either in a sufferer treated holistically or in his/her specific body part. One way or the other, pain’s agentivity is again something that comes to the fore.

Almost finally, there is one descriptor, namely *penetrating*, which within the verbal construal ‘mode’ suggests the sufferer-as-direct-object pattern, but apparently the most central and natural verbal interpretations will amount to ‘pain is penetrating a sufferer’s specific body part’.

Lastly, only one out of 56 descriptors (*aching*) presented in Table 3.1 is problematic in that its verbal construal, though syntactically feasible, is rendered as unlikely if not illogical. The Google search yields merely two hits for ‘pain is aching me’, and they may be classified as highly peripheral if not dubious (one of them is very slangy, and the other should be regarded as poetic license). This means that such a verbal context is impractical and negligible within the medical-diagnostic framework and will only work in some rare non-medical settings, under special ‘creative’ circumstances, apparently having the status of a one-shot non-entrenched metaphor. In turn, employed attributively, this adjective is allocated four points on the dullness scale within the MPQ and as such is not considered problematic.

The word *gruelling* functioning within the MPQ is also a case in point. It seems that its adjectival attributive interpretation as suggested by the MPQ evokes its more peripheral contemporary sense which can be elaborated on by making recourse to etymology. It is telling that *gruelling* occupies the second 'niche' in the MPQ affective group 14, labelled as 'punishment'. It is preceded by an apparently less intense *punishing* and directly followed by more intense *cruel*, *vicious*, and *killing* respectively. All of them, however, are meant to be the manifestation of the underlying conceptual metaphor +PAIN IS A PUNISHER+.

Thus, even though the most central and primary synchronic meaning behind *gruelling* points to something physically or mentally demanding to the point of exhaustion, it is worthwhile to highlight a link between the former sense ('exhausting') and the more historically motivated one as 'imposed' in and by the MPQ. Even intuitively these two senses 'feel' closely related. Such an intuition is confirmed by etymological findings—according to Morris (2012), the word *gruel*, which first appeared in English in the 14th century, is traced to an Old French root denoting grain which has been ground, and as food it was usually thin, watery, and bland (often 'served' in prisons, asylums and orphanages), so no wonder that its public perception has never been positive. As the Word Detective finally clarifies,

[w]ith gruel being widely considered unpleasant medicine at best, it's not surprising that "to be given one's gruel" and similar phrases, meaning literally "to take one's medicine," came to mean "to receive one's *punishment*" or even "to get killed" in the late 18th century. ... This sense of "getting one's gruel" as a punishment produced, in the early 19th century, the verb "to gruel," which meant "to punish" and specifically "to exhaust or disable." This verb "to gruel," in turn, produced, in the mid-18th century, the adjective "gruelling," meaning "exhausting" or "punishing" in the sense of requiring extreme exertion (Ibid., <http://www.word-detective.com/2012/04/gruel-grueling/>; italics mine).<sup>4</sup>

Irrespective of whether we treat *gruelling* as a monosemous word (characterized by subtle semantic shades) or a polysemous word (with central and peripheral senses), the practice shows that it may be construed in different ways in the MPQ's 'pain-ful' context. I would even risk a claim that the attributive interpretation of *gruelling* ('gruelling pain') encompasses both shades or sub-senses, namely 'exhausting' and 'punishing', whereas the 'experimental' verbal construal ('pain is gruelling') appears to promote specifically an explicitly agentic role of

<sup>4</sup> Indeed, *gruel* is still considered to be a transitive verb synonymous with 'to exhaust' and 'to punish', but is regarded as obsolete and for this reason very marginal in contemporary English. On the other hand, *gruelling* is not only a present-day English adjective, but also a noun, in informal English denoting a severe experience, especially punishment (for instances, consult the Free Dictionary on-line).

pain which (or who?) punishes the sufferer. Interestingly, this semantic shade/sub-sense seems not (very) salient synchronically, and thus may not be readily recognized by pain patients, so the authors of the MPQ probably see it fit to re-establish its salience by naming the group accordingly. It is also evident that the remaining four descriptors in group 14 will refer to variable intensity of pain's punishing capacity—quite intriguingly, the mildest 'punishing word' is *punishing* itself, while *killing*, less surprisingly, points to pain's punishing at its most intense.

It can be stated, by way of conclusion to this section, that correlating verbal construals (of *-ing* MPQ pain descriptors) with their default attributive interpretations (spelled out by the MPQ authors and encapsulated in their names of the 'pain groups') may sometimes help to adjudicate which verbal construal appears as most salient and thus can be evoked in people's minds. On the other hand, such a correlation may be useless in some cases where there exists a potential mismatch between the folk perception of specific descriptors and the medical one stipulated by experts. As already remarked, this is the case with group 8 (consisting mostly of *-ing* descriptors, with the exception of *itchy*), dubbed as the 'brightness group', which may be puzzling from the perspective of not medicine-savvy pain patients, as they may wonder how tingling, smarting, or stinging pain can be bright.

The *-ing* pain descriptors present in abundance in the MPQ are unique in that they allow not only for the most obvious attributive pattern, but additionally for the verbal interpretation. The latter may not necessarily self-impose and be valid for medical-diagnostic purposes, but it may in fact enrich the research made by a linguist who strives to fathom numerous subtleties behind the language of pain. Thus, by marrying morphological, syntactic, semantic, ontological, and etymological analyses (in various configurations and to a variable extent), we may argue that pain emerges as a predominantly processual and agentive entity, a metaphoric +EVIL-DOER+ which, or who, affects sufferers sensorily, affectively, and cognitively.

### 3.3.2 Denominal/deverbal *-ing* adjectives

Upon very close morphological scrutiny of the descriptors presented in Table 3.1, one may notice that four adjectives constitute what we can call a borderline category, since their roots may be perceived as either nouns or verbs, or both. These are *drilling*, *wrenching*, *stinging*, and *rasping*. If this should be the case, then their ontological status is 'mixed' if not unclear.

As already stated, each adjective can be said to be anchored in the underlying ontology, with object being an anchor for relative (denominal) adjectives and process for deverbal ones (cf. Raskin & Nirenburg 1998: 90). However, this ap-



parent ontological duality or fuzziness is not to be seen as a problem in the light of the present analysis; quite the reverse, the potential co-presence of certain objects and processes, specifically actions, performed by them, makes it possible to highlight the metonymic relation which can be formulated as +INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION+ (cf. Radden & Kövecses 2007: 347). Thus, we certainly need first **a drill** (which is an implement with cutting edges or a pointed end, and inserted into a drilling machine constitutes its essential part) in order **to drill**. Analogously, it takes **a wrench** (any of various hand or power tools) so as to grip, turn, or twist something—in short, so as **to wrench** it. It will work exactly in the same way for **a rasp** (a coarse file with sharp, pointed projections) with which we are able **to rasp**. Last but not least, **a sting** (a sharp, piercing organ of a bee, wasp, or some other insect) is employed by its owner to eject and inject a venomous substance into its prey, which basically means **to sting** them. At this point it is worth checking what respectable English dictionaries imply as concerns the above instrument-for-action line of reasoning. Whether they confirm or disconfirm such a metonymic construal may be glimpsed by looking at the order in which the entries DRILL, RASP, STING, and WRENCH are distributed in ten most reliable (and thus, in my view, representative) contemporary dictionaries of the English language. The approach that I adopt here is to some extent semasiological, as I treat the group of first-appearing dictionary entries to be the most central and prototypical meaning of a given lexeme and the group of entries appearing next as less central and thus more peripheral (cf. Dirven & Verspoor 2004: 31–35<sup>5</sup>). The two afore-mentioned groups are noun entries and verb entries in either configuration, and—quite obviously—we shall find many sub-entries subsumed under these two overarching grammatical categories. What I pick from them are only those senses which are pertinent to the ‘pain analysis’ at hand, that is instrumental/nominal and processual/verbal meanings of the four lexemes under scrutiny. For the sake of clarity, in Table 3.2 I mark with ‘X’ only the nominal first-appearing dictionary occurrences, since they are considered prototypical in the light of the metonymic mechanism described above; this means that the empty box in the column representing a given lexeme points to its verbal and thus more peripheral sense further down the list.

<sup>5</sup> While structuring the radial network of the senses of English *school*, Dirven and Verspoor (ibid.) also highlight metonymy as one of the important processes which makes it possible to establish links between word senses. From the most central meaning of *school* as ‘learning institution or building’ we can easily proceed via metonymic extension to its more peripheral senses, namely ‘lessons’ and ‘pupils, teaching staff’ respectively’. By analogy, one can metonymically move from the central nominal sense of given lexemes to their more peripheral verbal senses, assuming that what undergirds them is the +INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION+ metonymy.

**Table 3.2** Saliency of nominal and verbal senses of selected MPQ descriptors in a number of representative English dictionaries

Dictionary \ Lexeme	DRILL	RASP	STING	WRENCH
Cambridge Dictionary	×	×		
Chambers 21st Century Dictionary	×	×	×	
Collins Dictionary	×	×		
Dictionary.com	×			
Free Dictionary	×	×		×
Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English	×			
Macmillan Dictionary	×			
Merriam-Webster Dictionary				
Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary	×	×		
Wordsmyth (The Premier Educational Dict.-Thesaurus)	×			

Lexicographers behind the above dictionaries seem to be almost unanimous in the case of DRILL, since nine dictionaries out of ten suggest that the nominal sense of this lexeme is the central one (the exception being Merriam-Webster Dictionary). As concerns RASP, the ‘dictionary opinions’ are evenly divided—half of them mention nominal RASP as prototypical whereas the other half put verbal RASP as the first group of entries. In turn, STING and WRENCH are perceived as predominantly centrally verbal—in each case only one of the dictionaries places nominal STING and WRENCH as top entries (Chambers 21st Century Dictionary and Free Dictionary respectively). Here one could raise an objection that the position represented by dictionaries is obviously to a large extent prescriptive, the number of dictionaries taken into account very small, and the conclusions are inescapably speculative in nature. Still, the fact that, in the case of the four lexemes in question, English dictionaries imply both the +INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION+ and the +ACTION FOR INSTRUMENT+ metonymies (the latter being the reversal of the former) does not in any way detract from the validity of these construals. As Radden and Kövecses argue,

[a]ction ICMs [Idealised Cognitive Models] include relationships such as those between an action and an instrument used in the action, an action and the result of this action, etc. The Action ICM includes ... [such] *types of metonymic relationships* [as] AGENT FOR ACTION, ... ACTION FOR AGENT, ... INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION, ...[and] ACTION FOR INSTRUMENT, ... the first four of which *are reversible* (2007: 347; italics mine).

Thus, this ‘two-way metonymic logic’/construal and way of inferencing (from some instrument/organ to a corresponding action and the other way around) is

additionally extended by two more metonymic relationships involving AGENT and ACTION.

By way of summary, it can be argued that the ‘slashed’ fragment of the title heading this section is fully justified. Indeed, some of the *-ing* adjectives employed in the MPQ may be considered to be *both* denominal and deverbal, and which of these features prevails is apparently down to the confluence of mostly speculative factors. It is difficult to unequivocally decide (both prescriptively and descriptively) which grammatical category the root of a given pain descriptor belongs to. In prescriptive terms, it may be an arbitrary decision of lexicographers or a convention adopted by authors of a given dictionary. Still, dictionary creators may be ‘descriptively’ inspired and prompted by, for instance, the research on the frequency of occurrences of certain lexical items in corpora, or by the studies gauging the folk perception of these items (in terms of being predominantly construed as nouns or verbs). Either way, in the case of the analysed pain descriptors, there exists arguably a tight causal link between the instruments and actions they denote (as nouns and verbs respectively), manifested by their metonymic relations delineated above.

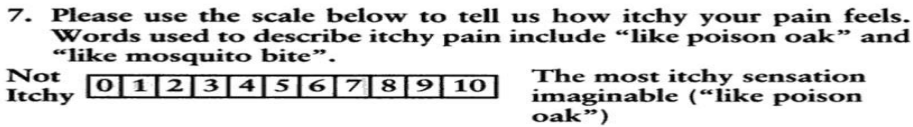
### 3.3.3 Deverbal/denominal *-y* adjective

The suffix *-y* encodes the meaning ‘full of, characterized by’, but attached to the root ‘itch’ it can apparently be both a verb and a noun, so either a denominal or a deverbal adjective. In line with this hypothesis, it would be hard to be unequivocal in terms of the passive/agentive binarity, and to adjudicate whether pain as an agent causes itch or rather ‘receives’ it, in which case it is patientive. Maybe, then, it would be wise to recognize the blurredness of boundaries between the pain-agent and the pain-patient and gravitate towards some ‘mediumicity’? In the case of ‘itchy pain’, I rather lean towards Dixon’s views, who considers *-y* to be a suffix added to nouns while deriving adjectives, and for him “adjective *itch-y* describes someone with an itchy patch on their skin” (2014: 239; *italics original*). According to Dixon’s classification of semantic types of English nouns from which adjectives are derived, *itchy* should be categorized within the HUMAN AND OTHER QUALITIES group, in the subgroup DERIVING CORPOREAL ADJECTIVE (cf. Dixon 2014: 226–227). However, the idea of the agentivity-passivity continuum may in fact prove palatable while discussing some other *adjective+pain* collocations treated as semantic aggregates (taut? sore? pain), so it should not be light-handedly dismissed.

An interesting example is provided by Dureja (2009). In his *Handbook of Pain Medicine*, he presents Descriptor Differential Scale of Pain Intensity (DDSI),<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> This scale consists of a list of 12 descriptors referring to different levels of pain intensity. Patients are asked to rate the intensity of their pain using descriptors on the list. This tool is more

which makes use of some additional ‘like-type’ similes aiming at embracing more subtly and precisely certain aspects of pain. One of the instructions is presented in Figure 3.1



**Figure 3.1** Instruction 7 from Descriptor Differential Scale of Pain Intensity (Dureja 2009: 27)

The above elaboration included in DDSI would also point to some other subtle aspect of fluid agentivity and patienthood of some adjectival pain collocations. In one of the DDSI’s specifications, itchy pain is likened to a mosquito bite, whereas in the other it is “like poison oak”, the latter suggesting pain ‘at its itchiest’. The mosquito scenario implies the presence of an active *agent* (an insect) causing a certain sensory reaction by which we metaphorically describe pain. In turn, the mental frame evoked by poison oak itchiness indicates that a painful sensation is rather caused by some *passive* entity, most probably a poison oak leaf, with which a prospective sufferer comes into contact (more or less consciously or accidentally) and, as a result, develops a severe painful allergic reaction.

In the light of the graphic example described above, it may be argued that analysing agentivity/passivity of pain adjectival collocations may not only take place at the morpho-lexical level, but also at the broadly understood cognitive-semantic level. Thus, it additionally presupposes the presence of a frame, in cognitive linguistics defined as “[a] schematisation of experience (a knowledge structure), which is represented at the conceptual level and held in long-term memory and which relates elements and entities associated with a particular culturally embedded scene, situation or event from human experience” (Evans 2007: 85). The notions of culture and extra-linguistic elements play a crucial role in structuring frames, and the above fine-grained similes of a mosquito bite and poison oak also illustrate the point. While the former (mosquito bite) may be perceived as quite universal and “uncover the properties of the structured inventory of knowledge associated with words” (Ibid.: 86), the latter (poison oak) is in fact more culture-specific and not readily recognizable and processed by all pain patients. Oak poison is a plant ubiquitous in certain regions of America (predominantly eastern and western) and in these ‘botanic-linguistic zones’ there will be no problem with establishing the link between this shrub and the type of pain. Still, the ‘itchy-pain-like-poison-oak’ conceptualization may be at best semantically opaque if not semantically

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complex in relation to other existing measures, also in relations to the MPQ; it is a “simple but sophisticated psychophysical technique” (cf. Dureja 2009; Dixon 2014: 24).

unrecognizable by numerous native speakers belonging to the Anglo-Saxon cultural zone; this should come as no surprise, since this conceptual blend is not really universally Anglo-Saxon, but merely indigenous to America. Either way, the above metaphoric construals harnessed to gauge pain intensity in the professionally structured diagnostic tool are not to be treated as anecdotal and incidental, since they—alongside with many other construals and frames—form a repository of conceptualizations steeped in the intricate web of psycho-socio-cultural ‘landscapes’, conceptualizations which are elicited, or in this case rather chosen, by pain patients if need be.

### 3.3.4 Bimorphemic *-ful* adjectives

There are three synchronically biomorphemic adjectives with the suffix *-ful* featuring in the MPQ, namely *fearful*, *frightful*, and *dreadful*. The first two belong to MPQ’s affective class and group 13. They are placed at intensity levels 1 and 2 respectively, and—quite predictably—they describe pain in terms of fear. *Dreadful*, in turn, is part of affective-evaluative group 20, and is positioned at penultimate pain severity level 4 (preceding only most intense level 5, adjective *torturing*); however, the group (coinciding with the class) is also dubbed as ‘miscellaneous’, which implies that it is hard, if possible, to pinpoint one quality central to this cluster.

Adjectives *fearful* and *dreadful* are treated here as verb-derived, in line with Dixon’s conviction: “In a number of instances it is debatable what the primary word class membership is (for example, *harm* and *fear*). Nevertheless, it is instructive to consider the syntactic character of the derived adjective with respect to that of the underlying root as verb” (2014: 281; italics original). Thus, in terms of Dixon’s classification of syntactic orientation of adjectives derived from verbs (2014: 278; see footnote 7 herein), both *dreadful* and *fearful*<sup>7</sup> are O-type, since they emphasize a transitive object–‘likely to be VERB-ed’, so pain is an ‘object’ likely to be feared/dreaded (Ibid.: 283), and their semantic type is LIKING (Ibid.: 280). Although syntactically pain is here an object,<sup>8</sup> the most salient sense

<sup>7</sup> In fact, Dixon primarily classifies *fearful* as A-type–‘likely to fear’—although he admits that it may also mean ‘likely to inspire fear’. According to Dixon, the unequivocal O-type fear-adjective meaning ‘likely to be feared’ is *fearsome*, hence the sentence aptly illustrating the point: *The fear-ful person ran away from the fear-some monster* (cf. Dixon 2014: 289). If we then consider the collocation ‘fearful pain’, originally featuring in MPQ, we may at least theoretically suspect a situation in which a pain sufferer working with this pain questionnaire misconstrues this collocation as A-type, with pain being patientive rather than agentive (or, in Raskin and Nirenburg’s view, we may speak of the eventive sense of the adjective in question, with *fearful* being event-itself or theme-of-event; cf. Raskin & Nirenburg 1998: 96, 98).

<sup>8</sup> To be more precise, the adjectives *fearful* and *dreadful* derived from respective verbs *fear* and *dread* relate to the verbs’ core argument, in this case an intransitive object ‘pain’.

which the collocations ‘fearful pain’ and ‘dreadful pain’ convey is the agentive sense, with pain construed as an agent-of-event (cf. Raskin & Nirenburg 1998: 96, 98), and it is a sufferer who is reduced to a patientive entity. In short, syntactically speaking, a sufferer-as-subject ‘actively’ fears/dreads pain-as-object, but semantically/ontologically speaking, it is pain that agentively ‘gives’ fear/dread to a sufferer who patientively ‘receives’ it.

‘Frightful pain’ may seem to be more problematic if we consider the root *fright* to be solely a noun, since the preliminary premise of treating MPQ *-ful* adjectives as verb-based will not hold. However, it is appealing to adopt the view that the lexeme *fright* is nowadays still employed as a verb to mean ‘to cause fear, to frighten’ (e.g. according to Merriam-Webster Dictionary), which implicates that the said premise is still applicable. According to Merriam-Webster Dictionary ([www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/fright](http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/fright)), *fright* is a transitive verb, so it is similar to the two *-ful* adjectives discussed above, but *frightful* should rather be classified as A-type with a highlighted transitive subject—‘likely to do’, specifically ‘likely to fright(en)’, thus the image evoked is that of pain as a ‘subject’ which/who? is likely to fright(en) (cf. Ibid.: 283). In Dixon’s terms, its semantic type is apparently ANNOYING (with, for instance, *delightful* also belonging to this group; cf. Ibid.: 281). As concerns *fearful* and *dreadful*, we can notice certain syntactico-semantic mismatch (as described above), but this does not seem to be the case with ‘frightful pain’, where syntactically pain functions as a transitive subject (cf. footnote 9 herein), and semantically it is an explicit agent-of-event. In sum, syntax-wise, pain-as-subject ‘actively’ fright(en)s sufferer-as-object, and semantics-wise it works exactly the same—some agentive pain fright(en)s a patientive sufferer.

On the basis of the above considerations, it can be concluded that sometimes syntactico-semantic insights may be informative and confounding at the same time. In such cases it appears sensible to complement and expand the analysis by proceeding to a more holistic level—ontological and cognitive—and to fine-tune the meaning(s) of ‘pain-ful’ collocations. The medical perspective (which here can be glimpsed via the names of classes and groups that pain descriptors belong to in the MPQ) also makes the picture more complete; for instance, the labels ‘affective/fear’ and ‘affective-evaluative/miscellaneous’, which are attached to groups 13 and 20 respectively, suggest that the descriptors belonging to the former group are more specified and narrow, whereas the ones belonging to the latter are more fuzzy and spacious.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The criterion which enables us to make such generalizations seems to be semantic, but this is just part of the story. The names of groups containing MPQ adjectival pain descriptors rather aim at reflecting experiential aspects of pain types these adjectives describe, and sometimes they may be puzzling for non-medical lay people, as is the case with, for instance, group 8 given the name ‘brightness’, a name not necessarily overlapping with the folk construal of the pain adjectives placed there (cf. Table 3.1 and discussion in Section 3.3.1 of this paper).

### 3.3.5 Bimorphemic –some adjective

There is only one MPQ descriptor belonging to the bimorphemic category containing the suffix *-some*, and that is *troublesome*. Specifically, it is included in evaluative group 16 as its second item (which points to the second level of intensity, with the intensity scale going up to level 5 within group 16). The evaluative aspect is also highlighted by Dixon, who semantically characterizes *-some* as a suffix of Germanic origin, whose meaning is “likely to do (with a *negative quality*)” (2014: 222; italics mine). As concerns the semantic type of the verb *trouble*, it can be included into the group of the so-called ANNOYING verbs, together with *weary*, *tire*, *irk*, *bother*, and *worry* (ibid.). This semantic role of a verb is mapped here onto the A-type syntactic function, so we can speak of an adjective with A-orientation—a transitive verb has two core arguments (a transitive subject A and a transitive object O), and in this case the adjective *troublesome* derived from the verb *trouble* relates to the transitive subject A (cf. Ibid.: 292). Staying within the Dixonian logic and mode of explication, if *Y troubles Fred*, then Y could be described as *trouble-some*. In the context of the MPQ, it can be then stated: if pain troubles a sufferer/patient, then pain could be described as *troublesome*, it behaves in such a way that it troubles others (cf. Dixon 2014: 288–289). The above considerations and formulations may appear trivial and more than obvious, but they again corroborate the consistent ontological status of pain. In Section 3.3.4 it can be noted that the syntactic orientation of some adjectives belonging to the bimorphemic group of *-ful* adjectives (specifically *dreadful* and *fearful*) does not match the semantic/ontological construal of pain, since pain emerges here as a transitive object O and a sufferer as a subject, a role syntactically endowed with agentivity. However, it has been explained that what in fact is the case is the semantic/ontological reversal of these roles, with pain being agentive and the sufferer being patientive. Conversely, with *troublesome* there seems to be no role reversal as both syntax, semantics, and ontology converge—pain is a syntactic transitive subject A (semantically and ontologically agentive) and the patient is a syntactic object (semantically and ontologically patientive).

In sum, it can be argued that even though there are not so many parameters included as was the case while analysing *-ing* pain descriptors (see Section 3.3.1 herein), pain again emerges as a metaphoric conceptualization—an anthropomorphic agentive +EVIL-DOER+ who, alongside with physical infliction, brings with itself emotional and affective infliction.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The adjectives following it in MPQ’s evaluative group 16 will be discussed in subsequent sections; the one preceding it, namely *annoying* (intensity level 1), has already been characterized with other *-ing* pain descriptors in Section 3.1 of this paper, where these emotional and affective negativity, as I hope to show, will also be highlighted at the level of metaphoric language.

### 3.3.6 Bimorphemic *-ed* adjective

Analogously to *troublesome*, *wretched* is also the only representative of the bimorphemic *-ed* adjective featuring in the MPQ. It is the lowest intensity pain descriptor in a two-item group 15 labelled as ‘affective-evaluative-sensory: miscellaneous’ (complemented by the highest intensity *blinding*). Even at first sight *wretched* appears to be conceptually and semantically spacious, if not fuzzy, by virtue of straddling at least three realms of human experiencing. Its semantic problematicity appears to be also confirmed while discussing its morphological set-up. Interestingly, in his description of the *-ed* suffix, Dixon specifically mentions *wretch* as a noun “[going] back to OE [Old English]. In ME [Middle English] times, *-ed* was added, deriving adjective *wretch-ed*, a somewhat **unusual example of *-ed* semantics**” (2014: 244; italics original, bold added). Indeed, etymological considerations reveal many layers of nominal *wretch*. Its predecessor in Old English was *wrecca*, denoting a stranger, an exile, but it can be traced to Proto-Germanic *wrakjon*, which could refer to both a pursuer and a pursuee. There are also Old Saxon and Old High German threads appearing, with *wrek-kio* and *reckeo* respectively (both meaning a banished person, exile), from which Present German *Recke* evolved (used with reference to a renowned warrior or a hero), in fact related to Old English *wreccan* (to drive out, punish). It can be then noted that in this case, evaluatively speaking, German and English senses diverged, with English preserving overtly negative colouring (*wretch* denoting a vile, despicable person, a meaning already developed in Old English) (cf. Online Etymology Dictionary 2001-2018 Douglas Harper; [http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed\\_in\\_frame=0&search=wretch](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=wretch)). According to Dixon, the basic meaning of the Germanic suffix *-ed* (distinguished from the participial ending *-ed*) is “provided with something which is not an inherent part” (2014: 222, 243). On the other hand, it is hard to decide whether ‘wretched features’ attributed to an entity (usually a person, but here pain) are inherent or acquired, and adjudicating this issue in the context of the MPQ seems to be insubstantial anyway. Also, if we consider a denominal adjective (as here), Dixon’s classification of syntactic orientation of adjectives derived *from verbs* is of no use. What is of use, however, is Raskin and Nirenburg’s ontology-based approach to adjectival semantics and lexicology (1996). In the light of their model, *wretched*, as a denominal adjective, appears to be both scalar (*more* and *most wretched*) and relative, though a “true relative adjective cannot indeed be used predicatively and/or comparatively” (Ibid: 94). In fact, *wretched* may be both predicative and comparative/gradable. It is then a kind of hybrid as being scalar, relative, and qualitative, and we may speak of some “pseudo-qualitative senses of the seemingly perfectly relative adjective” (Ibid.). Why not argue then that *wretched* is to some extent anchored in both property (scalar), object (relative) and somehow in process (pseudo-qualitative)?



Irrespective of the above conundrum, of unusual and problematic semantics of *wretched* signalled by Dixon (2014) and discussed more broadly by Raskin & Nirenburg (1996), what remains is that ‘wretched pain’ still emerges metaphorized as an anthropomorphized agentive entity, an +EVIL-DOER+ impacting a sufferer’s life affectively, sensorily, and in other ‘miscellaneous ways’, its agentivity deriving from both specific properties and the ‘object specificity’ (in this case pain itself, ‘who’ *does wretched* things).

### 3.3.7 Polymorphemic *-able* adjectives

There are two representatives of this polymorphemic adjectival category in the MPQ, namely *miserable* and *unbearable*, both belonging to evaluative group 16 and occupying the third and the fifth (highest) level of the intensity scale respectively. According to Raskin and Nirenburg, adjectives ending in *-able/-ible* are “the single largest and seemingly most regular subclass of deverbal adjectives” (1996: 97–8). However, these two specific pain descriptors do not lend themselves to being analysed jointly, since the former is a denominal (its derivational root being *miser*) while only the latter is a deverbal (with the verb *bear* serving as its derivational root). Thus, their different morphological structure will imply diverse syntactic orientations as well as semantic types. Additionally, as already noted in this paper, they are considered holistically, in ‘interaction’ with the noun *pain* they modify.

The fact that *-able/-ible* adjectives can be deverbals and denominals is confirmed by Dixon, stating that *-able/-ible* “is fairly productive with nouns and by far the most productive suffix deriving adjectives from verbs” (2014: 285). In the context of the above introduction, ‘*unbearable* pain’ is pretty manageable in terms of syntactic-semantic analysis. Obviously, the adjective *unbearable* derived from the verb *bear* relates to one of the verb’s core arguments, which here is O (transitive object). To be specific, pain is a transitive object because some sufferer *cannot bear pain*. Thus, we speak here of the O-type derivation. If so, then the sufferer and pain are respectively syntactically agentive and patientive—*unbearable* highlights a transitive object (‘one that cannot be VERB-ed’), and therefore pain is an ‘object’ that cannot be borne by a suffering ‘subject’ (cf. *dreadful* and *fearful* in Section 3.3.4 herein). As for the semantic type of the verb *bear* (constituting a derivative root of *unbearable*), we have the MOTION type and the CARRY subtype (cf. Ibid.: 402, 410). Metaphor-wise, a collocation ‘unbearable pain’ reveals and confirms a patientive non-anthropomorphic ‘thingified’ conceptualization of pain as a +BURDEN/HEAVY OBJECT+ (cf. Lascaratou 2007, Kövecses 2008). The former statement somehow runs counter to the agentive anthropomorphic ‘subjectified’ image of pain emerging from the metaphors implied in previous sections, where human actions, func-

tions, and qualities are attributed to a non-human entity (as pain may be considered to be).

'Miserable pain', in turn, seems to yield far richer construals than the 'unbearable pain' collocation discussed above. As already mentioned, *miserable* occupies the third level in the five-item evaluative group 16 of the MPQ, positioning itself right in the middle, preceded by *annoying* and *troublesome* and followed by *intense* and *unbearable*. That would imply that the pain described by this adjective should be of moderate intensity. Interestingly, in practice the pain characterized by this descriptor may be perceived by sufferers as considerably more intense and multi-layered, since very often *miserable* is employed with reference to postamputation and chronic pains, pains which in medical circles are still difficult to handle, so they are enigmatic and not satisfactorily researched.<sup>11</sup> Thus, I shall attempt to illustrate the complexity and non-obviousness of experiencing something dubbed as 'miserable pain' by making recourse to three specific works of medical literature, namely *Cognitive Therapy with Chronic Pain Patients* (Winterowd, Beck & Gruener 2003), "*Doomed to go in company with miserable pain*": *surgical recognition and treatment of amputation-related pain on the Western Front during World War 1* (Edwards, Mayhew & Rice 2014), and *Handbook of Pain Management* (Dureja 2009).

Edwards, Mayhew and Rice (2014) imply already at the level of the article title itself that the expression 'postamputation pain' (which in fact refers to the pain that can be and is viewed as a specific type of chronic pain) is to be treated as synonymous with 'miserable pain'. The authors have a good reason (and not only a stylistic one) when they use the expression 'company of miserable pain' at the very beginning of their article (specifically in the title) and then reiterate it right at the end, in the very last sentence of the conclusion part. This double occurrence of 'miserable pain' may serve as a binder for the analysis (results) presented in the article.<sup>12</sup> It is also telling that, together with the researchers, we go all the way from patients "[d]oomed to go in company with miserable pain" (Edwards, Mayhew & Rice 2014: 1715; italics mine), to "[the determination] ... to create a new life for amputees *free from* the company of miserable pain" (Ibid.: 1719; italics mine). Thus, the medical scientists imply that since 1914 'something' has

<sup>11</sup> For instance, Edwards, Mayhew and Rice address the problem of postamputation pain, arguing that "[d]espite unprecedented patient numbers and levels of civilian medical expertise, little progress was made in providing relief from this type of pain, a grave concern to the surgeons treating these soldiers [during World War 1]. Today *postamputation pain* is understood beyond a surgical context but *remains a complex and poorly understood condition*" (2014: 1715; italics mine).

<sup>12</sup> The research that Edwards, Mayhew and Rice embarked upon is impressive, since they examined, as they relate, "[t]he *Lancet* and other medical journal archives, official histories of WW1, and military medical secondary histories [searching for] English language articles from January, 1914 to January, 2014" (2014: 1715; italics original).

improved in terms of ‘miserable’ postamputation pain treatment, but this kind of pain still constitutes a challenge for the medical community: “[t]oday postamputation pain is understood beyond a surgical context but remains a complex and poorly understood condition with few effective treatments” (Ibid.: 1715). In the main body of the article, one can find numerous fragments strengthening the thesis that postamputation pain is miserable in such a way that it is actually experientially more intense than the MPQ would suggest; thus, one comes across such phrases and sentences as the following: ‘*most severe* physical trauma’; ‘*excruciating* pain... which could even lead to death’; ‘*neurovascular damage*’; ‘a source of *intolerable suffering* to [his amputee patients], and of *despair* to those who fit them with artificial limbs’; ‘postamputation pain [as] a *challenge* to the entire medical profession, a *failure* of modern surgical techniques that needed to be remedied’; ‘amputees ... “healed but *not cured*”’; ‘postamputation pain *continued to disrupt* the effectiveness of prosthetic limbs...’; ‘*great frustration* about almost *inevitable return* of postamputation pain, “after an interval of comfort”’; ‘Many of the 41 000 amputees in World War 1 probably had chronic *intractable pain* without any possibility of diagnosis or respite’ ... (italics added for emphasis). By way of recapitulation, it may be asserted that the semantic, cognitive, and experiential spaciousness encoded in ‘miserable pain’ is additionally illustrated by the construals mentioned above—chronic pain is the bane of medical experts; first of all, however, it is the pain patients (mostly amputees in the context of the article at hand) who emerge as being victimized by this miserable pain, and the adjective *miserable* qualifies not only chronic pain itself, but also, and maybe even predominantly, the physical, mental, and affective condition of the sufferers involved. Whereas in the article by Edwards, Mayhew and Rice (2014) *miserable* appears only twice (though quite significantly so), Winterowd, Beck & Gruener present a therapist-patient dialogue with *miserable* being the pivotal and recurring element of this conversation (2003: 151–152). With this interaction, the authors wish to illustrate a discussion of best, worst, and most realistic scenarios created by chronic pain patients, scenarios related to their pain and distress (the conclusion being that these patients tend to imagine the worst-case scenarios, thus not focusing on best-case scenarios or realistic outcomes). It is worth quoting this fragment almost in its entirety:

*Therapist:* We have been talking today about the fears you have related to the thought “You cannot control your pain.” Let’s assume for a moment that it’s true that you are not in control of your pain at all. What is the worst thing that could happen?

*Patient:* That I have to endure this **miserable pain** forever and that I won’t be able to work.

*Therapist:* So the worst-case scenario is that **you will be miserable** and unemployed. Does it get any worse than that?

*Patient:* No.

*Therapist:* What will “**miserable**” look and feel like?

*Patient:* Just full of pain and suffering. I can see my face all crinkled up because the pain is so overwhelming. No one will want to be around me ... **that’s miserable.**

[Under the Alternative Response column of the Automatic Thought Record, the therapist writes down “**Worst: Miserable** and unemployed, full of pain and suffering, isolated from others.”]

*Therapist:* Anything else?

*Patient:* No, I think that about covers it.

*Therapist:* So, if it were true that you had no control over your pain, the worst would be **feeling miserable**, full of pain and suffering, being unemployed, and feeling isolated from others. Does that describe the worst scenario you were talking about?

*Patient:* Yes. Gosh, when I hear you saying that, it sounds so **pitiful** (Ibid., italics original, bold mine).

The short account above includes six occurrences of *miserable* explicitly or implicitly related to pain; there is also *pitiful*, an adjective synonymous with *miserable*. The construal of pain determined by the descriptor in question which emerges from the interaction between the therapist and the patient is that of pain not only being ‘patientively’ endowed with the characteristics denoted by *miserable*, but also—quite strikingly—of pain ‘agentively’ causing a sufferer *to be miserable*, in all the aspects understood and imagined by the latter when s/he employs the word *miserable*. To be more specific, pain’s miserability is definitely causative, and thus conceptually expanded—it is not only limited to the rather obvious purely physical aspect (‘full of pain ... my face all crinkled up’), but it also enters the affective/emotional realm (‘full of suffering... no one will want to be around me’) as well as the socio-economic one (‘I won’t be able to work ... being unemployed ... feeling isolated from others’). In fact, this pain-to-patient transition and shift of emphasis is clearly illustrated by the turn-taking between the interlocutors—the therapist evokes the scenario of the patient’s lack of control over pain, then the latter instantaneously brings to mind ‘miserable pain’; this, in turn, prompts the therapist to harness this pain into the holistic scenario in which the patient *is* or *may be* actually miserable; then, making sure that the patient concurs, the therapist wants to elicit from the former the detailed description (and sense) of being miserable as related to his/her pain; finally, when the patient’s ‘painful’ miserability is defined and specified, the therapist summarizes it all for the patient, who confirms the scenario they, in a way, worked out and ‘pieced’ together, by encapsulating it with the formulation ‘... it sounds so pitiful’. The effect achieved in the pain scenario emerging from the therapist-patient interaction (as presented above) confirms what Edwards, Mayhew and Rice (2014) assert in their article: miserable pain is the one that is extended in

time (it is chronic), and it affects not only the patient's body, but also shapes his/her thoughts, emotions, and even determines his/her social and economic condition—in short, the *pain is miserable* in that it *makes the sufferer miserable* in all these numerous afore-mentioned aspects.

The last summative statement concerning the conceptual expansion of pain's miserability confirms to some extent the findings by Charteris-Black (2016). On the basis of his analysis of complex metaphor in sufferers' accounts of chronic pain, he argues that pain patients employ mixed metaphoric conceptualizations to the effect that "[they serve] important rhetorical function of making a speaker's claims quite credible to listeners" (Gibbs 2016: xii). Specifically, as Charteris-Black concludes, patients use repeated and extended metaphors with semantically convergent source domains (metaphor vehicles, to use his own terminology) to signal that they are discussing aspects of pain which can be controlled, whereas they resort to elaborated and mixed (conceptually blended) metaphors with semantically divergent source domains when their "purpose is to emphasise the intensity of the embodied experience by representing the pain as *out of control*" (2016: 157; italics original). In the light of the above considerations, the metaphoric scenario and landscape emerging from the therapist-patient conversation in question points apparently to the repetitive and extended pattern: the repeated and extended metaphor seems to hinge on the source domain (the metaphor vehicle) arising from what the notion of being miserable richly signifies (as shown and argued in this section). However, the situation reported by Winterowd, Beck and Gruener (2003: 151–152) suggests that the pain is *beyond the patient's control*, even though only counterfactually. Within this counterfactual mode, then, the pain patient visualizes him/herself as being out of control, which implies that according to Charteris-Black (2016) a mixed/blended metaphor with two divergent source domains should be present.<sup>13</sup> This does not seem to be the case, as instead we identify the metaphoric construal apparently 'reserved' for pain-under-control situations, a construal with only one metaphoric source/vehicle which is represented by *miserable* (so, in fact, there exists no possibility of creating a conceptual blend, as some other metaphor vehicle is missing). Thus, what we do have here is not a blended scenario, but still a conceptually elaborate scenario in which pain's metaphorically captured miserability and patient's literal (physical, mental, emotional, social, existential and the like) miserability are almost counterpunctually juxtaposed.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> "A 'mixed' metaphor harnesses two different metaphor vehicles to refer to, or to describe, a single metaphor target (or topic). As Goatly (2011: 287) notes, ... in literary approaches mixed metaphors are associated with chaotic or unclear thinking and a lack of planning" (Charteris-Black 2016: 158–159).

<sup>14</sup> It may also be argued that there is one more pain metaphor included that conceptually enriches the whole image, namely +A PATIENT IS A CONTAINER FOR PAIN+, but I would rather see it in terms of an 'auxiliary' extension and not as a potential input space contributing

Finally, Dureja (2009) seems to narrow down the scope of *miserable* with reference to pain, suggesting and highlighting more emotional and affective aspects of pain, and backgrounding its physical aspect—hence the phrase opening Instruction 9: ‘Now that you have told us the different physical aspects of your pain, ... we want you to tell us overall how unpleasant your pain is...’ (the whole context is presented in Figure 3.2).

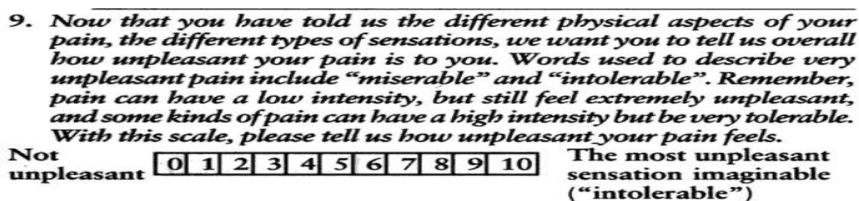


Figure 3.2. Instruction 9 from Descriptor Differential Scale of Pain Intensity (Dureja 2009: 27)

Thus, some negative pain’s evaluation encapsulated in the word *unpleasant* is of more general nature, not necessarily embracing pain’s physicality, but still being juxtaposed against it: as the fragment included in Instruction 9 clarifies, a low-intensity pain may feel extremely unpleasant while a high-intensity pain can be not-so-unpleasant and ‘very tolerable’. The above idea of inverse proportionality between intensity of pain and its unpleasantness appears to correspond with the tendency of characterizing pain chronicity in terms of its (semantically and conceptually spacious) miserableness. Though chronic pain is not most intense, it is labelled as *very unpleasant*, and the adjectives *miserable* and *intolerable* emerge as synonymous or almost synonymous in the context of the scale presented by Dureja (2009: 27; see Figure 2). The most unpleasant (though not necessarily most intense) sensation imaginable is qualified by the descriptor *intolerable*, and we may assume that *miserable* may occupy positions 9 or 10 at the *not-pleasant-the-most-unpleasant-sensation* continuum in Instruction 9. Thus, the fact that *miserable* can be put at the same level (or at almost the same level) as *intolerable* also implies that pain may in fact be beyond sufferer’s control.

To imply that pain described as *miserable/intolerable* may be out of sufferer’s control is to argue that such pain is at its intense, but not so much physically as rather emotionally and affectively, or—as the MPQ would prompt—evaluatively. MPQ’s evaluative group 16 features *miserable* in the middle of the scale of pain’s evaluative intensity (level 3), while *unbearable* is positioned at the top level 5 of this scale (as already mentioned at the beginning of this section). MPQ’s top descriptor *unbearable* (from group 16) and DDSI’s top descriptor *intolerable* (posi-

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to some conceptual blend, especially that we speak of two metaphors, *both* with different target and source domains: +PAIN IS AN ANTHROPOMORPHIC ENTITY+ (‘miserable pain’) and +A PATIENT IS A CONTAINER FOR PAIN+ (‘full of pain’).

tion 10, Instruction 9) can safely be considered to be synonymous. Still, whereas *unbearable* and *intolerable* from the MPQ and DDSI respectively indicate exactly the same level of intensity, the ‘slots’ of *miserable* within these two pain measurement scales are different. In the MPQ the position of *miserable* implicates moderate ‘evaluative intensity’—it is placed between the descriptors *troublesome* and *intense*. In DDSI, in turn, *miserable* clearly signals high intensity of pain’s unpleasantness. The additional two confounding factors which may be identified in the above comparison are apparently formal and conceptual—the former revolves around a different number of scale levels (five in the MPQ and ten in DDSI in the groups compared) and the latter is connected with the presence of the descriptor *intense* in MPQ’s group 16, which in fact is to be rather perceived as a ‘meta-descriptor’, one that cuts across all twenty MPQ’s groups and refers to diverse levels and types of pain intensification within many sub-areas.

The conclusions arising from the analysis aiming at characterizing *-able* pain descriptors are the following:

1. *Miserable*, *unbearable* (and also *intolerable*) employed to characterize various parameters of pain differ in terms of their syntactic, semantic, and conceptual complexity and manageability. While *unbearable* and *intolerable* seem to be more obvious and manageable, *miserable* as a pain qualifier emerges as more problematic, unwieldy, and open to interpretation.
2. In connection with the previous conclusion, it can be argued that all of these descriptors encompass predominantly evaluative, that is emotional, affective, and even socio-cultural characteristics of patients’ pain, which often implies and shows that pain’s *miserability/intolerability/unbearability* does not have to (and in practice does not) coincide with the high level of pain’s physical intensity (captured by different descriptors in different parts of the MPQ or DDSI).
3. *Miserable* is highlighted here as the pain qualifying adjective which appears to be exceptionally subtle, spacious, and complex pragma-semantically and conceptually.
4. By using the *-able* pain descriptors, medical experts and patients alike attempt to zero in on the type of pain which infrequently defies precise description and is extremely unwieldy emotionally and affectively. Thus, they qualify the pain which is extended and extensive in time, elusive, and unpleasant. *Miserable*, *intolerable*, and *unbearable* seem to symbolically capture paradoxical character of such pain, which may be physically not so strong, but is very intense emotionally, affectively, and existentially. As Wang et al. insinuate, diagnostically and therapeutically speaking, it is easier to deal with acute pain than with chronic pain:

The chronicity of pain is the feature of pain that is least understood and most directly linked with our inability to effectively manage pain. Acute

pain is relatively responsive to our current pharmacologic and interventional armamentarium. However, as pain persists, our ability to treat effectively diminishes and the patient's frustration and resource utilization increases (2009: 7).

The idea of pain manageability as hinted at above should be, in my view, elaborated on. We need to deal with various spaces occupied by pain—broader and more fuzzy, or narrower and more distinct. These spaces are not merely physically identifiable; there are also some other, more abstract, ones, like emotional, spiritual, social, cultural, or economic (as illustrated in the previous sections). The remark by Wang et al. (Ibid.), in turn, suggests the co-dependence and intersection of temporality and spatiality. Pain's (metaphoric degree of) pinpointedness is correlated with its temporality in the contexts of its manageability—acute pain is temporally short, time-condensed and spatially more pinpointed and 'precise', whereas chronic pain is, by definition, time-expanded, persistent and spatially less pinpointed and 'fuzzy'. Thus, manageability of pain is determined by its spacio-temporality: the more/less spacio-temporally compact pain is, the more/less manageable it appears to be.

### 3.3.8 Monomorphemic adjectives

The last group of descriptors which emerges from the MPQ are monomorphemic adjectives. The morphological criterion seems to be the only one to embrace them as a relatively homogenous group, since from the perspective of synchronic morphology these lexical units are to be viewed as consisting of only one morpheme (root). One may, for instance, employ *NLP Free English Morphological Parsing Service* (accessible on-line at <http://nlpdotnet.com/services/Morphparser.aspx>) to confirm that the fourteen adjectives enumerated in Table 3.3 are indeed synchronically monomorphemic.

Parsing them by using a reliable English morphological parser is crucial, as in some cases the morphological form may be misleading and may make the researcher believe something that is not true. For instance, the morphological 'appearance' of two MPQ pain descriptors, namely *heavy* and *itchy*, may at first sight cajole us into thinking that they are both bimorphemic, consisting of a root and the suffix *-y*. In reality, it is only *itchy* that should be now considered to be bimorphemic (see Section 3.3.3 herein), whereas *heavy* is contemporarily perceived as monomorphemic.<sup>15</sup> A similar problem may ensue in the case of *vi-*

<sup>15</sup> Confusingly enough, etymological analysis reveals that *itchy* and *heavy* are derived from Old English *giccig* and *hefig* respectively, meaning that their predecessors were in fact bimorphemic, as they consisted of some root and the Old English suffix *-ig*. Thus, etymology does not come to rescue as concerns establishing morphological categorization of these two present-day English adjectives and it must be determined by resorting to synchronic factors.



*cious*, which may appear to be bimorphemic, but is actually regarded to be a root (monomorphemic). One should also be careful while parsing adjectives using an on-line morph parser, and pay careful attention to what word is actually parsed and to which grammatical category it belongs; a good example in the case of the MPQ is *tender*, which is bimorphemic as a noun ('a person who tends another') but as an adjective it is seen as a monomorphemic root.<sup>16</sup>

**Table 3.3** Monomorphemic pain descriptors in the MPQ

No	MPQ monomorphemic adjective	MPQ's group number and descriptor's position in the group	MPQ's group name
1	sharp	4 ; 1/3	Incisive pressure
2	hot	7 ; 1/4	Thermal
3	dull	9 ; 1/5	Dullness
4	sore	9 ; 2/5	Dullness
5	heavy	9 ; 5/5	Dullness
6	tender	10 ; 1/4	Sensory miscellaneous
7	taut	10 ; 2/4	Sensory miscellaneous
8	cruel	14 ; 3/5	Punishment
9	vicious	14 ; 4/5	Punishment
10	intense	16 ; 4/5	Evaluative
11	tight	18 ; 1/5	Sensory miscellaneous
12	numb	18 ; 2/5	Sensory miscellaneous
13	cool	19 ; 1/3	Sensory
14	cold	19 ; 2/3	Sensory

Thus, the pain descriptors extracted from the MPQ and presented in Table 3.3 are, apart from being morphologically consistent, heterogeneous in many respects, and it may prove pretty unwieldy to analyse them by employing the criteria stipulated in the methodological part of this paper—thus investigating semantic-cognitive types and ontology of the monomorphemic descriptors would be justified in conjunction with analysing their syntactic set-up, which is synchronically, as already stressed, monolithic and homogeneous. If the main aim of this study is to take a closer look at **morphologically complex adjectives** (consisting of roots and specific suffixes) as well as to attempt to determine what the semantic, conceptual, cognitive, and ontological implications arising from such polymorphism in view of pain description and perception are, then there

<sup>16</sup> Probably for this reason, NLP morphological parser yields *tender* only as a bimorphemic noun while an adjectival root is omitted and perhaps only implied.

is not much justification for discussing monomorphemic pain descriptors here. It will suffice to write that they can be dissected as containing certain metaphoric conceptualizations, ones already ‘prompted’ by their semantic-cognitive structure and frames they function in, but also by the name of a specific MPQ group to which each of them belongs. The last comment may appear sweeping and indicate my slackening attitude towards tackling the remaining 14 monomorphemic pain descriptors in this paper; however, all 78 MPQ pain descriptors have already been addressed from a more comparative and cross-linguistic angle in some medical and non-medical publications, and thus there is no need to pursue and elaborate further on this issue here.

### 3.4 Final conclusions

From the above analyses there also emerges a compelling question, namely whether and to what extent identification, perception, and evaluation of specific pain types and qualities by lexical means converges and/or diverges at the interface of experts and non-experts (patients). It is possible, for instance, to view the MPQ as overly prescriptive and overbearing, a conceptual straitjacket that prevents sufferers from creative expression and description of their pain. On the other hand, it is true that the authors of the MPQ (and other pain scales) have taken and take into account patients’ ‘visions of pain’ and opinions while structuring these diagnostic tools. Thus, on the positive note it can be argued that infrequently, in order to pinpoint the nature of a given pain, specialists and sufferers ‘negotiate’ the sense of pain experience (which the latter face up to), and in this way make this diagnostics more precise (with a view to further treatment, psychotherapy, and the like). Such negotiation of pain meaning via lexical description appears to be inevitable not only due to the fact that pain is subjective and highly idiosyncratic, but also because of medical experts and patients often representing diverse conceptual backgrounds and mentalities. One way or the other, convergence between these two groups appears to be possible only when they become involved in acts of linguistic communication, and reconciling the expert prescriptive stance with the non-expert descriptive position may take place only in such acts. This issue is only signalled here, but probably it should be worthwhile to ‘gauge’ the potential patient-doctor discrepancies in this respect as well.

When I draw ‘local’ conclusions towards the end of each section (while dealing with morpho-lexical richness of MPQ descriptors), I most of the time am compelled to concede that they are manifestation of certain metaphorizations—pain is predominantly metaphorized as some agentive evil entity, anthropomorphic or inanimate. Obviously, this overarching metaphor may be broken into more specific pain sub-metaphors, whose conceptual richness and

subtlety emerges from the very morpho-lexical analyses carried out above. As I often suggest in this paper, there are many confounding factors and doubts at work which make it hard to label these metaphors as fully precise in diagnostic and therapeutic terms. Still, it is my strong conviction that, however 'imperfect', conceptually spacious and elusive, these metaphors may serve and indeed serve as a powerful tool, even though one may see them in the medical context as a mere heuristic. They are efficient to the extent pain 'allows' them to be, and, in turn, by being like this they reflect pain's multi-faceted 'position'.

Having spelled out more specific local conclusions at the end of each section, here I consider it more apt to arrive at more global ones. In my view, the manner in which all the analyses above were unfolding is illustrative of two general aspects:

1. Metaphors in the most part are multi-dimensional; and
2. There is no way of conceptualizing and fathoming pain except through metaphor.

The first observation ties in with six various dimensions of metaphor considered by Cameron and Maslen, which are linguistic, embodied, cognitive, affective, socio-cultural, and dynamic (2010: 3–7). Pain metaphors are linguistic, irrespective of how narrowly or broadly we understand the term 'linguistic metaphor'. They are "the instantiation in language of conceptual metaphor (Steen, 2008)" (Ibid.: 4), and clearly MPQ descriptors reveal the presence of such metaphoric conceptualizations. However, they are also metaphors "found in language use ... signalled by the researcher by the arrival of 'something else'... incongruous or anomalous in its discourse context" (Ibid.). This anomalous aspect can be viewed in the discussion of 'itchy-pain-like-mosquito-bite' and 'itchy-pain-like-poison-oak' conceptualizations featuring in DDSI (see Section 3.3.3 herein), conceptualizations that emerge as considerably concrete and thus locative in nature. Although the latter (poison oak) looks like a really creative and novel metaphor and the former (mosquito bite) as more conventionalized and predictable, "less striking, conventionalized metaphors can also be seen as somehow incongruent when we stop and look at them ... [and so] what counts as linguistic metaphor includes the full range from novel through to the most conventionalized" (Cameron & Maslen 2010: 4). Metaphor embodiment means that there is much more than mental processes to metaphor, as "our bodies participate and interpret, eyes and head move, skin reacts and responds, ... [and] memories of physical experience [are activated]" (Ibid.). For this reason pain metaphors are also embodied, but we seem to know this even intuitively, since pain is inseparable from a physical body and has to be manifested there, even though it will be non-physical (psychological or social).

Pain metaphorizations are also cognitive in the light of a broadly understood cognitive linguistic approach, one which is adopted here. As the vehicle terms (source domains) of pain metaphors (also the ones emerging from the MPQ

adjectives and other metaphoric contexts presented in this article) “carry evaluations, attitudes, values, perspectives or beliefs” (Ibid.: 5), they are also affective. According to Cameron and Maslen, metaphor is also dialogic and socio-cultural, since “[c]onventionalized metaphors in language usage can emerge over long periods of time across speech communities, while individuals engaged in conversation may come to use particular metaphors as shared ways of talking over a few turns of talk” (2010: 6). The analyses of the metaphORIZATION(s) emergent from characterizing pain with the use of the adjective *miserable* in three different contexts in Section 3.3.7 aptly illustrate pain metaphor as dialogic and socio-cultural. In all of them what I attempt to highlight is that a specific pain metaphor is structured and ‘negotiated’ in interaction, be it the non-immediate ‘imagined’ one between the medical researcher and the reader at the level of the scientific text, or in the real immediate setting where the therapist and the patient are involved in a face-to-face conversation. From the socio-cultural aspect of metaphor we can proceed smoothly to its dynamic aspect, which also appears to be depicted in the contexts discussed in Section 3.3.7, since “[m]etaphor dynamics may result from the process of interaction, as one participant in a conversation responds to another, or from the development of ideas, as a speaker or writer builds an argument, clarifies a position, or constructs a description” (Ibid.).<sup>17</sup>

Inevitability and indispensability of metaphor in the language of pain is stressed and scrupulously exemplified by Biro (2010). It seems worth mentioning some of his points that are pertinent to the present study. First, it would be academically dishonest of me to be silent about Biro (as a doctor) being highly critical about the MPQ’s applicability.<sup>18</sup> This may somehow undermine the validity of the present study which treats the very MPQ as an empirical basis. But Biro makes an insightful and important observation while critiquing the MPQ—in his view there seems to be a kind of dialectic tension between doctors, reluctant to acknowledge metaphor and yet forced to rely on it, and their patients, who are more than willing to resort to metaphorizing pain. Irrespective of this apparent doctor-patient tug-of-war over metaphoric language, there is no denying that metaphor is ‘there’, right in the middle of diagnostic and therapeutic processes.

<sup>17</sup> The interactive, dynamic and dialogic nature of metaphor is also stressed by Loftus, who argues that “metaphors, and the linguisticity of which they are a part, shape medical practice in important ways ... [and] by exploring the dialogical tension between [the metaphors used in pain management], we can better understand the ways in which they influence the medical practice” (2011: 213).

<sup>18</sup> “One of the most promising attempts [to help patients articulate their pain] was the McGill Pain Questionnaire, created in the 1970s. It provides patients with lengthy lists of descriptive words they can choose to convey their feelings. But with the exception of highly specialized pain clinics, medical practitioners rarely use the questionnaire these days. It may be too complicated to explain. It takes too much time to fill out. And perhaps, despite the good intentions of its authors, both parties remain unsatisfied: *doctors are uncomfortable with the form’s metaphorical language, and patients want even more of it*” (Biro 2010: 13; italics mine).

And also the MPQ's metaphors are 'there', and they appear to collectively symbolize certain impotence of pain metaphors. As Biro argues,

[t]he words used by patients in the clinic are not as resonant as Joyce's [novel and creative] language. They are, however, metaphorical. All share the motif of agency, which ... is the most common way we communicate pain. Stabbing, drilling, pounding all imply an agent or outside force (imagined and therefore metaphorical) that acts upon the body to cause pain. But because these words are used so frequently, they lack the suggestivity of truly vital metaphor (Ibid.: 60–61).

The case of the MPQ and 'aging' metaphors (as Biro calls them) employed there additionally corroborates the theses of (already mentioned) metaphor dynamics and of metaphor's linguistic character, and what Cameron and Maslen describe as incongruous and anomalous (2010: 4), Biro labels as deviation from the familiar to the unfamiliar (2010: 60). In a pain clinic or an emergency room,

[w]hen asked by a doctor to describe their pain in her leg, one patient responds that it is *burning*. A man with chronic emphysema says he feels like he is *being choked*. A young girl with abdominal discomfort speaks of *shooting* pains. A woman with pelvic pain believes something inside her is *tearing*. Other patients describe their pain as *pounding*, *stabbing*, *drilling*, *blinding*, *squeezing*, *wrenching*, *dragging*, and *grinding*.

The figurative nature of this language is immediately apparent. Patients who talk of stabbing or choking pain haven't actually been stabbed or choked. Nor have they been dragged, wrenched, or drilled on. ...[T]hey talk about their experience in terms of another experience, which, even if only imagined, is much more concrete and visible than their pain. In short, they enter the realm of rhetoric, specifically the realm of metaphor (Ibid.: 58–59, italics original).

Thus, in the context of 'pain in metaphor', there is another dialectic coming to the fore—the one between novel 'visible' metaphors and conventionalized 'invisible' ones; and there is even something more—with time, the former may, more or less imperceptibly, segue into the latter. This phenomenon of metaphor 'aging' is not really unanimously evaluated as either positive or negative, as this assessment seems to be mostly dependent on expectations and preferences of metaphor 'producers'/users (in our case sufferers) and metaphor 'takers' (mostly doctors and clinicians). This implies some saving grace for the MPQ—as Biro himself admits, certain patients will be creative while describing their pain, but others will not:

Knives, hammers, vises, fire. All potential weapons used to describe and distinguish pain, which makes it easier for doctors to diagnose and treat

their patients. But not everyone is as imaginative as [specific pain patients] as John, Rachel, and Mr. H. And many, especially those who have lived with pain too long, don't even bother trying. They are sick and tired of explaining how they feel to doctors who either don't believe them or never seem to be able to help. For these less forthcoming patients, pain specialists sometimes use the McGill Pain Questionnaire. ...

Although not explicitly mentioned, weapons are clearly implied by most of these adjectives. Burning and shooting, stabbing and boring—these actions usually occur with them: *fires* that burn, *guns* that shoot, *knives* that stab, *drills* that bore. Patients will either compress the action into a single word (“stabbing”) or ... spell out the details by specifying the weapon (2010: 66–67; italics original).<sup>19</sup>

We may, then, plunge into an incessant debate about the role and position of conventionalized and novel metaphors when it comes to capturing pain via language. However, what seems to be pretty certain is that whichever of these metaphors are employed by whoever in (medicalized) pain contexts, MPQ adjectival pain descriptors, carrying succinct conventionalized ‘aging’ metaphors, lie at the base of and constitute the nucleus for more elaborate and extensive novel metaphors. It is probably true that “the more elaborate the metaphor, the more closely it approximates the experience of pain” (Biro 2010: 96), but it appears that any pain metaphor will ‘be enough’ as long as it serves the purposes of the interactants. Still, as I was attempting to show, to achieve this metaphor elaboration leading to pain approximation, first we need these compact conventional metaphorizations residing in morpho-lexically rich MPQ adjectives, ones that have the potential to take us further to more subtle and novel semantic, conceptual, cognitive, ontological, and existential terrains. In short, our (pain) metaphors age, and so we need the new ones, but the latter are, in my view, built upon the former, and the apparently fully exploited metaphors should not be jettisoned altogether, as they may still come in handy.

In fact, the metaphors hidden behind MPQ descriptors are catachretic, and they fill voids not only at lexical levels, but also at semantic, conceptual, and epistemic ones (Biro 2010: 62). A three-stage transition that I suggest (from old metaphors via refreshed ones to completely new metaphors) is also implied by Biro:

Metaphors inevitably age and become part of literal discourse. Like antibiotics, they develop resistance, which deprives them of their descriptive and suggestive powers. To say that you have a splitting headache may not be enough anymore; the phrase has become so banal that it may not make us really *see* pain. And if we don't see it, then we can't know or talk about

<sup>19</sup> In fact, Biro considers the list of agency metaphors found in the McGill Pain Questionnaire to be exhaustive (2010: 68).

it very effectively, and others may be less likely to believe it. So we must continually revive our older metaphors, replace stabbing pain with more exotic versions of agency. And, equally important, we must come up with brand-new metaphors (2010: 171; *italics original*).

Thus, in the face of pain, metaphor is obligatory, and Biro repeats this thesis like an incantation, in the context of various problematic pain-related issues:

In pain we don't choose metaphor but are **forced** in that direction because there is no literal language. **It's either metaphor or continued absence** (2010: 61).

[U]nderstanding metaphors of pain in terms of catachresis emphasizes their **urgency and necessity**. We don't voluntarily speak to choose metaphorically; we are **forced into it**. ... Pain threatens to destroy our language and conceptual abilities, leaving a void. The only way to represent that experience and **fill the void is through metaphor**:

Pain is an all-consuming interior experience that threatens to destroy everything except itself, and *can only be described through metaphor* (Ibid.: 63; *italics original, bold mine*).

Concluding this paper I emphasize two theses—one about metaphors' multi-dimensionality, and the other about pain metaphors' unavoidability. Pain metaphors appear to be essential not only as a research object, but also—and even more importantly—as a research tool. “Metaphor offers a tool for understanding people” (Cameron & Maslen 2010: 7), so, at a more specific level, a pain metaphor offers a tool and *is* a tool for understanding patients. Besides, pain *and* metaphor have something intrinsically in common—both can be described as multi-faceted without any exaggeration. And due to this connection, it is worth picking up the threads of metaphor and pain jointly, and embark on unravelling them in these ways, as they often become mutually informant—the former may be helpful to understand the latter, and the other way around, both as research objects and as research tools.

Finally, putting aside the above-mentioned complex doctor-patient verbal ‘negotiation’ of pain and metaphor's propensity to age, it should also be stressed that attempts are made by all ‘parties’ involved at rendering pain(s) as more delineated, restricted and **locative**, that is placed in some conceptual loci and spaces (abstract or concrete to varying degrees), such as (in)animate agents or (natural) phenomena, which/who in turn impact more concretely construed body areas of pain sufferers. These types of ‘landscapes of contact’ between conceptual and corporeal areas seem to prevail in verbal descriptions of pain in English, but, apparently in numerous other languages as well (which is why I believe that it is worthwhile to pursue cross-linguistic studies of this nature in the future).

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## Chapter 4

# The place of constructions

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This study focuses on the question of the internal organization of the lexicon. In recent years, some cognitive linguists have considered the hypothesis that language forms are essentially independent of each other, thus questioning the widely accepted assumption of mental links between cognates or between constructions and their typical usage instances. The present study approaches this question on the basis of a grammatical construction (so-called *Characteristic-As-Place* construction) which can be considered a classic case in point: apart from a general schematic pattern, the construction is also associated with a number of concrete expressions built around the construction's pattern. It will be argued that it makes sense to postulate some kind of mental relations between the construction's fixed manifestations and its schematic formula. Without such relations it would be, among other things, difficult to account for innovative usage of the construction.

**Key words:** grammatical constructions, constructicon, mental representations, derivational relations, chunking

### 4.1 Language conceptualized as a place

In their attempts to describe its nature, various theoretical models cannot help but portray language as a place or an object that takes up physical space. This view is evident in the title of Jackendoff's (1997) *Architecture of the Language Faculty*. The LANGUAGE IS A PLACE metaphor is also exploited in Wittgenstein's (1922/1974: 20) statement "the boundaries of language (the only language I understand) indicate the boundaries of my world". Similarly in Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory, concepts in one domain are *mapped* onto concepts in another domain, as if the two domains—and by extension, language which operates on them—represented physical areas. To take one more example, in the context of evolutionary psychology, scholars talk about the "language faculty, like other biological systems showing signs of complex adap-

tive design” (Jackendoff & Pinker 2005: 204) and in general discuss “language design features”, a clear mental shortcut which involves looking at language as if it were a building or artifact designed by the blind watchmaker of natural selection (Dawkins 1986).

While there are obvious limits to metaphoric modeling, there is a sense that viewing language as a sort of concrete place is *not* too far from the truth. After all, language is subserved by actual brain areas, and various scholars work under Chomsky’s (1988: 60) assumption that “The language faculty is a component of the mind/brain, part of the human biological endowment”. It has become customary to refer to linguistic knowledge (and the neural circuits behind it) as “the language faculty” or as *The Language Organ*, the title of Anderson and Lightfoot’s (2002) book. Thus research in neurolinguistics and psycholinguistics examines questions like “language localization”, “lexical memory store”, or the linguistic “real estate of the brain” (Hoff 2004: 50). Exactly how language is imagined spatially is another matter, and, rather predictably, a source of fundamental disagreements. Authors working in the nativist tradition claim that language is separate from other cognitive functions and it is itself subdivided into modules, a view most forcefully advocated by Fodor (1983) in his book *The Modularity of Mind*. For a long time, linguists assumed at least the binary partitioning of the language territory into the lexicon and syntax. But in recent years, the division has been questioned, as in Culicover & Jackendoff (2005: 26), who claim that “the traditional distinction between lexicon and grammar is mistaken”. In Cognitive Linguistics, the view of separate grammar and lexicon has been replaced by a continuum, where the lexicon is seen as transitioning seamlessly into syntax. In Construction Grammar, the continuum area has come to be referred to as the “phrasicon” (Fillmore, Kay, & O’Connor 1988: 511), “expanded lexicon”, or “constructicon” (Goldberg 2006: 64), “a super lexicon encompassing not only single lexical items, but also multi-word expressions and partially filled phrases as well as completely schematic syntactic patterns” (Szcześniak 2016: 121). All forms that are found to populate the constructicon are referred to as constructions, defined as “learned pairings of form with semantic or discourse function, including morphemes or words, idioms, partially lexically filled and fully general phrasal patterns” (Goldberg 2006: 5).

## 4.2 Relations between constructions

However, even though most cognitive linguists converge on the conclusion that knowledge consists in “the mental lexicon, idiom list, and grammar ... represented as a uniform collection of grammatical constructions” (Jurafsky 1996: 140) spread throughout the continuum, disagreements persist about the exact internal organization of the proposed continuum area. The main question

I wish to address here is whether constructions residing in the constructicon are interconnected or primarily independent. The interconnected network scenario is advocated by authors like Goldberg (2006), Trousdale (2015), or Perek (2016). Under this view, “Constructions are linked in a network and may capture grammatical patterns at any level of complexity and abstraction” (Perek 2016: 1).

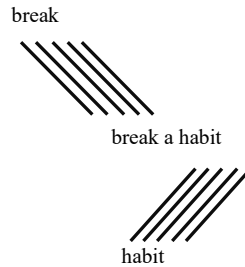
The opposing view, under which constructions are believed to be largely autonomous is promoted by Bybee (2010) or Taylor (2012). Although Bybee (2010: 25) herself uses the term “network of relations”, presupposing that constructions are linked together within the user’s cognitive representation of language, she qualifies this proposal and stresses that links between constructions “can be of varying strengths. Certain factors ... are influential in the maintenance or loss of these lexical connections” (p. 25). Because the question of links between constructions is part of her exemplar model, a brief excursus on the model’s main assumptions is necessary here. Exemplars are defined as “rich memory representations; they contain, at least potentially, all the information a language user can perceive in a linguistic experience” (Bybee 2010: 14). Exemplars are memory units corresponding directly to constructions, and indeed the two terms can be used largely interchangeably. However, apart from specifying constructions as pairings of form and function/meaning, exemplars are conceived of more directly as entries in the speaker’s mental representations, and the exemplar model strives to capture the psychological nature of such entries in the mind. Thus exemplars are hypothesized to accommodate information about contextual specifications, where

This information consists of phonetic detail, including redundant and variable features, the lexical items and constructions used, the meaning, inferences made from this meaning and from the context, and properties of the social, physical and linguistic context (Bybee 2010: 14).

Bybee further claims that exemplars are subject to constant updates: “exemplars are considered to register details about linguistic experience” (p.14), a view echoed in Taylor’s (2012: 3) mental corpus thesis, where “each linguistic encounter lays down a trace in memory. The trace pertains not only to the linguistic signal as such, but also to the context in which it is encountered”. In the same vein, both Taylor and Bybee stress “rich memory representations” (Bybee 2010: 31), where “the detail-rich and multi-dimensional representation applies to the structural, semantic, and discourse-related aspects of speech” (Taylor 2012: 286). The rationale here is that all that detail is directly relevant to usage; what the speaker knows about a given construction affects how she will use it.

The emphasis on detail-rich knowledge also explains why these authors downplay relations between constructions. Quite simply, from the user’s point of view, what matters is how a given construction is used, what communicative

function it fulfills, how appropriate or apt it is in a given context, and any information in the service of efficient use, but crucially *not* what other constructions it may be related to. Even in the case of constructions that are closely linked, i.e. where one construction can be shown to originate from another, or to be its specific instantiation, any links between them are, according to Bybee, subject to gradual weakening and eventual dissolution. This can be illustrated on the example of expressions like *take a break* or *pull strings*. They form as independent exemplars through the process of chunking: “If two or more smaller chunks occur together with some degree of frequency, a larger chunk containing the smaller ones is formed” (Bybee 2010: 34). These expressions can be said to be specific instances of schematic transitive constructions V-NP, and in the speaker’s mental representations, links can be hypothesized to hold between the chunked expression *break a habit* and its component words *break* and *habit*, as represented by means of lines in Figure 4.1.



**Figure 4.1** Relations between a chunk and its component words

According to Bybee (2010: 48), complex chunks “maintain their internal structure and their relations with the other uses of their component parts” but these “complex units may become autonomous from their sources, losing both internal structure and transparent meaning”.

If true, attrition of interconnections between constructions may have profound implications in terms of the range of phenomena that can be affected. It is not only chunks like *break a habit* that lose their association with the verb *break*; the same applies to special cases of schematic constructions involving concrete lexical insertions. For instance, the *way* construction can be assumed to reside in the speaker’s constructicon as a schematic form [v one’s *way* PP], and it can also be stored in lower-level formulaic chunks like [*make your way* PP] or even more substantively as [*talk your way out of trouble*]. The same is true of complex words like *available* which cease to be related to their etymological components *avail* and *-able*. Such weakening interconnections can be thought of as fading traces of a language form’s derivational history. If this fading mechanism is as pervasive as Bybee claims, the consequences for the overall picture may be rather dramatic, as a speaker may lose awareness of not only relations between

cognates (*dear* and *dearth*, *warm* and *warmth*) but also polysemous uses of the same word. This issue will be addressed in Section 4.4.

In what follows, I will focus on a fairly schematic pattern with a number of relatively autonomous lower-level instantiations that have developed based on the formula provided by the construction (coincidentally, the pattern in question has to do with the notion of place too, as it serves to express a salient property of a location being described in a sentence). After I have reviewed the form and use of this construction, I will return to the question of how best to imagine the arrangement of the contents of the construction. That is, the construction will serve as an opportunity to explore the issue of interconnections between related patterns, and I will argue that even assuming autonomy of emerging chunks, downplaying their links with the host pattern is not entirely justified.

### 4.3 The Characteristic-As-Place Construction

#### 4.3.1 A form highlighting a salient characteristic

This section focuses on what can be termed the Characteristic-As-Place Construction (CAP), analysed in more detail in Szcześniak (2019), exemplified by the sentences in (1).

- (1) a. Helen watched her nieces from the *safety* of her recliner. (Gin Jones, *A Dose of Death*)
- b. Lyn's work continues in the *comfort* of the Arbor House Bed and Breakfast. (Ray Madaghiele, *Ray of Hope*)
- c. Down below, we sit in the *comfort* of the gazebo. (Marquis Heyer, *Whispers of the Poet*)
- d. What you do in the *privacy* of your home is your business. (Hunter S. Thompson, *Fear and Loathing in America*)
- e. That evening, in Amsterdam, I sat in the *peace* of the lounge of a private hotel. (W. G. Sebald, *The Rings of Saturn*)

The above uses should be considered instantiations of a special construction. Phrases like *from the safety of her recliner* or *in the privacy of your home* are built around a clear pattern represented in (2), where NP<sub>char</sub> stands for a noun naming a characteristic of a location NP<sub>loc</sub>, all normally preceded by a preposition NP<sub>loc</sub>.

- (2) P NP<sub>char</sub> of NP<sub>loc</sub>

The main purpose of the construction is to reify an abstract property of the location in question and make it look *as if* that property is an actual location.

As a consequence, the subject of the sentence is construed as being in or moving through that materialized characteristic. This reframing of the characteristic as a location is a kind of mental transubstantiation that gives the construction its name. It must further be pointed out that the element of physical motion or location of the subject through the characteristic is crucial because it is what sets the construction apart from other syntactic patterns that also allow noun phrases preceded by prepositions:

- (3) New York State continues to invest in the safety of the airport. (<https://www.governor.ny.gov>)

In (3) too, the *safety* can be construed metaphorically as a location (*in which* investment is made), but the key word here is “metaphorically”. By contrast, the properties in (1) are viewed as if they are actual locations, in which people (or other concrete figures) can sit, from which people can watch something or in which anything can be done. In other words, the pattern triggers a semantic operation through which a characteristic materializes into a space metonymic with the location named by the noun following it. It can be speculated that the metaphoric construal of a property as a location, like in (3), served as a precursor for reified uses like those in (1), where a property is treated as a *de facto* location. And it can be further hypothesized that, at some point in the history of English, the shift from the metaphoric to the reified occurred (perhaps) through transitional uses such as the example in (4), where the interpretation of the property is ambiguous between the two readings.

- (4) Sleep, O sleep in the calm of all calm,  
 Sleep, O sleep in the guidance of guidance,  
 Sleep, O sleep in the love of all loves  
 (Lines from *The Death Dirge*; a Gaelic prayer, author and date unknown)

And like a typical location noun, the characteristic NP<sub>char</sub> can be preceded by a diverse range of prepositions found in descriptions of locations. A cursory glance at a number of examples of use is enough to conclude that probably any preposition is possible. The examples in (5) are a brief sample of both locative and motive prepositions.

- (5) a. A person finds going **out of** the comfort of his or her own home agonizing.  
 (Joc Anderson, *The Author of Love*)  
 b. He moved most of the guards back **into** the comfort of the buildings.  
 (Michael Connelly, *The Mortarmen*)  
 c. ...many of us have been discussing the Prophecy **around** the privacy of our camp fires for weeks now. (Sara Douglass, *Enchanter*)

- d. ... he led a group of sailors and Basque fishermen *inside* the safety of Louisbourg. (Guy Wendell Hogue, *Louisbourg*)
- e. Women living in refuges have to be constantly vigilant when *outside* the safety of the refuge. (Lyn Shipway, *Domestic Violence*)
- f. A few metres *above* the safety of the new pathway, the sled hit a small outcrop of ice. (Lee F Herrick, *The Foundation Vault*)

Another hint that the pattern is a separate construction is that it is not available in some languages. For example, if translated verbatim from example (1e), the sentences in Czech<sup>1</sup> (6) or Polish (7) are decidedly anomalous:

- (6) \* Toho večera v Amsterdamu jsem seděl v klidu pohovky soukromého hotelu.
- (7) \* Tego wieczora w Amsterdamie siedziałem w spokoju salonu prywatnego hotelu.

The CAP construction is highly productive. Although it can most typically be attested with only a handful of nominal insertions, of which by far the most common are *privacy*, *comfort*, *safety*, the construction can also feature other nouns, as in (8). Other nouns attested as insertions in the NP<sub>char</sub> slot include *tranquility*, *intimacy*, *familiarity*, *shelter*, *invulnerability* and *security*.

- (8) a. Nobody relaxes until we chug past the breakwater, and even slipping into the *calm* of the marina. (Charlotte Gill, *Eating Dirt*)
- b. All too quickly we were transported from the *serenity* of the woods. (Michelle Pugh, *Love at First Hike*)
- c. Mallow peered around in the *quiet* of the museum. (Philip M. LaVoie, *Legacy of the Vampire*)

### 4.3.2 Central exemplar meaning

Of prime importance for the present study is the question of the semantics of the construction, because it is directly relevant to how various instances of the

<sup>1</sup> For the sake of accuracy, it should be pointed out that the question is more complex. Czech seems to allow at least some uses of the construction, and so for example, it is perfectly natural to say *Helen pozorovala své neteře z bezpečí svého křesla* or *To, co děláš v soukromí svého domova, je tvoje věc* (literal translations of 1a and 1d, respectively; Petra Novotná, p.c.), which suggests that the construction may be partially productive or that some of the nouns denoting characteristics have lexicalized additional locative senses. However, any discussion of the intricacies of such sentences in Czech would go far beyond the scope of this study, whose main focus is on the behaviour of the construction in English.



construction are mutually related. In the cognitive linguistic literature it is assumed that new uses of a given construction are created based on semantic similarity to the main (central) instances of an established exemplar. What then is the meaning of the CAP's typical exemplars which can be assumed to be shared by most speakers? If uses like [p *the safety of* NP<sub>loc</sub>] or [p *the comfort of* NP<sub>loc</sub>] can be treated as likely candidates for exemplars in the speaker's mental representation of the construction, then most noun insertions found in the first segment of the [p NP<sub>char</sub> *of* NP<sub>loc</sub>] frame convey readings synonymous with either 'comfort' or 'safety'.

What could justify the characterization of the construction as an instrument for expressing 'safety', 'privacy' or 'comfort' is quite simply the evidently high frequency of its uses with the nouns *safety*, *privacy* and *comfort*, which constitute a great majority of all attestations. The remaining uses like those in (8) feature close synonyms most likely motivated by the correspondence with the two nouns, which function as benchmark representatives. At this point, it is tempting to conclude that the construction is strongly associated with the readings of 'safety', 'privacy' or 'comfort' or even that these readings *are* the meaning of the construction.

### 4.3.3 Less frequent interpretations

However, the semantics of the construction is not confined to a simple cluster of synonyms. The meanings conveyed in (9) and (10) go beyond the readings of 'comfort' and 'safety'. Among other less typical insertions are *quietude*, *excitement*, *coolness*, *charm*, and *splendor*.

- (9) a. They had slept each night, bent and knotted in the **discomfort** of the car seats, without undressing. (Newton G. Thomas, *The Long Winter Ends*)
- b. In the summer months they ordinarily retreated to the **cool** of the Khan Khokhii Mountains. (Tim Cope, *On the Trail of Genghis Khan*)
- (10) a. Hawke was able to lead them through the lower mountains and caverns and allow them to rest in the **obscurity** of the caverns. (Marleen Johnsen, *Beaumont Treasure*)
- b. In the silences between thoughts, emotions or sensations, we rest in the **enormity** of the ocean. (Ayala Gill, *Yoga as a Mindfulness Practice*)
- c. ...the witch was a victim and died in the **horror** of the flames. (Roland Barthes, *Michelet*)
- d. A huge gust hits the trees and Mara thinks of Rowan and all the others, starved, sick and dying in the **misery** of the boat camp ... (Julie Bertagna, *Exodus*)

- e. Inland a new generation of pioneers struggled in the **austerity** of the wilderness... (James David Hart, *The Popular Book*)
- f. ...to step into another world: from the **hustle and bustle** of an Alexandrian cult to the **stillness** of the Eastern deserts... (Phil Booth, *Crisis of Empire*)

While some of the less typical insertions can still be shown to allude to the semantics of 'comfort', as is the case with *charm* or *discomfort*, many other insertions (*obscurity*, *hustle and bustle*, *austerity*, *horror*) in (10) are hardly straightforward extensions of such a narrowly defined exemplar. What they share is a much more general sense of 'defining characteristic or essence of the location described'.

Thus, exemplars, however frequent they may be, do not reveal the full meaning of a construction. Instead, their detailed meanings are specific instances of the general and abstract meaning of the construction. It is the comprehensive scope of the general meaning 'defining characteristic' that makes room for uses of nouns like *horror* or *enormity*, which would not be possible if the construction's meaning were confined to meanings of 'comfort' or 'safety'.

#### 4.4 The psychological reality of relatedness

Based on the above observations of the CAP construction, I will now attempt to draw broader conclusions about the question of relatedness of forms within the construction. Bybee claims that when a construction gives rise to a substantive chunk, that chunk may acquire an increased degree of autonomy and gradually cease being associated with its mother pattern. This dissociationist view is in line with the more general cognitive linguistic rejection of derivations, under which constructions are not viewed as derivatives of other constructions (for example, the passive voice is argued to be independent from the active voice, despite Chomsky's quite irresistible transformational analyses of the former as originating from the latter). Perhaps the most extreme version of the non-derivational view is found in Taylor (2012), who extends it to word senses:

Although the relatedness of two meanings might be apparent to the analysing linguist, it by no means follows that speakers of a language also perceive the different uses to be related. For the linguist, there might be compelling grounds to regard meaning B as an extension of meaning A; there might even be historical evidence for such a process. ... The notion of one meaning being derived from, based on, or an extension of another meaning might not feature at all in the speaker's mental representation of the word and how it is used (Taylor 2012: 229).

Taylor's argument is that the cognitive linguist's prime ambition should be to account for the psychological reality of sense relatedness, and not to dwell on its historical record; what matters for language proficiency is how two given senses are used and not whether they are related.

However, the conception of words in the mental lexicon being mutually disassociated does not sit well with the insights flowing from earlier traditional descriptions of the language system, even those that strive to capture the mental functioning of language. To take one obvious example, recall that Saussure argued that words determine their meanings through correspondences with their neighboring words, including antonyms, synonyms and cognates, just like the value of a five-franc coin is not fixed by "the metal in a piece of money" (Saussure 1916: 118), but by its relation to other coins and their values:

...all words used to express related ideas limit each other reciprocally; synonyms like French *redouter* 'dread,' *craindre* 'fear,' and *avoir peur* 'be afraid' have value only through their opposition: if *redouter* did not exist, all its content would go to its competitors (Saussure 1916: 116).

In what follows I will argue that although the connections between language forms may be backgrounded and treated as secondary to the connections that these forms establish with their usage, it is nevertheless important to appreciate the possibility that in the mind of the speaker, correspondences between words—as well as between chunks and their dominant patterns—do matter and it is impossible to rule out their existence. What prompts Taylor and others to question the significance of relations is considerations of use, but ironically it is precisely for reasons of use that it makes sense to hypothesize that speakers do consult them, at least subconsciously, if only to determine the meaning of a lexical item they are about to use.

#### 4.4.1 Relations opaque to awareness

First, before any other arguments are considered, it is perhaps necessary to point out that any discussions of the question are inevitably speculative. There is simply no way of knowing for sure whether two forms are related or completely independent in the speaker's mind. However, any strong statements against relatedness should be hedged against obvious facts like the unconscious nature of what happens in the mind: "the lexicon and the rules of grammar are not accessible to awareness. Only their consequences, namely linguistic expressions, are consciously available" (Jackendoff 1997: 181). Ruling out any connections is surely more extreme and implausible than allowing the possibility that two

language forms may be linked mentally in one way or another, at least at a very unconscious level. This scenario is justified by the well-known observation that memory (especially long-term memory) is highly associative (Goldberg 1995: 133). If anything, the mind is known to forge associative links rather than avoid them. In the case of linguistic associations, speakers often conjecture links between words, even if they need to double-check them for etymological accuracy. In fact, Taylor himself gives the example of people's false beliefs about relatedness of senses not justified by historical data:

Take, as an example, the word *ball*, in the meanings 'spherical object' and 'social event involving dancing'. Some people might see in the circular movement of the dancers or the circular shape of a dance floor a relation to the shape of a sphere; for these speakers, the word might count as polysemous (Taylor 2012: 229).

That speakers entertain such connections is a symptom of a deeper tendency to link word senses (and by extension, words with their cognates, and larger constructions with their specific instances) into networks. Some evidence in favour of this associative tendency is available from psycholinguistic studies of parallel activation of multiple memory contents, to which I turn now.

#### 4.4.2 Cross modal priming

Some support for the idea that multiple senses of a word are accessed in parallel comes from a lexical decision experiment by Swinney (1979), which showed that when faced with a polysemous word, speakers nevertheless consult even those senses that context should help eliminate.

Swinney's study investigated the activation of the senses of the polysemous word *bug*, whose meanings include 'insect', 'error' and 'espionage device'. The design involved a lexical decision task where subjects were timed for their recognition of the words ANT and SPY. Some of the subjects were first asked to read the following sentences:

- (11) Rumor had it that, for years, the government building had been plagued with problems. The man was not surprised when he found several spiders, roaches, and other bugs in the corner of his room.

The objective was to investigate whether the words ANT and SPY would be recognized faster during the lexical decision task as a result of the subject's prior exposure to the word *bug*. Perhaps predictably, priming effects were observed for ANT, because the word *bug* in the priming sentence was used with the 'insect'

meaning, which is closely related to the word *ant*. But surprisingly, the reaction times for the word SPY also decreased, even though the context presented in the sentence did not justify the ‘espionage’ sense of *bug*:

not only are both (all) meanings for an ambiguity momentarily accessed, even in the presence of a strong biasing context, when the ambiguities are approximately balanced for most likely a priori interpretation ..., but that all meanings are also immediately and momentarily accessed even when materials have a priori biases largely toward just one of the ‘senses’ of the word tested (Swinney 1979: 657).

### 4.4.3 Generalizations

Many recent studies treat productivity and creativity as a product of analogy. Specifically, new uses are argued to be motivated by analogy with existing expressions, and these new uses form “by replacing a constituent verb, adjective or preposition by a synonym or antonym” (Langlotz 2006: 274). To take a well-known example, the *drive* ADJ construction can yield variants like *drive someone nuts*, *insane*, *berserk* etc. on analogy with the central chunk *drive someone crazy* (Bybee 2010: 81). In the case of the CAP construction too, most new uses can be explained by showing that new insertions are analogous to chunks like *the comfort of your home*. This chunk can serve as a model for *the luxury of your home* or *the bliss of their sphere*:

- (12) The Brahma gods are always affirming their identity and lingering in the bliss of their sphere. (Venerable Sucitto Bhikkhu, *The Dawn of the Dhamma*)

However, as was demonstrated in Section 4.3.3, many uses are hard to justify by analogy. Insertions like *hustle and bustle*, *obscurity*, or *enormity* are not synonymous or antonymous with *comfort* or any of the typical insertions, and they share little, semantically speaking, with these model insertions.

A better alternative is to account for them as following a higher-level (more general) pattern (2), repeated here for convenience in (13). The significance of a more general formula is that the first NP does not accommodate a synonym cluster centred around the meaning ‘comfort’, but allows nouns naming *any* characteristic of a location.

- (13) P NP<sub>char</sub> of NP<sub>loc</sub>

That, however, requires the speaker exploiting a relation between known chunks (that serve as models) and the schematic pattern. This is another way of saying

that speakers can generalize from specific examples to more schematic categories. This possibility is contested in Bybee: “productivity (the ability to apply existing structure to new utterances) can be accomplished through local analogies to existing exemplars, without reference to higher-level or more abstract generalizations” (Bybee 2010: 102). The problem is that the CAP (and many other constructions) can be shown to feature insertions that are *not* accomplished by straightforward local analogies to existing exemplars. They clearly rely on long-range analogies with schematic patterns of the type shown in (13), which suggests that speakers are aware of underlying relations involved.

Now before the non-relational organization view is dismissed, it is fair to consider an alternative idea in its favour. One way of preserving the local-analogies-only view would be to assume that in some cases exemplars serve as models for creative extensions, which can by definition be rather liberal. Such extensions go far beyond simple synonymy, as can be seen in numerous examples of metaphoric extensions identified in the cognitive linguistic literature. When a given lexical item is used with a metaphoric meaning, such as *breeze* in *breeze through the task*, the extension involves much more than simple synonymy. Here, the verb is interpreted as meaning something more elaborately removed from the literal ‘blow like a wind’. Advocates of non-relational accounts could argue that non-typical uses of the CAP are also extensions, and thus obviate the need for generalization relations with high-level schematic patterns.

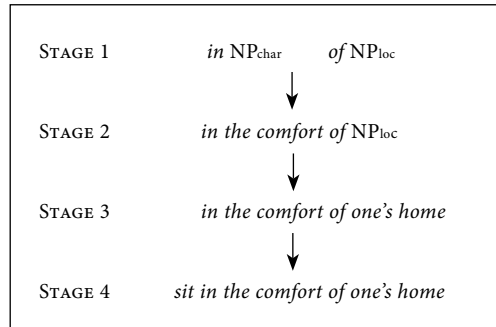
However, this argument only works if extensions are clearly motivated and share important points highlighted by the analogy applied. There is a lot of shared semantic content highlighted in the use of *breeze* with the meaning ‘proceed (in a task)’: the fact that the progress is as effortless as a breeze is light, or that in both cases considerable distance is covered. By contrast, the extensions found in the CAP construction share little with frequent exemplars. If anything, they represent dilutions of the semantics of low-level chunks, which is a signature feature of generalization, not of extension.

#### 4.4.4 Inflation of disconnected chunks

One final argument against overplaying the autonomy of language forms in the construction should become apparent when we follow the autonomy-above-relatedness view to its logical conclusion. Chunking is a theoretically unlimited process. A given sequence can solidify into increasingly specific chunks by fusing with other lexical material as illustrated in Figure 4.2 below.

It would be absurd to claim that a speaker who has incorporated a chunk (in stage 4) into his or her knowledge no longer sees any relation between this chunk and its preceding dominant (in stage 3). Similarly, it is quite beyond belief to assume that speakers are not aware of links between clearly and saliently

related words like *whiten* and *white* or *speaker* and *speak*. Admittedly, it makes perfect sense to assume that a chunk may be allotted its own separate entry in the lexicon and, through frequent repetition, be consolidated to be instantly accessible for the purposes of fluent and efficient use, but it is unclear why these steps of psychological entrenchment should somehow erase its relations to even the closest constructions.



**Figure 4.2** The chunking process yielding the low-level instantiation *sit in the comfort of one's home*

## 4.5 Conclusions

This study has been concerned with the issue of internal relations within the construction. Specifically, the question has been whether language forms are interconnected in the speaker's cognitive representations or, conversely, whether they should be treated as autonomous islands, mutually irrelevant and indifferent. More broadly, the question concerns all items of linguistic knowledge, which include not only very general patterns, fixed expressions, or complex words, but also multiple senses of polysemous words. Does it make sense to hypothesize connections between the meanings of *cut* in *cut the grass*, *cut the cloth* and *cut the salaries*? Searle (1980: 221) and Taylor (2012: 226) answer in the negative. They claim that the speaker benefits from associating these senses with specific occasions of use, but not from linking them with one another. Similarly, are there mental connections between *blockbuster* and the component elements *block* and *buster*? Gentner and Bowdle (2008: 118) suggest that “most people are unaware of the original sense of *blockbuster*, namely, a *bomb that can demolish an entire city block*”. The emerging picture is one where the speaker's knowledge may have little to do with the linguistic accounts of word formation which trace the mechanisms responsible for deriving new forms out of existing material. If it is true that the mental representations leave no place for interconnections between items of linguistic knowledge, we are faced with a paradoxical conclusion

that the enormous body of research amassed in fields like morphology, syntax, or historical linguistics may be little more than academic speculation, interesting, well-intentioned and even impressively compelling, but ultimately divorced from concrete reality.

But this conclusion is obviously extreme, if not harshly unfair. True, many insights about the psychological status of derivational correspondences between words may be inevitably speculative, as no brain imaging technology available makes it possible to demonstrate the existence of polysemous links or connections between constructions and their concrete instantiations. However, denying internal relations in the lexicon is pure speculation too. And the problem is that doubts about interrelations are based primarily on personal introspection. When authors like Taylor express their skepticism, they invoke the speaker's perspective, that is, their *own* private perspective, inspired by the irresistible impression of not paying attention to links between a given word being used and its cognates. Of course, it is hard to argue with that; after all, in the act of language use, the speaker's focus is on the communicative situation, and not on what might happen under the surface. But appeals to conscious monitoring is a dubious argument. By the same token, nobody is aware of the mental operations at work necessary to keep the balance while riding a bicycle, but that does not mean those operations do not take place. Explaining the mental reality of language knowledge and use by restricting one's observations to what is readily visible has a suspiciously behaviourist ring to it, and although cognitive linguistics has developed a distrust of anything that resembles hidden derivations or invisible relations, its insistence on the surface form has limited explanatory potential. As Dixon (2010: 40) observed, one cannot understand language fully by only analysing "surface structure; this is rather like trying to assess the physical fitness of an athlete from the clothes they wear".

Fortunately, our intuitions and hypotheses about the internal relations between language forms are not merely speculative. Even if we are far from being able to substantiate our claims by direct neurolinguistic evidence, we have enough clues gleaned from psycholinguistic studies (like the one summarized in Section 4.4.2) or from speakers' creativity in using constructions with new vocabulary items. Using words in novel combinations would be impossible without long-distance analogies (requiring relations between diverse items in the constructicon) because not all experimental uses of a construction can be accounted for by reference to existing instances. In their semantics they go well beyond the familiar patterns dictated by memorized chunks. These facts justify the conjecture that constructional "network is made up of instances of use (constructs), and constructions of varying levels of generality and productivity" (Trousdale 2015: 21).



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## Part II

# Talking about Place(s)



## Chapter 5

# Case and prepositional systems in the expression of place in Russian, English, French and Spanish

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The subject of cases represents a big trouble for those students whose native language is not notable for case modifications of the noun. Prepositions also pose a lot of problems for non-native speakers and learners of foreign languages like English, Spanish and French. Nevertheless, the functions of the case and prepositional systems are closely related. Hermann Paul, Wülner and Bernhaldi state that conceptually we can attribute prepositions and cases to one category (López 1972; Hjelmslev 1978). De Boer (Blake 2001) also expresses the view that the preposition is functionally the substitution of a case in the languages where case system is not full-fledged. It is true that in languages with a lower grade of the inflection of the noun and where there is no case declination of the noun, prepositions functionally substitute cases, whereas in languages where the case declination of the noun exists, prepositions determine the use of cases. Nonetheless, prepositions cannot be a mere substitution of the case in terms of function, since in inflectional languages, e.g. Russian, there are cases and prepositions and, moreover, certain prepositions require a special case after them. Thus, it would be more appropriate to assume that in such languages prepositions specify the morphological function of the case. However, the use of each prepositional system, i.e. English, French and Spanish, differs greatly. Thus in Spanish the phenomenon of the polysemous use of prepositions is stronger than in French and especially in English. Consequently, in the comparison of the expression of the function of place by means of the case and prepositional systems we can say that they are not equivalent neither identical.

**Key words:** prepositional system, case system, expression of place, Russian, English, French, Span

## 5.1 Introduction

The present paper deals with the case and prepositional systems in four different languages: Russian, English, Spanish and French. They represent languages with higher and lower grades of the inflection of nouns, with Russian being an example of a language with a strong case system of the noun, whilst English, Spanish and French being examples of languages where the functions of the case declination of the noun are placed on their full-fledged prepositional systems.

The subject of cases represents a big trouble for those students whose native language is not notable for case modifications of the noun. In the Russian language all nouns, adjectives, pronouns and numerals in the sentence are used in different cases. That is why to learn to understand the Russian speech and to learn to speak Russian correctly it is crucial to acquire how these cases are used and how they can be formed, as well as all multiple meanings that cases can bear in the Russian language.

Prepositions also pose a lot of problems for non-native speakers and learners of such languages as English, French or Spanish. Furthermore, we can say that the preposition might be called the most problematic part of speech since its accurate acquisition and subsequent use presents more difficulties than any other part of speech. And this is not striking, since the preposition despite its seeming simplicity conceals a lot of pitfalls.

Nevertheless, the functions of case and prepositional systems are closely related. Many authors assume that in languages where case declination of the noun occurs, prepositions determine the syntactic function of cases, while in non-inflectional languages prepositions carry out the function of cases (García Yerba 1988: 28):

Case was defined as the form of a noun or pronoun by which we show its relation to some other word in the sentence. But the relations in which a noun may stand are far more numerous than those which the supply of cases, even in an inflectional language like Latin, will enable us to represent. And in non-inflectional language like our own, we are almost entirely dependent on Prepositions for the means of expressing these relations.

Hermann, Wülner and Bernhaldi state that conceptually we can attribute prepositions and cases to one category (López 1972; Hjelmslev 1978). De Boer (Blake 2001) also expresses the idea that the preposition is functionally the substitution of the case in those languages where case system is not developed. It is true that in languages with a lower degree of the inflection of the noun and where there is no case declination of the noun, prepositions functionally substitute cases, whereas in the languages where the case declination of the noun exists, prepositions sometimes determine the use of cases. Nonetheless, prepositions cannot be a mere substitution of the case in terms of function, since

in inflectional languages, e.g. Russian, there are cases and prepositions, and, moreover, certain prepositions require a special case after them. Thus, it would be more appropriate to assume that in such languages prepositions specify the morphological function of the case.

Nevertheless, to give a full account of the situation we must consider each system separately, starting with the analysis of case system on the whole and the case system of Russian particularly. Then, we will proceed to the analysis of prepositional systems of English, French and Spanish in order to compare their function to that of Russian cases and, specifically, to highlight the differences between the prepositional systems in question.

## 5.2 Case system: overview

The case is a set of grammatical categories of nouns, pronouns, adjectives and other parts of speech marked by inflection in some languages, indicating the relation of the noun, adjective, pronoun or other part of speech to other words in the sentence. The case system differs from one language to another and, generally speaking, it is almost never identical in different languages.

During the whole history of linguistics there have been different approaches to the problem of cases. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century the most common way of analysing cases was by means of a simple listing of possible meanings without searching for a common line between them. At the beginning of the nineteenth century a new way of study of case systems was found. Thus, Rask, Bopp and Wüllner (Blake 2001) advocated the point of view that the case has a single, but abstract meaning and that all other meanings can be derived from the first one. This is the so-called localist theory of case. Following this approach, in the twentieth century the dominant notion to refer to the case system was 'Gesamtbedeutung', i.e. generalized (or general) meaning. Representatives of this school are Hjelmslev and Jakobson, both of whom presented major works on the case system in the early twentieth century.

Consequently, for Hjelmslev (1978), a case is a "single abstract notion from which one can deduce the concrete uses". Thus, the single abstract meaning could only be derived from all the oppositions occurring in the whole case system. As the representative of localists, he characterized the meaning of case in local terms.

Jakobson's approach (Malchukov 2009: 21) approach to the problem of cases implies the differentiation of the invariant intentional meaning of the case and its syntactically or lexically conditioned variants, which represent an extension of the case. The general meaning is independent and cannot be determined from individual meanings. Jakobson applied this theory to the Russian language, which we will consider further on.

### 5.2.1 The case system of Russian

The case category of noun in Russian is an inflection category, expressed by the opposition of six standard and twelve possible sets of forms that indicate the formal characteristics of the noun in relation to other words in the phrase or sentence (of direction, localization and periphery factor of an indicated thing, entity or phenomenon).

Adjectives also have the category of case, but it is syntagmatic, i.e. specified by the form of the noun with which this adjective is agreed. Short forms of adjectives do not decline. Pronouns and numerals in the Russian language are also characterized by the successive declination, though in the present work we will focus our attention merely on the case category of the noun.

To begin, it is important to remember that Russian is a language with a relatively free word order, and grammatical functions, such as subject and object, are identified by case marking rather than by position. For example, in the following sentence:

- (1) *Книгу* (=Object) *он* (=Subject) *читал* (=Action in the past). 'He read a/the book'

the object is marked with Accusative and the subject with Nominative case. Particular morphological realizations of the Nominative, Accusative, or any other case, differ from one declension to another (Neidle 1988: 1).

The category of case in Russian indicates the relation of the noun to any content word and is formed by means of six grammatical meanings of the case or six noun cases: Nominative, Genitive, Dative, Accusative, Instrumental and Prepositional. Besides these six basic standard cases there can be distinguished also the following cases: Nominative-Vocative, Genitive partitive, Quantitative, Second Accusative, Locative, and Object case.

The present work is focused on the six basic standard cases of the Russian language, since they represent the kernel of its case system. It is important to note that between those six basic cases in the Russian language, there exists also a hierarchy according to the meaning of each case. As mentioned above, Jakobson distinguished between the invariant meaning of a case and its syntactically or lexically conditioned variants, which represent an extension of the case. He stated that cases are correlative and take, therefore, their value from their relation to other cases, and he applied this theory to the case system of the Russian language (Blake 2001: 40).

Thus, let us specify some general notions referring to the Russian case system. 1. By its meaning and syntactic function, Nominative is opposed to all other cases, since it expresses an independent position of the noun in the sentence, while all other cases express dependent, subordinate position of a noun. That



is why the Nominative case is usually called Direct case and all other cases are called Oblique cases; 2. All oblique cases can be used with verbs and nouns as their complement; 3. The Nominative case is never used with prepositions, while the Prepositional case is used only with prepositions. All the other oblique cases (Genitive, Dative, Accusative and Instrumental) can be used with prepositions as well as without them.

### 5.3 Prepositional system overview: English, French and Spanish

To give an explicit definition of a preposition, manifesting its formal, semantic and syntactic functions, we will cite the following extract:

Preposition is a word class characterized formally by being invariable; functionally by serving as a subordinate nexus between a nucleus, i.e. an initial element, and a complement, i.e. a terminal element; semantically by giving a significant hue of diverse intensity to syntagm or syntagmatic group that it domineers, according to the situation and the context (Hernando Cuadrado 2002: 146).

Prepositional system differs from one language to another. Generally speaking, the category of preposition is represented by the preposition itself, expressing different functions and meanings, such as characterization, distribution, instrument, location, time, cause and others, and by prepositional phrases or prepositional groups.

In many studies on prepositions it is indicated that they are functionally related to verbs and are a sub-class of verbs, rather than adverbs, and, hence, they are a 'minor verb'. It functions as a minor Predicator, having as its complement a nominal group. In some instances there is a non-finite verb that can replace the preposition in the sentence. For example, in the English language (Halliday 1985: 189):

- (2) *across the lake = crossing the lake near the house = adjoining the house without the hat = not wearing the hat about the trial = concerning the trial.*

It is important to note that the prepositions can present a certain difficulty due to their being occasionally confused with similar adverbial forms. Some authors assume that they are homonymous pairs, that is, they are two different words belonging to different word classes but which happen to be pronounced and written in the same way. However, not all linguists accept this position (Bloor 2004: 35). Consequently, the most important feature of prepositions that helps us to distinguish them from adverbs is transitivity. All prepositions are transitive, as opposed to adverbs, which do not manifest that feature. Moreover,

the problem of confusing prepositional and adverbial forms can be avoided by looking attentively at the context in which the preposition occurs, as the preposition is used with a noun or its substitute and governs it. The same problem occurs in distinguishing between prepositions and conjunctions, since some prepositions presented in a specific context can formally coincide with conjunctions. This causes many difficulties in translating texts as well as in learning a foreign language.

## 5.4 Expression of the referential function of place

Talking about the semantics of space we have to note that it can be expressed by means of different parts of speech: nouns, adjectives, verbs, prepositions. These parts of speech can be generally divided into two groups: spatial referents (for example nouns, adjectives) and spatial relations (for example prepositions, verbs of movement). Spatial referents identify a portion of an object, while spatial relations situate a localized object, or trajectory, with respect to an object of reference or landmark (Zelinsky-Wibbelt 1993: 393). Thus, nouns and adjectives can refer to spatial properties attached to objects, places and to space portions that these objects and these places occupy (*le secteur du port* 'the port sector', *la surface de la mer* 'the surface of the sea', *the height of the building*); or they can indicate spatial zones that are jointed at objects and places according to their morphology, their disposition and their orientation (*le bord droit de l'écran* 'the right edge of the screen', *the center of the city*). Prepositions and verbs allow the description of the localization of an entity according to one another. It is such a case we speak about static localization or the displacement (in French spatial prepositions: *sur* 'on', *dans* 'in', *à* 'to', *sous* 'under', *contre* 'against', etc.; locative verbs: *border* 'to border', *entourer* 'to surround', *occuper* 'to occupy', etc.; the combination of verbs and prepositions: *donner sur* 'to overlook', *se trouver dans* 'to be in', etc.). Adverbs can also express spatial location, they are then called adverbs of place and can express location rather abstractly (for example: in French *partout* 'everywhere', *quelque part* 'somewhere', in English *everywhere*, etc.) or fixing the frame of reference (for example: in English *here*, in Spanish *allí* 'there', in French *ailleurs* 'elsewhere', *à cet endroit* 'at this place', etc.) (Borillo 1998: 1–2).

Spatial description is very complicated and often requires the use and the establishment of some restrictions, limitations and strict rules (Vandeloise 1986: 239). Thus, while describing the semantics of spatial markers it is important to emphasize, following the statements of Johnson-Laird and Vandeloise, that geometrical data alone is insufficient and there should be taken into account three different types of elements: geometrical properties of entities and geometrical relations, functional properties and relations, and pragmatic principles together with the representation of some world knowledge and context.

The geometrical level is at the root of the system. It represents a formal structure that includes objective spatial data of an analysed text. The functional level is based on the geometrical level, for spatial properties constitute part of entities' properties and, furthermore, many functional relations imply geometrical ones. The semantics of spatial markers should be represented at this level. The pragmatic level is closely related to functional properties of entities and is based on them (Zelinsky-Wibbelt 1993: 397–400).

The semantic representation of spatial functions of words can be of different kinds. Bennett in his book *Spatial and Temporal Uses of English Prepositions* employs the principles of stratificational semantics to describe the semantics of spatial and temporal prepositions and presents their semantics in graphs (Bennett 1976: 12–14). This kind of approach can be called logical, since it describes semantics in terms of the logic of predicates.

A different kind of approach shows Vandeloise in his book *L'espace en français*. Being a mathematician, he presents three different necessary ways of the description of space: geometrical, logical and functional. The geometrical description of space is taken into account independently of the context and speaker, and is done with the help of purely spatial tools: straight lines, angles and measures. Describing the logical representation of the semantics of spatial words, Vandeloise mentions Bennett's approach, criticizing it and assuming that definitions in terms of the logic of the predicates do not represent all the possible usages of a preposition, but only "the most representative" ones. He emphasizes that in this approach it is important to take into account not only different meanings of the word, but also different perspectives according to which the object in question is considered by means of acquiring different symbols. It can be illustrated with the following French examples: (3) *la chaise est en dessous de la table* 'the chair is below the table' and (4) *le papier est en dessous de la table* 'the paper is below the table'. The first phrase is correct if the object designates the superior part of the table, but it is false if, as in the second phrase, it refers to the totality of the furniture. Thus, Vandeloise suggests that to represent correctly the two phrases the logic must indicate the same table with the help of different symbols. Finally, the functional description of space is related to extra-linguistic knowledge of space that speakers of the same language share. He singles out five groups of universal features that are essential for the analysis of spatial words: the form of the body, naive physics, access to the perception, potential meeting and lateral and general orientations (Vandeloise 1986: 18–19, 22).

Furthermore, it is important to mention that the referential function of Location and generally the expression of space can include a lot of different spatial notions. Firstly, all these notions can be divided into static and dynamic. Static spatial expressions include localization, orientation, the relation of distance and others. The dynamic spatial location can comprise the situations of movement, direction, replacement or change of place.

### 5.4.1 The Russian language

The referential function of Location can be expressed in Russian with the help of case declination of the noun or by the combination of cases and prepositions. Of all six standard cases of Russian four can bear the function of Location, static or dynamic. Only Nominative and Genitive cases do not have this semantic component.

The expression of Location by means of pure case declination (with no combination with preposition) can only be found in the semantic functions of Accusative. In this situation the expressed referential function is static localization that can be more profoundly identified as route section:

- (5) *Пловец проплыл тысячу **метров***. 'The swimmer swam **a thousand** metres';
- (6) *Всю **дорогу** они шли пешком*. 'They were walking the whole **road** afoot'.

In the Accusative case there can also be found situations when the case is combined with a preposition that precedes it. We will consider these situations further.

All the other cases deal with the situation of the combination of a preposition and the required case. Thus, they can express both static and dynamic spatial Location. The type of case is determined by the preposition that precedes it. This can be explained by the fact that in languages where case declination of nouns exists, the prepositions occurring together with cases determine the syntactic function of these cases (García Yerba 1988: 28). In addition, the type of case must be defined according to the type of referential function that the case is to bear with the help of the verb that precedes the preposition and the case. For example, in the Russian language the prepositions *в/во* 'in' and *на* 'on' can be accompanied by the noun in the Accusative or Prepositional cases. The choice of the case in this situation is closely related to the context, i.e. the referential function that has to be performed. If the required function is static spatial location (position or localization), then the given preposition must be accompanied by the noun in the Prepositional case. If the referential function is direction (dynamic spatial location), then the preposition must be followed by the noun in the Accusative. The type of the referential function can be identified with the help of the preceding verb. If it is a verb expressing directional movement or action, then we have to use Accusative:

- (7) *Я зашел **в дом***. 'I entered **the house**';
- (8) *Я положил книгу **на стол***. 'I put the book **on the table**'.

The verbs 'to enter' and 'to put' express the referential function of direction expressed by the preposition with the noun in Accusative.

- (9) *Папа в доме*. 'Dad is **at home**';  
 (10) *Книга лежит на столе*. 'The book is **on the table**'.

The verb 'to be' expresses static location, so we use the preposition with the noun in the Prepositional case.

On the whole, semantic functions can generally comprise the meanings of movement, direction, which constitute the dynamic type of spatial Location, as well as position or localization, which constitute the static spatial Localization. We will consider below the expression of place by means of cases and prepositions equivalent to English *in*, *on* and *at*.

#### Static spatial location - Position (localization):

– Prepositional case:

Prepositions *в* 'in' and *на* 'on':

- (11) *Пальто висит в шкафу*. 'The coat is hanging **in the closet**';  
 (12) *Мы играли в футбол на траве*. 'We played football **on the grass**'.

#### Dynamic spatial location - Direction:

– Accusative case:

Prepositions *в* 'in', *на* 'on', *под* 'under' and *за* 'behind':

- (13) *Поставь книги в шкаф!* 'Put the books **in the bookcase!**';  
 (14) *Я положил книгу на стол*. 'I put the book **on the table**'.

#### Dynamic spatial location - Movement:

– Dative case (expresses the movement on a surface): the preposition *по*:

- (15) *идти по улице* 'to walk **on the street**';  
 (16) *гулять по лесу* 'to walk **in the woods**'.

### 5.4.2 The English language

To describe the expression of the referential function of Location in the prepositional system of the English language we will use the study by Bennett (1976). For a detailed analysis we will choose the prepositions *in*, *on* and *at* since they pose a lot of problems for the learners.

Lindkvist (Bennett 1976: 65) distinguishes five meanings of the preposition *at* and seven meanings of each *on* and *in*. This point is debatable, for the difference between various meanings of the same preposition is not always clear and in general the use of prepositions depends heavily on the context itself in which that prepositions occur.

Bennett assumes that as the use of the prepositions *in*, *on* and *at* appears in the realizations of simple locative expressions, it is obvious that they have a locative meaning, and he states, therefore, the following componential definitions for them:

*in*: 'locative interior'

*on*: 'locative surface'

*at*: 'locative'

Though the definition of the preposition *at* is simply 'locative', it has no connection with the definitions of the two other prepositions. For Bennett the preposition *at* has a more specific meaning. He suggests that the utterance of the type "A is *at* B" must mean that "A is in a specific locative relation to B" (Bennett 1976: 68).

At the same time in the handout made by OWL at Purdue University<sup>1</sup> describing the semantics of the prepositions of Location *in*, *on* and *at* we find a geometrical explanation of the semantics of those prepositions using the following concepts from geometry: point, surface, and area or volume. Thus, prepositions in the group *point* indicate that 'the noun that follows them is treated as a point in relation to which another object is positioned'. The prepositions with the characteristics *surface* indicate 'that the position of an object is defined with respect to a surface on which it rests'. And, finally, the prepositions from the group *area or volume* show 'that an object lies within the boundaries of an area or within the confines of a volume'. From the characterizations of these three groups we can deduce the following:

*in*: 'area/volume'

*on*: 'surface'

*at*: 'point'

Although the preposition *at* is identified here as the preposition indicating that the noun following it is a point in relation to which another object is positioned, it is noted that the meanings can be localization, destination, or direction: Localization: (17) *Tom is waiting for his sister at the bank.*

Destination: (18) *We arrived at the house.*

Direction: (19) *The dog jumped at my face and really scared me.*

The difference between the uses of the prepositions *on* and *in* is not always very clear and presents some difficulty. It is stated that *on* is generally used when the space is considered as a surface, while *in* when the space is presented as an area. Moreover, *in* implies that the field is enclosed, whereas *on* implies only that the following noun denotes a surface and not necessarily an enclosed area:

(20) *Three players are on the basketball court.* (It is not enclosed)

(21) *Two boxers are in the ring.* (It is enclosed by the ropes)

<sup>1</sup> Purdue University on-line writing Lab (see bibliography).

There are other distinctions between the use of the prepositions *in* and *on*. For example, *in* and *on* are also used with means of transportation. It is generally distinguished that *in* is used with a car, *on* with public or commercial means of transportation. Some speakers of English make a further distinction for public modes of transportation, using *in* when the carrier is stationary and *on* when it is in motion. Several common uses of *in* and *on* occur also to refer to the “street”. The difference between the utterances (22) *The children are playing in the street* and (23) *Our house is on Third Street* is that in the first sentence the street is understood as being enclosed by sidewalks area, while in the second sentence the function of *on* is similar to that of *at*, since it locates the house in relation to the street but does not specify the exact address (Purdue University on-line writing Lab).

These descriptions of the uses of prepositions seem to be too clear for the simplicity of the definition. Herskovits (Vandeloise 1986) points out that for the description of the use of the English preposition *on*, apart from the notion of open surface, there should be taken into account another important aspect of contact. He proposes the following definition of the preposition *on*: “for a geometrical construct X to be contiguous with a line or surface Y; if Y is the surface of an object Oy, and X is the space occupied by another object Ox, for Oy to support Ox” (cited in Vandeloise 1986: 200).

### 5.4.3 The French language

In this section we will analyse French prepositions that can be considered the equivalents of those of the English ones studied above. Hence, we will study the use of the following prepositions: *dans* ‘in’, *sur* ‘on’, *à* ‘at’, ‘to’, *contre* ‘against’, ‘at’. Regarding the terminology applied we will call the located object “la cible” and the reference object or the support “la site” (Vandeloise, 1986).

The use of the preposition *dans* shows that it is not always easy to determine strictly in which situations it can be used. Vandeloise (1986, 210–211) gave as examples five different phrases using the expression of spatial location by means of the preposition *dans* that contradicts the standard concept consisting in the fact that this preposition has to do with the notion of inclusion: (24) *La mouche est dans le coffre-fort* ‘The fly is in the safe’; (25) *Les bijoux sont dans le coffre-fort* ‘The jewelry is in the safe’; (26) *Le chien est dans la niche* ‘The dog is in the kennel’; (27) *Le vin est dans le verre* ‘The wine is in the glass’; (28) *La mouche est dans le verre* ‘The fly is in the glass’. As we can see, not all these utterances imply the notion of inclusion. Vandeloise suggests, therefore, the following possible definition of the French preposition *dans*: “a is *dans* b if reference object b contains (partially) the located object a” (Vandeloise 1986: 47). Moreover, he

shows that the notion of the contact between the located object and the reference object is not important.

But all this was about the static use of the preposition *dans* and there is also the use of this preposition for the expression of direction as in the following example: (29) *Il est entré dans la maison* 'He entered the house'. In this case the located object is mobile to refer to its reference object. The opposite situation is also possible in the cases where there is an agent. In this situation the structure of the phrase becomes the same as that of the causative verb of replacement: *prendre qqch dans* 'to take sth in', *serrer dans* 'to squeeze in' and others (Borillo 1998: 88).

For the description of the use of the preposition *sur* we will emphasize, following the statement by Vandeloise, that there are the following important concepts: the relation with the vertical axis; the contact; the size of the located object (that is usually smaller than that of the subject); the opposition to gravity and the fact that the position of the located object depends on that of its support rather than the contrary (Vandeloise 1986: 186–192, 204). Thus, taking into account only the geometrical aspect of the vertical axis we can find the situation of the substitution of the preposition *sur* by the preposition *à* in the following sentence:

- (30) *La mouche est sur le plafond. La mouche est au plafond* 'The fly is on the ceiling'.

Referring to the contact in the description of the use of the preposition *sur* we can notice that in the case of horizontal contact the substitution of the preposition *sur* by the preposition *à* is not correct. But in the situations of the vertical contact, on the contrary, this substitution is possible and correct. We will consider the problem of the semantic coincidence of the prepositions *à* and *sur* below together with that of the preposition *contre*. It is essential since all these prepositions imply the notion of contact. As we have noted above, the important aspect for the use of the preposition *à* to express the equivalent meaning to that of *sur* is the notion of vertical axis. Another important aspect is that of activity and passivity of the relation. Thus, if the relation between the located object and reference object is considered to be active, then the use of the preposition *sur* is preferable. On the contrary, if the support relation is passive, then it is the case of the use of the preposition *à* rather than of *sur*:

- (31) *La tasse est sur la table* 'The cup is on the table';  
 (32) *Le globe est au plafond* 'The globe is on the ceiling'.

But apart from the active and passive types of relations there can be also an intermediate one. In this case both prepositions can be used:



(33) *Le cadre est sur le mur.*

(34) *Le cadre est au mur* ‘The frame is on the wall’.

Thus, following the statement by Vandeloise, we can deduce the following criteria for the use of the preposition *à*: from geometrical point of view it is the vertical axis; from the point of view of the relation between the support and the object there are intermediate or passive types of relations (Vandeloise 1986: 200–202).

Considering the differences between the uses of the prepositions *sur* and *contre* to express the static location we can notice the following: firstly, the preposition *contre* can be used only if we are talking about the contact along the horizontal axis rather than the vertical one; secondly, the independence of the position of the located object in reference to its reference object. All these criteria play a part if the exerted force is not bigger than the weight of the object. Otherwise the preposition *contre* is acceptable in both cases (Vandeloise 1986: 202–204):

(35) *La mouche est sur la table* ‘The fly is on the table’;

(36) *e balai est contre le mur* ‘The broom is against the wall’;

(37) *a secrétaire écrase la mouche sur la table* ‘The secretary crushes the fly on the table’;

(38) *La secrétaire écrase la mouche contre la table* ‘The secretary crushes the fly against the table’.

#### 5.4.4 The Spanish language

The expression of the referential function of Location in the Spanish language also represents a very interesting kind of analysis. For the contrastive analysis, we will consider the following prepositions: *en* ‘in’, *sobre* ‘on’, *a* ‘to’.

The study of the use of the preposition *en* is an important and at the same time a very interesting part of the investigation, since this preposition can express many of the functions studied about the English and French languages. First of all, we have to indicate that this preposition can be used to express both static and dynamic location. To refer to the expression of the static location, in some cases the function of this preposition coincides with that of the preposition *dentro de*, however, in other cases it does not, as we can see in the following examples:<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The examples for the manifesting of the expression of the referential function of Location in the Spanish language are sometimes derived from the following book: Luque Durán, J.D., 1980. *Las preposiciones. I Valores generales*, Madrid.

- (39) *Los niños están en la habitación* ‘The children are in the room’;  
 (40) *Los niños están dentro de la habitación* ‘The children are inside the room’;  
 (41) *Tengo la llave en el bolsillo* ‘I have the key in my pocket’;  
 (42) *Tengo la llave dentro del bolsillo* ‘I have the key inside my pocket’.

This difference of use can be explained by the fact that the preposition *dentro de* can be used only to express the static location within the boundaries (though it is not always so clear), as does the English preposition *inside* but as not always does the French preposition *dans*. Thus, in the Spanish language the preposition *en* includes the uses that can be expressed by the prepositions *inside* and *dans*, i.e. it can express the mere containment or inclusion and the partial containment as well. This use refers to the localization in the interior. But it can also be used to express the so-called localization on the surface and can overlap with the meanings that can be found in the use of the preposition *sobre* and in some cases *encima de*:

- (43) *Veo un pájaro en el tejado.*  
 (44) *Veo un pájaro sobre el tejado.*  
 (45) *Veo un pájaro encima del tejado* ‘I see a bird on the roof’.

To express the dynamic location, this preposition is usually used after the verbs of movement or replacement. In this case the use depends purely on the context:

- (46) *Me acosté en tu cama* ‘I lay in your bed’;  
 (47) *Introdujo una mano en el agua* ‘He introduced a hand into the water’.

The latter example can also be used with the preposition *dentro de* that can additionally express direction.

Moreover, the preposition *sobre* can be used to express both static and dynamic types of location. To refer to the static location it can express the localization above an object, so the important notion to identify the use of this preposition is the vertical axis. Another notion relevant to the use of the preposition *sobre* is that of the contact. This Spanish preposition can be used in contact either with the reference point or without it:

- (48) *El libro está sobre la mesa* ‘The book is on the table’;  
 (49) *Había numerosos pájaros sobre nosotros* ‘There were numerous birds above us’.

To refer to the dynamic type of location the preposition *sobre* can be used to express the direction. In this case it is used with the verb of movement:

- (50) *El perro se lanzó sobre el gato* ‘The dog threw itself on the cat’;  
 (51) *El pelotón cayó sobre el enemigo por sorpresa* ‘The platoon fell on the enemy by surprise’.

In this situation the notion of verticality is not so important since the movement is not always produced strictly along the vertical axis but rather from a place higher than the located object.

The preposition *a* also expresses static and dynamic spatial locations. To refer to static spatial location or simple localization it can be used in the cases of determination of the located object in terms of the body part being the reference object:

- (52) *con el fusil al hombre* ‘with the gun at his shoulder’;  
 (53) *con el pañuelo a la cabeza* ‘with the headscarf’.

But the most common use of this preposition is that of the dynamic spatial location. First of all, it can express direction or destination when the goal is reached, movement and sometimes its finalization:

- (54) *Vamos al cine* ‘Let’s go to the cinema’ (direction and may be destination);  
 (55) *Me mandó a la vecina* ‘He sent me to the neighbor’ (direction and may be destination);  
 (56) *El ascensor no sube al ático* ‘The elevator does not go up to the attic’ (movement);  
 (57) *Inclínate un poco al otro lado* ‘Lean a little to the other side’ (direction).

As in many other cases, here the direction/destination dichotomy can be resolved by analysing the context in which the preposition occurs, since it can express direction if the goal was not reached and destination if it was. In the other cases, as in the example (57) above, the preposition can express only the direction, which is implied in the context.

## 5.5 Conclusions

After analysing the use of cases and prepositions in the expression of spatial location in Russian, English, French and Spanish, we can draw the following conclusions.

The Russian language differs greatly from the other languages studied in this work primarily because of the existence of case declination of nouns. The referential function of Location can be expressed, therefore, by means of a simple case declination or by the combination of a preposition with a required case. In

some cases the choice of the type of case depends on the referential function to be expressed. Thus, the Russian preposition *в* can identify the localization and direction, and depending on the function the appropriate type of case is chosen. Thus, it seems that in Russian in situations when the case declination is accompanied by and chosen according to a certain preposition, this preposition dominates the category of case. The case by itself cannot express these functions without any connection to a preposition. Moreover, the function that can be expressed is included into the semantic scale of the preposition itself, rather than a particular case.

The prepositional systems of English, French and Spanish differ also according to the function that prepositions can bear. Thus, we can observe a reduction in the number of concrete prepositions and the tendency to polysemous use of prepositions. For example, in English we were analysing the use of prepositions *in*, *on* and *at*. All these prepositions have their particularity of use that cannot be performed by any other preposition. In French, on the contrary, we can find the preposition *à*, which can have both static and dynamic expressions and which we were considering separately in order to show this difference. In Spanish there is the preposition *en* that plays the role of a universal preposition that can serve for the expression of various relations. Thus, it can express the semantics of English prepositions *in* and *on*. Apart from this, it can have dynamic meaning. On the whole, the main characteristics of the prepositional system of Spanish in comparison with English and French is that Spanish prepositions are closely allied with the verbs preceding them and with the type of function that these verbs express. It is very difficult, therefore, to study the independent use of prepositions and mark out their functions.

In the study of the use of the prepositions, especially in the expression of the referential function of Location we have to look attentively at the context in which these prepositions occur and at the surrounding elements that can determine their functions.

According to the data that we have collected in the course of the investigation we can conclude that without doubts the functions of case and prepositional systems are closely related. It is true that in the languages with a lower grade of the inflection of nouns and where there is no case declination of nouns prepositions functionally substitute the cases, i.e. they fulfill the function of cases. In languages with a high degree of the inflection of nouns and where there is the case declination the preposition sometimes determines the use of the case. If the function in question can be expressed with the help of a mere case declination, this obviously does not happen. Considering the prepositional systems of English, French and Spanish, we can deduce that although all of them express the functions in question by means of the prepositional system, the use of each system differs greatly according to the language. In the Spanish language, the phenomenon of the polysemous use of prepositions is noted stronger than in

French and in English. Comparing the expression of functions by means of case and prepositional systems we can say that they are neither equivalent nor identical.

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## Chapter 6

# The discursive representation of places significant for an individual: An analysis of Polish academic year inauguration speeches and American commencement addresses

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The aim of the study is to conduct an analysis of the discursive representation of places in Polish academic year inauguration speeches and American commencement addresses. The representations of places have been divided into two categories, depending on the function of the place involved: (1) place as an element of the context of situation; and (2) place contributing to the formation of the individual identity. The analysis of selected academic year inauguration speeches delivered in Polish universities and commencement speeches delivered in American universities has been conducted within *the Discourse-Historical Approach*, one of the main approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis.

**Key words:** place, context of situation, identity, metaphor, academic year inauguration speech, commencement address, Polish culture, American culture, Critical Discourse Analysis

### 6.1 Introduction

Discourse is often conceived by discourse analysts as “text in context” (Reisigl 2018: 53). *Place (location/the physical surroundings)* constitutes an integral element of context of situation, which together with its other elements, such as time, occasion, participants, their social roles, gender, age, profession, education, ethnicity, nationality and religion, has an impact on the form and content of the discourse produced.

People’s place of birth, school, university, hometown, region and country play a significant, formative role in their lives. These places contribute to the

construction of individuals' identities. To answer the question *Who am I?* people label themselves in many different ways, using different words and expressions and making references to places important to them (cf. Barker and Galasiński 2001; Machin and van Leeuwen 2008).

The aim of the study is to investigate how such places are depicted in academic year inauguration speeches delivered in Polish universities and commencement addresses delivered in American universities. The analysis will be conducted within the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) (Wodak 2001; Wodak et al. 2009), committed to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

## 6.2 Place—an attempt to define the concept

Place is a complex social construct which is a combination of personal experiences and socio-cultural representations implied by public discourse.

Place is the setting for social rootedness and landscape continuity. Location/space represents the transcending of the past by overcoming the rootedness of social relations and landscape in place through mobility and the increased similarity of everyday life from place to place (Agnew 2011).

For different individuals performing different social roles, places are associated with different meanings, identities, activities, types of discourse and patterns of linguistic behaviour. Place understood in this way has an impact on the character of social interactions and discourse produced, and plays a significant role in the formation of identities.

### 6.2.1 Place as a category of contextual Settings

*Context* is a multi-faceted concept, defined in different ways depending on the perspective taken by the researcher. Anita Fetzer (2012: 461) maintains that “[c]ontext is imported into discourse, it is invoked in discourse, and it is necessary to construe textual coherence. Consequently, an analysis of discourse is connected intrinsically with an analysis of context: context is a constitutive part of discourse, and discourse is embedded in context”. Place is one of the contextual categories. Social factors and institutional frames of a particular context of situation, including place (e.g. university settings), determine activity type (e.g. commencement) and discourse genre (e.g. academic year inauguration speech, commencement address).

Production and comprehension of text and talk involve context of situation, including, among others, such conventional, culturally based categories as

participants' identities and roles, place and time, action, goals and knowledge. Contexts are mental models which allow fast interpretations of unique, ongoing communicative events (van Dijk 2008: 16). Teun van Dijk (2009: 47) distinguishes three basic types of places: (a) personal and interpersonal places, (b) social places and (c) geographical places. *Personal and interpersonal places* define the physical location of the speaker and his/her interlocutors in face-to-face interaction (Hall 1959; Hayduk 1994; van Dijk 2009). *Social places* can be defined in terms of what people collectively do in such places, in everyday life, at home, at work, and during leisure time (van Dijk 2009), and in terms of categories of people who work or visit such places. They are "involved in the assignment of social identities" to people frequenting them, especially to the professionals working there (van Dijk 2009: 49). Different social places, e.g. educational institutions such as universities, can offer different opportunities, create specific norms of behaviour and impose constraints concerning interactions and discourses "taking place" there (Lefebvre 1991). *Geographical places* combine social, political and cultural dimensions (van Dijk 2009). They provide the information where we and others are, but also assign socio-cultural and national identities to us. Each of the three types of places is larger than the previous one; together they form concentric circles with the speaker in their centre (ibid.). All the places, social interactions which take place there, and people's identities related to such places, constitute the contextual basis for the production and interpretation of the discourse produced (cf. Schiffrin 2006: 103).

Places may trigger emotions, both positive and negative. The so-called "our" places, such as our home, city, country usually evoke positive feelings and evaluations, as we identify with them. However, identification with a place does not always have to be the result of positive experience; as a consequence such a place can be associated with strong negative feelings (cf. van Dijk's concept of *place attachment*, 2009). Emotions triggered by a particular place influence the discourse produced.

### 6.2.2 Place as an element contributing to the formation of identities

A person's self-concept is typically represented as a set of self-aspects (*multiple selves*) (Showers and Zeigler-Hill 2003). In the unity of the self there is multiplicity of identities. The multiple self-concept usually includes distinct social roles, contexts, relationships, activities, traits, and states, and varies from individual to individual (Showers and Zeigler-Hill 2003).

The multiple aspects of self differ from one another in emotional valence (cf. Turner 2007). The more distant the element is from the ego, the smaller impact it would have on the person's identity and the weaker emotional con-



sequences of its foregrounding will be during social interaction. The elements belong to six main categories (Bogdanowska-Jakubowska 2016: 38):

1. *Personhood* (character, behaviour, moral integrity, biography, independence, appearance);
2. *Prestige* (social status, deeds, education, job, achievements);
3. *Competence* (abilities, knowledge, skills);
4. *Family* (parents, children, husband/wife, relatives);
5. *Affiliation* (nationality/ethnicity, world-view, religion, sexual orientation, social group, profession, beliefs);
6. *Background* (place of birth, place of living, schools, friends, interests, property).

The first three categories (Personhood, Prestige and Competence) refer to the self as an individual, the other three categories (Family, Affiliation and Background) refer to the self as a group member and the self in relationship with the outer world. The Background category makes the self-image complete, providing the details which may have an explanatory function and justify the individual's identity expectations (Bogdanowska-Jakubowska 2016: 38–39). The category includes different places significant for individuals' biographies, who they become and how they are perceived by others.

Thus, identities are constructed not just in terms of gender, age and profession, but also in terms of space and place. Space and place function as tools by means of which individuals construct, negotiate and perform their identities (Halford and Leonard 2006: 10–11). A particular place can have many meanings and the meanings can sometimes be conflicting. People can interpret them differently. "Place shapes our reception, understanding and interpretation of discursive resources available for the construction of working identities *and* place itself offers distinctive resources for the narration of self" (Halford and Leonard 2006: 51).

In short, the construction of our identities, which are emotionally charged and changeable, and their perception by other people vastly depend on contexts (our significant places included), which "control both how we speak or write, and how we understand discourse" (van Dijk 2009: 201; Bogdanowska-Jakubowska 2018).

## 6.3 Methodology

### 6.3.1 The Discourse-Historical Approach

The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), developed in the 1990s by Ruth Wodak and her Vienna group, is one of the main approaches to Critical Discourse

Analysis (CDA). In CDA, “through discourses, social actors constitute objects of knowledge, situations and social roles as well as identities and interpersonal relations between different social groups and those who interact with them” (Wodak et al. 2009: 9). Discourse is a multiperspectival concept (i.e. a discourse includes various perspectives on social reality) (Reisigl 2018).

The DHA combines “sociolinguistics and studies on narration, stylistics, rhetoric and argumentation with historical and sociological research” (Reisigl 2018: 45). It is an interdisciplinary approach based on ideas of the Frankfurt school (Jurgen Habermas in particular), Michael Halliday’s model of Systemic Functional Linguistics, and ethnography. It is a problem-oriented approach which goes beyond the linguistic dimension and includes the historical, political and sociological dimensions in the analysis and interpretation of a specific discursive event (Wodak and Reisigl 2015). The interpretation of discourses and texts is integrated with the analysis of four layers of context (Wodak 2001: 67):

- the immediate linguistic co-text;
- the intertextual and interdiscursive references in the text;
- the extralinguistic social variables and institutional frames of a specific context of situation;
- the broader sociopolitical and historical contexts.

Thus, particular utterances made by the speakers are analysed with respect to their linguistic context. Academic year inauguration speeches and commencement addresses are investigated in terms of references made to other texts and discourses. Intertextuality (textual features of one text reappear in another) and interdiscursivity (“the connection of a discourse to other discourses, that is, to other sub-topics” (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 90)) allow for new fields of action. Another type of references in the text is recontextualization, in which “an element from one text is decontextualized and inserted into another”; the recontextualized element usually gets a new meaning (Flowerdew 2018: 166). Academic year inauguration and commencement ceremonies organized in the university settings provide frames for the discourse event (context of situation). The last, most external, layer of context combines the past and the present, involving history (the history and traditions of the university, town, region, country and nation, with their heroes and landmarks), the current socio-political situation and the ongoing (discursive) events having an impact on the members of the society. In the DHA, textual meanings and structures are analysed in terms of three dimensions: (1) the topics which the texts are about, (2) discursive strategies which are employed, and (3) the linguistic means which are used to realize the topics and strategies (Wodak 2001; 2011).

Metaphors and metonymies are employed “in connection with constructive discursive strategies” (Wodak et al. 2009: 43). Since Aristotle’s *Art of Rhetoric* (1991), metaphor, commonly used in public discourses, has been considered one of the most important rhetorical devices (Musolff 2012). It is by means of meta-

phors and metonymies that opinions and ideologies are frequently expressed (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk and Tomaszczyk 2012). Within cognitive linguistics, metaphor is defined as “a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system’. The term ‘metaphorical expression’ refers to a linguistic expression (a word, phrase or sentence) that is the surface realization of such a cross-domain mapping” (Lakoff 1993: 203). One of the central principles of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) is the emphasis on “experiential motivation” (Lakoff 1993; Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999). According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphors are patterns of conceptual associations. Metonymy is defined as “a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain” (Kövecses 2010: 173). Due to the frequent use of metaphor as an argumentative device in public discourse, some researchers suggest combining CMT with CDA (e.g. Charteris-Black 2004; Hart 2008; Musolff 2012). However, the motivation for the use of metaphors is different: in CMT metaphors are motivated by bodily experience, while in CDA they express the speaker’s rhetorical intentions and are selected to achieve particular communicative goals within a particular context (Charteris-Black 2004: 247; Hart 2008).

### 6.3.2 A corpus of linguistic data

In the study two linguistic corpora have been used: the corpus of 37 speeches delivered during academic year inauguration ceremonies in Polish universities in the years 2008–2017, and the corpus of 50 commencement addresses delivered during 2016 and 2017 graduation ceremonies in American universities. The speeches in the two corpora represent two different genres of ceremonial discourse which are culture-specific. However, they have a lot in common. Both can be identified as an epideictic oratory which fulfills a laudatory purpose (Reisigl 2008; Bogdanowska-Jakubowska 2020). They constitute a “celebration of communal values and traditional beliefs” (Braden and Mixon 1988: 44; Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1971). As epideictic speeches, they perform the educational function: “the orator’s praising virtuous acts [...] moves the audience to admiration; [...] the value system of one generation is passed on to the next” (Sullivan 1993: 115). Academic year inauguration speeches as well as commencement addresses constitute elements of academic rituals marking the boundaries of academic year: inauguration speech—its beginning, commencement address—its end. They are recognizable communicative events which occur in similar settings (the university); they are characterized by a set of communicative purposes, such as celebrating academic life and achievements (Swales 1990; Bhatia 1993). Both types of speeches, as representatives of the epideictic genre, have a ceremonial character and their main function is to eulogize the occasion. The speakers

are notable figures of academia and the society, while the audience consists of students, university authorities, members of the faculty and guests of honor (in the case of inauguration); and graduates, their families and friends, university authorities, and members of the faculty (in the case of commencement).

#### 6.4 An analysis of the discursive representation of places significant for an individual in Polish academic year inauguration speeches and American commencement addresses

Representations of places in Polish inauguration speeches and American commencement addresses have been divided into two categories, depending on the function of the place involved:

- place as an element of the context of situation;
- place contributing to the formation of the individual identity.

##### 6.4.1 Place as an element of context of situation

As van Dijk (2008: 20) claims, contexts are “crucially egocentric”; they are the “center of my/our world”, and are defined by the “here and now” of the ongoing act of communication. Ego as the speaker decides which perspective is taken. The ego perspective is reflected in the use of spatial and temporal deictic expressions. The speakers usually make references to the deictic centre—the place in which they deliver the speech; this constitutes part of the ritual and is an expression of respect for the host institution (the university or college) and the audience. References to “the place of delivery” (Reisigl 2008: 244) often fulfill a laudatory function; they include positive descriptions of the location, the university and the speaker’s state of mind (1–4).

- (1) *It is a wonderful day to be here at the University* (Schwarzeneger 2017)
- (2) *Welcome to this historic place on this absolutely glorious day!* (Paxton 2017)
- (3) *Budowę tej pięknej, barokowej Auli, w której odbywa się dzisiejsza uroczystość zakończono w 1732 r. W owych czasach słuchacze i profesorowie musieli być ludźmi bardzo młodymi, bo przeciętna długość życia w Europie wynosiła niespełna 30 lat.* (Ziętek 2014)  
 “The building of this beautiful baroque Hall, in which the today ceremony takes place, was finished in 1732. At that time the students and professors had to be very young, because the life expectancy in Europe was less than 30 years’.
- (4) *Naszym celem jest, by UEP było miejscem jak najbardziej przyjaznym studentom, dającym satysfakcję pracownikom i możliwości rozwoju zarówno kadrze akademickiej, jak i studiującej młodzieży.* (Gorynia 2014)

‘Our aim was to make UEP the place most friendly for students, providing satisfaction to our employees and development opportunities to the faculty and the studying youth’.

To establish common ground with the graduates, referring to the location of the commencement ceremony the speakers employ different strategies. Those who are themselves graduates of the university recollect their own university years and talk about their own experiences and emotions on the same occasion, in the same place (5); or they share with the audience their memories of frequenting places on the campus or in the vicinity of the university (6). They topicalize positive meanings and describe positive aspects of the place, describing positive emotions associated with it (e.g. *pride*, *nostalgia*), and using positively evaluating expressions (e.g. *extraordinary*, *beautiful*).

- (5) *You know, I remember very well that moment of pride, of nostalgia, of regret but of anticipation, as you're leaving this extraordinary place and this beautiful, beautiful campus.* (Zakaria 2017)
- (6) *I made lifelong friends at UW, some of whom are here today, which I appreciate so much. We went to Badger games, dressed up as Mediterranean fruit flies for Halloween, sang and danced our hearts out in Humorology, suntanned on the Union Terrace on the first 40-degree spring day and occasionally we even went to class. After two years in the Lakeshore dorms, we lived at the SAE house and at the College Club, 151 steps away.* (Levitan 2017)

Those who have no links with the particular university resort to other strategies, such as the reference to the geographical location, the place history (*the original nine colonial colleges; one of the newest members of the Big Ten*), or to the place popular culture and traditions (*a Grease Truck for a Fat Sandwich*). Commencement addresses are “complex realizations of conventionalized linguistic action patterns with a clear interaction structure” (Reisigl 2008: 254). Although they have no transition relevance places, they can be characterized by a high degree of informality, the use of colloquial expressions and the pronouns *I* and *you*, and references to the speaker’s private life. The speaker’s words are ratified by the audience with applause, cheers, laughter and occasionally with positive individual comments. Manifesting the knowledge of local history and interest in local specialties has a phatic function: it signals friendliness and respect for the audience. The expression *on the banks of the Old Raritan* involves intended ambiguity: it is both a description of the actual location as well as an example of intertextuality: these are the words of the old song, Rutgers University *alma mater* (7).

- (7) *So I'm here, off Exit 9, on the banks of the Old Raritan – (Applause.) – at the site of one of the original nine colonial colleges. (Applause.) Winners of the*

*first-ever college football game. (Applause.) One of the newest members of the Big Ten. (Applause.) Home of what I understand to be a Grease Truck for a Fat Sandwich. (Applause.) Mozzarella sticks and chicken fingers on your cheese steaks – (applause.) I’m sure Michelle would approve. (Laughter.)* (Obama 2016)

In some situations the “here and now” is much broader. The deictic centre defined by the speaker is no longer a university campus, but a geographical place: a town (*New York, Washington, Warszawa, Kraków*), the homeland (*the United States, Polska*) or the world. The enlargement of the space that organizes the speaker’s interaction with the audience involves changing the perspective taken in the discourse, from the local to the statewide to the global (cf. Hall 1959; van Dijk 2009). The place is not only the deictic centre common to the speaker and the audience, but also their common good, which they have to take care of (8), and a source of historical knowledge and moral teaching (9).

- (8) *Now, let’s face it: The stakes feel very high today. And they are! Global inequality is worsening. Here, in the United States, democratic institutions—like the media, civil society, and even the academy—are under attack. And expressions of hate are on the rise.* (Walker 2017)
- (9) *Wasza dzisiejsza obecność przed Grobem Nieznanego Żołnierza, w sercu Warszawy, symbolizuje nierozzerwalną więź podchorążych z bohaterską stolicą Polski. Trudno wyobrazić sobie wspanialsze miejsce do złożenia przysięgi wojskowej niż plac noszący imię wielkiego Polaka Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego, którego pomnik stoi nieopodal, i Grób Nieznanego Żołnierza – symbol pamięci o żołnierzach, którzy oddali życie w służbie Ojczyzny.* (Mierczyk 2008)  
 ‘Your today presence in front of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, in the heart of Warsaw, symbolizes an inseparable bond of the cadets with the heroic capital of Poland. It is difficult to imagine a better place to be sworn than Marshall Józef Piłsudski Square, Piłsudski’s statue standing nearby, and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier—a symbol of remembrance of the soldiers who died in service of our homeland’.

#### 6.4.2 Place as an element contributing to the formation of individual identity

Although the name of the commencement speaker is officially announced several weeks before the ceremony, and persons to be the speakers are well-known public figures (e.g. politicians, social activists, businessmen, directors, actors), they always introduce themselves providing the most significant life facts contributing to the construction of their identities. Among the elements most frequently mentioned in their personal narratives, there are significant others (e.g. those who helped them and had an impact on their lives), circumstances

and places (e.g. their homeland, town, neighbourhood, workplace, school, university). Immigrants praise their new homeland; drawing an ideal picture of the country, they use praising expressions (e.g. *extraordinary*, *generous*, *exceptional*), superlative forms (*the greatest country in the world*), and they resort to old, common expressions (*the land of opportunity*). Talking about new homeland is often associated with the expression of positive emotions, e.g. gratefulness, enthusiasm, pride (10). Personal narratives include laudatory descriptions of local places significant for the speakers, e.g. gym (*a magical place*), university (*this unique oasis in the academic world*). Almost all the commencement speakers refer to their place of origin; the descriptions constitute a contextual basis for their personal narratives (12–14).

Polish inauguration speeches rarely include references to places significant for the speakers, other than the university (*miejsce tętniące życiem; nasz uniwersytet*), the town (*moje miasto – Kraków*), and the homeland (*Polska, nasz kraj, ojczyzna*). Talking about them is accompanied with the expression of positive emotions: pride and satisfaction. The differences between Polish inauguration speeches and American commencement addresses consist mainly in the almost complete lack of the personal in the former. Polish inauguration speeches are also more formal in style and hardly interactive. The speakers usually do not aim at constructing their own personal identity, but focus on creating a positive image of the institution—the university (11 is an exception, perhaps due to the speaker's cultural background).

- (10) *If I wouldn't have come to the United States, if I would have come to any other country, I would not have had the success. I mean, America has proven not only to be the land of opportunity, but America has proven to be the greatest country in the world. Anyone can make it!* (Schwarzeneger 2017)
- (11) *Jako polski obywatel z wyboru, a nie z urodzenia, chciałem podkreślić, że jestem dumny z mojej przybranej ojczyzny Polski, mojego miasta - Krakowa oraz z naszego Uniwersytetu, na którym będziecie studiować.* (Edigarian 2016)  
'As a Polish citizen by choice, not by birth, I would like to stress that I am proud of my foster homeland Poland, my town–Cracow and our University, in which you are going to study'.
- (12) *I grew up in Nigeria. Mine was a very happy childhood, but it was also a childhood under military dictatorships. And because of that, I know how easily injustice becomes normal. I know how quickly, in the face of sustained mediocrity, we collectively lower our standards so that unacceptable things suddenly become 'not so bad'.* (Ngozi Adichie 2017)
- (13) *I grew up poor in inner-city Dallas–tough neighborhood.* (Brown 2017)
- (14) *I grew up black and gay in small, working class towns in the American South. I've known the sting of racism, the indignity of classism, the hatred of homophobia.* (Walker 2017)

### ***Metaphors of place***

Both Polish academic year inauguration speeches and American commencement addresses are conventionally rich in metaphors. In representations of places, the speakers often employ metaphors. Places are, as van Dijk (2009) claims, “social-physical locations-with-a-function”. The metaphors depict functions of the places (e.g. providing education and experience), and constitute conceptual frames for the speakers’ self-presentations. Metaphors are employed to discursively construct the speakers’ subjective realities (THE PLACE IS A SOURCE OF EDUCATION; THE UNIVERSITY IS A SOURCE OF EDUCATION) (15).

- (15) *I always say I got my B.A. from Stanford but my Ph.D. on the streets of Newark because I met people like Miss Virginia Jones, who was the tenant president of those buildings, and I went to work as a young lawyer trying to change the community, change the neighborhood, change the city.* (Booker 2016)

Places evoke strong positive emotions (e.g. love, belonging). The place descriptions including positive evaluations are embedded in narratives used to construct the speakers’ identities. A good knowledge of the place and the location of the university helps to establish good relations with the graduates. The speakers use cities’ nicknames (*the Big Apple, the Big Easy*), provide topographical details and refer to places frequented by students. The metaphors which are employed in such contexts include (16):

TO GET TO KNOW THE PLACE IS TO GAIN EXPERIENCE  
THE PLACE IS ONE’S SPIRITUAL, ARTISTIC HOME

- (16) *Now I am not a New Orleans virgin. I have loved The Big Easy all the way back to when Taylor brought me here to introduce to the city he loves just as much as he loves his hometown of Los Angeles. In fact, the first words out of my mouth as we turned off the 10 for the Quarter and I looked down from the ramp were: “I want to die in this place.” For a while we owned a home here, and my stepson Rio started his bar empire here – Pal’s Lounge midtown and One Eyed Jack’s in the Quarter—and thank you for supporting it with your parents hard earned money. So, I am still a tourist here but one with history. New Orleans is my spiritual, artistic home.* (Mirren 2017)

While in (16) strong positive feelings for the place (town) are “private”, “personal” (the first person singular pronoun is used), in (17), strong positive feelings towards the state are emotions expressed by the concerned citizen (the use of the first person plural pronoun):

THE PLACE IS A COMMON CONCERN.



- (17) *I want to talk about the deepening concerns that I and many others have about the future of North Carolina, our beloved state.* (Gergen 2016)

Place often stands for the way of thinking. American personal narratives abound in the use of the metonymy THE PLACE FOR THE WAY OF THINKING. This especially refers to significant places which contribute to the formation of the person's identity, e.g. family home (*Irish Catholic household*), university or a place in which the person used to meet or meets significant others. The metonymy THE PLACE/AMERICA FOR THE SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT (*the American story*) is frequently used by immigrants who started their new life in the United States and have achieved success there (18).

- (18) *In my father's Irish Catholic household, it was a simple equation. Ditch digger to cop to lawyer to judge in four generations. My mother's Italian immigrant parents barely spoke English. Their granddaughter is a novelist. That's the American story.* (Quindlen 2017)

Success constitutes a desirable attribute of the person's positive self-image. There are attributes which help identify a successful person (e.g. a high income, substantial equity, a house/apartment in a posh area, a senior managerial position or a respected role in a professional practice) (cf. Machin & van Leeuwen 2008: 50). However, the meaning of success can vary in different cultures and different situations, and from person to person. Being or working in a particular place can also be a symbol of success. In the case of the metonymy BEING IN A PARTICULAR PLACE FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SUCCESS, the role performed by the speaker is especially important. The opportunity to speak to the graduates as a commencement speaker and participate in the ceremony is considered a success (19).

- (19) *I grew up in Toledo hoping and praying to be a Rockette because I think girls grow up [thinking] the only signs of rebellion are show business, just like boys grow up with athletics as their dream. And I just want to say to my 10 and 11-year-old self: I'm on the stage of Radio City Music Hall now and it's better than being a Rockette!* (Steinem 2017)

### ***Metaphors of university***

In both corpora, university is represented, on the one hand, as a location, on the other hand, as an institution. The American and Polish texts abound in metaphors of university. And there are no significant differences in the way the concept of university is represented.

University as a place is frequently represented as home (someone's place of origin, the place where people feel they belong, a familiar setting). The metaphor THE UNIVERSITY IS A (SECOND) HOME is present both in American and Polish cultures (20–22). The English word *home*, the Polish expression *drugi dom* (a second home) and the word *podwórko* (backyard) belonging to the same semantic field, are used to refer to the university. It is also represented in Polish as *mała ojczyzna* (little homeland), meaning “a place an individual is emotionally attached to, because he/she was born/brought up or lives there” (wsjp.pl).

(20) *It's great to be back in Nashville. Every time I come back to Vanderbilt, it feels like coming home.* (Friedman 2017)

(21) *Ogromnie cieszę się, że mogę Was przywitać w murach Uniwersytetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego w Olsztynie. Chciałbym, aby Uniwersytet od dzisiaj stał się dla Was drugim domem, Waszą „małą ojczyzną”.* (Górecki 2012)

I'm delighted that I can welcome you in The University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn. From now on I would like the University to become your second home, your “little homeland”.

(22) *Na uczelnianym „podwórku” też mamy wiele poważnych zadań do wykonania w rozpoczynającym się roku. Są to prace długofalowe, które już rozpoczęliśmy, a zmierzające do efektywniejszego wykorzystania i modernizacji infrastruktury uczelni [...]* (Mierczyk 2008)

‘In our university “backyard”, we also have a lot to do in the beginning of the [academic] year. There are long-term works which we have already started, aimed at more effective use and modernization of the university infrastructure [...].’

University is depicted as one of the places which contribute to the person's development and the formation of his/her identity and beliefs. It is said to constitute an established standard and a point of reference for its graduates throughout their entire life. The way in which university is perceived is expressed by means of the following metaphors (23):

THE UNIVERSITY IS A PLACE OF ORIGIN

THE UNIVERSITY IS A PLACE HAVING A FORMATIVE EFFECT ON THE PERSON'S IDENTITY AND BELIEFS

THE UNIVERSITY IS A TOUCHSTONE

(23) *You may have heard that things didn't exactly go the way I planned. But you know what? I'm doing OK. I've gotten to spend time with my family, especially my amazing grandchildren. I was going to give the entire commencement speech about them but was talked out of it. Long walks in the woods. Organizing my closets, right? I won't lie. Chardonnay helped a little too. Here's what*

*helped most of all. Remembering who I am, where I come from, and what I believe. And that is what Wellesley means to me. This college gave me so much. It launched me on a life of service and provided friends that I still treasure. So wherever your life takes you, I hope that Wellesley serves as that kind of touchstone for you. (Clinton 2017)*

Both American and Polish speakers frequently use the expressions meaning “start, beginning”. In Polish speeches, they are employed to refer to the beginning of the academic year and the beginning of the first-year students’ academic education. In American speeches, the expressions refer to the beginning of the graduates’ new adult life and professional career. However, the starting point is the same, university (THE UNIVERSITY IS A STARTING POINT) (24).

- (24) *My career path started when I sat where you sit today. That was the beginning, but I am still far from the end. I continue to focus on Nasdaq’s mission and my own career mission – growing and learning and striving every day –every bit as much as I did when I was a brand new Owen graduate. (Friedman 2017)*

In the discourse analysed, university is a place/institution educating many smart, intelligent and open-minded people. In American culture, university is compared to a factory (THE UNIVERSITY IS A FACTORY) (25). In Polish culture—to a forge: *kuźnia (młodych) talentów/naukowców* (institution or place from which many talented people come) (THE UNIVERSITY IS A FORGE [BREEDING GROUND]).

- (25) *It is a privilege to be here at Berkeley, which has produced so many Nobel Prize winners, Turing Award winners, astronauts, members of Congress, Olympic gold medalists.... and that’s just the women! Berkeley has always been ahead of the times. (Sandberg 2016)*

The idea of *melting pot* is specific for American culture, it denotes ethnic and cultural diversity; in academic settings, intellect, knowledge and experience are blended into it (THE UNIVERSITY IS AN INTELLECTUAL MELTING POT) (26). In terms of cultural diversity, the situation in Polish higher education is considerably different: students in Polish universities are hardly diverse, even though it has recently been changing due to the programmatic internationalization of Polish universities. The university is perceived as a WINDOW TO THE WORLD (27).

- (26) *Every day, tens of thousands of students come here, to this intellectual melting pot, where ideas and cultures flow together among what might just be*

*America's most diverse student body. (Applause.) Here in New Brunswick, you can debate philosophy with a classmate from South Asia in one class, and then strike up a conversation on the EE Bus with a first-generation Latina student from Jersey City, before sitting down for your psych group project with a veteran who's going to school on the Post-9/11 GI Bill. (Applause.)* (Obama 2016)

- (27) *[U]niwersytety powinny stać się miejscem integracji międzynarodowej. Siłą każdego uniwersytetu powinna być możliwość umiędzynarodowienia nauki i kształcenia tak, aby uczelnia była jednocześnie oknem na świat.* (Górecki 2012)

'Universities should become a place of international integration. The strength of each university should be its ability to internationalize science and education so that the university could also be a window to the world'.

Diversity in academic settings involves also free exchange of ideas. Both in Polish and American speeches, universities are represented as places where new ideas and social movements are born (THE UNIVERSITY IS HOME TO IDEAS, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS) (28–29). Educational institutions, universities in particular, represent the implementation of the American ideals of freedom and diversity. The metaphor THE UNIVERSITY IS A FREE MARKETPLACE OF IDEAS depicts university as a place in which these and other American ideals are turned into practice (30).

- (28) *This campus has long been home to movements for justice. Oberlin was a central stop on the underground railroad before the Civil War... and served as a rallying point for abolitionist action.* (Walker 2017)

- (29) *Jest on [Uniwersytet Jagielloński] także miejscem, gdzie powstają nowe idee, gdzie poszukuje się inspiracji do mądrej zmiany.* (Mania 2015)

'It [The Jagiellonian University] is also a place where new ideas appear, where people seek inspiration for a wise change'.

- (30) *At their best, our colleges and universities are free marketplaces of ideas. Embracing a diversity of perspectives and backgrounds. That's our country at our best too. An open, inclusive, diverse society is the opposite of an anecdote to a closed society where there is only one right way to think, believe, and act. Here at Wellesley, you've worked hard to turn this ideal into a reality.* (Clinton 2017)

Due to the ceremonial character of the event, everything is presented in a positive way. In (31), there are references to three different types of social-physical locations: a city, a street and educational institutions. By analogy to the concentric circles mentioned earlier, it can be said that the greatness of the city is built on the greatness of its institutions (THE SCHOOL/UNIVERSITY IS A TESTIMONY TO THE GREATNESS OF THE CITY).

- (31) *And I moved on to Martin Luther King Boulevard in a great city named Newark. Now, King boulevard in Newark has so many, even there in the mid-'90s, so many great testimonies to the greatness of my city, from universities like Rutgers and NJIT to great county college, to some great high schools, arts high school and St. Benedict's.* (Booker 2016)

Traditionally, in many cultures (Polish and American cultures included) university is personified as *Alma Mater* (nourishing mother) (32). The metaphor THE UNIVERSITY IS A PERSON can also be found in other contexts: the university “beams with dignity” (*promienieje dostojęństwem*) (33) and is a partner and an ally (34).

- (32) *Early on, Berkeley opened its doors to the entire population. When this campus opened in 1873, the class included 167 men and 222 women. It took my alma mater another ninety years to award a single degree to a single woman.* (Sandberg 2016)

- (33) *Zadaniem uniwersytetu jest zdobywanie prawd i prawdopodobieństw naukowych oraz krzewienie umiejętności ich dochodzenia. [...] Służąc temu celowi uniwersytet promienieje dostojęństwem, wpływającym na niego z olbrzymiej doniosłości funkcji, którą pełni.* (Moryto 2011)

‘The university’s task is to find academic truths and probabilities and propagate the skills of finding them [...] Serving the purpose, the university radiates its eminence resulting from the magnitude of the function it performs’.

- (34) *The United Nations treasures its partnership with Columbia University. We are not just neighbors in New York; we are allies across the world.* (Ki-moon 2016)

## 6.5 Conclusions

The contrastive analysis of discursive representations of places in selected Polish academic year inauguration speeches and American commencement addresses has shown both differences and similarities. First, similar representations of place as an element of context of situation are present in both types of speeches, although they are much more frequent in American speeches. They fulfill a laudatory function, and include positive linguistic expressions. In both Polish and American speeches, references to the three types of places (personal/interpersonal, social and geographical) can be found.

Second, representations of places contributing to the construction of individual identity in commencement addresses outnumber those in inauguration speeches. This is mainly due to differences in the relation between style, the

place of delivery and the occasion. However, this can also result from differences between the two genres. The Polish discourse is more formal and impersonal; it includes very few personal references, not to mention personal narratives. As a consequence, there are very few representations of place of both types; representations of the university and the town in which it is located are the exceptions. The American discourse is more informal and diversified both in form and content. This is also visible in representations of places. Place as an element of context has different meanings, and, depending on the perspective taken by the speaker, is depicted as the actual place of delivery, the university, the city/town, the country, or the world. Representations of places significant for the speakers' identities form an integral element of the personal narratives and contribute to their positive self-image.

Third, the analysed discourse, ceremonial in nature and representing the epideictic genre, is rich in metaphors. They appear in the descriptions of places significant for the individual identity. These are metaphors of PLACE and metaphors of UNIVERSITY. As in the case of representations of place in general, metaphorical expressions referring to place/university in the American discourse outnumber expressions of this type in the Polish discourse, and are more diversified. This can result from (1) cultural differences and (2) the speaker's professional background: in the American corpus, the speakers are high achievers representing various professions (e.g. writers, artists, politicians, and entrepreneurs); in the Polish corpus, the speakers are predominantly scholars. However, there are many similarities in the way place and university are metaphorically represented. This mainly results from the understanding of the role of university as a social-physical location-with-a-function common in the two cultures.

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## Part III

# **Place and Language Contact**



## Chapter 7

# Place and extent of loan words in the Indonesian language

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As we can read in Lee and Nadeau (2011), Bahasa Indonesia is the national language of the Republic of Indonesia and is spoken by almost the entire population of around 250 million people. Although many Indonesians use their regional languages and dialects among family and friends, the above-mentioned language functions as the official language of mass media, education and government. Apart from being based on a variant of Malay and a number of regional languages, Bahasa Indonesia also contains quite a lot of loan words from Arabic, Chinese, Dutch, English, Portuguese and Sanskrit. It is these loan words that are going to be the subject of my paper, in which lists of the most popular vocabulary items from the mentioned languages will be presented; before that, and during the presentation, some historical background will be provided. Relying on my own practical knowledge of and experience with Indonesian, the vocabulary items were selected subjectively (from Jones 2007 and on-line dictionaries: [www.sealang.net](http://www.sealang.net) and [www.kamus.net](http://www.kamus.net)) in a form of a corpus with the aim of pointing to the ones that are most useful in everyday basic communication and thus facilitating the process of learning the language; attention is also drawn to some changes experienced by the loans. Such a rich admixture of core vocabulary items deriving from numerous, both genetically related and unrelated, languages, in combination with indigenous grammar, make Indonesian a fascinating language, unifying both indigenous and non-indigenous features. Although Indonesian is classified as an Austronesian language, when one takes into consideration its core vocabulary items, one will see that they bring it closer to Indo-European and Afro-Asiatic languages.

**Key words:** loan words, Indonesian, South-East Asia

### 7.1 Rise of the Indonesian language

Ananta et al. (2015: 274) observe that Indonesia, apart from being multi-ethnic, is also a multilingual country, as according to the 2010 population census there

are more than 1,400 languages spoken daily at home there. Paauw (2009) says that Indonesia is the fourth most populous nation in the world, with an estimated population of nearly 250 million, and it consists of over 13,000 islands,<sup>1</sup> which stretch along the equator between Southeast Asia and Australia. Although the existence of such a huge number of different languages poses a challenge for both communication and unity of Indonesia, this country has been quite successful in developing a national language policy with the use of Bahasa Indonesia as the unifying language, the success of which partly lies in the historical perspective in the early period of building a nation. One of the important steps taken in order to unify the people living in Indonesia was the declaration of *The Sumpah Pemuda* (i.e. Youth Oath) on 28 October 1928, during the Second Youth Congress, which goes as follows: “*Satu Nusa, Satu Bangsa, Satu Bahasa*” (i.e. One Land, One Nation, One Language). As we can further read in Errington (1998: 52), the celebrated oath, which is still repeated on its anniversary every year across the country, took place in Batavia, the capital of the Dutch East Indies, where an ethnically diverse, Dutch-educated native intelligentsia jointly adopted a nationalistic program and simultaneously renamed Malay (*Bahasa Malayu*) as Indonesian (*Bahasa Indonesia*), the language of their nation-to-be. This oath conferred public and formal recognition on the project of a unified people speaking one language in a single homeland, and at the same time formally marked the birth of Bahasa Indonesia; though there is no date on which the Indonesian language can be said to have been born from Malay. According to Paauw (ibid.), the need for such a choice in Indonesia became apparent in the first decades of the twentieth century, due to the fact that a sense of nationalism grew among Indonesians and they started looking to the future and an end to more than three hundred years of Dutch colonial rule. During this period, three languages, each of which had certain claims to a special status, emerged as possible official languages for the new nation which would be created out of the Netherlands East Indies in the future:

1. Dutch—the colonial language—had certain advantages as it was spoken by the educated elite of Indonesia. As such, it was the language that the future leaders of the nation felt most comfortable with, in speaking and writing. Apart from being a developed and standardized modern language, in which extensive literature and texts in all fields of study had been written, it was also the language of the existing legal system and government administration in the Netherlands East Indies.
2. Javanese—a written language with a rich literary tradition. At the same time it was the language of the largest ethnic group, which made up as much as

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<sup>1</sup> Dalton (1995) mentions that there are 17,110 islands in Indonesia, but only 6000 are named and 992 permanently settled, whereas Drakeley (2005) notes that Indonesia consists of no fewer than 17,508 islands strung over 5,200 kilometers.

47.8% of Indonesia's population at the time of Indonesia's independence<sup>2</sup> and formed a significant proportion of the educated elite.

3. Malay—the native language of less than 5% of the native population at the time of independence, which functioned as a historic lingua franca of much of the archipelago for over a thousand years, if not for more than two thousand years.

Firstly, as to Dutch, Paauw (*ibid.*) observes that it did not have the same stature as other colonial languages, like for example English and French, and did not possess the same advantages as these languages as a vehicle of international communication. As Bertrand (2003: 272) explains, it was due to the fact that Dutch was “reserved for Europeans and native collaborators”. Secondly, as regards Javanese, Paauw (*ibid.*) says that this language is difficult to learn for outsiders due to the existence of social registers in it, with completely separate lexicons used depending on the age and social class of the person addressed. Secondly, since Javanese was a language used by a predominating group of speakers, it was feared among smaller ethnic groups that they would also be dominated both politically and economically by the Javanese, which fact put the language in an unfavourable position. Thirdly, Paauw (*ibid.*: 2) states that:

In contrast to Javanese, Malay was regarded as a language easy to learn. This impression was facilitated by the diglossic character of the language, in which Low Malay, a variety marked by a lack of the morphology of the literary variety and a simpler syntax and lexicon, was picked up quickly by new speakers. The language had spread as a lingua franca through historical empires in the western part of the archipelago, through trade throughout the archipelago, and as a vehicle for the propagation of the Islamic religion (and later the Christian religion in the eastern islands) [...]. The strategic geographical location of the Malay homeland, on both sides of the Straits of Malacca, an important trade route, also contributed to the historical importance of the language as a trade language and lingua franca. Partly because Malay was spread through trade, and chiefly in its Low variety, it was seen to be an egalitarian language. It was used for communication between ethnic groups and even became the native language in some of the trade centers of the eastern islands such as Ambon, Manado and Kupang. [...] Finally, because Malay was the native language of a small group, as well as a group that did not have any power in the society, it was not regarded as a threat to the identity of other ethnic groups, in the way that Javanese might have been seen.

Paauw (*ibid.*) also observes that the role of Malay increased in importance over time during the Dutch colonial era and gradually, with growing Indonesian nationalism and opposition to the Dutch colonial rule, it was used as the lan-

<sup>2</sup> On 17th August 1945.

guage of publication, administration and education. The position of Indonesian in the nationalist movement was further solidified by the afore-mentioned Youth Oath in 1928 and afterwards by the first language congress for Indonesian, which was held in 1938 and which marked the start of formal language planning activities for the development of Indonesian. Furthermore, the Japanese, who in 1942 invaded and occupied Indonesia, immediately forbade the use of Dutch for any purpose, as they aimed at instituting Japanese as the language of administration and education, but this was not realistic in the short term and in many respects helped the spread of Indonesian. Under the Japanese occupation, the use of the Indonesian language was growing at a tremendous pace due to national feelings, and after the proclamation of Indonesian independence on August 17, 1945, at the end of World War II, Indonesian was designated the sole national language of the new nation. As far as the position of vernacular languages in Indonesian society is concerned, it is protected by the Indonesian constitution, which states that Indonesian is the national language, whereas the vernaculars are guaranteed their right to existence and development.

To sum up, Lowenberg (1990: 114; cited in Paauw 2009: 4) gives the following reasons for accepting Indonesian so readily as a national language: “its central role as a vehicle and symbol of the movement for political independence, its ethnically neutral status in not being the first language of any prominent ethnic group, and the freedom it provides from encoding in all utterances distinctions in rank and status”.

## 7.2 The Austronesian family of languages

Blust (2013) notes that the Austronesian family of languages divides into at least ten primary subgroups, of which nine are represented only in Taiwan, and this division is accepted by a number of the leading scholars in the field:

1. Atayalic (Taiwan)
2. East Formosan (Taiwan)
3. Puyuma (Taiwan)
4. Paiwan (Taiwan)
5. Rukai (Taiwan)
6. Tsouic (Taiwan)
7. Bunun (Taiwan)
8. Western Plains (Taiwan)
9. Northwest Formosan (Taiwan)
10. Malayo-Polynesian (extra-Formosan)

All Austronesian languages (AN) outside Taiwan (formerly known as *Formosa*) and the Botel Tobago Island off the southeast coast of Taiwan, belong to the



Malayo-Polynesian (MP) subgroup of AN, the largest one out of the ten subgroups, which includes all but about 25 members of the language family; Taiwan is usually regarded as the centre of spread of the AN languages.

Blust (*ibid.*) further says that the MP languages divide into two primary branches, namely Western Malayo-Polynesian (WMP) and Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (CEMP). In WMP there are some 500–600 languages, reaching from Yami through the Philippines, western Micronesia, the Greater Sunda Islands of Indonesia (including Sulawesi), and mainland Southeast Asia to Madagascar; also two languages, namely Palauan and Chamorro, from western Micronesia are counted among this subgroup. As far as the Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (CEMP) languages are concerned, they include nearly all AN languages of eastern Indonesia and the Pacific region. This subgroup is divided into two primary branches: Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP), and Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (EMP). In the former branch there are around 120 languages and they are spoken in the Lesser Sunda Islands and the southern and central Moluccas of eastern Indonesia, whereas in the latter branch, further subdivided into South Halmahera-West New Guinea (SHWNG), and Oceanic (OC), there are nearly 500 languages. The SHWNG subgroup includes some 30–40 languages which are spoken in the northern Moluccas and adjacent parts of the north coast of the Bird's Head Peninsula of west New Guinea, whereas in the OC subgroup there are around 450 languages which are spoken in Polynesia, Melanesia east of the Mamberamo River in Papua, and Micronesia (exclusive of Palauan and Chamorro).

The Austronesian settlement of the vast Pacific Ocean, as Grey et al. (2011) note, is the greatest human migration in terms of the distance covered, and at the same time the most recent one, and in the literature there are basically two major hypotheses distinguished with respect to it. According to the first one, taking into account the so-called 'pulse-pause' scenario, the ancestral Austronesian society developed in Taiwan around 5500 years ago, and about 4000–4500 years ago a rapid expansion pulse took place across the Bashi channel into the Philippines, into Island Southeast Asia, along the coast of New Guinea, reaching Near Oceania by more or less 3000–3300 years ago. While travelling along this route, the Austronesians integrated with the existing populations in the region, especially in New Guinea, and innovated new technologies. Approximately 3000 years ago, having reached Western Polynesia (Fiji, Tonga and Samoa), the Austronesian expansion paused for some 1000–1500 years. Afterwards there was a second rapid expansion pulse which took Polynesian languages to New Zealand, Hawaii and Rapanui. The second hypothesis of the settlement of the Pacific, postulating the 'slow boat' scenario, suggests a much older origin in Island Southeast Asia on the basis of mitochondrial DNA lineages which suggest that Austronesian society must have developed about 13 000–17 000 years ago in an extensive network of socio-cultural exchange which took place in the Wal-

laccan region around Sulawesi and the Moluccas. This hypothesis assumes that at the end of the last ice-age the Sunda shelf submerged and flooded some areas in the Pacific, which in turn triggered a prolonged Austronesian expansion—north into the Philippines and Taiwan, and east into the Pacific. Moreover, since Austronesian genes and languages have a common history, it can be argued that this movement of people was paralleled by the spread of Austronesian languages across the past 6000 years, which started in island Southeast Asia during the Pleistocene era, continued through Melanesia, and then reached far into remote Pacific regions.

### 7.3 Loan words in Bahasa Indonesia

Blust (2013) observes that important external cultural and linguistic influences began to affect Austronesian speaking peoples around 2000 years ago in insular Southeast Asia, and the following historical order of appearance of these influences can be distinguished:

1. Indian
2. Chinese
3. Islamic
4. European, primarily:
  - Portuguese
  - Spanish
  - Dutch
  - English

As regards the Austronesian speaking peoples of the Pacific, the external influences there have been both shorter in duration and more fragmentary in their distribution as compared with those of island Southeast Asia.

I will now move on to presenting a corpus of loan words in Indonesian which I gathered on the basis of Jones 2007 and such on-line dictionaries as [www.sealang.net](http://www.sealang.net) and [www.kamus.net](http://www.kamus.net), and which contains the ones that are frequently used in everyday basic communication. The corpus is therefore useful for people who would like to quickly become proficient in Indonesian and gain a feeling of success in learning this language.

#### 7.3.1 Sanskrit loans

Gonda (1975) notes that the presence of Indian religions in South-East Asia, including some Indonesian islands, was brought about by the commercial and cultural expansion of India in the first centuries of the Christian era. However, their spread was a gradual and mostly pacific process. Although the beginnings

of the Indian influence in Indonesia are shrouded in mystery, it is known that the Indian commercial men were accompanied, or followed, by adventurous noblemen or zealous Brahmans and Buddhist monks who were to settle in the new territories. According to Javanese legends and local traditions referring to the introduction of elements of Hinduism, the cultural hero Aji Saka is considered as the introducer of a new religion, social order, the script and the calendar, which mark the beginnings of the Indian era—in 78 AD. The Indian colonization of the Indonesian Archipelago also brought with itself the introduction of numerous Indian (mostly Sanskrit) loan words in the indigenous languages, well over 1000 in total. These loan words are mainly related to everyday activities and objects, religion, geography, family and army.

Bellow I enumerate some of the most common ones that are used on every day basis: *ada* 'abide', 'be', 'exist', 'being', 'am', 'there is/are/were', (inter.) 'are there?', 'presence', 'have', 'true'; *adalah* 'is', 'is the/a', 'was the/a', 'am', 'are'; *agama* 'faith', 'religion'; *aneka* 'diversely', 'varied'; *angkasa* 'space', 'sky'; *antara* 'about', 'among', 'between'; *arti* 'import', 'meaning', 'sense', 'to mean'; *atau* 'or'; *atma* 'life', 'soul', 'spirit'; *ayah* 'father', 'parent'; *baca* 'to read'; *bagai* 'like (sth)', 'as if'; *bagi* 'to divide'; *bagus* 'fine', 'good', 'lovely', 'cleanly', 'great'; *bahasa* 'language', 'tongue'; *bahaya* 'danger', 'hazard', 'dangerously'; *bangsa* 'folk', 'nation', 'race'; *barat* 'west', 'western'; *biasa* 'ordinary', 'simple', 'usual', 'plain', 'earthy', 'lay'; *bicara* 'talk', 'speak'; *budaya* 'culture'; *bumi* 'earth'; *busana* 'clothing'; *cakra* 'disc'; *candi* 'temple'; *cari* 'seek', 'search', 'look for'; *cinta* 'to love', 'to adore', 'love'; *cuci* 'wash', 'clean'; *dana* 'funds', 'purse', 'money'<sup>3</sup>; *daya* 'power', 'strength', 'potency'; *desa* 'village'; *dewa* 'deity', 'divinity', 'god'; *dosa* 'offence', 'sin'; *gajah* 'elephant'; *guru* 'instructor', 'teacher'; *istri* 'wife'; *jam* 'clock', 'hour', 'time', 'watch'; *jaya* 'glorious', 'triumphant'; *jiwa* 'soul', 'spirit', 'life'; *juta* 'million'; *kaca* 'glass' (cf. *kacamata* 'glasses'); *kali* 'river', 'time'; *karena* 'because', 'due to'; *keluarga* 'family', 'kindred'; *kepala* 'head', 'chief', 'capita'; *kerja* 'work', 'labour'; *kosakata* 'vocabulary'; *kota* 'town'; *kunci* 'key'; *mahasiswa* 'college student'; *manusia* 'human being'; *merdeka* 'free', 'freedom', 'independent'; *muda* 'early', 'young', 'green'; *mudah* 'easy'; *nama* 'name'; *pertama* 'initial', 'first'; *prakarya* 'artwork', 'handworks'; *pria* 'male', 'boy', 'man'; *punya* 'have', 'own'; *putra* 'son'; *putri* 'daughter'; *raga* 'body'; *raja* 'king', 'ruler', 'czar'; *rasa* 'feel', 'flavour', 'sense'; *sama* 'alike', 'same', 'even', 'equal'; *samudra* 'ocean'; *sastra* 'literature'; *sempurna* 'complete', 'infallible'; *suka* 'to like'; *surga* 'heaven', 'eden', 'nirvana'; *surya* 'the sun'; *tentara* 'army'; *udara* 'air', 'mid-air'; *usia* 'age'; *utama* 'main', 'prime', 'major'; *utara* 'north'; *wanita* 'female', 'lady', 'woman'; *wira* 'brave', 'hero'; *warta* 'news'.

Moreover, a number of affixes used in Indonesian are of Sanskrit origin; they are, for example, *antar-* 'between', *maha-* 'great', *pra-* 'proto'.

<sup>3</sup> The typical word for 'money' is *uang* in Indonesian, however.

### 7.3.2 Chinese loans

As regards the Chinese presence, Jones (2008) observes that there have been Chinese contacts with the Indonesian region since the earliest times and it is possible that the oldest attested Chinese loan word in an Indonesian language is *tahu* meaning ‘bean curd’ which is found in an Old Javanese inscription dating from the tenth century. However, as regards Malay, and thus Indonesian, most of the Chinese borrowings entered this language probably during the Chinese immigration between the years 1644–1912 AD, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, attracted by the favourable conditions of the time of great European penetration into South-East Asia. As a result of this immigration, a substantial Chinese-speaking minority has been resident in Indonesia and Malaysia for more than a century, or so, and by the mid- 20th century the Chinese were the largest non-Indonesian ethnic group living in Indonesia or Malaysia. Nevertheless, relatively few Chinese loan words, deriving from different dialects, have entered Indonesian or Malay, although the potential for this was enormous, just like there has been very little Chinese cultural influence in other spheres, for example religion. The Chinese borrowings basically refer to food and drink, but also to other practical everyday matters.

Among the most popular ones are the following: *bakmie* ‘meat noodles’; *bakso* ‘dish consisting of meat-balls and noodles in soup’; *barongsai* 1. ‘male lion’, 2. ‘lion-shaped puppet carried by someone inside it during Chinese New Year celebrations’; *kecap* 1. ‘soy (bean) sauce’, ‘kechup’, 2. ‘empty talk, nonsense’; *kungfu* ‘kung fu’; *lancia* ‘rickshaw’; *lici* ‘the litchi fruit’ (*Nephelium litchi*); *mie* (or *mi*) ‘noodles’; *mua* 1. ‘eel’, 2. ‘spoiled’, ‘poorly behaved’; *soto* 1. ‘a soup-like dish, usually served with lontong’ 2. ‘to make soto out of something’; *taifun* ‘typhoon’; *teh* ‘tea’; *toko* ‘store’, ‘shop’.

### 7.3.3 Arabic and Persian loans

In Indonesian, there are also numerous loan words of Arabic origin, some 1000 in number. As Versteegh (2013) says, wherever Arabic-speaking traders or missionaries went, Arabic was a superimposed language, although not a socially dominant one. In Africa, for example, Arabic was widely used as a language of trade and often as a second language by people in their contacts with Arabic-speaking traders or with people speaking other languages. In some regions of Western Africa the language was an important lingua franca, even before Islam began to be spread, and served as the language of official correspondence between some West African states. From the 7th century AD onwards, it gradually also became the language of Islamic learning and in this way heavily influenced the indigenous languages. Trade winds also brought Arabic-speaking

people to India and the Indonesian Archipelago. The Islamic mission to South and South-East Asia was carried out mainly by Persian missionaries, who for their teaching used the local lingua francas, one of which was Malay and which began to acquire numerous words first of all of Arabic but also of Persian origin. Moreover, some of the indigenous scholars went to study in the holy cities of Islam, in which they often stayed for many years. This allowed them to gain sufficient proficiency to read and sometimes even write theological treatises in the Arabic language. When those scholars used their indigenous languages, like Malay or Urdu for this purpose, they tended to introduce into them large numbers of Arabic words. Campbell (1996) observes that the history of Islam in the region would suggest that the earliest Arabic borrowings must have occurred by the 13th century at the latest. However, it is possible that there is an even older source of loans, which were taken directly from Arab traders, who were passing through the Straits of Malacca, past the east coast of Malaya and on to China in earlier times. It is highly probable that many of the Arabic loans reached Malay from Persia via India along with the Arabic script. Apart from that, there has been long direct contact with the Arab World, related to religious pilgrimage, study and commerce. It needs to be added that Arabic borrowing is still going on in the present day and it is estimated that in Malay, and thus Indonesian, there are some 1000 words of Arabic origin (including Persian loans), which, as Jones (1984; cited in Campbell 1996) notes, represent various semantic fields, among which are Islamic religion, philosophy, politics, military, trade, botany, zoology, anatomy, medicine, dates, and education.

Below is a list of the most popular Arabic loan words, followed by some Persian ones: *akhir* 'finish', 'end', 'close'; *alam* 'nature', 'natural', 'realm'; *Allah* 'God'; *aman* 'safe', 'secure'; *asal* 'ancestry', 'genesis', 'native', 'origin'; *asli* 'authentic', 'indigenous', 'native to'; *awal* 'start', 'initial', 'early'; *berkat* 'blessing', 'thanks to'; *daftar* 'register', 'table', 'list', 'schedule'; *dakwah* 'propaganda', 'sermon'; *dunia* 'earth', 'realm', 'world'; *fakir* 'pauper'; *hadiah* 'award', 'bounty', 'gift', 'prize', 'reward'; *haram* 'anathema', 'illegitimate'; *hayati* 'vital', 'vivid', 'biologic'; *hewan* 'animal'; *ijazah* 'certificate', 'diploma'; *ikhlas* 'sincere', 'whole' 'heartedly'; *istirahat* 'break', 'pause', 'rest', 'take a break'; *jadwal* 'list', 'schedule', 'timetable'; *jawab* 'answer'; *Jumat* 'Friday'; *kabar* 'news', 'tidings', 'dispatch'; *kafir* 'heathen', 'unbeliever', 'disbeliever'; *Kamis* 'Thursday'; *kamus* 'dictionary', 'lexicon'; *kertas* 'paper', 'parchment'; *kitab* 'book', 'religious book'; *korban* 'sacrifice', 'scapegoat', 'toll', 'victim'; *kuliah* 'lecture', 'college'; *kursi* 'chair', 'seat'; *maaf* 'perdon', 'apologise'; *malaikat* 'angel'; *masalah* 'problem', 'trouble'; *masjid* 'mosque'; *miskin* 'poor', 'destitute', 'needy';  *mungkin* 'possible', 'possibly', 'probable', 'probably', 'may be', 'might be', 'is probably'; *musim* 'season', 'spell'; *nabi* 'prophet'; *nasihat* 'exhortation', 'advice', 'of counsel'; *paham* 'credo', 'to understand'; *pikir* 'think'; *Rabu* 'Wednesday'; *rahim* 'womb', 'uterus'; *rahmat* 'mercy', 'blessing'; *rasul* 'apostle', 'man of God', 'prophet'; *saat* 'moment', 'occasion', 'while', 'at the moment';

*Sabtu* 'Saturday'; *sabun* 'soap'; *salju* 'snow', 'to snow'; *sehat* 'healthy', 'well', 'sane', 'healthily'; *selamat* 'good luck', 'safe', 'unhurt'; *Selesa* 'Tuesday'; *Senin* 'Monday'; *serikat* 'union'; *surat* 'letter', 'mail', 'note'; *sultan* 'sultan'; *terjemah* 'to translate'; *umur* 'age', 'life', 'lifespan'; *wajah* 'face', 'visage', 'face of'; *waktu* 'moment', 'period', 'time', 'season', 'while'; *wilayah* 'region', 'territory'; *yakin* 'sure', 'confident', 'assured', 'convinced of'; *zaitun* 'olive'; *zakat* 'alms'; *zaman* 'age', 'era', 'time'; *ziarah* 'pilgrimage'. Some of the Persian loans are *anggur* 'wine', 'jobless'; *bandar* 'seaport'; *dewan* 'council', 'senate', 'staff', 'chamber', 'councillor'; *gandum* 'rye', 'wheat'; *kismis* 'currant', 'raisin'; *medan* 'domain'; *pasar* 'market', 'emporium'; *rubah* 'fox'.

### 7.3.4 Portuguese loans

The Portuguese, as Dalton (1995) notes, were the first Europeans to enter Indonesia. They started arriving from about the year 1512 and their era lasted for some 150 years. The Portuguese presence in the archipelago was basically related to commercial activity (mostly spice trade), combined with missionary one, and did not involve territorial expansion. Nevertheless this period was of small significance from the point of view of economy and it had little effect on the great intra-Asian trade artery, which stretched from Arabia to Nagasaki. Forshee (2006) observes that due to the fact that the western islands of Java and Sumatra were mostly Islamic by the 16th century, and in Bali a strong Hindu culture flourished, Portuguese settlers and missionaries met with less resistance in infiltrating animist areas of eastern Indonesia, namely Flores, Timor and Maluku. Moreover, since the European ships entering the archipelago were predominantly war galleons, the foreigners conquered and maintained control of ports by means of experience in naval warfare, superior firepower, and sheer aggressiveness. The Portuguese presence in Maluku was violent, in the spirit of European mediaeval invasive Crusaders. According to Forshee (ibid.), contrary to what Dalton (1995) says above, the colonists were rather interested in looting and gaining personal wealth than in trading and therefore their demise in Maluku was the result of the hatred of the people, whom they were trying to colonize. Dalton (1995) sees the beginning of Portuguese decline in Indonesia in the year 1570, in which the Portuguese, hoping to gain favour with his successor, murdered the Sultan of Ternate. The indigenous inhabitants, however, revolted against the Portuguese and threw them off the island. The sun set permanently on Portuguese possessions in the region in 1974, when they decolonized East Timor; the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin) declared independence in 1975. The Portuguese language was the lingua franca of the Indonesian archipelago in the 16th century, which fact had a strong impact on the indigenous languages, including Malay, which later on became Indonesian, and Tetum (the co-official

language of East Timor aside Portuguese). In present-day Indonesian there are a few hundred Portuguese loan words, predominantly related to the Catholic religion, trade, household, clothing, food and music.

Below are some of the most commonly used ones: *armada* 'fleet'; *baret* 'barrette'; *Belanda* 'Holland'; *bendera* 'flag'; *beranda* 'verandah'; *bola* 'ball'; *boneka* 'doll'; *dansa* 'dance'; *garpu* 'fork'; *gereja* 'church'; *gratis* 'free'; *jendela* 'window'; *kanal* 'channel'; *keju* 'cheese'; *kemeja* 'shirt'; *kereta* 'cart', 'train'; *kredo* 'creed'; *lelang* 'auction'; *lemari* 'closet'; *meja* 'table'; *mentega* 'butter'; *Minggu* 'Sunday'; *misa* 'mass'; *natal* 'Christmas'; *pesiar* 'cruise', 'excursion'; *pesta* 'party'; *pigura* 'picture', 'figure'; *pompa* 'pump'; *roda* 'wheel'; *saku* 'pocket', 'bag'; *santo* 'saint'; *sekolah* 'school'; *sepatu* 'shoe'; *sepakbola* 'football'; *serdadu* 'soldier'; *tenda* 'tent'; *terigu* 'wheat'; *tinta* 'ink'; *tolol* 'fool', 'stupid'; *tukar* 'exchange'.

### 7.3.5 Dutch loans

Forshee (2006) says that the Banda Islands of Maluku started to draw more and more spice-seeking Europeans, which shortly afterwards escalated into a spice-race, a furiously competitive marathon for controlling one of the world's smallest island groups attracting more ships not only from Portugal but also from Spain, England, Denmark and Holland; the Dutch presence, however, was probably the most influential one in Indonesia. The Dutch East India Company (i.e. the VOC) started its trade in Indonesia in the 16th century, some 87 years after the Portuguese. Dalton (1995) says that the VOC, initially only interested in the Maluku Spice Islands, first entered Indonesia at Banten in 1596 with only four ships, and later on more ships followed. The company, however, went bankrupt in 1799 and it was replaced by institutionalized imperialism characterized by a huge bureaucracy of colonial civil servants. In this way the commercial enterprise evolved into a colonial empire managed by the Dutch government. Forshee (ibid.) says that Holland, having ousted the Portuguese, constructed a colonial empire for over 300 years and the islands became the Dutch East Indies. He adds that the colonists exploited the indigenous population in multiple ways: land seizure, unpaid plantation labour, exacting taxes and inflicting severe punishments. Nevertheless, at the same time the colonists introduced new technologies and materials to Indonesia, facilitated world exposure to Indonesian textile trades, dyes, and other arts, and moreover provided many elite Indonesians with Dutch political ideas and educations, as well as introduced the Protestant religion in the occupied territories. During the early 19th century, for a short time, the British, who at the start of the 17th century became fierce enemies to Holland over the spice trade in the region, took command of Indonesian ports, but the Dutch managed to regain control and remained the dominant colonial power in Indonesia until the Second World War. Nevertheless, by the 1920s, students

across Indonesia began organizing youth groups against the Dutch, and in 1926, during the First Youth Congress in Batavia, they voted to unite Indonesia as one nation, choosing Malay as its language, and a red-and-white flag<sup>4</sup> as their symbol, which eventually became the banner of Indonesia.

As can be expected, more than three hundred years of Dutch colonial rule must have also significantly influenced the linguistic situation in the archipelago. Adelaar (2005) observes that the Dutch language left many loan words not only in Indonesian and some vernacular Indonesian languages, but also in Malaysian Malay; they are predominantly related to administration, government, technology, education, transport, church, calendar, commerce, and the like. However, since Indonesian independence, the Indonesian Language Centre has made a strong effort to replace words of Dutch origin by means of neologisms based on inherited Malay, Sanskrit, Arabic and Old Javanese lexicon. Due to such policy, numerous Dutch loan words disappeared from Indonesian, with only some of them persisting in non-standard forms of Malay and in other vernacular languages. It is estimated that in Indonesian there are as many as around 10 000 words that arrived in it via Dutch, although most of them have vernacular equivalents.

Here is a list of some of the most commonly used Dutch words in Indonesian: *administrasi* 'administration'; *advokat* 'lawyer'; *Augustus* 'August'; *aktual* 'actual'; *aliansi* 'alliance'; *amnesti* 'amnesty'; *antic* 'antique'; *apartemen* 'apartment'; *apotek* 'pharmacy'; *April* 'April'; *arbei* 'strawberry'; *artikel* 'article'; *arloji* 'a watch'; *ban* 'tire'; *bandit* 'bandit'; *baterai* 'battery'; *begel* 'bracket'; *bioskop* 'cinema'; *bis* 'bus'; *bon* 'receipt'; *buku* 'book'; *cokelat* 'chocolate'; *debat* 'debate'; *departemen* 'department'; *Desember* 'December'; *diskusi* 'discussion'; *dokter* 'doctor'; *egois* 'egoist'; *ember* 'bucket'; *engsel* 'hinges'; *Eropa* 'Europe'; *faktur* 'invoice'; *fantastik* 'fantastic'; *Februari* 'February'; *gang* 'alley'; *gorden* 'curtain'; *gubernur* 'governor'; *halo* 'hello'; *handuk* 'towel'; *halte* 'stop'; *halte bus* 'bus stop'; *helem* 'helmet'; *hipotek* 'mortgage'; *ide* 'idea'; *identik* 'identical'; *ilusi* 'illusion'; *imun* 'immune'; *infanteri* 'infantry'; *informasi* 'information'; *insinyur* 'engineer'; *institut* 'institute'; *intim* 'intimate'; *Januari* 'January'; *jas* 'coat'; *Juli* 'July'; *Juni* 'June'; *jus* 'juice'; *kabel* 'cable'; *kamar* 'room'; *kantor* 'office'; *karakter* 'character'; *kartu* 'card'; *katun* 'cotton'; *kelas* 'class'; *keran* 'faucet'; *kol* 'cabbage'; *kolega* 'colleague'; *komandan* 'commander'; *komentar* 'comment'; *komersil* 'commercial'; *kondisi* 'condition'; *kongres* 'congress'; *kopi* 'coffee'; *kopling* 'clutch'; *koper/-or* 'suitcase'; *kor* 'choir'; *karting* 'discount'; *korup* 'corrupt'; *korupsi* 'corruption'; *kuitansi* 'receipt'; *kulkas* 'refrigerator'; *kursus* 'course'; *lampu* 'lamp', 'light'; *lisensi* 'licence'; *loket* 'ticket window'; *mantel* 'coat'; *Maret* 'March'; *mebel* 'furniture'; *Mei* 'May'; *mesin* 'machine', 'engine'; *migrasi* 'migration'; *misi* 'mission'; *mobil* 'car'; *montir*

<sup>4</sup> Similar to the Polish white-and-red national flag, only with the colours arranged the other way round.



'mechanic'; *motif* 'motif', 'pattern', 'motive'; *motor* 'motorcycle'; *nomer* 'number'; *nol* 'zero'; *November* 'November'; *Oktober* 'October'; *otomatis* 'automatic'; *pabrik* 'factory'; *parker* 'parking'; *perlemen* 'parliament'; *paroeki* 'parish'; *pastor* 'pastor'; *pavilyun* 'pavilion'; *pensil* 'pencil'; *permak* 'alter'; *permisi* 'excuse me'; *peron* 'railway platform'; *pers* 'press'; *persik* 'peach'; *presis* 'precise', 'same'; *perseneling* 'gear'; *polisi* 'police'; *potlot* 'pencil'; *potret* 'portrait'; *prinsip* 'principle'; *proyek* 'project'; *redaksi* 'editorial office'; *rekening* 'account'; *rem* 'brake'; *resep* 'recipe'; *resiko* 'risk'; *rokok/merokok* 'to smoke'; *satelit* 'satellite'; *saus* 'sauce'; *segel* 'seal'; *sekop* 'shovel'; *sekrup* 'screw'; *seksi* 'section'; *selang* 'hose'; *September* 'September'; *serius* 'serious'; *sertifikat* 'certificate'; *setrum* 'electric current'; *sinterklas* 'Santa Claus'; *sipir* 'warden'; *solusi* 'solution'; *spanduk* 'banner'; *standar* 'standard'; *stasiun* 'bus/train station'; *stopkontak* 'socket'; *struktur* 'structure'; *suster* 'nun, nurse'; *susteran* 'convent'; *tang* 'pliers'; *tas* 'bag'; *tekel* 'floor tile'; *tehnologi* 'technology'; *telepon/telefon* 'telephone'; *televisi* 'television'; *tema* 'theme'; *terompet* 'trumpet'; *teori* 'theory'; *tomat* 'tomato', 'ketchup'; *topik* 'topic'; *variabel* 'variable'; *vas* 'vase'; *wortel* 'carrot'.

### 7.3.6 Other loans

Apart from the languages mentioned above (Sanskrit, Chinese, Arabic, Persian, Portuguese, and Dutch), a number of other languages contributed to the shaping of the National Language of Indonesia. Some of Indonesian loan words derive from Tamil, a Dravidian language, (e.g. *gula* 'sugar'; *kapal* 'boat'; *nelayan* 'fisherman'; *pelbagai* 'various'; *teman* 'friend'), from Hindi (e.g. *roti* 'bread'; *cap* 'stamp', 'seal'; *capal* 'sandals with leather soles'; *topi* 'hat'), from French (e.g. *mayones* 'mayonnaise'; *sepeda* 'bicycle'), and from a number of Austronesian languages, basically from Javanese (e.g. *ganteng* 'handsome', 'good-looking'; *manut* 'obey', 'follow', 'obedient', 'yes-man'; *tembang* 'sung or recited Javanese, Madurese or Sundanese poetry'; *getol* 'industrious', 'hard-working', 'diligent'), but also, to a lesser extent from Sundanese, Batawi, and Balinese. Moreover, due to globalization, it is more and more popular among speakers of Indonesian to use English-based vocabulary items, such as *internet* 'internet'; *komputer* 'computer'; *diskon* 'discount'; *radar* 'radar'; *berbisnis* 'business'; *monitor* 'monitor'; *sistim* 'system', and a number of others. At the same time, most of the foreign borrowings have Indonesian equivalents, though, oftentimes coined in order to replace them. But among the newly coined words frequently there are words which also happen to be borrowings, as, for example, in *mesin berhitung* 'komputer', the word *mesin* is of Dutch origin.

## 7.4 Some evident changes experienced by loan words in Indonesian

It is worth mentioning that in the process of borrowing of foreign words, the Indonesian language adapted them to the requirements of its articulatory basis which led to the occurrence of certain observable phonological changes, the most outstanding of which I present below relying on the corpus presented above:

1. Loss of aspiration. For example: Indonesian *ada* 'abide, be, exist, being, am, there is/are/were, are there?, presence, have, true' from Sanskrit *ādhā* 'to keep, preserve, appropriate to one's self, hold, possess, take'. Indonesian *bumi* 'earth' from Sanskrit *bhūmi* 'the earth, soil, ground, a territory, country, district'. Indonesian *toko* 'store', 'shop' from Chinese *tho-kho*.
2. Loss of vowel length. For example: Indonesian *dunia* 'earth, realm, world' from Arabic *dunyā* 'minimum, minimal, lower; world, low'. Indonesian *fakir* 'pauper' from Arabic *faqīr* 'poor'. Indonesian *kitab* 'book, religious book' from Arabic *kitāb* 'book', Indonesian *ada* 'abide, be, exist, being, am, there is/are/were, are there?, presence, have, true' from Sanskrit *ādhā* 'to keep, preserve, appropriate to one's self, hold, possess, take'. Indonesian *raja* 'king, ruler, czar' from Sanskrit *rāja* 'a king, prince'. Indonesian *sabun* 'soap' from Arabic *ṣābūn* 'soap'. Indonesian *faktur* 'invoice' from Dutch *faktuur*. Indonesian *kartu* 'card' from Dutch *kaart*. Indonesian *struktur* 'structure' from Dutch *structuur*.
3. Change of initial /a/ into /e/. For example: Indonesian *selamat* 'good luck, safe, unhurt' from Arabic *salāma* 'safety, integrity, safe'. Indonesian *berkat* 'blessing, thanks to' from بَرَكَة *baraka* 'pool, pond, puddle, lake; blessing'. Indonesian *bendera* 'flag' from Portuguese *bandeira*. Indonesian *jendela* 'window' from Portuguese *janela*.
4. Change of initial /f/ into /p/. For example: Indonesian *garpu* 'fork' from Portuguese *garfo*. Indonesian *pigura* 'picture, figure' from Portuguese *figura*. Indonesian *pikir* 'to think' from Arabic *fikr* 'a thought'. Indonesian *paham* 'credo; to understand' from Arabic *fahm* 'understand, figure out'. Indonesian *pabrik* 'factory' from Dutch *fabriek*.
5. Loss of initial /h/. For example: Indonesian *arloji* 'a watch' from Dutch *horloge*. Indonesian *engsel* 'hinges' from Dutch *hengsel*. However the initial /h/ is preserved in some words, such as Indonesian *handuk* 'towel' from Dutch *handdoek* or Indonesian *halte* 'stop' from Dutch *halte*.
6. Addition of certain vowels. For example: Indonesian *wajah* 'face, visage, face of' from Arabic *wajh* 'face'. Indonesian *Sabtu* 'Saturday' from Arabic *as-sabt* 'Saturday, Sabbath'. Indonesian *buku* 'book' from Dutch *boek*. Indonesian *kartu* 'card' from Dutch *kaart*. Indonesian *lampu* 'lamp, light' from Dutch *lamp*.

Apart from phonological changes, some loan words also experienced semantic changes, like in Indonesian *ayah* 'father, parent' from Sanskrit *ārya* 'man' or category changes observable in Indonesian *suka* 'to like' from Sanskrit *sukha*

‘pleasant, comfortable, happy, prosperous’ or in Indonesian *pikir* ‘to think’ from Arabic *fikr* ‘a thought’.

## 7.5 Conclusion

As Hallen (1999) notes, Indonesian and Malaysian derive from the same root of language—Malay—and before 1928 the two were basically the same language called Malay, which had been used in Indonesia not only in the government, law, business, etc., but also in the educational system from the elementary to the university level. This language turned into an official language and now functions under the name *Bahasa Indonesia* or *Bahasa Nasional*. However, before it became a modern language, it underwent several developmental process, the most influential of which was its contact with other languages, which influenced its language system phonologically and grammatically, but first of all lexically. When one looks at its history, one will discern traces of Indian, Chinese, Islamic, Portuguese and Dutch influences; whereas the Hindus and Arabs dominated culturally, the rest of the foreign powers dominated politically. Each nation left a profound and lasting impression on Indonesian, the Dutch and the Japanese probably having the greatest impact on its development

The lists of loan words presented above are far from being complete, as only the most common ones, and perhaps the most significant ones from the point of view of basic communication in everyday situations, have been included there; they were subjectively selected from Jones 2007 and on-line dictionaries: [www.sealang.net](http://www.sealang.net) and [www.kamus.net](http://www.kamus.net). Getting acquainted with them can serve as a good starting point in the adventure with Bahasa Indonesia, as they will greatly facilitate its learning and one will have the sensation that one already knows a great deal of it. It is also helpful to notice the regular changes, especially phonological, that occurred in many loan words as they were adapted to the requirements of the Indonesian articulatory basis. Indonesian is a combination of simple autochthonous morpho-syntax with a huge number of core vocabulary items deriving from several non-Austronesian languages, also including genetically unrelated ones. It successfully amalgamates both indigenous and non-indigenous features. Since languages are normally assigned to given language families on the basis of their morpho-syntax, Indonesian is generally classified as an Austronesian language, but when one takes a closer look at its core vocabulary items, one will easily see that they rather bring it closer to Indo-European and Afro-Asiatic languages. Therefore, to a person acquainted with these languages, Indonesian, although distant geographically and seemingly exotic, not only looks familiar but also is perhaps the easiest natural languages to learn, if not the easiest one, in the world.

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<http://www.farsillookup.com>

<http://www.kamus.net/indonesia/ada>

<http://www.sealang.net/indonesia/dictionary.htm>

<http://www.truevis.com/indon/ils.html>

## Chapter 8

# At the confluence of languages—Language Transfer as a learning strategy

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Much of the current research into language learning and teaching is concerned with the phenomenon referred to as language transfer, especially with its negative effects in terms of second language acquisition and production. The advantages of language transfer, however, have received rather scant attention despite the fact that cross-linguistic influence may be seen as an effective language learning strategy. That is why this paper is to lay emphasis on the positive aspects of foreign languages already known to learners—on the previous knowledge of one's second language that is likely to blaze a trail for both new vocabulary and grammatical structures in other languages. Based on a survey conducted among students, the paper aims to explore the instances of cross-linguistic influence as regards third language learners, as well as to evaluate their level of knowledge concerning language transfer and its didactic application.

**Key words:** multilingualism, language acquisition, cross-linguistic influence, language learning strategies, language transfer

### 8.1 Introduction

Much of the current research into language learning and teaching is concerned with the phenomenon referred to as language transfer. Many researchers in the field have already dealt with its causes and effects, offering an extensive literature on bilinguals and suggesting that cross-linguistic influence is an obstacle to successful foreign language acquisition. It is thus frequently described as a highly negative phenomenon giving rise to a number of phonetic, lexical, grammatical, and even pragmatic mistakes. The advantages of language transfer, however,

have received rather scant attention and the fact that cross-linguistic influence can also be seen as an effective language learning strategy, employed both on the conscious and unconscious level, has been largely ignored.

That is why this paper is to lay emphasis on the positive aspects of foreign languages already known to learners—on the previous knowledge of one's second language that is likely to blaze a trail for both new vocabulary and grammatical structures in other languages. The study will address the issue of the multilingual mind, which is the place where various languages meet, having ripple effects in terms of acquisition of new linguistic items. Therefore, based on a survey conducted among students, the paper aims to explore the instances of cross-linguistic influence as regards third language learners, as well as to evaluate their level of knowledge concerning language transfer and its didactic application.

## 8.2 Deliberations on multilingualism and the multilingual mind

### 8.2.1 Methodological inquiries

Following the line of thought offered by Otwinowska (2015: 4), multilingualism is not equal to a perfect knowledge of a number of languages, i.e. it is not used to denote native-like competence. Nevertheless, the rejection of this highly idealized concept of a multilingual speaker gives rise to several methodological difficulties, for example with regard to the question concerning the level of proficiency in particular languages required to become a “multilingual” in the full sense of this term.

The problem becomes even more complex when it comes to the knowledge of specific subsystems of a language, as well as when one considers socio-cultural and pragmatic competences acquired mostly, if not exclusively, through contact with native speakers and their culture. That is why an extensive part of research on foreign language acquisition focuses on the pragmatic aspects of communication rather than on pursuing the practically unattainable ideal; Kucharczyk (2015b: 12) uses the term *plurilingual approach* to refer to such a set of tendencies. Parenthetically, it is worth mentioning here that there is a difference between a language user and a language learner; Cook, for instance, opts for the term *L2 user* instead of *L2 learner* since learning a language implies certain language level attainment while using a language does not take into account this level differentiation (Cook 2008). Nevertheless, these terms will be used interchangeably in this paper.

Another methodological difficulty stems from the fact that scholars frequently tend to identify the nature of multilingualism with that of bilingualism. De Angelis (2007: 9) points out how important it is not to mix these concepts:

although many researchers use the above-mentioned terms interchangeably, they seem to ignore the fact that there is a considerable difference between using two language systems and having access to more such systems. The need for ascertaining what makes them different is stressed in many pieces of linguistic research, especially in neuro- and psycholinguistics, due to the dissimilarities with regard to neurobiological and psychological processes involved (Paradis 2004, De Angelis 2007, Widła 2007, Chłopek 2011). The differences in question are in large part related to the phenomenon referred to as language transfer, which will be discussed in the next section.

Interestingly, irrespective of the subfield represented, scholars who examine the phenomenon of multilingualism most often recognize the importance of language transfer as an inherent component of being a multilingual speaker/learner. Having access to several language systems, a language user can possibly develop his multilingual competence and language repertoire because the languages s/he has acquired affect one another, thus helping her/him to see and understand analogous verbal or grammatical structures (Serratrice 2013). This mechanism conduces to the complex interaction between languages, in the course of which they do become interconnected components of a language system in one's mind, giving rise to the phenomenon known as cross-linguistic influence (CLI). This may be observed on various language planes, ranging from orthography to pragmatics (Odlin 2003).

### 8.2.2 Cross-linguistic influence

Cross-linguistic influence, also referred to as language transfer, can be roughly defined as “the influence of at least one (inter)language on any other language (or interlanguage)” (Chłopek 2011: 21, translation: Serwotka). The influences in question can be intra- or inter-lingual, depending on whether they occur within a single language system or between two or more different systems, respectively. Languages acquired by a learner affect each other in various dimensions (pronunciation, vocabulary, syntax or even pragmatics), which may lead to either positive or negative results in terms of correctness and appropriateness.

In general, transfer is defined as positive when previous linguistic knowledge leads to successful and correct production in the target language or when the skills already acquired enhance comprehension in a new language; the process can be thus described as receptive transfer. Negative transfer, on the other hand, also referred to as interference, occurs when previous linguistic knowledge appears to be the source of errors in the target language, which suggests that cross-linguistic influence may be perceived as an obstacle to successful foreign language acquisition. The nature of CLI is conditioned by a number of factors, among which one can mention the context, the age of acquisition of particular



languages, along with the levels of proficiency, as well as the typological/genetic relationship between them, or the so-called *psychotypology*—the learner’s convictions concerning the relationship and similarity between languages (Otwinowska 2015). A major part of research in second language acquisition has been so far focused on negative manifestations of the phenomenon in question, for they are much easier to observe and describe. However, in the context of contemporary approaches to language education, positive aspects of cross-linguistic influence are more and more often addressed both by linguists and teachers, engendering the application of language transfer as a learning strategy and, thus, leading to a significant number of cognitive benefits to the learner. These will be described in more detail in this paper, after a brief introduction into the domain of multilingual teaching and learning.

### 8.2.3 Multilingual teaching and learning

Multilingual teaching is based on sensitizing learners to any potential similarities between languages from the very early stage in the education process; correspondences can indeed be found between L1 and L2, as well as between one’s second and third or subsequent language. The import of stimulation of language multicompetence development in learners is emphasized by Kucharczyk (2015a), for instance, who adduces four types of pluralistic approach in foreign language didactics, which read as follows:

- intercultural approach, which takes into consideration the socio-cultural factors appurtenant to the languages under scrutiny;
- openness to languages, which aims at rising learners’ awareness of language diversity in general terms;
- integrated didactic approach to learning many languages, which makes use of the aspects of languages already known to learners in order to facilitate the process of acquiring another language;
- intercomprehension, which deals with simultaneous teaching two (or more) related languages, exploiting the similarities between them so as to enhance learners’ receptive competence.

What is more, there are many advantages flowing from learners’ metalinguistic awareness that aid in drawing correspondences between languages (Otwinowska 2015); one of them may be observed in learning strategies pertinent to *cognates* and *internationalisms*, which refer to words of common etymological origin and of international character, similar form, and meaning, respectively. The role of awareness of language learning strategies in language acquisition is an issue not to be neglected in the process of learning since “the very aim of sensitising students to language learning strategies is that they should be capable of managing the learning process on their own in an effective manner” (Studenska 2005: 73, trans-

lation: Stwora). That is why the following part of the paper will address current concepts of transfer and translingual phenomena in language learning strategies.

## 8.3 Language learning strategies

### 8.3.1 Theoretical aspects and general classification

The acquisition of new knowledge and skills in terms of language, as well as consolidation of those that have already been acquired, can occur as either conscious or unconscious a phenomenon. As the main spotlight is to be given to language learning strategies, the emphasis will be placed on the application of conscious strategies that benefit from cross-linguistic influence. In this section, the possible use of transfer as a learning strategy will be discussed in the context of the multilingual approach in language teaching and learning.

From the psychological point of view, a strategy may be described as conscious preparation of plans with a view to solving a given problem or attaining a particular objective (Reber 2000: 711). In a similar vein, *language learning strategy* may refer to various techniques applied in order to internalize and use a foreign language better (Studenska 2005); to provide yet another example, Weinstein (1988: 291, cited by Studenska 2005: 24) defines learning strategies as any kinds of thought or behaviour whose purpose is to facilitate information encoding in such a way so as to enhance the integration of knowledge acquired and its later use. Exploring various dimensions of language learning strategies, one can indeed arrive at a significant number of classifications, both general and language specific, which deal with, *inter alia*, cognitive and behavioural aspects of learning. For the purpose of this study, the authors will elaborate on the language learning strategies' division elaborated by Oxford (1990, 2003), with particular emphasis placed upon the issue of language transfer within the proposed classification. In her typology, Oxford (1990: 18) identifies six major groups of learning strategies. She divides them into direct and indirect strategies, i.e. into those concentrated on language itself and those referring to "general management" of the learning process, respectively. Direct strategies encompass as follows: *memory strategies* aiming at successful information storage and retrieval, *cognitive strategies* responsible for receptive and productive skills in a foreign language, and *compensation strategies* applied to maintain successful communication when the learner encounters the so-called "knowledge gaps". When it comes to indirect strategies, Oxford distinguishes between *metacognitive strategies*, whose aim is to control the learning process, *affective strategies*, which are linked to related emotions, and *social strategies* used in in-group learning. Within the above-mentioned classification, one can clearly observe a rich variety of mechanisms applied by

language learners in a wide range of situations: while acquiring new material (e.g. memory strategies), in the process of communication (e.g. compensation strategies), as well as in group learning (e.g. social strategies).

What is more, it should be noted that Oxford further divides these strategies into smaller subgroups, within which she also enumerates specific learning strategies, such as structured reviewing (a memory strategy) or listening to music (an affective strategy). For the purpose of conciseness, the authors will not delve into the detailed structure of the strategy system, limiting their theoretical deliberations to the class referred to as *cognitive strategies*, encompassing, among others, language transfer and contrastive analysis.

### 8.3.2 Transfer as a language learning strategy in multilingual students

The issue of language transfer, that is, of the application of knowledge of one language to another (Weinreich 1953) in multilingual students constitutes the major focus of this subsection. As the multilingual mind is the place where various languages meet, clash, and interact, language transfer strategy can be defined as innately cognitive. Among the cognitive strategies available, one can mention (1) practising, (2) receiving and sending messages, (3) creating structures for input and output, and, finally, (4) analysing and reasoning (Oxford 1990: 17, Studdenska 2005: 34), which is concerned with contrastive analysis of the languages and with transfer as well. Oxford thus identifies language transfer as a cognitive language learning strategy, whose principal function is the “manipulation or transformation of the target language by the learner” (Oxford 1990: 43). It means that its application throughout the learning process is supposed to enhance successful production and comprehension in the target language.

Transfer is defined as one of the analysing and reasoning strategies because it is used in order to construct a mental “model” of a given language based on the languages previously learnt or acquired. In her classification, Oxford includes transfer along with contrastive analysis and the authors of this paper are strongly convinced that these two strategies are closely related and often mutually dependent. Contrastive analysis is applied when the learner tries to compare the new language system with the systems s/he is already familiar with. Obviously, more similarities can be observed if there exists a genetic relationship between the source and target language; in such a case, the similarities in question can be objectively defined and described. However, even if languages are not related, one can speak of a relationship between languages as it is subjectively perceived by the learner who can presume that there are certain similarities between any given language systems (Otwinowska 2015).

Taking into consideration all of the above-mentioned aspects, one can state that multilingual teaching can, or even should be, based on the application of

language transfer as a conscious language learning strategy. Nevertheless, the negative manifestations of cross-linguistic influence should also be taken into account in order to prevent interference, which is why multilingual education should also centre on differences between languages in order to avoid over-generalization that gives rise to mistakes in the target language. “A lot of misunderstanding comes from different conceptualisations of some constructs” (Gabryś-Barker 2011: 152) in different languages, which proves that interference may be problematic an issue for L2 and L3 learners and, hence, constitutes a disadvantage to be reckoned with.

In spite of the fact that many researchers in the field of language acquisition claim that CLI should be viewed as an obstacle to successful foreign language acquisition, it is not devoid of advantages. Our position on the issue is that transfer, if conscious and well thought-out, can serve as a compensation strategy and make an important contribution to the development of communication competence in L3 learners. To our minds, sensitizing students to the operation of language transfer could do good for multilingual students, as it would make them aware of both chances and traps connected with CLI. Informing students that this process of creating connections between language systems in one’s mind (Oxford 2003) can be used as an effective strategy in learning L3 could possibly result in learners’ controlling their own actions in terms of unaided and conscious language acquisition (Studenska 2005, Sośnicki 1963).

Although much more could be said about language transfer here, it is beyond the scope of this paper to deal thoroughly with CLI; rather, the authors would like to focus on specific instances of cross-linguistic influence as regards third language learners with the aim of providing a sample that could be used in a conscious L3 learning strategy.

### 8.3.3 Translingual phenomena on the example of English and French

It is an axiom that translingual phenomena emerge in related languages, i.e. that it is possible to trace words, lexical bundles, or whole grammatical structures which are relevant or correct in more than one language belonging to a given language family. Such a bridge between languages can be observed on the example of English and French, for instance, due to historical interfusions that resulted in numerous related word forms and structures.

When it comes to L2 teaching in Poland, the most common second language acquired by students is English. As a result, the vast majority of Polish learners starting to learn L3 already has some knowledge of one foreign language: the English language. With regard to French, one can see that circa 40% of basic vocabulary items have direct equivalents in English (Widła 2007); such words characterized by the same linguistic derivation are known as *cognates*.

Despite their belonging to different groups within the family of Indo-European languages, English and French thus bear more resemblance to each other than Polish and French, for instance, which is why it seems advisable to teach French in relation to the already known, to a lesser or higher degree, English language. Cross-linguistic similarities can enhance receptive and productive competence in speaking and writing, yet, at the same time, they may also lead to pronunciation or spelling mistakes. By way of example, the following table shows several instances of English and French words whose graphic form is the same for both languages but whose phonological realizations differ:

**Table 8.1** Translingual phenomena on the example of English and French – homographs and their pronunciations

Word	English pronunciation (RP)	French pronunciation
attention	[ə'ten.ʃən]	[a.tã.sjã]
attitude	[ˈætɪ.tjuːd]	[a.ti.tyd]
possible	[ˈpɒsɪbl]	[pɔ.sibl] / [po.sibl]
prudence	[ˈpruː.dəns]	[pʁy.dãs]

Moreover, English and French share certain similarities on the grammatical plane. Conditional sentences, for instance, are based on the same pattern that is markedly different from the analogical constructions in Polish. The table below illustrates the usage of the first conditional in English and French, along with its Polish counterpart. To our minds, sensitizing students to this type of resemblance in terms of tense conceptualization can potentially facilitate the process of acquisition of French as a third language (after English as L2).

**Table 8.2** Translingual phenomena on the example of English and French – conditional sentences

Language	Conjunction	Tense construction in the subordinate clause	Tense construction in the main clause
English	if	Present Simple	Future Simple
French	si	présent (present)	futur (future)
Polish	jeśli	przyszły (future)	przyszły (future)

### 8.3.4 Unrelated languages

As already mentioned, multilingual teaching is by no means limited to lexical items; there may appear other parallels when it comes to phonological or grammatical systems in the languages compared. Naturally, related languages tend to include analogous vocabulary items or apply roughly similar patterns of

tense formation but, most surprisingly, the typological proximity of languages is not always a decisive factor here. Ringbom (2007) draws an interesting parallel between Finnish (classified as a Finno-Ugric language) and Swahili (a Bantu language), which share certain similarities regarding morphological processes despite their considerable typological remoteness. Although this type of similitude exists only through psychotypology, it can be used as a cognitive strategy in learning the two languages in question.

## **8.4 Analysing the survey**

### **8.4.1 Informants and their educational profile**

Having discussed multilingualism, language transfer, and the instances of translingual phenomena, the time has come to present the results of a survey conducted among 56 students being L3 learners (32 students of the first, 14 of the second, and 10 of the third grade; collectively, there were 50 females and 6 males). The informants were all students of the University of Silesia between 19 and 22 years of age attending the following courses: Philology: Applied languages (translation programme with English and French); Philology: Applied languages (translation programme with English and Italian); English Philology: Translation programme with German; and English Philology: Teacher's course with German. The students for this study were chosen in accordance with their multilingual profile that matches the objectives of this investigation.

### **8.4.2 Research context and tools**

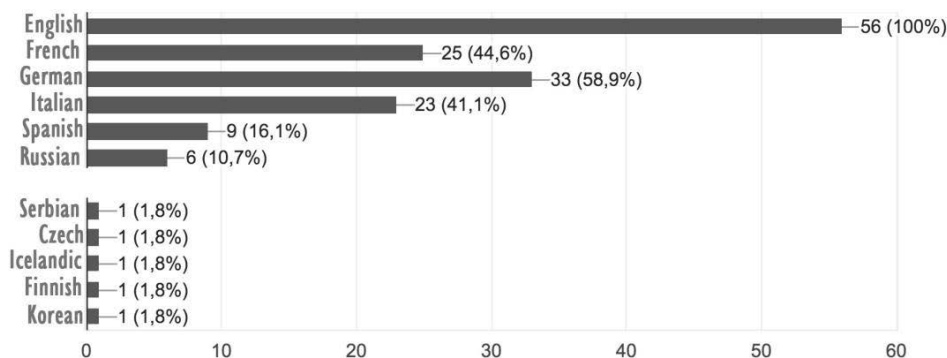
The study conducted was aimed at accomplishing the following objectives:

- a. to explore the instances of cross-linguistic influence as regards third language learners;
- b. to evaluate their level of knowledge concerning language transfer and its didactic application.

To this end, an internet survey was designed in Google Docs and sent out to the group of students described above. The informants were asked several types of questions, including general introductory questions (about their sex, age, grade, and course of studies, as well as the foreign languages they know or study), questions about language acquaintance and L3 learning, as well as those relating to language transfer. The questionnaire was prepared so as to elicit responses that would provide revealing insights into the positive aspects of foreign languages already known to the learners in L3 learning.

### 8.4.3 Results

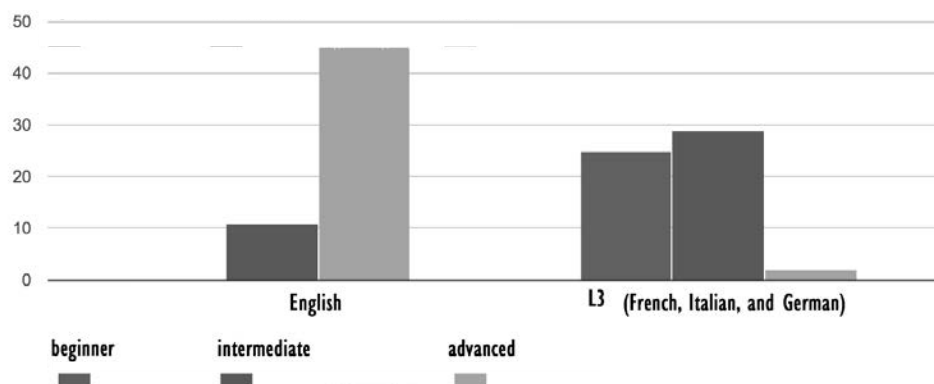
The first step was to ask the respondents about the foreign languages they knew or studied. All the informants declared that English was their L2; when it comes to their knowledge of L3, the most popular languages were German (approximately 59%), French (circa 45%), and Italian (around 41%). Next were Spanish (16%) and Russian (almost 11%), which were followed by a relatively low number of other languages like Serbian, Czech, Icelandic, Finnish, and Korean. For this reason, the authors of this study will focus only on the most widely represented languages in the lines to follow.



**Figure 8.1** Students' responses as to the foreign languages they know or study

Source: Google Docs, *Language transfer – questionnaire for the students of philology* designed by A. Serwotka and A. Stwora.

Subsequently, students were requested to assess their language level for the languages they were currently studying. The bar chart below shows that the vast

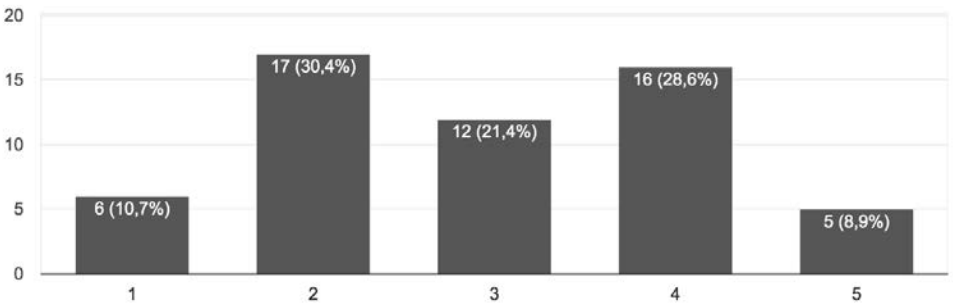


**Figure 8.2** Informants' assessment of their language level for their L2 and L3

Source: Google Docs, Serwotka and Stwora.

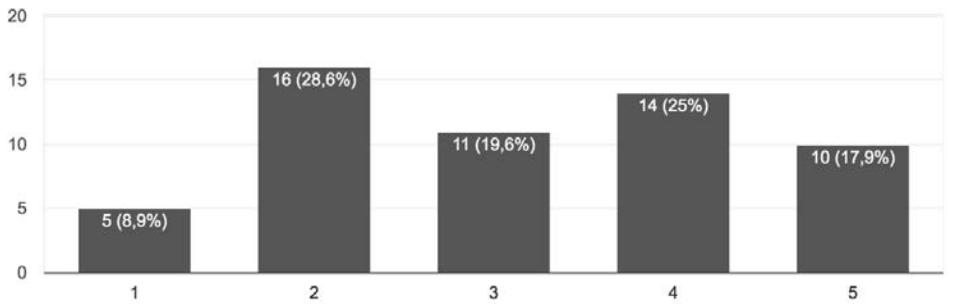
majority rated their English as advanced while more than half of the informants described their L3 level (French, Italian, and German combined) as either intermediate (29 responses) or beginner (25 responses), with just two respondents claiming that their L3 level was very good (see Figure 8.2). When asked for how long they had studied English, most research participants declared that they had been attending English lessons for 14 or 15 years but average responses range from 11 to 15 years; only a small percentage of respondents claimed that it had been for 6 years. As regards their L3 (French, Italian or German), the main part of informants declared to have studied their L3 for one up to three years (circa 48%). Almost 9% declared to have studied their L3 for 4 and 7 years, 5% for 5 and 8 years, the remainder was marginal.

Upon providing these pieces of information, students were asked several questions concerning their experiences in terms of L3 learning. The first query was *How often do you use your L2 (English) while studying L3 (French, Italian or German)?* The percentage of responses to this question provided by the participants is presented below.



**Figure 8.3** How often do you use your L2 (English) while studying L3 (French, Italian or German)?  
1 – never, 2 – seldom, 3 – from time to time, 4 – often, 5 – very often

Source: Google Docs, Serwotka and Stwora.



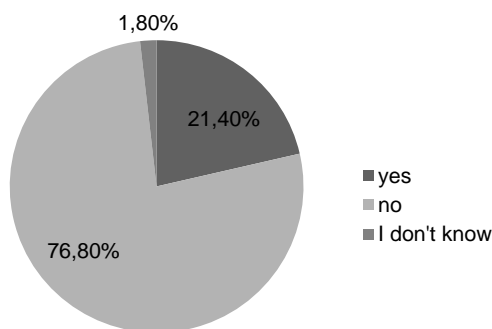
**Figure 8.4** How often do you use English while learning vocabulary in L3?  
1 – never, 2 – seldom, 3 – from time to time, 4 – often, 5 – very often

Source: Google Docs, Serwotka and Stwora.



Only almost 11% of respondents declared not to use L2 while studying L3; nevertheless, approximately 52% claimed to be occasionally using it, whilst 37% stated that they tend to use English quite frequently. When asked specifically about the frequency of using English while learning vocabulary in L3, the results were much better for the last group, which declared to refer to English on a daily basis (see Figure 8.4).

Moving on to the next issue, the authors of this study decided to enquire about the opinions of the informants on the negative impact of English on learning and/or understanding another foreign language (for instance, through such mistakes as calques or incorrect pronunciation). The results are illustrated in Figure 8.5:



**Figure 8.5** Do you think that your knowledge of English can inhibit learning/understanding another foreign language?

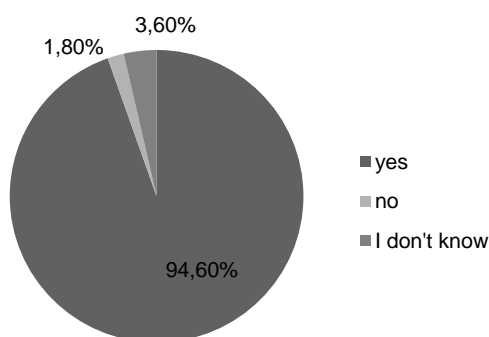
Source: Google Docs, Serwotka and Stwora.

As one can see, in general, research participants are not of the opinion that their knowledge of English can potentially inhibit understanding or learning another foreign language. However, the remaining 21% can provide some examples relating to the situations in which their knowledge of English resulted in difficulties in speaking, writing or comprehending L3. These read as follows:

- I encounter problems when it comes to fluent speech production—I tend to use English vocabulary;
- false friends, i.e. words that have a similar form, e.g. ‘cold’ in English for ‘cold’ and ‘caldo’ in Italian for ‘hot’;
- incorrect spelling;
- incorrect pronunciation, e.g. ‘r’ in German comes to resemble ‘r’ in English;
- counting to 10 in two different languages: confusing or substitution of numbers;
- English words are more accessible in my mind;

- I happen to create words in French that resemble their assumed English counterparts in spite of the fact that the proper words in French have different forms;
- pronunciation, especially when it comes to words with many vowels that sound different in Italian;
- confusing tenses and sentence construction.

By contrast, when asked *Do you think that your knowledge of English can facilitate learning/understanding another foreign language?* the majority of respondents take a positive attitude towards English, as illustrated by the pie chart below:



**Figure 8.6** Do you think that your knowledge of English can facilitate learning/understanding another foreign language?

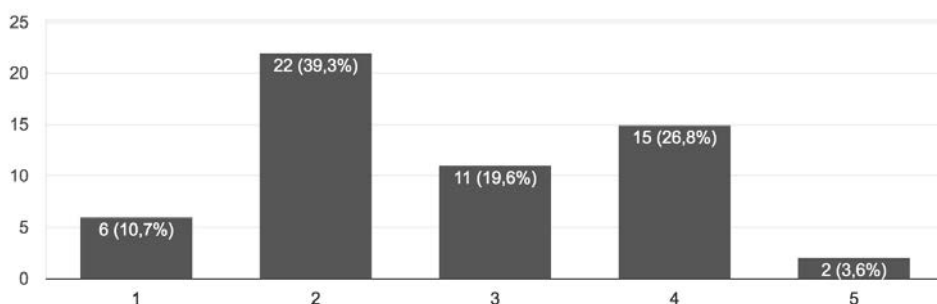
Source: Google Docs, Serwotka and Stwora.

Again, the participants were very eager to share their thoughts on some specific examples of the situations in which their knowledge of English resulted in the facilitation of speaking, writing or comprehending L3; a selection of their responses is provided below:

- many words in English come from Latin, which results in some similarities to Italian; many times my knowledge of Italian facilitated comprehension of the English language and *vice versa* because I can guess the word's meaning in Italian based on the English counterpart;
- when it comes to English and French, many vocabulary items are similar—there are many resemblances between English and French, which is why they are easy to remember;
- when I forget a word in Italian, I think of the English word with the same meaning and, if they happen to sound similar, I recall the Italian counterpart;
- similar vocabulary items; associating new vocabulary in L3 with similar words in English (L2);

- it is easier to understand tense constructions if you compare them to their English counterparts;
- similarities between words in English and my L3 help me to remember words in the latter;
- some words in German come from English and, thus, are already familiar to me;
- finding differences between languages helps in language learning;
- studying French is easier thanks to similar vocabulary, which facilitates translation;
- many words in French have their direct English counterparts that mean the same thing, e.g. as regards certain verbs and adjectives;
- sometimes it is more useful to base on English grammar while trying to understand grammar in L3;
- knowing English is important because it may come in handy when it comes to tenses or aspects which are different from those in Polish;
- by association, I learn two words in two languages at the same time based on similar structures;
- I often translate words and sentences into English instead of Polish because there are more resemblances between English and my L3 in terms of tenses or sentence construction;
- I use the patterns known from English tenses to learn those in French.

It is evident that a large proportion of respondents value English as a tool in learning their L3. Thus, the authors of this research wanted to find out whether using L2 during the acquisition or comprehension of L3 is their own technique or whether they were instructed or inspired to do so beforehand by their L3 teachers. That is why the informants were asked the question about the frequency of their teachers' referring to examples in English while teaching L3 in order to point out to similarities between languages.



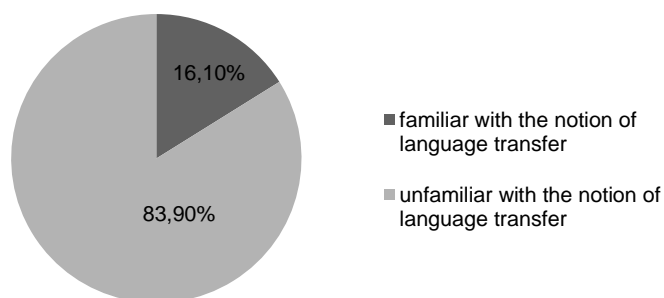
**Figure 8.7** The frequency of teachers' referring to examples in English while teaching L3 in order to point out to similarities between languages

1 – never, 2 – seldom, 3 – from time to time, 4 – often, 5 – very often

Source: Google Docs, Serwotka and Stwora.

It turns out that it is not very common for L3 teachers to touch upon correspondences between the languages known to their students: only 30% of teachers are reported to do so routinely. Simultaneously, as follows from the survey conducted, 91% of students believe that it makes sense to refer to English during a course in another foreign language and 71% declare that they would like their L3 teachers to refer to examples in L2 or draw comparisons between languages as a rule.

Taking the above-mentioned into consideration, the authors' assumption concerning the potential of the positive influence of language transfer stands corroboration. Yet, in spite of the fact that the informants who took part in the study were aware of the process, they turned out to be unable to name it: approximately 84% of them were not familiar with the notion of language transfer (see Figure 8.8). Perhaps if they were, they could learn much more about the advantages (and disadvantages) of language transfer and, thus, improve their results in terms of conscious and planned foreign language learning process.



**Figure 8.8** The percentage of students familiar (dark grey) and unfamiliar (light grey) with the notion of language transfer

Source: Google Docs, Serwotka and Stwora.

The group that was familiar with the notion of language transfer declared to know it from lectures at the university (70%) or from the Internet (30%); no one claimed to have encountered it in a book, article or during any pre-university education. Requested to define language transfer briefly, the group that was able to do so answered as follows:

Language transfer is:

- the influence of one language on the perception of another;
- the influence of one language on one's learning of another;
- the influence of one language on another;
- the influence of one's knowledge of L1 or L2 on his perception/production of L2 or L3, respectively;
- the mutual influence of languages on each other;

- an aid to learning L<sub>n</sub> that rests on imposing patterns from a foreign language already known to the speaker;
- a transfer of patterns from one language to another;
- the influence of L1 on our learning and perception of a foreign language one studies.

## 8.5 Conclusions and pragmatic implications

The observations herein included are only certain observable tendencies as regards language transfer and its potential application as a conscious learning strategy. However, on the basis of the data gathered, it is possible to present several concluding remarks on an active approach to L3 learning enhanced by CLI. There are two steps that practically stem from two approaches proposed by the Common European Framework (European Commission 2012): openness to languages and integrated didactic approach. First of all, multilingual students should be made aware of any relevant resemblances and dissimilarities between the languages that they are acquiring, as well as of metalinguistic concepts used to describe the phenomena in question. Students would therefore be able to perceive certain regularities and notice exceptions at any level.

Secondly, as one can observe, references to English (the students' second language) during L3 courses are quite rare and students are not satisfied with their number and frequency, as they claim that comparisons between English and the other language system may prove useful. The relatively low number of inter-lingual references may be caused by certain context-related factors and, particularly, by the fact that a significant part of pre-university language teachers in Poland is familiar only with Polish and their target language, while their knowledge of English tends to be very limited. The students' answers to the survey clearly demonstrate that, in the academic context, it is no longer possible to adapt language teaching methods and content to the learners' linguistic background since, nowadays, at almost every level of education, one can choose between a number of foreign languages. As a result, students who start their university education possess very differentiated language skills and knowledge related to various languages.

Simultaneously, the institutions of higher education in Poland tend to propose numerous attractive language combinations but there is only a faint possibility that language tutors will be familiar with exactly the same languages as their students are, which makes it difficult to identify and correct errors resulting from interference, as well as to refer to the learners' previous knowledge of other languages. That is why, as far as didactic implications are concerned, the authors propose using distance-learning methods in order to enhance positive transfer and reduce negative CLI. Courses could be created in order to address

specific difficulties faced by learners in a given context and attract their attention to grammatical and lexical similarities between language systems so as to enhance their productive and receptive skills (an example of such a course has been described in Serwotka 2016). Such e-learning language courses could be adjusted to learners' needs and preferences, to the context of teaching/learning, and to the languages taught, while the very content could be freely modified and expanded, thus encouraging further use of language transfer as a learning strategy.

The results presented above demonstrate that a very small percentage of students are familiar with the notion of language transfer, which clearly shows that this incredibly important issue in language learning is frequently neglected during L3 courses. To the authors' minds, and from the didactic standpoint, it is more than necessary to stress the utility of language transfer and the positive aspect of one's previous linguistic knowledge; yet the results of the study show that there is still room for improvement in terms of both theoretical and practical aspects of language transfer in L3 teaching. It is therefore to be remembered that students should be sensitized to the fact that languages are not separated in the learner's mind, but rather come together, forming one's multilingual competence.

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